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The Role of Migration Processes in the Creation of New Masculinities

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Abstract

Men are oppressed by the influence of hegemonic masculinities precepts. This study that is within the project PID 2021-1271130D-I00, explores the factors and the mechanisms of masculinities creation, masculinities' influence ONB migratory processes and hate speeches related to them. For this reason, through qualitative methodology and a phenomenological approach, a sample of eight individuals were given semi-structured interviews to investigate and describe the state of masculinity in Almería. The objectives were to highlight the elements that allow the construction of the autochthonous hegemonic masculinities and to know their relationship with Moroccan immigrants' masculinities, trying to comprehend whether there has been a hybridization of masculinities. According to the results, the theoretical sample follows some of the new masculinities precepts, as well as the process of otherness that young Moroccans raised in Spain apply to those raised in Morocco. This eventuality confirms that the theory is disconnected from reality, overall, resulting in the fact that people perpetuate ideas which are not in line with reality.

Keywords

Masculinities, crisis of masculinities, African diasporas, hate speech, gender transformation

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El Rol de los Procesos Migratorios en la Creación de Nuevas Masculinidades

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Resumen

Los hombres sufren opresiones derivadas de los órdenes de sexo-género a través de la influencia de los preceptos de las masculinidades hegemónicas. Este estudio, que se encuentra en el marco del proyecto PID2021-1271130D-I00, exploró aquellos factores y mecanismos que crean las masculinidades, la influencia de las masculinidades en los procesos migratorios y los discursos de odio relacionados. A través de una metodología cualitativa y con enfoque fenomenológico, se hicieron entrevistas semiestructuradas a una muestra de ocho individuos con el fin de investigar y describir el estado de las masculinidades en la localidad almeriense. Los objetivos del estudio fueron comprender aquellos elementos que permiten la construcción de las masculinidades hegemónicas autóctonas y, por otro lado, conocer la relación existente de estas con la de los inmigrados marroquíes, para comprobar si se ha producido una hibridación de masculinidades. Entre los resultados, se encontró que la muestra sigue alguno de los preceptos de las nuevas masculinidades y la existencia de un proceso de otredad que la muestra marroquí crecida en España aplicaba a los crecidos en Marruecos. Eventualidad que confirmó que la teoría se encuentra desconectada de la realidad, sobre todo en el campo de las migraciones, lo que perpetua ideas que no coinciden con la situación actual.

Palabras clave

Masculinidades, crisis de masculinidades, diásporas africanas, discurso de odio, transformación de género

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Masculinities are social constructions (Bokot, 2019). They are constructed according to the discourses of its context (Pasura & Christou, 2017). Its ability to read the social environment enables masculinities to acquire a dynamic character and a plural meaning. These characteristics provide insight into why the African masculinities complexity cannot be encompassed by the theories and concepts on which Western masculinities are based (Dery et al., 2022).

Likewise, the dynamicity of masculinities enables, through diasporas, the production of hybridizations of masculinities, as identities are forged through social discourses and their implementation which embody the political movement of that space/time (Creese, 2014).

On a theoretical level, diasporas are seen as a favorable niche for the so-called "new masculinities". However, when they are translated into the real world, different problems arise. The reason is that this process takes place in a colonialist and capitalist climate, in Connell's words (1995) "the sociology of knowledge has shown how the most dominant global views are based on the interests and experiences of dominant social groups" (p.18). An example is that gender stratification exists and the position that migrant men acquire within it (Ratele, 2020).

Another problem is the so-called "masculinities crises". On a social level, this eventuality awakens in men a feeling of de-masculinization through their loss of status and power (Bokot, 2019), as they must face issues such as a change of occupation or family structure, which, in the case of African masculinities, is often generated by the feminization of work and economic precariousness (Musari & Moyer, 2021). Therefore, at a theoretical level, the crisis of masculinities is linked to the very meaning of masculinities, which offers a fixed vision of masculinities (Musari & Moyer, 2021). On a humanitarian level, European states feel suspicion when they welcome immigrants from African countries because they are considered as sexually aggressive and dangerous (Pasura & Christou, 2017).

