Notions of health and manhood in a Guatemalan gym: Patterns contra to machismo

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Abstract
Recently the sport of bodybuilding (fisicoculturismo) premiered in Santiago Atitlán with the opening of its first gym, Gimnasio Atitlán in February of 2003. Since the gym's debut, bodybuilding has grown significantly in popularity among male Atitecos (word for natives of Santiago), with the gym seeing an average of 70 men a day. In this setting, I investigated notions of health and manhood. From participant observation and extended in-person interviews conducted over the course of 10 weeks, ideas about body building as an alternative to alcohol and drug use emerged. For this group of male bodybuilders, their notion of manhood is tied to their beliefs about health and contradicts the prevalent notion of machismo as the reason given for poor treatment of women. This contradiction sheds light on the dynamics increased outside influence and powerful forces – such as globalization – are having on gender roles, statuses, and identities in Santiago. The study comprised of a convenience sample of forty semi-structured interviews of forty male Atitecos between the ages of eighteen and thirty to understand: a) their reasoning for engaging in exercise b) their definition of sport; c) their way of defining what it meant to be “healthy” male; and d) what it meant to them a “man” in their community. Participants were students, merchants, policemen, nurses, and teachers; the majority of them being merchants. Supplementing the forty semi-structured interviews, were the copious amounts of ethnographic field notes and reflections taken throughout the ten weeks. Through the analysis of the responses from the 40 semi-structured interviews and the ethnographic field notes taken at GA, three findings were made that negates this claim. First, the sport of fisicoculturismo has been adapted to the Tz'utujil culture. While the aficionados have embodied and reproduced some “hallmark” characteristics of the sport of fisicoculturismo, they were not interested in acquiring status through the presentation of a dominating personality in v Gimnasio Atitlán, i.e. hegemonic masculinity. Also, similarities were found between the notions of manhood, reasons why participants practice fisicoculturismo, and the religion practiced in community. Second, the participants’ notions of manhood serve as fundamental components in the participants’ definition of sport and health. The participants’ definition of sport and health consisted of positive abstract qualities – distinct characteristics that pertain to a person's individual nature rather than his physical ones – that were derived from these notions of manhood. Finally, and most importantly, the notions of manhood among the participants in this study contradict those associated with machismo. The notions of manhood of the participants were not based of the patriarchal gender order or the negative character traits, now readily associated with Central American Men. Manhood, for the participants was centered on three pillars of character: Respect, Responsibility, and Trustworthiness.

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Notions of health and manhood in a Guatemalan gym:

Patterns contra to *machismo*

By

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AN UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

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A man has character, knowledge, and is respectful; he isn’t macho… He has responsibility, avoids vices, and demonstrates that ‘I am good at something.’

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ABSTRACT

Recently the sport of bodybuilding (*fisicoculturismo*) premiered in Santiago Atitlán with the opening of its first gym, *Gimnasio Atitlán* in February of 2003. Since the gym’s debut, bodybuilding has grown significantly in popularity among male *Atitecos* (word for natives of Santiago), with the gym seeing an average of 70 men a day. In this setting, I investigated notions of health and manhood. From participant observation and extended in-person interviews conducted over the course of 10 weeks, ideas about body building as an alternative to alcohol and drug use emerged. For this group of male bodybuilders, their notion of manhood is tied to their beliefs about health and contradicts the prevalent notion of machismo as the reason given for poor treatment of women. This contradiction sheds light on the dynamics increased outside influence and powerful forces – such as globalization – are having on gender roles, statuses, and identities in Santiago.

The study comprised of a convenience sample of forty semi-structured interviews of forty male *Atitecos* between the ages of eighteen and thirty to understand: a) their reasoning for engaging in exercise b) their definition of sport; c) their way of defining what it meant to be “healthy” male; and d) what it meant to them a “man” in their community. Participants were students, merchants, policemen, nurses, and teachers; the majority of them being merchants. Supplementing the forty semi-structured interviews, were the copious amounts of ethnographic field notes and reflections taken throughout the ten weeks.

Through the analysis of the responses from the 40 semi-structured interviews and the ethnographic field notes taken at GA, three findings were made that negates this claim. First, the sport of *fisicoculturismo* has been adapted to the Tz’utujil culture. While the *aficionados* have embodied and reproduced some “hallmark” characteristics of the sport of *fisicoculturismo*, they were not interested in acquiring status through the presentation of a dominating personality in
Gimnasio Atitlán, i.e. hegemonic masculinity. Also, similarities were found between the notions of manhood, reasons why participants practice fisicoculturismo, and the religion practiced in community. Second, the participants’ notions of manhood serve as fundamental components in the participants’ definition of sport and health. The participants’ definition of sport and health consisted of positive abstract qualities – distinct characteristics that pertain to a person’s individual nature rather than his physical ones – that were derived from these notions of manhood. Finally, and most importantly, the notions of manhood among the participants in this study contradict those associated with machismo. The notions of manhood of the participants were not based of the patriarchal gender order or the negative character traits, now readily associated with Central American Men. Manhood, for the participants was centered on three pillars of character: Respect, Responsibility, and Trustworthiness.

These findings
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INTRODUCTION

June 18th, 2011

It was around ten in the morning when I went to Gimnasio Atitlán (Gym Atitlán). I had gone to the gym by myself because my one of my newly found friends from Santiago Atitlán couldn’t join me.

As I worked out and paused to write down my repetitions in my little notebook, a teenager approached me and asked me what I was writing down. I explained to him that I was writing down my exercises because I was keeping track of my progress as I worked out. The teenager was rather impressed and proceeded to call over his friend to show him what I was doing.

The friend was a bit older and resembled the teenager and I initially thought they could be brothers. I explained to the older one what I was doing with the notebook and how I hoped to increase the weight I used per workout through this method. He really liked the idea and told the younger one, “We should do that, it is a good idea” (Debemos de hacer eso, es buena idea). The older one then became very interested in me and asked me what I was doing in Santiago Atitlán since it was apparent I was not from the town. I told him I was here because I was trying to understand how the community viewed sports and fitness and that was why I was at the gym. I also told him that I liked to work out.

This early interaction made me become rather excited. These two gentlemen were the first two people to approach me in the gym since I had started going there a week and a half ago—even with my new friend who was a resident of the town. I didn’t want to be too aggressive and immediately ask to interview them so I decided I would strike a casual conversation with them in order to integrate myself into the gym culture.
I asked the two guys if they were bothers; the younger one replied “brothers at heart” (hermanos de corazón). The two both laughed and the older one explained that they were just friends. I then asked the older one how long he had been coming to the gym and he told me he had been coming to the gym for two years. The younger one followed by saying he had started to come to the gym only recently. Next, I asked the older one why he came to the gym. He responded, “Because I want to be healthy, I want to be well” (Porque quiero estar saludable, quiero estar bien). I repeated the question to the younger one, he told me, “For the same reasons” (Por las mismas razones).

This threw me a bit off guard, as subconsciously I was expecting a different answer, and I responded by jokingly asking, “You guys don’t want to get big [as in muscular] to look good for the ladies?” (¿Ustedes no quieren ponerse grande par ver bueno par las mujeres?) The two laughed and the older one responded, “That isn’t necessary” (Eso no es necesario). He explained that, in general, a lot of guys who start lifting weights initially think that they are going to get ‘buff’ real quick (Muchos jovenes quieren estar [flexing his muscle to refer to the word “buff”] rápido), but that this is not the case. The older one told me that growing muscle “takes a lot of time” (toma mucho tiempo) and that “it happens little by little” (eso pasa poco a poco). He concluded by saying that for this reason, only those who have different objectives end up sticking with the sport of bodybuilding.

The conversation lasted only a minute or two longer, but it left a lasting impression on me. I was taken aback by the older one’s views of bodybuilding – why he did it, why others did it, and why some ended up dropping out of the sport. From this brief but poignant conversation, I decided I would use this gym as an opportunity to investigate how a group of men in Santiago Atitlán perceived health and fitness.
The thesis is broken down into five sections: Setting, Literature Review, Methodology, Results, and Discussion. The setting outlines the social and historical background of Santiago Atitlán and the sports in the community. The literature review accomplishes two tasks. First, the review situates the theoretical importance of the research within a more broad cultural anthropological inquiry and more specifically in the domain of sports. Second, the literature review establishes the context of the research by providing a historical background of sports in Guatemala and, more specifically, the sport of bodybuilding.

The methodology section follows by discussing the ethnographic research process that was used for this research and includes a description of the sample population, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and data management and analysis.

The results section provides a description of the semi-structured interviews and reports the major themes that characterized the beliefs and perceptions of bodybuilding and manhood in the village.

