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Seattle University

**Understanding Approaches to Dismantling Hyper Masculinity in Guatemala:
With the Non-Governmental Organization Nuevos Horizontes**

A Thesis Submitted to
The Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Departmental Honors in International Studies

By
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This honors thesis by Michael Ninen is approved

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Abstract

Guatemala has one of the highest levels of gender-based violence in the world, evidenced by 11,598 femicides from the period 2000 through 2019 (GGM, 2019). This problem is connected to understandings of masculinity that are informed by historical roots such as the colonization of Guatemala, the gendered ramifications of the civil war from 1960-1996 (La Violencia), social and cultural norms, as well as hyper masculinity. This paper aims to explain the issue in Guatemala and to look deeply into what is being done by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Nuevos Horizontes¹ to combat the issue of hyper masculinity and gender-based violence. The paper uses qualitative research conducted in 2018 and a review of secondary sources available on the broader topic. Through participant observation of classroom workshops—led by Nuevos Horizontes—I am able to show how children reflect on conversations about gender in Guatemala. This paper argues that Nuevos Horizontes is changing perceptions of masculinity in an effective way by educating the youth in their community.

Keywords: Hyper Masculinity, Machismo, Violence Against Women, Gender-Based Violence

¹ New Horizons

I. Introduction

Guatemala is a country that is often cited for high levels of Gender-Based Violence (GBV). The root causes are found in Machismo, which I define as gender roles for men and manifestations of masculinity in the Latin American context. I am studying practices and beliefs regarding gender norms in Guatemala because I want to understand how machismo manifests itself, why it is rooted in Guatemalan gender roles and history, and how grassroots groups and NGOs in the country work in their own communities to make change happen. In this paper, I make the historical linkages clear between colonialism and civil war and how this history informs machismo in Guatemala. The acknowledgement of the complexity of these interconnected issues is documented in the secondary literature on this topic, but it does not look clearly at what is being done today to eradicate the problem. Addressing this gap by looking at what non-governmental organizations like Nuevos Horizontes are doing will illuminate the important work already being done to change harmful gender roles. Keeping the above in mind, this thesis addresses this question: how does machismo manifest itself in the gender relations of Guatemala, what are its causes, and how are Guatemalans transforming it on the ground?

The implications of machismo run deep in Latin America; machismo is considered an aggressive expression of male pride (Jensen, 2020). Intensified forms of gender norms can be dangerous. Machismo manifests as actions like beating women, turning to alcoholism, and a variety of other factors that make it dangerous. This behavior is informed by a variety of factors including gender relations, La Violencia (the Guatemalan Civil War), power dynamics, and Gender-Based Violence (GBV). Nuevos Horizontes is a non-governmental organization that operates independently to address the local issue of machismo in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala.

The most promising way to transform machismo and unequal gender relations in Guatemala is through the important work of non-governmental organizations like Nuevos Horizontes who create effective change through their Nuevas Masculinidades workshops for youth.

This paper will begin by laying the groundwork for understanding the applied research I carried out through a theoretical framework made up of postcoloniality, third wave feminism, and intersectionality. It will then proceed with a deep dive into the historical context of the issue. The paper will examine research conducted in Guatemala about the non-governmental organization Nuevos Horizontes and their work towards restructuring masculinity in Guatemala. This paper will end by providing a policy proposal and proving that the work Nuevos Horizontes does is in fact a successful practice.

II. Theoretical Framework:

A. Postcoloniality

It is important to note the present critique on western discourse with postcoloniality. In this case, the western force not only comes from Spain as a source of understanding masculinity, but also in distancing oneself from current western standards when analyzing the data. This recognizes that the indigenous and local perspectives are the most important. Additionally, it is important to recognize the colonial influence, specifically from Spain, to better understand the whole picture. This approach, “[sets] out to critique western discourses of modernity and the imposition of concepts such as time, progress, and development that privilege specific forms of knowledge... deemed universally applicable” (Escobar 1995; Ogle 2015, as cited in Darian-Smith, McCarthy 2017 p. 210). Using this frame will allow me to explain how Guatemalan culture is informed by colonization and Spanish gender roles.