Therefore, this article aims to approach the complex world of masculinities from a migratory perspective to understand different aspects. Firstly, the impact of diasporas on immigrant and native masculinities in the province of Almería. Secondly, to find out what the characteristics of the new masculinities are today and what role they play in the diasporas, since the new masculinities are born of the cultural exchanges produced by the interaction of immigrants with the host society (Toledo del Cerro, 2022, p. 224). And finally, to show the process of social adaptation that African immigrants undergo and to make visible the racism that is hidden behind this process.

Finally, I believe that the relevance of this article lies in the fact that it aims to offer readers new perspectives on masculinities by showing their intersectionality with immigration and their impact on the creation of masculinities. For this reason, it is intended to be considered as a useful tool in the field of anti-racism and against possible hate speech, by allowing readers to learn first-hand about the reality of those interviewed. Although it is a small sample, the testimonies of the interviewees, which readers can get to know first-hand, are endowed with a valuable subjectivity that gives the interviewees a sense of humanity.

A journey Through the Concept of Masculinities and Hierarchical Composition

With her famous phrase “No woman is born: you arrive to be”, Simone de Beauvoir underlines that there is no biological determinism about what it means to be a woman, and therefore to be a man. In fact, Connell (1995) went a step further by stating that “the body of knowledge regarding gender derived from common sense is in no sense fixed”.

Following this line, Valcuende del Río & Blanco complement it arguing that “... is a set of ever-changing meanings, which we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with others, and with our world” (2003, p.9). In other words, masculinities are the implementation of social and cultural learning based on the internalisation of social expectations, which social actors consciously or unconsciously inculcate in us. This also explains why there is not a universal consensus on what it means to be a man (Connell, 1995; Toledo del Cerro, 2022).

However, the femininity concept offers us stability, as Kate Millett (1970) points out, “men created the image of women we all know by adapting it to their needs” (p.106). To this, Valcuende del Río (2003) adds, “the meaning of masculinity and femininity acquire significance as a list of opposing and supposedly complementary elements” (p. 12). It means, everything related to femininity or the feminine is automatically considered masculine, legitimizing it as “the natural order”.

Despite the conceptual instability, it is impossible to deny the existence of predominant ways of being a man within each society (Highton & Finn, 2016). Such ways of being a man are embedded in the macho culture, which affects not only the relationships between men and women on a social level, but also on an individual level (Salazar, 2018), as they have a negative impact on their mental and physical health: “These stereotypes influence men's health as individuals and have a social impact. Men, in general, have poorer health and young men are at greater risk of injury, either accidentally, through risky activities or self-inflicted” (Connor et al., 2021).

This discomfort is due to their efforts to conform to hegemonic masculinities’ standards. Valcuende del Río (2003) argues that this eventuality exists since their sense of honor leads them to assert themselves in front of other men (p.18). Consequently, we should not forget that men are also oppressed by society's sex-gender systems. As Aboim & Vasconcelos (2020) confirm: “The resilience of these dichotomies steaming from Weber's, Durkheim's or Max's concern with social change in the nineteenth century made it difficult to escape the paradigm of modernization to which binary categorizations are referenced to” (p.12).

Sex-gender system oppressions push men to take positions that allow them to come as close as possible to the hegemonic masculine model of that society (Dery, Makana, Rahman, & Boataar, 2022). To this Garizabal Elizalde (2003) adds that the masculinity’s construction is influenced by factors such as family, personal history, economic and social situation, perception of one's own situation and social dynamics (p.194).

This reality justifies the main objective of feminism: to liberate genders from the oppressions created by sex-gender order systems to achieve real intergender equality. An eventuality that explains why feminism seeks for both women and men to share the same cause (Télez Infantes, Martínez Guirao, & Sanfélix Albelda, 2021). Within feminism, the men’s role is not only to support women's causes, but also to develop their own path towards liberation,

through deconstruction of the symbolic order (Muraro, 1994) and social activism (Salazar, 2018), as their way of living is a political act per se (Cascales Ribera & Téllez Infantes, 2021).