The final section, the discussion, attempts to draw some conclusions about the concepts of sport and fitness and the notions of manhood of the participants found in the results section and the theoretical context established by the literature review.
SETTING

This study took place over the course of two months from June 6th to August 6th, 2011 in the Maya village of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala, a municipality two hours west of Guatemala City. Santiago Atitlán (Santiago for short) is located in the Western highlands of Guatemala, along the shores of the world famous as Lake Atitlán and at the foot of the Tolimán volcano (Figure 1). Santiago is a traditional, yet dynamic town that is home to the Tz’utujil nation, one of the twenty-one ethnic groups in Guatemala, with a population of approximately 44,000 making it one of the largest Mayan communities in the Americas (Hernández 2008). Demographically, 98.18% of the inhabitants are indigenous, while 1.82% are non-indigenous (Gradilla 2011: 4). Geographically, sixty-six percent of the population in Santiago is urban and thirty-four percent of the population is rural (Hernández 2008: 17). The Tz’utujil nation is concentrated primarily in Santiago, with only a few other communities beyond the border of the village that speak the dialect (Aagenes 2010). People in the fourteen other villages around Lake Atitlán speak K’iche, Kaqchikel, or Spanish (Gradilla 2011: 13).

Social Background

The Tz’utujil people are proud of their culture and history. Women still make and wear the traditional clothing; the central piece being huipil, the self-embroidered blouse adorn with colorful birds and flowers “that distinguishes them from other women around the lake” (Gradilla 2011: 4). Tz’utujil is still the primary language families communicate in. Finally, a fair percentage of the religious brotherhoods known as the Cofradias—the combination of Catholicism and the ancient, pre-Columbian Tz’utujil religion— is still practiced.
Religion is integral to the *Atiteco* (a native of Santiago) way of life. In Santiago, one can find Evangelicalism, Pentecostalism, Catholicism, Mormonism, and the *Cofradías*. In the evenings throughout the week and weekend, *Atitecos* fill the streets going to and from their house and church. Churches are not only religious institutions or safe havens for the inhabitants of Santiago, but they also serve as one of the main forms of entertainment in the community. Churches sponsor festivals, athletic tournaments, and other events throughout the year that, in some cases, the whole village participates in.

Santiago Atitlan’s economy, like most of Guatemala’s economy, is sustained mainly by agriculture, fishing, and tourism (Hernández 2008). Coffee, maize, avocado, and beans are the main crops grown in the lands surrounding Santiago (Hernández 2008: 60-62). In the early morning hours men can be seen walking to the fields or filling up *fletas* – pick-up trucks with a metal frame and railing attached to the bed of the truck that allows people to be transported in them – in the town’s centro (center) to be taken to the far mountainous fields that surround the volcano. Similarly for fishing, men can be seen before dawn paddling out in their *kayukos* – one to two man canoes made through the hollowing of a tree trunk section. Fish are usually caught by men in the morning and sold in the afternoons by their wives in the markets (Gradilla 2011). Finally, Santiago is famous for its artisanry. Groups of tourists, on a daytrip to Santiago, are usually marveled by beautiful paintings, jewelry, textiles, and embroidery handmade by the Atitecos.

Despite the fertile lands and Santiago’s allure as a tourist destination, poverty is still reigns over Santiago. Seventy percent of population of the municipality of Santiago live below the poverty line, while, within this percentage, twenty percent live in extreme poverty (Hernández 2008: 25). The socioeconomic situation of the Tz’utujil people mirrors that of nearly
all the indigenous population of Guatemala, one dominated by institutionalized racial and social
discrimination and economic inequity. Seventy-six percent of the Amerindian population – who
make up only thirty-eight percent of the total population – live in poverty; twenty-eight percent
in extreme poverty – with the majority of both the groups living in rural areas (CIA 2012 and
Nicolò et al. 2010: sec. 2, para. 3). Though intense socioeconomic discrimination and racism
ended with the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords, which ended the 36-year Civil War, and laws
have been made to integrate the indigenous populations into the national society and culture, the
Mayan Indian communities remain localized, marginalized, and highly exploited (Carmack

**Historical Background**

Santiago Atitlán is a village that has been shaped by experiences of violence, tragedy, and
disruptive cultural transformations. For nearly five centuries, the Tz’utujil Maya have
experienced conquest and colonization (Lovell 1988). Since the sixteenth century, the Maya of
Guatemala have faced three cycles of conquest: 1) by imperial Spain from 1524 to 1821, 2) by
international and local capitalism from 1821 to present day, and 3) by state-sponsored violence
from the 1960s to the 1990s (Spicer 1992 and Lovell 1988). For instance, during the Civil War,
confrontation between the Guatemalan Army and the Maya claimed the lives of an estimated
fifty to a hundred thousand Maya and other Guatemalan lives (Nagata 2011a: 10). In Santiago,
Guatemalan Army troops were attributed to more than 500 deaths (Nagata 2011a: 10). This
violence culminated on December 2nd, 1990 with the massacre of fourteen unarmed residents and
the injury of twenty-one others when members of the Guatemalan Army opened fired on a crowd
of more two thousand Atitecos (Carlsen 1996). Today this tragic event is commemorated by a
small collection of monuments called the Parque de Paz (Peace Park). Nevertheless, the extent
to which the violence infiltrated the lives of the Atitecos is manifested in the traumatic fragments
that are woven into narratives of the self, family, community, and government and are observable to this day (Nagata et al. 2011a; Springs 2010; and Stein 2009).

As for international and local capitalism, outside influences such as brand name marketing, medicine, media, and technology have profoundly penetrated the village. For example, economic development and transitions from subsistence to market-based economies in Latin America have led to an increased availability of Westernized processed foods in Santiago (Nagata 2011b: 298). Moreover, increased market penetration of Coca-Cola has resulted in cultural hybridization – the development of a translocal mélange across locations and identities – of the Tz’utujil culture and the brand name soft drink (also known as “Coca-Colonization”) (Nagata et al. 2011b). While Coca-Cola has been integrated into the religious beliefs, health belief systems, culture, and environment of the Tz’utujil Maya, it is strongly associated with the increasing prevalence of type 2 diabetes and obesity in the community (Nagata et al. 2011b).

Furthermore, the introduction of biomedicine in the community with the opening of Clinica Santiaguito (now the Hospitalito Atitlan) in the 1960s resulted in the creation of a medical pluralistic world, i.e. the coexistence of biomedicine alongside traditional healing systems (Gradilla 2011). Today health care in Guatemala is comprised of three sectors: private, public, and non-profit (Gradilla 2011). But because a centralized health care system does not exist, services “trickle down” to Santiago (Gradilla 2011: 12). Thus, a large component of traditional medicine in Santiago is widely used. Curanderos (traditional healers) and comadronas (traditional midwives) remain the primary care providers of the majority of the Atiteco population. Recently, however, the traditional healers are finding their practices
challenged by biomedicine with the recent initiative implemented by the Ministry of Health to train or “medicalize” the work of the comadronas. Consequently, this consolidation of these healing systems has resulted in medical elitism on behalf of the biomedical doctors and an increase in tension between them and the comadronas (Romero 2012).

Finally, the media and modern technology have transformed the worldview of the Atitecos. The introduction of cable television eight years ago caused a surge in modern influence in Santiago. Now Atitecos are regularly connected to national and international news and are able to stay up-to-date on current events. Specifically for sports, La Liga (aka the Spanish soccer league) is now the most watched league in Santiago, with nearly the whole village pledging allegiance to either FC Barcelona or Real Madrid. In addition, cell phones, introduced a little over a decade ago, have become the main form of telecommunication for a vast majority of the town. Finally, the introduction of the Worldwide Web around the time of cable television has allowed social networking services, such as Hi5 and Facebook, to become popular.

Ultimately, each cycle of conquest has created or reinforced certain geographical patterns that reflect basic and irresolvable fissures in the nature of Guatemalan social, economic, and political life (Lovell 1988: 27). More specifically for Santiago, these cycles have caused the social organization, but also, disorganization of the community (Carlsen 1996).

**Gimnasio Atitlán**

In Santiago Atitlán, off Calle Gringo (a patois for ‘foreigner’s street’), down a side road, down an alleyway, and down another alleyway, you will find Gimnasio Atitlán (Gym Atitlán), one of the two gyms in the village (Figure 2). As you walk down the corridor and approach the entrance, you are met with the muffled beats of techno songs permeating from within the gym.
When you enter, you will most likely be greeted by Victor: a charismatic guy who is the manager and son of the owner of the gym. After changing in the makeshift changing room, a room with a sheet serving as the door, you step into the weight room. The weight room consists of two rooms, the main area, corner room, and a cardio and abdominals room, which are all naturally lit by skylights in the tin roof (Figure 3 and 4). The floor is concrete, with marks that tell the history of repeated weight-to-floor contact (and is symbolic of the weightlifter’s dedication). The walls are an off-shade yellow with mirrors mounted on them. Above the mirrors are posters of famous bodybuilders (ex. Arnold Schwarzenegger). Finally, the weights and machines are of an older generation and show signs of usage. However this does not faze any of its users, who use them as if they are brand new.

It is customary for many of the men to greet and say farewell to each other – and even everyone in the gym – as they enter or exit the weight room, even if the other person are in a different room. Most of the greetings and farewells are done with camaraderie in the form of a handshake and a couple of words in either Tz’utujil or Spanish. Gestures such as these are emblematic of the community that has formed inside the walls of Gimnasio Atitlán.