When Guatemala was colonized, a new culture was imposed, including new gender roles. While Guatemalan culture stands where it is now due to deep historical roots in colonization and a variety of other factors, it is important to realize that the colonial impact is not the whole of the culture presented by Guatemala. This is a mixed culture that has been formed over time by its invaders and outside western forces in conversation with local indigenous peoples, who comprise 40-60% of the population depending on the sources one is citing.

B. Third Wave Feminism - Gender, Culture, and Social Difference

Feminism is a theory used in the context of gender and masculinity. Currently we recognize gender as a continuum. Within the gender continuum there is a gender binary that is commonly accepted in many societies, but with this binary comes inequality. The relationship between cis-gendered men and cis-gendered women is already unequal, but the relationships between cis-gendered men and gender nonconforming identities are also problematic. This paper will focus on the gender dynamic between cis men and cis women.

The recognition of women's perspectives is important when understanding a binary like that existing in Guatemala, and shows, "their due weight and authority in constructing new knowledge about the world's pressing challenges" (Darian-Smith, McCarthy 2017). This gender binary is socially constructed to give men more power than women. The gender continuum stands to define how individuals should act in any given social setting and as a result are intrinsically part of all interactions within a culture.

Dominant gender roles in many cultures around the world continue to impose a gender binary on people, which includes all the messages, expectations, and sanctioning behaviors that convey what it means to be a man and a woman in a given society.

Gender responds to expectations for how individual men and women should act, which in turn become customary modes of behavior that inform everyday life and relations between people (Cosgrove n.d., p. 8).

Within this feminist theory it is also important to understand how machismo is present in Guatemalan society. In short, machismo is a pride and swagger held by men in Latin America (Hardin, 2002). In many cases, this hyper form of masculinity can have very negative and harmful consequences. Gender Based violence, as well as domestic and intrafamilial violence, are deeply connected to this idea of machismo. Machismo manifests as things like beating women, turning to alcoholism, and a variety of other factors that make it dangerous.

Machismo is informed by long standing social conditions and history that spread across country borders. The expectation for men to be macho, and for this masculinity to be present in

all parts of the lives of men, are understood as deeply imbedded due to history and societal issues like gender-based violence with which masculinity is currently mixed (Torre, 1999). Vigoya insists that, "masculinity in Latin America [should] not be understood outside of a larger gender structure, defined as an ordering of social practice, and that the gender experiences of men are determined not only by their sex but also by the place they occupy within, class, ethnic-racial, and generational categories in the societies in which they live" (Vigoya p. 256).

When conducting research and analyzing data, it is important to recognize how deeply intertwined these issues are. As culture encapsulates all of these intersecting identities, it is essential to look at how Guatemalan men are socialized to perpetuate the gender norms they have learned through centuries of colonization and state sanctioned violence. While Vigoya encourages this analysis of the intersection and a search for well-rounded solutions, they do not propose or analyze any solutions. The role of this research will be to report on what is happening on the ground, as informed by grassroots non-governmental organization experiences. This paper focuses on the success of intercepting social behavior at a young age and does not dive into the complexities and intersections of interactions between more than the present binary. If change is to happen then it must include women.

C. Hyper Masculinity

It is important to recognize that hyper masculinity is strongly connected to many negative ramifications recognized as, "aggressive, oppressive, narcissistic, insecure, loud-mouthed, womanizers, massive drinkers, [and] persons who have uncontrollable sexual prowess" (Hardin, 2002; Jackson, 2011, p. 176). Jackson and Hardin would argue that the negative traits present in machismo, that are Latin American orientated, should be evaluated. The recurrence of this hyper masculinity creates an unsafe gender dynamic that is by no means equal for men or women in Latin America. This inequality through an exaggerated masculinity can produce unsafe environments for men and women alike (Cosgrove, n.d, p. 1, 2). Machismo is present in all aspects of a country like Guatemala including social and cultural norms. These negative

aspects of hyper masculinity can directly harm women as it encourages behaviors that are often present in domestic violence cases, but this internalization of masculinity also directly affects men (Boscán, 2008). The negative aspects experienced by men can manifest as alcoholism or even denying parts of oneself because they are not masculine enough (Torre, 1999; Choi, 2012). These influential institutions have direct links with society and thus inform how individuals understand themselves. For example, these institutions run off of a domination tactic and hyper masculinity is a dominating force. Racism and politics are both institutions that perpetuate this domination in their own structures (Choi, 2012, p. 81; Torre, 1999, p. 219). There are many factors that contribute to Guatemala's understanding of masculinity.