For this reason, masculinities studies are seen as a complement to gender studies, as Moliner (2020) rightly argues:

The field of masculinities studies has explored how masculinities follow a hierarchical and cultural order specific to each social construction, shaped not only by relations between women and men, but also by intra-gender masculine relations and personal negotiations about how masculinity is idealized in its various forms. (p.4)

This hierarchy is expressed in the form of a four strata masculinities pyramid (Martínez Joya, 2023). Belonging to one of the strata is not static, as it will depend on the historical period and social movement of the moment. Robert W. Connel (Connel, 1997 as cited in Valdés & Olarrivia, (1997) proposes that masculinities are composed of the following categories:

- Hegemonic masculinities: they represent the institutional power or reference group, which is usually a minority composed of elite men (Sanfélix, 2011). To be postulated as hegemonic masculinities, they must agree with the cultural ideal and with the representation of the institutional power or reference group. Lomas (2005) points out that media and advertising are the disseminators of these sexual and social archetypes (p.259). These masculinities dictate to men how they should behavior on an individual and social level, which would explain male rigidity (Sanfélix, 2011). Furthermore, dominant masculinities are constructed by Western discourse, which also explains the influence of these over the rest of the hegemonic masculinities.
- Subordinate masculinities: they consist of males who lost their masculinity as not being in possession of hegemonic masculinities requirements. Belonging to this category are: children, homosexuals, those who cannot exercise their authority at home, the unemployed, those who externalize their emotions, the elderly, those who are considered weak, effeminate, or strange (Valcuende del Río, 2003).
- Complicit masculinities: men who despite not agreeing with the ideals of hegemonic masculinities, prefer not to declare their opposition to these and so continue enjoying the sex-gender orders' advantages.
- Marginal masculinities: they are made up of ethnic minority groups, immigrants or individuals who find themselves on the margins of society. Male migrants are part of this stratum since they are forced to modify their masculinities during each stage of the migration process to adapt minimally to the masculinities' models of the host country.

African Masculinities: Their Impact and Influence on Migration Processes and the Creation of New Masculinities

If we move to a global scale, societies are characterized by globalization and migratory movements. Globalisation generates different powers that create transnational scales and dynamics of masculinities globally. In terms of masculinities, globalisation generates an

imposition of Western masculinities. This imposition is not only experienced by immigrants, but also by those who remain in the country, as Lomas (2005) points out, it is the media and advertising that disseminate sexual and social archetypes (p. 259). These dynamics have class, race, and postcolonial masculinities as their axes, as they are based on ancient forms of slavery, domination, and exploitation; instituting inequalities in masculinities (Aboim & Vasconcelos, 2020, p.6).

Globalization and colonialism, together with the media, have led to the global establishment of the current hierarchy of hegemonic masculinities, in which the dominant masculinities are Western and the country's own, and the dominated ones are non-white or non-hetero sexualities (Aboim & Vasconcelos, 2020). This happens because of the predominance of assimilationist models prevalent in the host countries. Musari & Moyer (2021) explain that this produces masculinities that are shaped by their relationship to events related to global instability (p.890).

The positive side of globalisation is that through diasporas, new masculinities are being generated through the coexistence of indigenous and immigrant masculinities. However, it is essential to remember that culture and gender models are indivisible. For, "when a specific cultural view of gender and sexuality based on origin is assumed, movements within and outside that context are ignored" (Herz, 2019, p.434). As during diasporas, male migrants have certain requirements imposed on them to be accepted by the host society. Requirements which force them to leave behind their own cultural traits, for which they may or may not possess a strong attachment. This process can cause them psychological problems or to adopt dysfunctional behaviours in order to adapt (Pande, 2017) to Western masculinities (Dery, Makama, Rahman, & Boatar, 2022).

This modification of one's masculinity happens on three key occasions during the migration process. The first occurs in the country of origin, where migration is considered a path to manhood (Musari & Moyer, 2021), as one of the roles of men in sub-Africa is being the breadwinner and head of the household (Smith, 2020; Musari & Moyer, 2021). This justifies the idea of economic success being an indicator of respectable masculinity (Dery, Makama, Rahman & Boatar, 2022). For this reason, anyone who does not undertake the migration process has his manhood called into question, as the discourses of masculinities and manhood are intertwined. An eventuality that forces the subject to make the journey under the pretense of earning money, supporting, or creating a family (Palillo, 2022).

The second occurs during the journey, when migrants encounter the traffickers' masculinities. Migrants feel for the first time like "the others", and through discursive practices, the hybridization of their masculinity takes place (Creese, 2014). This clash of masculinities causes a masculinities hierarchy based on the immigrant's vulnerability. If immigrants do not comply with the main masculinity symbolisms, their migratory status will be affected, causing them to occupy a lower place in the hierarchy, as these gender patterns create degrees of vulnerability and violence (Palillo, 2022).