Gimnasio Atitlán is unique in that when it opened its doors in February of 2003, it introduced the sport of fisicoculturismo (bodybuilding) to Santiago Atitlán. Today an average of seventy men a day exercise at Gimnasio Atitlán. The typical person that goes to Gimnasio Atitlán is a middle-class male Atiteco that goes to work out before or after work or during his lunch break at least three times a week.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Definition of Sport

The word “sport” is derived from the Latin root *desporto*, which means, “to carry away” (Woods 2007: 4). Sport is a form of physical activity that fits into a hierarchy of human activity that also contains play, games, and work (Figure 8) (Woods 2007). While this hierarchy is highly grounded on North American sport sociological theory, it will be critical for the comparison of the *fisicoculturismo* practiced by the *aficionados* in Santiago and the notions of manhood associated with this niche of men and the sport of bodybuilding in the United States and the gender capital the bodybuilders in the US strive to acquire.

Play is “a free activity that involves exploration, self-expression, dreaming, and pretending” (Woods 2007: 5). Play has no firm rules, is free of form, and has no specific purpose (Woods 2007). Games, on the other hand, are an aspect of play that have more structure and are competitive (Woods 2007). Games have clear participation goals that are mental, physical, or a combination of both (Woods 2007). Further, games are governed by informal or formal rules. Next, the outcome of the game is determined by luck, strategy, skill, or combination of the three (Woods 2007). Finally, games result in the winner acquiring context-specific prestige or status (Woods 2007).

The categories of games are quite broad, however they can be broken into two categories: inactive and active. Inactive games have low physical engagement and include board games or video games. Active games have higher physical engagement and include street games, capture the flag, and dodge ball (among many other activities). Often sporting events, such as soccer or basketball games, are often described as games. However, when a human activity “is part of a league with rules, standings, and sponsors, it becomes sport” (Woods 2007: 6).
Sport is a specialized or higher order of play or as games with certain special characteristics that set them apart (Woods 2007). One important and critical characteristic is that sport must involve a higher physical component, as opposed to play or games (Woods 2007). Moreover, sport typically involves physical coordination, strength, speed, endurance, and flexibility (Woods 2007).

A second common characteristic of sport is the heightened competition and importance in regards to the outcome, i.e. winning and losing (Woods 2007). Winning and losing are a critical component of the heightened competition and powerfully motivate participants to train and compete to the best of their abilities. In this way, the importance of the outcome involves the not only participants, but often extends to others, such as family members, fans, sponsoring organizations, and the media (Woods 2007).

A third common characteristic of sport is that it involves institutionalized games, i.e. they are governed by an external group or institution that oversees conduct and results and enforces rules (Woods 2007). These external groups or institution contextually vary greatly in terms of power, status, and prestige. Examples of external groups or institution of high power, status, and prestige include: the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Federation of Association Football (FIFA), and the International World Games Association (IWGA). Examples of external groups or institutions of low power, status, and prestige include: a committee or an organizer(s) of a city league, an intramural league at a college/university, or church league.

The fourth common characteristic of sport is that it almost always requires specialized facilities and equipment (Woods 2007). While this may be less true some sports (e.g. cross country running), most sports require an artificially bounded domain (e.g. a soccer field, a pool, a gymnasium, or a similar facility) (Woods 2007). Equipment also becomes particularly important
the more specialized or higher level of play (Woods 2007). For example, professional athletes highly depend on the quality of their tennis racket, golf clubs, cleats, or baseball bat. Further, these athletes also rely on the quality of the equipment they train on.

Sport, then, is typically defined in North America as “institutionalized competitive activity that involves physical skill and specialized facilities or equipment and is conducted according to an accepted set of rules to determine a winner” (Woods 2007: 7).

Finally, work, the most specialized and highest ordered human activity, and appears at the top of the pyramid, is “a purposeful activity that may include physical or mental effort to perform a task or achieve a desired outcome” (Woods 2007: 8). Often people are compensated, usually monetarily, for this type of activity and earn their living through this effort as a result. In the realm of sports, professional athletes are paid to practice, perfect, and perform their physical skills to the highest level for competition with other elite athletes. Moreover, athletes and coaches earn millions of dollars for their performance. Interestingly, only in the United States are amateur and professional athletes defined so specifically (Woods 2007). This polarization is due largely to the unique presence of thousands of collegiate sports teams in the US (Woods 2007). In the rest of the world, these distinctions is generally unnecessary; universities generally do not offer athletic scholarships or even have sports teams (Woods 2007). Instead, in many European, Asian, and African countries children as young as ten years old may sign professional contracts and deals (Woods 2007).

However, only a small percentage of athletes ever reach the professional level. Instead most play sports for the love of the game, as amateurs. For amateur athletes, participation takes precedence over the outcome. In other words, amateur athletes gain intrinsic satisfaction, competing to improve their fitness, refine their physical skills, work in a team, or embrace the
challenge and excitement of testing their skill against nature or other competitors (Woods 2007). Thus, the amateur or “social sports player”, in comparison to the professional player, participates in a voluntary capacity and has less to gain in terms of economic capital, but often the enthusiasm is greater than that of the professional (Wellard 2009: 18).

*Media and Sport*

The media has had a tremendous influence on sport in terms of the creation of revenue by supplying free publicity and advertisements (Woods 2007). Equally, substantial influence has been exercised on sport programming on the media. In other words, the economic effects of this interrelationship are significant in the overall business of sport (Woods 2007). The media that cover sport usually fit into two broad categories: the print media and the electronic media (Woods 2007). Print media includes newspaper, magazines, and books. More pervasive in modern society is that of electronic media. Electronic media includes television, radio, and the Internet. While bias toward certain media exists, with enjoyment and comfort level now a priority, technological advances encourage integration across media types.

Sport media fulfills a number of functions for consumers of sport. First, the media creates excitement for sporting events in the days leading up to its commencement (Woods 2007). Further, the media describe the event as it occurs. Finally, analyses and criticisms are given by the media at the conclusion of the event.

Second, the media disseminates to the fans the significance of the game, players, history, and individual matchups (Woods 2007). Through this, the media relays information that makes fans quasi-experts able to discuss and formulate an opinion.
Third, personal emotions and motivations are evoked through media features of athletes, coaches, and teams that are long-lasting, i.e. the creation of a “team” loyalty (Woods 2007). For instance, athletes with compelling personal stories, such as struggles to overcome injury or other hardships, often capture the imagination of fans and develop large fan-followings (Woods 2007).

Finally, the media creates a preoccupation of the populace with sport (Woods 2007). This total attention to sport is a healthy form of recreation and entertainment for many people and facilitates in them “escaping” from everyday life (Woods 2007). Further, rooting for their favorite team or players provides emotional excitement and drama (Woods 2007).

Thus, the interplay between sport and the media is well documented. One aspect that takes particular precedence is the dissemination of the ideology of sport through the media. The media emphasize certain sport-related behaviors that affect athletes and spectators alike (Woods 2007). The presentation of sport in the media possesses a tendency to emphasize behaviors that include certain values, attitudes, and beliefs that mirror that history of sport and maintain the status quo (Woods 2007). The first is the participation in sport and physical activity at some capacity (Woods 2007). For instance, physical activity and its importance is now disseminated quite regularly through various media outlets, in various countries, with the recent increase in incidence of obesity, globally, in youth and adults.

Next, certain traditional social values preached in sports have become strongly associated with the ideologies of a society. For example, in the United States key values include: character building, religiosity, nationalism, discipline, mental fitness, competition, and physical fitness (Woods 2007). While other behaviors can be added, this classic list covers the broad categories of values that are communicated to athletes one would find to be associated with a society.
Religion and Sport

Sport shares some overlap with religion in that it (rudimentarily) functions as a paradigm, i.e. cultural patterns/practices that help “synthesize a people’s ethos – the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood – and their world view – the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are” (Geertz 1977: 89). Throughout history people have often linked and integrated the two paradigms in their ideologies (Woods 2007). Athletes utilize their religion to: justify their commitment to high-performance competitive sport; reduce pressure and uncertainty; enhance bonds with fellow teammates; and to guide moral decisions. Judeo-Christian teachings in recent centuries have emphasized the obligation of individuals to fully develop their talent for the glorification of God (Woods 2007) “Discipline, sacrifice, intense training, and commitment to high performance are religious practices that apply well to sport competition” (Woods 2007: 262). Personal achievement is something to be valued and encourage, and the intense dedication to winning is honorable and pleasing in Judeo-Christian teachings (Woods 2007). Thus, religion reinforces the (rudimentary) sport paradigm by encouraging athletes to work hard, exhibit sportsmanship, demonstrate teamwork, and commit to team ideals.