D. Defining Gender-Based Violence

Guatemala is ranked as the Latin American country with the third highest level of femicide. This is most well seen in the extremely high rates of gender-based violence. Jensen describes gender-based violence as, "violence against women's human rights... [meaning] that violence can occur psychologically, emotionally, sexually, economically, and physically" (Jensen, 2020). There were 11,598 femicides, the murder of women simply for being women, in Guatemala from the period of 2000 through 2019 (GGM, 2019). This phenomenon is not only informed by the colonial history and gender relations that accompanied the conquest, but also from the state supported violence against women that occurred during the Civil war. These things compound to inform the behavior of men in the current day. Ruhl acknowledges that, "the violence of the war, combined with a culture that accepts gender violence, has placed Guatemalan women in an extremely vulnerable situation" (Ruhl, 2007, p. 201). To Ruhl, it is indisputable and widely understood that the correlation between the extreme violence against women in the civil war, which was carried out in brutal efficiency, has a direct relationship with the treatment of women in mainstream society. This silencing of women, be it through the murder or societal pressure after acts of violence, is a direct result of the oppressive force of hyper masculinity (GGM, 2019; Manz 2008 p. 160). The memory of the atrocities that happened

during the war and the daily femicides leave an impact, so moving through this environment as a woman is extremely difficult. Masculinity can present itself in troubling ways, so occurrences like femicide and other violence must be accounted for.

E. Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a very important piece of this because it recognizes that the combination of social difference can exacerbate exclusion, meaning that intersecting marginalized identities like that of an indigenous woman in Guatemala, will be strongly impacted by these various factors. This paper aims to contextualize these experiences by exploring how these groups are approaching empowerment by reflecting on their problem to create change in their individual communities. An intersectional framework uses an “‘anticategorical complexity’, [in which] marginalized intersectional identities [serve] as an analytic starting point ‘in order to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups’” (McCall, 2005: 1774 as cited in Nash 2008). Working from the margins is a fantastic way to create policy that serves all types of people. When focusing on those most in need, it by default applies to all of those in society and assures that no one gets left out of the equation. I will use the combination of these approaches to completely understand the complexity of these interactions.

III. Historical Context:

A. Spanish Colonization

Gender roles are not only formed in a present-day social context; they are reinforced by deep historical roots. The Spanish were strong in their ideals and culture and, be it intentionally or not, they imposed it onto the Guatemalan people. “To Spanish men ... it [was] not only important to be successful with women, it [was] important to publicly announce this. ... Sexuality [was] not enough. Assertive sexuality [was] essential. ... Sexual shyness... [was] a serious, even tragic inadequacy. The entire village bemoans shyness as a personal calamity and a collective disgrace” (Gaylin, 1992, p. 118). At a foundational level the idea of ‘success with women’ was an important impetus for social interactions. Their culture thrived in sexual prowess, which

required that they 'publicly' make their successes known in an open social context. When an entire social context is informed by strong sexual themes, they can proceed to slip into all parts of life. Gaylin touches on all of these points to understand the influence of Spain. In the Case of Spaniards in Guatemala and other colonized countries, "masculinity meant permission to rape and abuse [indigenous women]...this thesis suggests that colonized men might have emulated the colonizers' violent model, and adopted the 'swagger of conquest'... in an attempt to emulate the colonizers' power" (Jackson, 2011, p. 176; Hardin, 2002). In the internalization of conquest, indigenous men emulated these colonial ways and unintentionally brought the negative aspects directly to the women in their communities. The emulation of colonial habits; which today manifests as femicide and gender-based violence, are directly connected to understanding masculinity in Guatemala and Latin America as a whole, but this is not the only contribution. This emulation of the Spaniard's behavior is the Guatemalan man's attempt to preserve his own masculinity. Guatemalan men were emasculated through the abuse of their fellow women by the Spaniards, so the necessity to reinforce their masculinity is seen through their perpetuated abuse of women. Jackson and Hardin understand that Latin American countries were victims of the habits of colonizers from Spain. These deep historical roots now find themselves continually unfolding in Guatemala and Latin American culture as machismo. The conquest of rape enacted by the Spanish led to the normalization of violence against women, which intensified the already present gender roles (Cosgrove, n.d. p. 11). Hardin serves as a relevant source for understanding the role of colonizers in the history of Guatemala and its relation to the current form of masculinity in Guatemala. It falls short in its call to action, which aims for the reader to question and discover more about their own understanding of masculinity. The following research provided will dive deeply into how this call for action is being manifested in today's climate through grassroots organizations.