The last occurs in the host country, where immigrants continue to feel a loss of virility due to the fact that in the host country women generally take on the position of economic breadwinner, causing men to feel the need to protect themselves and regain their virility (Pasura & Christou, 2017). In the case of African immigrants, this feeling cannot be understood without being aware of the social relevance of money in most African countries, since to maintain respectable masculinity, young men are culturally and socially expected to marry and create

their own family, in which their role is to be the provider (Etowa et al., 2022; Musari & Moyer, 2021).

So, if they feel their manhood is attacked, they will protect themselves choosing between: hypersexualised masculinities, generally characterized by violence, misogyny, homophobia, and the use of sexual services; or masculinities based on the religious path and moral rectitude (Pande, 2017). By choosing one, they protect themselves from feelings such as isolation or inferiority.

As Boserup (1993) puts it, African society shifted from a predominantly matriarchal system to a patriarchal one; a change motivated by the colonists' export and imposition of their cultural and ideological capital in terms of gender conception. To which Pasura & Christou (2017) add that colonialism, slavery history, globalization and states modernization are the main elements as to why African men sense otherness.

From the Western and colonialist point of view, males were considered more suitable as a work force. This is because they were expected to be more productive and stronger (Boserup, 1993). This is the reason why the role of provider has been established as part of the male gender, among other things (Musari & Moyer, 2021, p. 899).

These impositions changed African society, where settlers enjoyed a position of supremacy over Africans. After colonialism, a transformation of states was expected, not only in the arrangement of the order of masculinities, but also of nations into polyethnic states. Although the creation of Fortress Europe prevented this as it strengthened the relations between the individuals who remain in the fortress. As Abrams (2013) corroborates, "Our migration laws and policies reinforce dominant masculinities within borders by excluding marginalized masculinities and admitting those who behave according to the norms of dominant masculinities" (p. 565).

Fortress Europe highlights differences, especially towards African individuals, who are not considered as equals because they are judged through stereotypical images that are vestiges of colonialism (Ammann & Staudacher, 2021). Another example of the vestiges are postcolonial masculinities, which are those that struggle against the subaltern position based on race (Aboim & Vasconcelos, 2020). In fact, Etowa et al. (2022) confirm that these stereotypes affect black and Latino males as well. Moreover, these stereotypes lead to a reduction in the empathy of the citizens of the host countries. The stereotypes named before are: hypersexuality, having multiple sexual partners, not using sexual protection, gender-based violence and low HIV awareness.

As can be seen, progressivism in developed countries is a mere facade, as it hides an ethnocentric culture that generates European racism, because of intolerance and the highlighting of ethnic differences. Abrams notes that "immigration laws have been and continue to be a vehicle for reflecting the prevalence of dominant masculinities" (Abrams, 2013, p. 584).

Another problem that migrants must face, according to Rodríguez Martínez (2000), is the stigmatization created through the social representation and stereotypical image of migrants (p. 245). Generally, this European racism is promoted by far-right parties, whose main ingredient of their ideology is the apology of hate, which is a cognitive radicalization that is understood as cultural violence (Rodríguez Martínez et al., 2022, p. 21).

Such hate speech takes its form based on extremist points of view of religion, culture, or any other characteristics that generate social division. Rodríguez Martínez et al. (2022), state that these discourses are empowered through disinformation and can affect the entire population because there is no single type of vulnerable profile. This is due to macro-environmental (geopolitics or religion), micro-environmental (unstructured families or possession of radicalized friends) and individual factors (psychological conditions, perception, social injustice, etc.) that are activated by an event.

The European ethnocentric model is based on a stereotypical image of migrants about fundamentalist religious and gender relation discourses. Herz (2019) explains it: "when a gender and sexuality-based point of view is assumed taking into account the origin, the movements that occur in and during the context are ignored".

Background of Study

The geographical location where the study was carried out was Almería, one of the seven provinces of Andalusia. This decision was based mainly on the composition of its population, since according to the INE (2003), of the 754,444 inhabitants that make up this town, 17,926 are immigrants from an African country, of which 13,388 are of Moroccan origin. The high number of Moroccan immigrants gives this phenomenon great significance on a social level.