More interestingly, sport has also been utilized by religious denominations/organizations for the promotion of its paradigm. Churches have used athletes and sport to attract people, particularly youth, to their facilities and recruit believers into their church family (Woods 2007). In the United States, for instance, one of the oldest and largest organizations that intertwine sport and religion is the Fellowship of Christian Athletes (FCA). Established in 1954, it remains the largest interdenominational, school-based Christian sport organization in America (Watson et al. 2005). Similarly, Athletes in Action (AIA), is a Christian sport organization composed of former
college athletes that seeks to convince young people to “follow the right path” (Woods 2007: 266). AIA travels the country to play exhibition games and present a fundamental view of religion (Woods 2007).

Nevertheless, common conflict arises between religious beliefs and sports, especially in more combative sports (e.g. boxing and martial arts) (Woods 2007). Thus, athletes with well-defined religious values will often differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate behavior (Woods 2007). In addition, athletes simplify this conflict and set aside their religious beliefs while partaking in a competition by following the customs of their sport in the artificially bounded domain and reengaging in their spiritual beliefs outside the domain (Woods 2007). All in all, moral dilemmas are not unique to the sports world.

Leisure and Sports

With the emergence of organized sport on the sports field in the nineteenth and twentieth century, a strong relationship between work and leisure time developed (Cunningham 1980). Leisure became a reality only in the nineteenth century; its emergence was part of a more general transformation known as modernization (Marrus 1974). Three factors were particularly import in generating leisure for the masses. First, industrial work rhythms “led to an untangling of work and popular amusement” (Marrus 1974: 8). The kind of interpenetration of the two which has been observed as characteristic of traditional society was no longer possible with the routinized and regimented structure of work that was emerging (Marrus 1974). Next, urbanization was the second generator of leisure. Dramatic migrations into the city allowed for cultural influences to spread and diffused throughout hitherto isolated country (Cunningham 1980). Finally, the commercialization of leisure is the third factor. The supplying of leisure became the business of
various agencies, from theaters to museums, from public parks to playgrounds, and from sporting events to open recreational fields (Cunningham 1980). Thus, the “leisure industry” was born (Marrus 1974).

Leisure cannot be simply the negative component of work, seen as everything which is done outside the time spent working (Marrus 1974). Nor can it be confused as mere “recreation,” this being associated with the kind of refreshment necessarily accompanying labor (Marrus 1974). Leisure can be taken to be “the activity which occurs only in the absence of direct obligations of work, family, religion, or society” (Marrus 1974: 4). Leisure in this view is free activity which an individual engages in for one’s own purposes (Marrus 1974). This leisure implies some degree of choice – a choice that may well be affected indirectly by social determinants but is made by autonomous individuals (Marrus 1974). Thus, by focusing on the element of choice, individuals draw a firm line between leisure and other kinds of non-work activities, deeply embedded in some form of group relationship (Marrus 1974). In turn, leisure time holds great significance for the individual, “not only as a means for attaining pleasure, but as a way of expressing an identity”; it is a time which is considered one’s own, a time to pursue an activity of one’s own choosing (Wellard 2005: 12).

No doubt this distinction contains hidden philosophical pitfalls and problematic assumptions on such matters as the nature of freedom and the meaning of social determinism. But as a rough tool, this notion can be useful.

_Adoption of Sports in Latin America_

Latin America is primarily a recipient region that, over the last century, has adopted sports from other places (Arbena 1988). These adopted behavior patterns “move from the capital
and/or major port city to the hinterlands” (Arbena 1988: 2). Simultaneously, older forms of popular sport were modified, reduced, or done away with (Arbena 1988). In turn, modern sport seems profoundly linked to the complex cultural patterns and values associated with urban-industrial institutions and their spheres of influence (Arbena 1988). As a result, what this structural outline implies is that the evolution of contemporary Latin American sports “can be used to analyze various attributes of Latin America’s increasing involvement in the capitalist world system” (Arbena 1988: 3).

Conversely, given the diversity of historical and cultural mixes that have occurred in Latin America, sport also offers a unique lens in which to examine how different peoples, groups, communities, etc. have reacted to the penetration of modern models and transnational institutions with connections between metropolitan centers and their peripheries (Arbena 1998: 2). In other words, sport also permits for the study of the effects globalization has had on local worlds. At the same time, sport is a social phenomenon that has cultural, psychological, social, institutional, economic, and political ramifications, though they are usually opaque (Arbena 1988: 3).

Ultimately, sport is part of society. Sport interacts with many other parts of society often in a dialectical fashion (Arbena 1988). Sport, like other institutions, can be consciously and unconsciously be manipulated by individuals or, more commonly, interest groups and classes in pursuit of end which may be limited to the sports realm or which may have larger implications (Arbena 1988). In the cultural realm, sport may be both an expression of regional cultural characteristics, broadly defined, and a source of cultural creativity, in the narrower sense (Arbena 1988).
Masculinity in Sports

Masculinity is socially etched onto the body (Klein 1993: 17). Masculinity is defined as a “configuration of practice organized in relation to the structure of gender relations” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 843). When the approved form of masculinity is not completely socialized, the male is thought to have deviated, an unnatural act and condition (Klein 1993).

It is important to recognize, historically, the cultural transformations in attitudes towards health and the body that can be considered as contributory factors to the social understanding that sport was, in particular, a space for the healthy, male body (Park 2007). The Victorian era can be seen as fundamental in shaping the way many sports are played today (Wellard 2009). Sport developed into its current form in English public schools during the 19th century, where the ethos of “Muscular Christianity” was significant in the formation of what termed the dominant male ideology (Watson et al. 2005). The basic construct of Victorian Muscular Christianity was that “the participation in sport could contribute to the development of Christian morality, physical fitness, and ‘manly’ character” (Watson et al. 2005: 1). Muscular Christianity was seen as a counterbalance to “education and bookishness” (Watson et al. 2005: 1). Aside from religious motivations for the advancement ofMuscular Christianity, the English preoccupation with health during Victorian times is arguably the most significant factor (Watson et al. 2005).

There were three main reasons for the prominence of the concept of the healthy body among the Victorians: the Industrial Revolution, the major developments in medical science, and the threat of war (Watson et al. 2005: 2). The Industrial Revolution, paradoxically, led to sedentary lifestyle through the automation of industry (Haley 1978). In other words, the Industrial Revolution brought about a “Leisure Revolution” within the working class population (Cunningham 1980). This played a major role in the Victorian psyche focusing on health.
(Cunningham 1980 and Haley 1978). Next, for the developments in the medical sciences, the founding of physiology and physiological psychology led to the emergence of “an engendered a holistic understanding of health and an emphasis on the mind-body connection” (Watson 2005: 2). Finally, the threat of war from a number of European countries and the United States caused for a need to protect Britain and its colonies and produce leaders that were well educated and “manly” (Haley 1978).

In this premise, masculine behavior located in action and heroic deeds has prevailed within sport practice throughout the globe in recent history and contributes to contemporary idealizations of sporting masculinity (Wellard 2009). Also, the decline of heavy, manual-based industry and a relative decline in the incidence of large-scale wars during the latter stages of the twentieth century have caused the sports field to become a primary social space for displays of Muscular Christianity (Wellard 2009).

The emergence of neo-muscular Christian groups during the latter half of the twentieth century and the promotion of sport in Catholic institutions, such as the University of Notre Dame, can be seen as a direct consequence of Victorian Muscular Christianity (Watson et al. 2005). Further, modern Evangelical Protestant organizations, such as Christians in Sport (CIS) in England and the Fellowship of Christian Athletes (FCA) in the U.S., have resurrected many of the basic theological principles used to promote sport and physical fitness in Victorian Britain (Watson et al. 2005). Nevertheless, the sports field became the primary social space for displays of this form of masculinity (Watson 2005).

In mainstream sport (which includes broader social participation), a version of masculinity based on a particular kind of bodily performance continues to prevail (Wellard 2009). Bodily performance provides a means of demonstrating other social requirements which
relate to the prevalent codes of gender and sexual identity (Wellard 2009). As such, contemporary sporting practices “produces and promotes an environment where displays of traditional masculinity, those which present competitiveness, aggressiveness and toughness, are seen as normal and necessary” (Wellard 2009: 14). In other words, it is the perceived understanding that the traditional, natural version of masculinity dominates sport and continues to hold immense power (Wellard 2009: 14). Moreover, there is the implication that proper masculinity equates with heterosexuality and, consequently, that sporting prowess equates with heterosexual masculinity (Wellard 2009). In other words, an “expected sporting masculinity” is expressed through bodily displays or performances (Wellard 2009: 46).

These bodily displays signal to the opponent or spectator a particular version of masculinity based upon traditional masculinity (Wellard 2009). Body practices also present maleness as in terms of being diametrically opposite to femininity (Wellard 2009). These constructed understandings of gender appear more significant when placed upon bodily presentation on the sports field (Wellard 2009). The formulation of this normative masculinity as superior to femininity, and the practice of sport as only a male social space, creates the (false) need for more obvious outward performances (Wellard 2009). This is particularly evident in the places where “expected sporting masculine identity” can be established and maintained (Wellard 2009: 47). Consequently, not only are young men pressured into conforming to the ideals promoted by traditional mainstream sport, but more recent cultural changes in the representation of the body, particularly through consumerism, have contributed to a greater expectation for the presentation of particular “types” of body (Wellard 2009: 18).