Guatemala's history has been marred by constant changes of power from the time that it was first colonized in the early 1500s. Disease and genocide brought by the Europeans

greatly reduced the population in the mid-1500s. Guatemala eventually gained its independence after shifts in power, a period of independence, and being part of the Mexican Empire. From the time of independence up to the civil war; Guatemala cycled through two dictators, three presidents, one leader put in power by the United States, and agrarian reforms (Cosgrove, 2019).

B. La Violencia

Masculinity is present in many forms of history. In the case of Guatemala, it is found in its civil war, also known as La Violencia. In Sanford's book, *Buried Secrets*, she provides a comprehensive ethnographic explanation of the civil war and the genocide in Guatemala by applying an intersectional perspective that tracks the impact on indigenous women in particular. There are many known aspects of this civil war that have left negative intergenerational impacts upon the Guatemalan people and also contribute to high levels of gender-based violence today. This war, spanning from 1960-1996, holds a variety of atrocities. Most, if not all, of these war crimes were deliberately directed at indigenous Guatemalans. This civil war is deeply rooted in violence against indigenous people and more specifically it is a large player in the conversation of gender-based violence.

One of the mainstays of how the Guatemalan army acted was through its gross mistreatment of women. Any women that were considered subversive were silenced through methods of rape or murder. The following are three examples of this violent behavior towards women, but the violence expands much further than these occurrences. The first comes from the time directly before the Panzos massacre. Sanford details that a few days before the start of the massacre, "a platoon of soldiers arrives in Panzos..." and, "raped various women" (Sanford, 2004, p. 56). Everywhere the military went they instilled fear into the environment around them. This was used as a tactic to squash subversion and make it ever so difficult for locals to connect with guerrilla groups. This mistreatment of women is eventually passed on to the local men through the model village system. This violence was not only directed at Guatemalan women, it

was also directed at any subversive force. The second example comes some years later when a nun named Sister Dianna Ortiz went to Guatemala to assist the people in the region who had been deeply scarred by La Violencia and poverty that struck the area. After some time, she received two death threats that read, “Eliminate Dianna, assassinate, decapitate, rape” (Sanford, 2004, p. 58). She was eventually captured and subjected to a variety of inhumane torture from the Guatemalan Army, which included rape. This practice of rape was confirmed by a Guatemalan soldier interviewed by Sanford. The soldier detailed how rape was justified by claiming a woman was a lesbian or by explaining that the woman, “likes it rough” (Sanford, 2004, p. 59). Here we see not only the justification and normalization of rape, but how it truly is used as a weapon against all women. Neither the religious nor citizenship status of Dianna protected her. The final example comes from testimonies Sanford gathers. In one of these testimonies she hears that, “a little girl who had escaped the soldiers... [had] been raped” (Sanford, 2004, p. 101). This testimony comes from individuals who were living in the mountains trying to escape the reach of the military. Even a child, a girl, was brutalized by the Guatemalan army. From all of these interactions with women it is clear that the army hoped to disenfranchise them through the use of rape and murder. The constant defilement of women fuels an unequal relationship, not only between the military and women, but also between women and men.

A large portion of this trauma comes from the phased process of the model villages. The system of model villages was a military tactic meant to control the Guatemalan people. Sanford describes seven phases of violence that happened in indigenous communities. All of these phases used tactics that dehumanized communities. The first phase began with Guatemalan army operations in the communities, which created an ambient fear. In the second phase, the army surrounds a village, rounds up the men, and commits a massacre, which reifies the fear. In the third phase, villages are burned to the ground along with any sources of food, causing starvation and illness from exposure to the elements (Sanford, 2004, p. 123-146). The fourth phase sees the beginning of a military monitored system that forcibly conscripted men into their

patrol system (Sanford, 2004, p. 97-148). The men of the villages were made to work, in most cases without rest, to perpetuate an atmosphere of terror within the community. Through these first few steps, we can begin to see how the indigenous men are being forced into perpetuating an unequal gender dynamic through terror.