Methodology

This research uses the qualitative method, and its objectives were based on the phenomenological method (Fuster, 2019), which values human subjectivity, recognizing that science takes subjectivity as its basis. A feature that Connell (1995) underlines as essential: "history and ethnography provide a fundamental element of evidence of the diversity and transformation of the masculinities".

In line with the aim of this study, the semi-structured interview was selected as a technique to obtain information. As Sanfélix Albelda argues, new masculinities emerge in urban environments of young or middle-aged men with a medium-high level of education and with life experiences with some reference to equality, whether discursive or symbolic (Sanfélix Albelda, 2011, p. 242).

So, for this reason the sampling procedure was by snowball stratified by the following characteristics: nationality (Spanish or Moroccan), education level (compulsory education, vocational training, or university degree), age (between 18 and 50 years old) and sexual orientation (heterosexual or homosexual). On the basis of these characteristics, eight participants were recruited, three Spanish and five Moroccan.

Prior to interviews, participants expressed their consent to be recorded and to have their anonymity respected in the transcription, if they so wished. The interviews, which lasted between forty minutes and one hour, took place through the Google Meets platform, in the I.E.S. Alhamilla secondary school, and in a cafeteria. To store the information, voice recordings

were made of the interviews. For the analysis, first a matrix of categories was created and worked on, followed by the composition of a matrix of responses.

The scrip of the semi-structured interview was structured in five blocks. The first one “the labour sphere” tries to understand whether the motivations for the diasporas were due to lack of protection, scarcity of opportunities to survive, corruption, failures in the legal system (Palillo, 2023) or if it was due to a rite implemented in the origin country as an obligatory step to obtain manhood (Pande, 2017). Moreover, to discover if they consider that the female figure is present and sufficiently recognized in the labour sphere or if there is still a cultural resistance to women's participation in this, due to the conceptualization of men as the economic providers (Smith, 2020).

In the second “affective relationships and family dynamics,” the priority is to know the position of individuals regarding fatherhood as a pillar of their masculinity (Smith, 2020), and also what are the tasks that, as future fathers. This concept of fatherhood includes what they consider as their own, ignoring those that are already assumed such as being the protector, the family economic provider, the decision-maker and the one who dictates morality (Pasura & Christou, 2017) and important elements of a future partner. Finally, to understand if African men perceive sex as a way to gain respect (Closson et al., 2020), as well as the use of sexual services or condoms as a way of reducing or enhancing their masculinities.

It is essential to corroborate polarized ideas about the African model stigma of masculinity. One of the positions states that it is an impediment to HIV prevention and treatment (Highton and Finn, 2016) due to the claimed low level of HIV awareness (Etowa et al., 2022); the other position states that religious influence leads men to abstinence until marriage for fear of contracting HIV (Lusey et al., 2014).

In the third “the expression of self-care”, and fourth block, “sexual orientation and sexual elements”, the aim is to understand whether men continue to reject or avoid the feminine, which generates a continuous comparison for them, thus experiencing an incessant struggle for their identity (San Félix Albelda, 2011). This leads to the question of whether the current paradigm has excluded masculine precepts of self-care as a feminine activity and homosexuality as the opposite of the male (Salazar Benítez, 2013). In relation to the fourth block Cedeño Astudillo (2019) states that people adopt gender and sexual orientation characteristics that are accepted in their society. So, it is necessary to corroborate questions about peer pressure to follow heteronormativity, and the conception of men about certain sectors of the LGBTQI+ collective.

Shae Rodríguez, Huemmer & Blumell (2016) affirm that homophobia causes intragroup control, which is motivated by the fear of being devirilized or labelled as non-real men. For this reason, the last block is “self-concept of gender differentiation” to know the conception of masculinity and femininity, which aspects are socially accepted and if there is religious or culture influence on them; and the conception of indigenous masculinities and those of migrants, as well.

Results

The current social paradigm of Almería shows that the social landscape is beginning to undergo a shift, which can be motivated by new masculinities and possibly due to the hybridization of masculinities, caused by the coexistence of Moroccans and natives.