Sport, therefore, provides a key component in reinforcing the importance of “corporeal power relations” (Wellard 2009: 22). Constant focus on heterosexual masculinity causes an
emphasis on presenting a distinction between male and female behavior and, in turn, presents to others the accepted version of gender (Wellard 2009). Also, the use of binary distinctions of gender creates a distorted understanding of what ‘being’ male or female entails (Wellard 2009). Ultimately, it is important to take into consideration the ways in which men create understandings of their own bodies and in turn develop understandings of their own masculinity and others (Wellard 2009).

However, masculinity is not a “fixed entity”; it is embedded in the body or personality traits of individuals (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 836). In other words, the underlying concept of masculinity is flawed because it establishes a unitary notion of masculinity, which creates a false unity on a fluid and contradictor reality (Petersen 2003: 57). Masculinity is a configuration of practice that is accomplished in social action and, thus, differs according to the gender relations in a particular social setting (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 836).

Hegemonic Masculinity and Bodybuilding

Bodybuilding is the connection between muscularity and the construction of hegemonic masculinity (Wellard 2009: 91). Hegemonic masculinity can be defined “as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees [or is taken to guarantee] the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell 1995: 77). The hegemonic definition of masculinity defines men not simply as a list of positive attributes (e.g. brave, stoic), but equally by negative traits (Klein 1993). In this sense, masculinity is defined less by what defines this configuration of gender practice than by what negates, i.e. to be a man is not to be a woman (Klein 1993: 17). Once established, the principle of definition through negation encourages a young male to
oppose any female attributes he and others may possess in order to be “a man” (Klein 1993). This negation works in concert with a hierarchical structure in which men traditionally dominate women (Klein 1993).

Connell (1995) argues for a stronger theoretical position that recognizes the role bodies have in social agency and the influence they have in generating and shaping social conduct. For Connell, the body is central through which gendered identity is constructed (Connell 1995). Connell’s arguments form the basis of an understanding of the importance of the body and bodily practices (Connell 1995). In such, Connell incorporates the role of the biological in the social construction of gender (Connell 1995). She also applies a sociological reading of the social world where social actors are exposed to the restrictions created by social structures (Connell 1995).

The bodybuilding community, like most co-sexed sports, is characterized by relations of gender which place women in an inferior position (Obel 1996). In other words, bodybuilding is a link to a broader crisis of masculinity in which men viewed a muscular body as a means of reasserting dominance over women (Wellard 2009). Dominant masculinity promotes an attitude in which the body is used a weapon or tool to achieve goals (Messner 1992). In turn, Klein (1993) concluded, “by emphasizing gender separation based on sexual dimorphism, bodybuilding winds up fueling some of the more anachronistic views of gender relations… bodybuilding and bodybuilders represent the most extreme view of masculinity our society has” (Klein 1993: 18).

Aside from the definition through negation, health is another theme involved with hegemonic masculinity (Locks and Richardson 2012). Health, here, had two dimensions: aesthetic attractiveness and functionality (Locks and Richardson 2012). Aesthetic attractiveness
referenced the size and definition of the man’s muscles (Locks and Richardson 2012: 95); functionality referenced the man’s ability to do something as a direct result of him weightlifting (Locks and Richardson: 96). In the study, the authors found that both the dimensions of health fueled hegemonic masculinity and was present over the men’s life course (Locks and Richardson).

Klein (1993) echoed the findings of Locks and Richardson (2012), stating that “the masculine form [was] defined… by the presence of male musculature” (Klein 1993: 4). Klein (1993) also found that attractiveness, prowess, and other manly attributes also correlated with masculinity (Klein 1993). Nevertheless, Klein stressed that masculinity is forged from social practices that genderizes biological males and females (Klein 1993). In other words, “gender is the [multidimensional] social construction of sexual difference” (Dore 1997: 9).

Sport, therefore, provides not only a site for learning social codes relating to gender but can be considered “a prime site where hegemonic masculinities are made and remade” (Wellard 2009: 21). Consequently, sport is a significant part of a social arena in which masculinities and femininities are constructed, learned and structured in relations of domination and subordination (Butler 1993). As such, within sport, the social fear of displaying what is considered to be subordinated masculinity contributes to the continued presence of a hegemonic masculinity informed by heterosexuality (Wellard 2009).

Nevertheless, as with general concept of masculinity, ambiguity in gender processes may be important to recognize as a mechanism of hegemony (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). For instance, the consideration for how an idealized definition of masculinity is constituted in social process is warranted. At a society-wide (regional) level there is a circulation of models of admired masculine conduct, which may be exalted by churches, narrated by mass media, or
celebrated by the state (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 838). Moreover, at the local level, hegemonic patterns of masculinity are embedded in specific social environments, such as formal organizations (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 839). And as with masculinity in sports, the concept of hegemonic masculinity homogenizes the subject only if it is reduced to a single dimension of gender relations (usually symbolic) and is treated as the specification of a norm (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 843). Such models, therefore, refer to, but also distort, “the everyday realities of social practice” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 839). In turn, hegemonic masculinities can be constructed that do not correspond closely to the lives of actual men (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 838). In other words, hegemonic masculinity is not self-reproducing.

Yet this model of masculinity, in various ways, does express widespread ideals, fantasies, and desires (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). It also provides models of relations with women and solutions to problems of gender relations (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Furthermore, it loosely articulates with the practical and realistic constitution of masculinity as a way of living in everyday local circumstances (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 838). Yet there is nothing surprising about the idea of diverse practices’ being generated from common cultural templates (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 841). A constant process of negotiation, translation, and reconfiguration occurs (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 844). Also, coordination and regulation occurs in the lived social practices of collectivities, institutions, and whole societies (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In turn, the notion of hegemonic masculinity is a means of grasping a “certain dynamic within the social process” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 841). In this fashion, models of masculinity contribute to hegemony in the society-wide gender order as a whole (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).
Thus, the application of hegemonic masculinity to a social context requires the reformulation of four main areas: the nature of gender hierarchy, the geography of masculine configurations, the process of social embodiment, and the dynamics of masculinities. For gender hierarchy, contemporary research has shown the complexity of the relationships among different constructions of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Structured relations among masculinities exist in all local settings, motivation toward a specific hegemonic version varies by local context, and such local versions inevitably differ somewhat from each other (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 847 and Hearn 2010). Research has also show that the durability or survivability of nonhegemonic patterns of masculinity, which may represent well-crafted responses to race/ethnic marginalization, physical disability, class inequality, or stigmatized sexuality (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005 and Arxer 2011). Therefore, our understanding of hegemonic masculinity must incorporate a more holistic understanding of gender hierarchy, recognizing “the agency of subordinated groups as much as the power of dominant groups and the mutual conditioning of gender dynamics and other social dynamics” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 848, Arxer 2011, and Hearn 2010).

Next, for the geographies of masculinities, we must understand that regional and local constructions of hegemonic masculinity are shaped by the articulation of these gender systems with global processes (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Empirically existing hegemonic masculinities can be analyzed at three levels:

“1) Local: constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research; 2) Regional: constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research; and 3) Global: constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 849).
Adopting an analytical framework that distinguishes local, regional, and global masculinities (and the same point applies to femininities) allows us to recognize the importance of place without falling into a monadic world of totally independent cultures or discourses (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 850). It also casts some light on the problem of multiple hegemonic masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Thirdly, the importance of masculine embodiment for identity and behavior emerges in many contexts. But the difficulties of degendering strategies also are partly based in embodiment, for instance, in the commitment to risk-taking practices as means of establishing masculine reputation in a peer group context (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Thus, it is important not only that masculinities be understood as embodied, but also that the interweaving of embodiment and social context be addressed (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 851). To understand embodiment and hegemony, one must understand that bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Finally, with regards to the dynamics of masculinities, one must recognize the layering, the potential internal contradiction, within the practices that construct masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 852). Masculinities are configurations of practice that are constructed, unfold, and change through time (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). A careful analysis of life histories may detect contradictory commitments and institutional transitions that reflect different hegemonic masculinities also hold seeds of change (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

**Cultural Capital in Sport and Bodybuilding**

Sport, outside the professional circuit, has maintained its position in the general conscious as being ‘free–time’ and as such pleasurable (Wellard 2009: 12). The sport of
bodybuilding is no exception. However, a more in-depth view reveals that sport is a version of masculinity based on a particular kind of bodily performance (Wellard 2009). With this performance, individuals are drawn into a decision-making process for the acquisition of cultural capital (Wellard 2009: 12). Cultural capital is one of three terms – along with habitus and field – that defines Bourdieu’s theory of Taste (Bridges 2009). The central argument of Bourdieu’s theory is that “individual tastes and aesthetic dispositions (world views) are uniquely shaped through interaction with socializing agents (class position, family, social interactions, etc.)” (Bridges 2009: 89). Cultural capital refers to the “specific repertoires of knowledge, tastes, and dispositions and objects of desire that individuals within particular social spaces perceive and employ for status accumulation” (Bridges 2009: 90). Cultural capital is content-specific and is ascribed value only as it is evaluated in social practice (Bridges 2009). The value differs by the individual making use of the capital and actors employ it differently – or employ different situationally relevant cultural resources – in different contexts (Bridges 2009).