In the fifth phase, we see these conscripted civilians feared, not only among the community as a whole, but also by the women who were often raped, murdered, or harmed by the military (Sanford, 2004). Although these men received food and protection by the army, this interaction also built upon the already imbalanced gender binary. Men were unknowingly used as tools to uncover guerilla hideouts and to betray their own people through their own militarization. The military used these twisted tactics of control to turn the Guatemalan men into their own local patrols. In the fifth phase of the model village strategy, it was confirmed that, "All men patrol, Men who decline to patrol are tortured, [and] some local men were publicly killed" (Sanford, 2004, p. 138). In these cases, men were forced into these roles to ensure survival. These interactions compounded the already unequal distribution of power, which results in a more dangerous environment for women. The final phases, six and seven, as defined by Sanford, are complete when villages came to be completely under military control. Their absolute control perpetuated the presence of fear in the community. It made the men and women untrusting and continued the environment of fear by continually policing any group gatherings (Sanford, 2004, p. 141-143).

Sanford skillfully crafts her research around personal interviews and ethnographic data, which portrays and dismantles propaganda about La Violencia. Sanford uncovers the work of some NGOs in the region fighting for transitional justice, but she does not solely focus on the works of new NGOs and their work in the post-civil war environment. The lacking support from the Guatemalan government, due to its denial of the genocidal civil war, had to be supplemented with another source of support. As a result, NGOs like Nuevos Horizontes cropped up. These organizations hold important roles in rebuilding and healing the Guatemalan

people from the scars left by the civil war. While transitional justice is of utmost importance, it is also necessary to look at what is being done now, which is where my research will continue on.

III. Research Design and Methods

The research for this thesis was conducted using qualitative methods with an IRB protocol which can be found in the appendix of this paper. Data analysis draws upon interviews done from the 12th of June to the 22nd of June in 2018. The main research methods used were focus groups, interviews, and participant-observation; with the intent to observe the social situation of the Guatemalan context to better understand it (Darian-Smith, 2017, p. 172-173). This mainstay of ethnographic research establishes a bond with those being interviewed to provide a personal dataset with strong implications. In addition to establishing a good social base, we also needed to investigate if the workshops being put on by Nuevos Horizontes were successful in the eyes of those participating.

V. Findings

A. Field Research

This section will draw upon the analysis of the field notes, interview transcripts, and interviews conducted by myself and the rest of the research team that went to Guatemala in 2018. Before looking into the actions of Nuevos Horizontes, it is important to look at their self-defined goals as presented by their leaders and personnel. They want to change the mentality of children, so that boys should not have to reimpose hyper masculinity upon themselves, but also so that girls know their rights and are also not adversely affected by this hyper masculinity. They want the children to understand that this type of masculinity, one that harms others, is not natural and must change.

B. Classroom Observation 1

The act of changing gender roles and the treatment of women starts with the youth. This includes children under the age of 17, although Nuevos Horizontes would like to work with those who are 17 and older. Nuevos Horizontes also works with community organizations to hold their

workshops. During my time in Guatemala, I observed the classroom programs that Nuevos Horizontes implements on two separate occasions. We travelled to the Nuevos Horizontes main office. After meeting up with the facilitators for the program, then drove for twenty minutes before arriving at this small school tucked away in the hills of Cantel, Guatemala. We approached the Instituto Nacional de Educación Básica con Orientación Agropecuaria (INEBOA), a gated school community with green buildings backed by a bright blue sky. This classroom had both male and female students. The facilitators began their workshop in that small room with a round of introductions and questions aimed at the students. When asked about what masculinity is, students replied by saying that it is a characteristic of a man, a way to behave, and a part of gender. The children believed that masculinity is something they are born with, and as a result they continue to act in these ways. It has to be called into question how we can move away from things that have become so deeply ingrained in the fabric of the culture we live in. A further example of this deeply ingrained masculinity is where the students were asked to show an example of a hug. 90% of the student punched each other's backs while only 10% of them hugged. Although this was said in a joking manner, it is clear that the reflex response of violence, instead of a show of love, is connected with their masculinity. This is a clear example of this hyper masculinity at work. These boys cannot, or at least choose not, to hug each other.