Labour Atmosphere and Affective Relationships and Family Dynamics

The first trait was linked to the assumption of housework and parenting as an intrinsic part of their masculinities. The results from Etowa et al. (2022) studies show how African men reject the perpetuation of cultural stereotypes related to household chores and family welfare. "Well, after that, if she wants to work and I want to work, I would hire a maid, or I would use the grandparents". (E2, 23 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, university studies). "Well, when I come home from work, I would study with them, like doing homework and then I would take them to do some sport". (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocational training) "I would work and she would stay at home with the children until the children are a bit older..." (E8, 32 years old, Spanish, heterosexual, compulsory education).

These new masculine roles enable the abandonment of the hegemonic masculinities' pillars such as protection, being the economic breadwinner or being part of procreation (San Félix, 2011). In the case of African masculinities, being the head of the family, is understood as the subject who makes the decisions (Smith, 2020).

Expression of Self-Care

The first element is the repeal of social impositions such as female depilation and the social prohibition of male depilation. From a perspective based on nationality and sexual orientation, there was a homogeneous discourse in both the Spanish and Moroccan sample about not forcing their partner (regardless of gender) to depilate, while they themselves stated that they depilate. "Yes, armpits yes" (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocationally trained) "I don't care; I mean, it depends on what she wants". (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocational training). "If she feels good, yes, but it's not very important. (E4, 20 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, and vocational training). "In summer...and in winter...almost the whole body..." (E8, 32 years old, Spanish, heterosexual, compulsory education).

Another feature of the new masculinities, irrespective of nationality and sexual orientation, was a concern for the state of their psychological health and maintenance. "Yes, they should take care of themselves. Many men... it's true that young people nowadays grow up taking care of themselves physically, I mean, don't they... (E1, 30 years old, Moroccan, homosexual and compulsory education). "Yes, in terms of nutrition and sport. Also psychologically... um.... they should not think... from time to time they should free their mind". (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual and vocational training).

"I think so. Physically, not so much, because nowadays I think that physically almost everyone takes care of themselves, maybe not the same, but practically the same as women, although emotionally, they do need to take care of themselves, more. Above all, they are older.... (E7, 22 years old, Spanish, homosexual, university studies).

This search for well-being also includes sexual services. Both Spanish and Moroccan participants, shared the perception of using sexual services as a method to make up for certain deficiencies, thus refuting the idea of the use of sexual services to increase their virility. "No... If they resort to this type of service, it is because there is a problem within the family". (E3, 50 years old, Spanish, heterosexual, and university studies). "...Maybe it's to compensate for that sexual desire but I don't know if that would make them feel more like men". (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual and vocationally educated)

In line with self-care and sexuality, it is worth highlighting the fact that the total sample is aware of the use of condoms as a method to prevent STIs. In fact, the participants stated that they use condoms in sporadic relationships, which belies the stereotype of the African immigrant being unconcerned about contracting HIV or its spread. Furthermore, this positioning is an indicator of the gradual abandonment of the idea of condom use as a masculinity-reducing element or as a sign of mistrust, as both the Spanish and the Moroccans saw it as a commitment to self-care.

However, some of the reasons for condom use were different in the Moroccan and Spanish samples. The Moroccan sample indicated that it was both for religious and social reasons. The former corroborates the idea of religion as a protective factor in Africans, warning them that premarital or extramarital sex is a risk factor that can lead to contracting HIV (Lusey et al., 2014). The latter, as being HIV-positive is perceived as something that threatens their masculinities (Highton & Finn, 2016). In contrast, for Spanish participants, they claimed it was because they had acquired information about it. "Yes, I have been aware of it... because I have had information about it". (E3, 50 years old, Spanish, heterosexual, and university studies). "I always think that a person should protect themselves". (E2, 23 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, and university studies).

"Yes, although it's more because of religion... Because it is forbidden to have sex. And I don't know, if, for example, you have a disease or something, and your parents find out, then it would be frowned upon... it would be frowned upon to have sexual relations without being married". (E4, 20 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, and professional training).

Sexual Orientation and Elements and Self-Concept of Gender Differentiation

Cultural bias was used to delimit what belonged to the masculine and feminine universes, since as Dery, Makama, Rahman & Boataar (2022) indicate, culture plays an introductory role in hegemonic masculinities, so, if change is to be achieved, it is necessary to begin by modifying social spaces, be they physical or ideological (p. 12).