In sports, the body can provide an initial display to others the cultural capital that one has been involved in sporting activity, not only in terms of “on court” performances but also through specific bodily gestures and techniques that are associated with particular sports (Wellard 2009: 12). Furthermore, achieving a particular ‘look’ requires knowledge on behalf of the performer of the social significance and can also be seen as an indication of the historical specificity related to idealized, bodily presentation and sporting performances (Nixon 1996 and Wellard 2009). For example, during the latter stages of the twentieth century there was a transformation in male bodily presentation of the ‘hard; muscular body as a signifier of authentic masculinity, as evidenced through the popularity of film stars such as Arnold Schwarzenegger and Sylvester Stallone (Wellard 2009). Hegemony, in part, works through the production of exemplars of
masculinity (e.g. film or professional sports stars), symbols that have authority and are ascribed value despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Thus, if this concept is applied to explorations of the body and masculinity, one can assess the various forms of cultural capital which operate within these areas and the extent to which performances of the body maintain existing constructions of gender and sexual identity (Wellard 2009).

In bodybuilding, bodybuilders are in the business of developing a “physical” or “bodily” capital (Bridges 2009: 83). This is a capital that has greater relative value within specific fields of practice but would be identified as ‘masculine’ in almost any setting (Bridges 2009). In turn, the variations of cultural capital and hegemonic masculinity provide an example of the utility of gender capital.

**Gender Capital and Bodybuilding**

Gender capital is the hybridization of Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity and Bourdieu’s gender capital. Gender capital refers to “the value afforded to contextually relevant presentations of gendered selves” (Bridges 2009: 85). This value is interactionally defined and negotiated (Bridges 2009: 85). Thus, gender capital, like cultural capital and hegemonic masculinity, is in a state of continuous (though often subtle) transformation (Bridges 2009). Bodies are not the only source of gender capital, but they are an important one (Bridges 2009). As mentioned, bodies are integral parts of the social construction of gender. However, gender capital varies significantly by context (Bridges 2009). Individuals employ different aspects of self in different settings to negotiate differently gendered identities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Above all, gender capital takes both Bourdieu’s bounded fields and Connell’s gender
regimes as critically important: what is valued in gender identities may vary widely by context and setting (Bridges 2009).

Gender capital attempts to “foreground the independent effect of context on the relative value of gendered presentations of self” (Bridges 2009: 93). While the body is certainly invested with great amounts of regime-specific gender capital, gender capital also has to do with aspects of self apart from bodies (Bridges 2009). Gender capital can exist as practice, knowledge, bodily capital, style, tastes and more: aspects of ‘self’ and social performance that produce gendered statuses within interactional orders (Bridges 2009: 94).

Gender capital is also “defined, employed and evaluated within a patriarchal gender order that values a hierarchical relationship between masculinities and femininities, regardless of contextual distinctions” (Bridges 2009: 94). Thus, domination, subordination, marginalization and complicity remain paramount in discussions of gender capital (Bridges 2009: 94).

Bodybuilders help to underline some key dimensions of gender capital. Bodybuilding is a similar process of “acquiring and utilizing gender capital that purchases temporally and contextually contingent gendered identification and status” (Bridges 2009). Musculature and what it connotes – power, domination, and virility – concentrates on the masculine side.

Yet as Bridges (2009) chronicles, bodybuilders have many stories where their gender capital was a source of ridicule and shame. At the same time, most of the bodybuilders Bridges studied recalled social spaces where their gender capital purchased high status (Bridges 2009). In the gym, bodybuilders have high status due to their work ethic, strength, and the “look” of their bodies (Bridges 2009).
Beyond the contextual contingencies of gender capital, issues of power and the gender-political consequences of the mobilization of certain gender capital remain paramount (Bridges 2009: 102).

**Machismo**

*Machismo* is a term that, throughout history, has been used in contradictory ways. Definitions employed in Mexican newspapers, academic literature, and dictionary entries for the greater part of the second half of the twentieth century, for instance, reveal not only a diverse view of the substance of the term, but also widely dissimilar conjectures as to the etymology of the word and their meanings (Guttman 1996). Further, anthropologists and psychologists, when writing about *machismo*, would utilize characterizations of the word without ever defining them (Guttman 1996). Finally, and most influentially, in the United Stated, the term *machismo* has inherent national and racial characters. Since its first appearance in the US, *machismo* has been associated with negative character traits not among men in general, but more specifically among Mexican, Mexican-American, and Latin American Men (Guttman 1996: 227). For this reason, despite the ambivalence of the word’s meaning and definition, *machismo* has become a form of male calumny – the labeling of a host of negative male characteristics – in cultures around the world (Guttman 1996).

However, the word *machismo* cannot be reduced to a coherent set of sexist ideas; it is a system (Lancaster 1992). Like racism and other forms of arbitrary power and stigma, *machismo* constitutes not simply a form of “consciousness”, but a field of productive relations (Lancaster 1992: 19). As such, *machismo* structures gender relations between men, women, and children within certain configurations and/or practices, i.e. a system. These gender relations occupy and
define the institution of the family through asymmetric relations (Lancaster 1992). Also, *machismo* produces values that are realized both as certain manifest notions about the nature of sex and gender and in a most intimate experience of gender, sexuality, and the body (Lancaster 1992: 20). Thus, *machismo* is not only an array of gendered bodies, but also a world built around its definition of gender and its allotment of power that appears natural, normal, and even necessary (Lancaster 1992: 20). In other words, *machismo* is a patriarchal gender order for which gender capital is defined, employed, and evaluated in.

While this may be true, there still is no one definition of *machismo*. Gender identities, roles, and relations do not remain frozen in place— for individuals or for groups (Guttman 1996). There remains continuous contestation and confusion over what constitutes male identity. Masculinity means different things to different people at different times and sometimes different things to the same person at the same time. Further, *machismo* is best understood after, and not before, other ethnographic details have been developed (Guttman 1996).

In the context, a definition that was localized in Santiago through prior ethnographic research refers to an attitude of superiority with respect to women along with the exhibition of excessive masculinity, which ranges from sense of virility to a more extreme male chauvinism (Aagenes 2010).
METHODOLOGY

The intention of my research was to investigate the role sport and fitness plays in the lives of 18 – 30 year old male Atitecos. The goals of my research were: to acquire a local understanding of the concepts of sport and fitness; to explain how the two concepts are interrelated and interact; to understand how the concepts are sculpted in the confines of the gym and by the sport of bodybuilding in Santiago; to discuss how they are influenced by the men’s notion of manhood and other cultural institutions (i.e. religion and medicine); to comment on the concepts’ overall role in the community of Santiago. IRB approval was given for this research.

Sample Population

The study comprised of a convenience sample of forty semi-structured interviews of forty male Atitecos between the ages of eighteen and thirty to understand: a) their reasoning for engaging in exercise b) their definition of sport; c) their way of defining what it meant to be “healthy” male; and d) what it meant to them a “man” in their community (Appendix A). Participants were students, merchants, policemen, nurses, and teachers; the majority of them being merchants (Table 1 and 2). The average age of the participants was twenty-five years old (Table 1).

Participants were recruited from Gimnasio Atitlán or around its vicinity. Potential participants were identified with the help of a few local collaborators (the manager of the gym and a couple of gym members), who verified their age. Next, potential participants were invited to participate. All interviews were done on the spot. Interviews were semi-structured consisting 12 open-ended questions to allow participants the ability to expand on their answers. Name, age, and occupation were taken first, and then the questions were asked. Questions 1 – 6 sought to
understand why the participant came to the gym, the frequency for which they came, and if he had any established objectives for coming to the gym (Appendix A). Question 7 – 12 sought to understand the participant’s beliefs on manhood and health (Appendix A).

If participants did not understand the question the first time it was asked, the question was repeated. If the participant still did not understand the question, a probe for the question was given. Answers were transcribed during the interview with a pen and a small notebook using shorthand writing. After the interview, notes were reviewed and expanded more using shorthand writing. At the end of the day, answers were then transferred onto a Word document and saved on a password-protected laptop. Answers and direct quotes, at this time, were written out fully. After returning to the US, responses for each document were then aggregated onto one Word document. Similarities in the responses were found for each question and then were grouped into qualitatively themed categories.

Four of the semi-structured interviews were digitally recorder. All interviewees gave verbal permission to be recorded. Interviews were taken at the interviewee’s home or place of employment. Persons interviewed were community members, physical education teachers, or municipal government employees who have been heavily involved in sports in the community and were interviewed for their wealth of knowledge on sports/the history of sports in Santiago. Interviews were transcribed after returning to United States on Word Document on a password-protected computer.