When asked what they would do if a girl rejected them, some students responded jokingly, "se mata"² or "se tira a la cantina"³, meaning kill the girl or go drink at a bar. This is another clear example of a very unhealthy hyper masculinity. In this case, although the responses were jokes, the children responded that they would kill a woman or drink as a response to a rejection. This is not only a show of hyper masculinity, but an example of internalized power dynamics at play. This speaks to how men believe that they have power and control over women. There is an expectation that women and further, the bodies of women,

² Kill them

³ Go to the bar

should be available to the whims of a man. In another example, students were asked about how they show love to their fathers, to which they replied they do not kiss them because they are macho. The boys may kiss their mothers, but they would never do the same to their fathers. It is not masculine to be intimate with one's own father. This early development of hyper masculinity is present, even in the toys and games the children play.

The facilitator asked the children what toys are given to boys and girls respectively. The boys answered with cars, matches, and balls. They were given a follow up question about what they learned from those toys. A boy responded saying, "el odio"⁴ meaning hate; while others mentioned to be rude and to be aggressive. Even through something seemingly harmless, like toys, have distinct attachments to masculinity. This masculine pride shines through the toys as hatred and aggression. This spreads even further, into the dynamics of families.

At this point in the program, the leader Carlos asked about what roles each member of the family fills. The students replied saying that women take care of the house, clean dishes, wash laundry, and cook; while men provide. Hyper masculinity informs the social boundaries for what housework is done by each participating member. In the common heteronormative standard, women are meant to clean and keep the house tidy, while men are expected to provide for the family. This is an imbalance of power. This affects women because they have a very high standard to meet, because caring for a family is more than a full-time job, but this also negatively affects men. In some cases where men are unable to get a job or provide, they may commit suicide. When asked about the consequences of hyper masculinity, the children responded that women and children are affected. Some students also mentioned men being affected. Carlos, the Nuevos Horizontes facilitator, also described how men who have hyper masculine tendencies are jealous and ugly. This may seem like an intense comparison, but Carlos is trying to teach these kids that the normalized behavior is in fact unhealthy. Through

⁴ The hate

this classroom that we can find that Carlos and Nuevos Horizontes is starting at one of the roots of the issue, which is how children are learning this behavior. They aim to stop it at the source, and this is a fantastic method. Creating intergenerational change is impossible without getting the new generations on board with the ideas you are trying to teach.

C. Classroom Observation 2

On the second visit to the classrooms we observed another workshop being held. This school was also quite far away from our point of origin. That day it was pouring rain and the classrooms were small and dirty. Concrete floors and walls lined the school grounds. This session aimed to address more abstract questions. The facilitators, two women in this case, asked students about sexuality, sex, and aspects sexual violence. The most important observation from this day came after a young boy responded correctly to the question about sexuality. Afterwards, the boy's friends around him started to gossip about him. This resulted in the boy reducing his amount of effort he put into creating correct responses to the questions. The pervasive nature of hyper masculinity cannot survive only through reinforcements from society, mothers, and fathers; but it must also come from within interpersonal relationships of the kids themselves. These ideas of masculinity and understanding concepts like sexuality are informed by one's own peers. The social awareness to grow can only be carried out if all of the children learn from the workshop experience. At first, the boys were prideful of their masculinity. They thought that their masculinity was good and important, but their reactions changed after they heard that men are the ones who attack women. After learning that men were the perpetrators of sexual violence, many of the boys fell silent, not knowing how to react to the new information. Nuevos Horizontes is intercepting this behavior while the children are still malleable.