Despite the use of cultural bias, current theories, and social movements such as queer theory or crip, have allowed the female or male labels imposed in certain fields or on actions to be

blurred. This has led men to reject the precepts of the culture of hyper-masculinization and misogyny, and as consequence to adopt a *modus operandi* more benevolent to their sense of manhood.

In spite of these social advantages, they acknowledged that social pressure still exists and can be perceived through the hegemonic masculinities' precepts. This also corroborates that gender discourses are part of the culture as they mark the meaning of certain actions and situations (Dery, Makama, Rahman & Boataar, 2022). "...If you don't follow the patterns that they set for you to be a man, for example. They don't... they don't consider you a man and I don't think so either". (E2, 23 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual and university studies). "Femininity for me is gentleness, sensitivity, understanding". (E3, 50 years old, Spanish, heterosexual, university studies). "There is always pressure. (E5, 20 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, university studies).

This pressure makes men feel the need to include certain behaviours associated with their masculinity. These behaviours are: leadership, opacity of feelings, homosociality (meeting exclusively between men) and protection. "Being dominant, being the head of the family" (E2, 23 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, university studies). "Men are perhaps associated more with the static, as if they should not show their emotions. I associate it with the protective character of wanting to shelter the family" (E3, 50 years old, Spanish, heterosexual, university studies). "The fact of having to be the boss. It is linked to not being tender". (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocational training).

The Moroccan sample justified these behaviours with the fear of being socially read as feminine, which they claimed was due to religious prohibition. "The Koran has things like this written in it...several paragraphs. It has a paragraph that tells you how to be masculine, what it is being a man and what not to do" (E1, 30 years old, Moroccan, homosexual, and compulsory education). "Being homosexual because it is not allowed in my religion. Neither is trying to look like a woman, to wear a skirt or something like that, it is not allowed" (E4, 20 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual and vocational training).

Moreover, it was found that Moroccan men's discomfort was caused by not belonging to the indigenous hegemonic masculinities. This eventuality provoked in Moroccans, who had grown up in Spain, the need to mark an "otherness" over those who had grown up in Morocco, in order to feel closer to the standards of Almeria's hegemonic masculinities. This otherness is delimited in several aspects: in the labour sphere, where there are discursive discrepancies linked to women's participation in the Moroccan labour market. Those who have grown up in Spain deny the possibility that women in Morocco can work in jobs outside the home, outside the rural world.

Normally, they work where only men work. Women in Morocco are housewives, they raise and have children, clean, feed and do little else. It is true that nowadays women are starting to work a little more, but in what? In what is considered a woman's job. (E1, 30 years old, Moroccan, homosexual, compulsory education).

... in the urban world, in the big cities... it has changed, it has modernised, actually now, both women and men tend to work. But in the rural world, they are still very backward because it is the man who really works. (E2, 23 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, university studies).

On the other hand, those who grew up in Morocco claim the opposite, exemplified by female relatives who are employed in the world of work. "Well, according to family cases, one of my cousins is a dentist, and another one works in school transport". (E6, Moroccan, heterosexual, and vocational training). "Yes, because, for example, when my mother works..." (E4, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocational training).

This otherness was also detected in the polarised opinion of Moroccans raised in Morocco and those raised in Spain on the use of sexual services. The former group claimed that "the others" continue to use sexual services to increase their virility. However, this did not coincide with reality, as reflected in the first two testimonies offered by Moroccans raised in Spain, and the second by those raised in Morocco. "...And yes, I think that there are many men who think they are more men because they use them". (E1, 30 years old, Moroccan, homosexual, compulsory education). "Yes, that makes a man, the man, a dominant male. The one who does it the most or the one who uses this service the most, feels more of a man". (E2, 23 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, university studies). "...If you talk to me about someone who wants to have sex to try it out, that would be another case" (E4, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocational training). "...Maybe it is to compensate for that sexual desire, but I don't know if that would make them feel more like men" (E6, 22 years old, Moroccan, heterosexual, vocational training).

Conclusion

The masculinities' complexity is the result of a subjective reality, that leads experts position themselves in polarized positions.