**Supplementing Data**

Supplementing the forty semi-structured interviews, were the copious amounts of ethnographic field notes and reflections taken throughout the ten weeks. My process for writing
field notes was based off of Emerson et al.’s *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. First, rapport was established in the gym over the first two weeks. During this time, ‘mental notes’ of initial impressions were taken on-site and then transcribed at home. Furthermore, personal relationships were built with the few local collaborators; this aided in further establishing rapport. Once rapport was firmly established and personal relationships were built, some field notes began to be taken on-site. However, because overtly writing notes in the gym appeared to cause some members to become suspicious of my intentions, most field notes were taken in the form of ‘mental notes’ or of a few written words or small phrases to serve as reminders for later. Field notes were then written down upon leaving the gym, returning home, or at the end of the day.
RESULTS

Sport, Fitness, Health, and the Gym

Sport and fitness are integral parts in the lives of the male Atitecos who were interviewed – they invested a considerable time in both concepts. Sixty-three percent, have been going to the gym for six months or more; ninety-six percent have been going for at least three months. A hundred percent of the participants who have been going to the gym for at least three months work out at least three times a week.

Health (salud) was the main reason participants went to the gym (Table 3). More specifically, the men went to the gym for the health of their bodies (cuerpo). Likewise participants went to the gym for personal enjoyment (Me gusta ir) (Table 3). Also, the men also described going to the gym because they intentionally wanted to have and not have (quiero tener o no quiero tener) certain traits. Overall the trend was that these men went to the gym because they wanted to be healthy (sano). Furthermore they went to the gym because they wanted a certain type of body image (Table 3). On the other hand, these men came to the gym because they did not want to have vices (vicios) (Table 3). Vices for these men were doing drugs and drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes was also mentioned. Additional reasons such as personal enjoyment, body image, and use as a distraction and for fitness were also given (Table 3).

Health was a broad term for the participants and one that encompassed a variety of abstract characteristics; participants named a total of twelve different attributes when asked what it meant to be a healthy male (Table 4). Nevertheless, a general composite of a healthy male appeared from this broad spectrum of traits. The men described intentionally wanting and not wanting to have or not have a particular characteristic in relationship to health. Accompanying, the men describe intentionally wanting and not wanting to be (ser o no ser) a certain type of
character (Table 4). According to the interviews, to be a healthy male, one needed to respect oneself (respetuoso a el mismo) and others (respetar a otros), exercise (hacer ejercicio), and not have vices (no tener vicios) (Table 4).

The reason for starting to go to gym was also dispersed among twelve bases (Table 5). The top three reasons were: invitation by friends; seeing muscular men on the television or the streets; and to become more muscular (Table 5). To lose weight, entertainment, curiosity, and not feeling well were other reasons given (Table 5). Once at the gym, many of the participants learned how to do the exercises from their friends, the instructor at the gym, or by themselves by observation or by watching videos online (Table 6).

Many of the participants’ objectives were to increase in volume or to maintain their health (Table 7). For example, Interview #01 said he wanted to grow his body (crecer el cuerpo), have definition (marcaciones), and have volume (tener volume). Interview #18’s personal goal, on the other hand, was “to have a good body” (tener un buen cuerpo) and not have a big belly (when he explained this he held his hands together around stomach and moved them away and towards his stomach to give a visual of a belly).

To compete in bodybuilding competition was also another main reason for why participants went to the gym (Table 7). Nine participants in total, had competed in competitions and/or were preparing for one in the near future. Interview #30, for instance, had competed in several competitions before; he boasted a total of twenty trophies from past competitions. His ultimate goal was to get to the national level in bodybuilding.

However, for the rest of the participants’ their objectives were different from the immediate reasons one would associate with bodybuilding. Among those some were: be help
with self-esteem (*autoestima*), to free the mind (*liberar la mente*), to avoid vices (*menos vicios*), and to be able to participate in a sport (*participar en un deporte*) (Table 7).

Many of the participants defined a sport as a game (*juego*) or something (*algo*) that was healthy (*sano*) for you and brought your health (*te da una buena salud*) (Table 8). However, sport also connotated to: physical preparedness (*preparado físicamente*); recreation (*recreación*); a specific sport (ex. soccer, running, basketball, swimming, and volleyball); competition (*competición*); something that helped with emotional stability (i.e. to have good self-esteem); and had no vices (Table 8). Finally, the majority of the participants, that agreed to responded to question eleven, agreed that there is an intentional connection or connection between the religion and the sports in the community (Table 9)

*A Visual of a Healthy Male Atiteco*

Physical characteristics and positive abstract qualities were the most mentioned categories of responses given by the participants when asked what healthy male looked like, twelve and twenty-eight responses respectively (Table 10). Interestingly, the physical characteristics given by the participants were broad. Interview #03, for instance, described a healthy male as someone who had good physique (*tenga un buen físico*) but could not be too fat (*demasiado gordo*). Interview #05 portrayed a healthy man as someone who had to look well stature-wise (*estaturamente*). Interview #15, Interview #16, and Interview #17, on the other hand, focused on cleanliness (*limpieza*) and communicated that a healthy male looked well-dressed (*bien vestido*). Finally, Interview #06 and Interview #18 put emphasis on a healthy male not having an illness (*enfermedad*) or looking weak (*débil*), but rather strong (*fuerte*).
Positive abstract qualities also appeared throughout many of the participants’ responses. Positive abstract qualities are distinct characteristics that pertain to a person’s individual nature rather than his physical ones. These qualities were mentioned by twenty-eight of the participants. A healthy male needed to look like he: had a sense of humor (sentido de humor); learns something in life (aprende algo en la vida); is disciplined (sea disciplinado); does not mistreat people and is respectful (no maltrata la gente y es respetuoso); happy (alegre), fun (divertido), and amicable (amigable); has principles (con principios), morals (morales), and values (valores); looks the attitude (se mira el actitud) and demonstrates respect (demuestra respeto); always wants to help you (siempre quiere ayudarte) and values you (y te valora); is in good passing (anda en bien camino); and has good thoughts (tiene bien pensamientos).

Other categories of responses included: dresses well (mentioned 4x); plans ahead (mentioned 1x); is a Christian (mentioned 2x); works (mentioned 4x); speaks well (mentioned 3x); and is physically active (mentioned 5x).

**Manhood in Santiago**

Responses for question seven were the most diverse of all the questions. However, participants, for the most part, described manhood by distinguishing having/not having certain positive abstract qualities (Table 11). A man in Santiago was someone who had to be a hard worker (bien trabajador), be an example (ser un ejemplo), be respectful (respetuoso), be studious (que estudia) and tend to his responsibilities (atiende a su responsabilidades). Further, a man needed to repel negative qualities (no ser macho) and did not have vices or is deviant or bad (malo).
DISCUSSION

The (incomplete) process of modernization of Santiago Atitlán’s economy and culture has resulted in a fragmented set of changes in traditional practices (e.g. a robustly structured work routine based off an agricultural lifestyle). This has resulted in a shift in significance of leisure time at the individual level in the community. Leisure time has become not only as a means for attaining pleasure, but as a way of expressing an identity for the individual. In turn, this has led to the adoption/emergence of new cultural practices in the community; one of these practices being the sport of fisicoculturismo.

This sport occupies the leisure time of a portion of middle-class male Atitecos before or after work or during their lunch break, at least three times a week. Over time, this practice has created a niche of aficionados of these males. These aficionados were first drawn to the sport of fisicoculturismo through the aesthetic value of the bodily and physical capital accumulated by bodybuilders/males that lift weights as seen through various media outlets or on the street. Now, these aficionados promote a masculinity that is expressed through bodily displays or performances in and outside the confines of Gimnasio Atitlán. At first glance, this masculinity appears to replicate the “expected sporting masculinity” and, more specifically, the gender capital found by Bridges (2009) and even Klein (1993). However, this is not so. Through the analysis of the responses from the 40 semi-structured interviews and the ethnographic field notes taken at GA, three findings were made that negates this claim.

1) The sport of fisicoculturismo has been adapted to the Tz’utujil culture

The aficionados have embodied and reproduced some “hallmark” characteristics of the sport of fisicoculturismo. First, the aficionados are in the business of accumulating physical and
bodily capital through a particular kind of bodily performance that produces and promotes an environment where displays of traditional masculinity are seen as normal and necessary, i.e. the gender capital found by Bridges (2009) and Klein (1993). Next, the dissemination of the ideology of *fisicoculturismo* through the media has emphasized behaviors that include certain values, attitudes, and beliefs (i.e. hegemonic masculinity) that mirror the history of the sport and maintain the status quo. Further, certain traditional social values preached in *fisicoculturismo* (i.e. gender capital) have become strongly associated with ideologies of the society (i.e. *machismo*).

However, there are some characteristics that the *aficionados* do not reproduce in *Gimnasio Atitlán*. A fundamental characteristic the *aficionados* were not interested in acquiring value through was the presentation of a dominating personality in *Gimnasio Atitlán*, i.e. hegemonic masculinity. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) explained, the concept of hegemonic masculinity homogenizes a subject or group of subjects when it is reduced to a single dimension of gender relations and is treated specification of a norm. This is impossible to do with the group of *aficionados*. The local analysis of the analytical framework of hegemonic masculinity done in the qualitative analysis of the forty semi-structured interviews and the ethnographic field notes shows that hegemonic masculinity is not being reproduced in the *aficionados*.