D. Reported Improvements from Nuevos Horizontes' NGO partner INEBOA

INEBOA is an acronym for Instituto Nacional de Educación Básica con Orientación Agropecuaria.⁵ This school educates children from the ages of 11 to 17. The director of the basic education program, Fredy Sam Colop explained to us that, “Cantel es un pueblo muy machista.”⁶ He recognizes that GBV and hyper masculinity are community problems. They have worked with Nuevos Horizontes for about five years at the point the research was done in 2018. INEBOA has found that before working with Nuevos Horizontes their students faced a myriad of problems resulting in a lower academic performance. After some investigation by the NGO it was discovered that the low academic performance was rooted in familial violence, emigration, and unwanted pregnancies. These occurrences of violence and early pregnancies are connected with hyper masculinity through their male student body. After a year and a half of working with Nuevos Horizontes, INEBOA began to see changes in their students. Students started to have more tolerance towards an equitable environment for men and women, which resulted in better classroom relationships. They also found that men did better in their studies, as they were able to focus on school rather than upholding any hyper masculine tendencies. The director, Fredy Sam Colop advocates for an approach that works directly with young students, because that is where the true change can take effect.

VI. Conclusion and Proposed Solutions

Gender based violence as informed by hyper masculinity is a pervasive issue within Guatemalan society with deep historical roots and present-day manifestations. This is clearly seen in the continual rise of violent deaths of women in particular. Inbetween 2005 and June of 2006 1000 women were killed (Ruhl, 2007, p. 200). These femicide cases have been ongoing, so of course, the government must be doing something to stop it. An issue that so directly affects the livelihood of, at least, half of the population must have the attention of its leaders. In reality, the work has been slow to start and slow to be accomplished. There have been strides in

⁵ National Institute of Basic Education with regards to Farming Orientation

⁶ Cantel is a very chauvinist community

the representation of women in the political sphere, such as in the supreme court, but this has led to minimal change (Ruhl, 2007, p. 205). There is a clear blockage between the government's urgency to act and the violence being committed daily. The Guatemalan government needs to follow through on its promises. It is important to note, that the overall government response is not wholly representative of the efforts of individuals to enact change. Individuals may be working daily, without recognition, for change as they see fit. Some of these actors are found in NGOs, which is why this research emphasizes their importance in the role of making change. The government should aim to support NGOs like Nuevos Horizontes because they do the work that the government has failed to do. The government needs to stop sanctioning and treating these organizations like subversives. Allocating resources to successful NGO work is a responsible use of government funding that not only addresses the problem but encourages the Guatemalan people to be active in their communities. Distributing more funding to NGOs like Nuevos Horizontes can increase their range of effect and make them even more successful.

This is where organization like Nuevos Horizontes come in. These grassroots movements spearhead the issues as seen by those on the ground. Nuevos Horizontes has and will continue to work for the betterment of their youth. The progressive programs are the most promising way to deescalate the high levels of hyper masculinity in Guatemala. They do this through the education of children and the support of women suffering from gender-based violence. Reaching out to children is a fantastic approach because it is rooted in intergenerational change simply by working with the youth. Programs like these, whether it be intentional or not, reject commonly accepted culture. Nuevos Horizontes carries this out by calling men who exhibit hyper masculine tendencies ugly and Jealous. There is clearly a desire in the Guatemalan people to transform hyper masculine nature in their culture; which Nuevos Horizontes is doing with its programming through the youth, furthermore, combatting hyper masculinity and gender-based violence.

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Appendix 1: IRB Approval



May 16, 2018

Serena Cosgrove, Dept. of International Studies
Kristi Lee, Dept. of Leadership & Professional Studies
Seattle University

Dear Serena and Kristi,

Thank you for your Continuing Review Application for protocol FY2017-014 "Ending Gender-Based Violence in Guatemala: Guatemalan Women's Leadership and NGO programming for Women." Because risk to human subject participants has not been altered, the protocol is now re-approved from June 20, 2018 to June 19, 2019.

Please note carefully the following ongoing approval policies:

- If you wish to make any changes during the course of your study, you must first submit an IRB Modification Request. No modifications may be implemented without written IRB approval.
- If you conclude *data collection* and will no longer work with or contact participants (i.e., data analysis stage only), you may submit a Downgrade to Exempt request, thereby no longer requiring continuing IRB review.
- If you do not request a downgrade, then at least a week before your approval expires (June 19, 2019), you must submit a Continuing Review Request or a Closeout Report, as applicable, to remain in compliance with federal and SU human subjects protections policies.

Always use the most updated forms on our [website](#). If you have questions or I can assist you further, please let me know.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Andrea McDowell', written over a white background.

Andrea McDowell, PhD
IRB Administrator

Email: mcdowela@seattleu.edu
Phone: (206) 296-2585

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

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