On one hand, some authors believe that hegemonic masculinity has been built on a binary debate that can be labelled as outdated (Pande, 2017), because to them manhood is not static as its meaning is based on the individuals around us (Valcuende & Blanco, 2003; Toledo del Cerro, 2022; Musari & Moyer, 2021). Dynamism that finds its basis in global instability, which generates new masculinities through diasporas.

On the other hand, there are feminist authors who claim that this debate is not outdated. They argue that although masculinities are dynamic in their patterns, masculinities remain anchored in their existence in opposition to femininity. (Connell, 1995; Millett, 1970), which is why gender neutralisation is not possible. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that gender is constructed by social expectations according to sex. (Salazar, 2018). In view of this, to avoid the crises of masculinities explained in the role theory (Stoller, 1968), it is more interesting that each gender reconstructs itself by appropriating characteristics that are acceptable to them (Irigaray, 1990; Muraro, 1994; Connell, 1995).

This research, which is in line with the enhancement of subjectivity and gender differentiation, aimed to find out about the following questions: What is the current conception of masculinity and femininity? Does rejection of the feminine and LGBTQ+ persist? Has

equity been achieved at the relational level? Do the new masculinities include fatherhood and self-care? Does cultural resistance to female participation in the world of work continue?

As this study corroborates, the new masculinities claim gender equality, yet perpetuate the precept of women as an ethnic resource (Pasura & Christou, 2017). This eventuality can be explained by the symbolic disorder that transcends the social order (Muraro, 1994); and the manhood of those men which is based on the mandates of hegemonic masculinities, fear of crossing these gender barriers and of being associated with the feminine thus losing their social standing as men (Shae Rodriguez, Huemmer & Blumell, 2016).

This fear, is due to a lack of awareness of the consequences that an approach to the feminine can have in the family structure and individual self-concept, generating a crisis of masculinities (Musari & Moyer, 2021). This generates a loss of strength in the discourse by Sanfélix Albelda & Téllez Infantes (2021) on the lack of awareness of one's own privilege of being a man. This occurs because fear is an emotion whose purpose is to protect, and it is obvious that one cannot protect oneself from something of which one is not aware.

Regarding migratory movements and their relationship with masculinities, this research allowed us to corroborate the correlation or disconnection from reality. In relation to the arguments that do not correlate with reality, we did not find the perception of threat produced by the annexation of women to the world of work (Smith, 2020). On the contrary, the sample was in favor of women's insertion into the world of work.

Another issue that was corroborated was self-care, and in relation to it, the use of condoms in intimate relationships to protect against HIV. Etowa et al. (2022) point out that African masculinities are built on male hyper-sexualization, which leads to a lack of awareness about the consequences of unprotected sex. However, the responses of the participants showed an attitude in favour of and awareness of their use, especially in the Moroccan sample. The Moroccan sample claimed to use condoms or sexual abstinence until marriage as a means of protection for fear of contracting the disease because it is considered a burden or a dishonor on the family. This is consistent with research by Lusey et al. (2014) on sexual abstinence and the perception of HIV infection as a danger, and by Highton & Finn one (2016) on HIV infection seen as a threat to their masculinity.

Finally, we find that Western powers, such as the United States and Europe, have ethnocentrism at their core, which means highlighting the inequalities of those who do not belong to them (Rodríguez Martínez, 2000). This enables the perpetuation of non-inclusive states. And, on the other hand, the otherness that marks autochthonous subjects or subjects who have grown up in their parents' host country. This otherness is due, as Musariri & Moyer (2021) point out, to the fact that they can distinguish themselves from others, which allows them to create spaces where they can compensate for their masculinity (pp. 890-891).

In the case of men whose ancestry has undergone a migration process, they find themselves in a position of struggle to be accepted by the natives; as Ratele (2013) explains. This mode of exclusion leads to a range of hegemonic masculinities with subordination or masculinities that are both hegemonic and subordinate, thus producing an interrelation with other strata.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the limitations of this study and future lines of research. On the one hand, the time available prevented us from obtaining a larger sample, as it is not possible to know the state of the art. However, as an exploratory study, it can serve as an indicator of the situation in order to create new questions on this subject.

As for future lines of research, some of them may be related to the intersectionality of masculinities with hate speech and immigration, or with homosexuality and transsexuality.

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