Next, similarities were found between the notions of manhood, reasons why participants practice *fisicoculturismo*, and the religion practiced in community. The discipline required by many religions (e.g. avoidance of alcohol, cigarettes, and drugs) is similar to the discipline required for body building. Further, sport has been utilized by religious denominations and organizations in Santiago for the promotion of its paradigm. Churches have used athletes and
sport to attract people, particularly youth, to their facilities and recruit believers into their church family. Finally, the municipality of Santiago has promoted *fisicoculturismo* in the community with the goal of countering the delinquency, narcotrafficking, alcoholism, and drug addiction.

2) *These notions serve as fundamental components in the participants’ definition of sport and health*

The participants’ definition of sport and health consisted of positive abstract qualities that were derived from these notions of manhood. As the results show, manhood in Santiago requires an adult male *Atiteco* to possess certain characteristics that pertain to his individual nature in a positive manner. These characteristics become the foundation for not only manhood, but are also intimately interwoven in the fabric of what the participants defined a sport to be and also health in general. Health, here, had two dimensions: aesthetic attractiveness and functionality. Thus, the participants’ affinity for the bodily performance in *fisicoculturismo* is derived from his notion of manhood as well.

3) *The notions of manhood among the participants in this study contradict those associated with machismo*

The notions of manhood of the participants were not based of the patriarchal gender order or the negative character traits, now readily associated with Central American Men, even though it has been documented in Santiago on a previous occasion. Manhood, for the participants was centered on three pillars of character: Respect, Responsibility, and Trustworthiness. Respect meant having civility toward others and himself. A particular group that was mentioned various times was the elders (los mayores), a man needed to respect the elders. Dignity and autonomy
were also sub-categories for respect. A man was: independent of his parents, someone who plans his own life, and builds a proper path for himself and not a bad one (i.e. he ensures his future with dignity).

Responsibility meant being accountable for what one did and who one was. Being responsible meant: tending to ones responsibilities; setting a good example for ones kids; putting oneself to work; centering oneself in good things (cosas buenas); being educated; and thinking before one does something. In other words, a man in Santiago exercises accountability, self-restraint, and diligence. Or as Antonio Y. put it, a man must have character (carácter), knowledge (conocimiento), not only be macho (y no solamente ser macho).

Finally, trustworthiness meant being honest, loyal, and having integrity. A trustworthy man in Santiago, as per the participants, was able to have friendships (with men in particular), get married or have a girlfriend, and be free of vices.

Thus, the “expected sporting masculinity” does not pertain to the aficionados. The aficionados are not in the business of accumulating status through the domination of other males through the display of traditional masculinity (i.e. toughness and manliness) in the gym. In turn, “expected sporting masculinity cannot and does not exist in this group of aficionados. As a result, and more importantly, the principle of definition through negation as Klein (1993) described does not exist in these men or it is simply not prioritized.

All in all, it then becomes important that masculinities are not only understood as embodied, but also that the interweaving of embodiment and social context of machismo be addressed.
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Obel, C.  
Park, Roberta.  

Petersen, A.  

Pueblo a Pueblo Inc.  

Romero, Vanessa.  

Spicer, Edward Holland.  

Springs, David.  

Stein, Serena Simone.  

Tomlinson, Alan.  

USAID.  


Wellard, Ian.  

Woods, Ron.  
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW TEMPLATE

Nombre (Name): Edad (Age):  
Ocupación (Occupation): 

¿Por qué usted viene al gimnasio?  
(Why do you come to the gym?)  

¿Por cuánto tiempo usted ha venido al gimnasio?  
(How long have you been coming to the gym?)  

¿Por qué empezaste a venir al gimnasio? ¿Que fue la razón?  
(Why did you start coming to the gym? What was the reason?)  

¿Quien le enseño a hacer los ejercicios?  
(Who showed you how to do the exercise?)  

¿Cuántas veces a la semana usted viene al gimnasio?  
(How many times a week do you come to the gym?)  

¿Tiene usted algunos objetivos personales usted espera lograr por venir al gimnasio?  
(Do you have any personal goals you hope to accomplish by coming to the gym?)  

¿Qué define un hombre aquí en Santiago? ¿En otras palabras, en su opinión, que necesita hacer un varón adolescente para ser clasificado como un hombre?  
(What defines a man here in Santiago? In other words, in your opinion, what must an adolescent male do to be classified as a man?)  

¿Qué significa ser un varón sano para usted?  
(What does it mean to be a healthy male?)  

¿Cómo se ve un varón sano? ¿En otras palabras, que son algunos característicos físicos de un varón sano?  
(What does a healthy male look like? In other words, what are some physical characteristics of a healthy male?)  

¿Que define un deporte para usted? ¿En otras palabras, que piensa usted de cuando usted escucha la palabra deporte?  
(What defines a sport? In other words, what do you think of when you hear the word 'sport'?)
¿En su opinión, que es la conexión entre la religión y los deportes? (In your opinion, what is the connection between religion and sports?)
### Table 1: Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
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<th>Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Interview #10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview #11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview #13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview #14</td>
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<td>Merchant</td>
</tr>
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<td>Interview #16</td>
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<td>Chauffeur</td>
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<td>Interview #17</td>
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<td>Vendor</td>
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<td>Interview #18</td>
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<td>Interview #19</td>
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<td>Interview #23</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Interview #25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview #26</td>
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**Average Age:** 25.05

### Table 2: List of Occupations

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<td>Crafts-maker</td>
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<td>Day laborer</td>
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<td>Employee-School</td>
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<td>Manager</td>
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<td>Merchants</td>
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<td>Nurse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education Teachers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi Driver</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Work”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1) Reason for coming to the gym</td>
<td># of responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Image</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting an example</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To stay away from vices</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel well</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job</td>
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<td>Personal enjoyment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use up excessive energy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A distraction</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Sport</td>
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<td>Fitness</td>
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<td>Power</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8) What it mean to be a healthy male</th>
<th># of responses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dresses well</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mentally active</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be spiritually w/ God</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be respectful of oneself and others</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exercise</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Hard-working</td>
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<td>Does not have vices</td>
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<tr>
<td>Speaks well</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spends time with family</td>
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<td>Physical health</td>
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<td>Job</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be an example</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3) Reason for starting to go to the gym</th>
<th># of responses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lose weight</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Become more muscular</td>
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<tr>
<td>Invitation</td>
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<td>Vice</td>
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<td>Curiosity</td>
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<td>Called his attention</td>
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<tr>
<td>Didn't feel well</td>
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<tr>
<td>Injury to another sport</td>
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<td>Health</td>
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<td>Entertainment</td>
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<td>Visual Incentive</td>
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<td>Nothing better to do</td>
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### Table 6: Question 4 Analysis

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<th>Who taught him the exercises for working out</th>
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<td>Friends</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instructor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Videos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Learned process by observing others</td>
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<tr>
<td>On own</td>
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### Table 7: Question 6 Analysis

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<td>Increase in muscle volume</td>
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<tr>
<td>No personal goals</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better health</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compete in competition</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have friends come with him</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heightened self-esteem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid vices</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>For his future</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To free his mind</td>
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<td>For a particular sport</td>
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### Table 8: Question 10 Analysis

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition of &quot;Sport&quot;</th>
<th># of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health(y)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No vices</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical preparedness</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A specific sport</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To practice something</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have a certain physical trait</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help with emotional stability</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9: Question 11 Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11) Connection between religion in community and sports</th>
<th># of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intentional connection</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No connection</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Question 9 Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9) What a healthy male looks like</th>
<th># of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive abstract quality</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical characteristic</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Question 7 Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7) What defines a man in Santiago</th>
<th># of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repelling of a negative quality</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard-working, has a job</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studious</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plays a sport</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sets an example</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tends to his responsibilities</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gets married</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholds his gender role</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have friendships with men</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expresses oneself</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical features</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proficiency in</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner of life</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for elderly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free of vices</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks things through</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX C: FIGURES**

*Figure 1: Map of Santiago Atitlán, Lake Atitlán, the Tolimán Volcano, and the surrounding villages*
Figure 2: Map of Santiago Atitlán with Gimnasio Atitlán and other important buildings, areas, and roads marked
Figure 3: Left side of main weight room in Gimnasio Atitlán

Figure 4: Right side of main weight room in Gimnasio Atitlán
Figure 5: Exercise diagram that simplistically establishes the proper bodily practices in Gimnasio Atitlán

Figure 6: Dumbbells (i.e. specialized equipment) the aficionados utilize for the accumulation of bodily and physical capital
Figure 7: One of the many posters that establish an “expected sporting masculine identity” and the favored musculature of a bodybuilder through the presentation of famous competitive bodybuilders.

Figure 8: Pyramid of the hierarchy of human activity