JUGGLING GENDER STEREOTYPES:
Justifications and Their Consequences

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A COURTSHIP AFTER MARRIAGE: SEXUALITY AND LOVE IN MEXICAN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES. By Jennifer S. Hirsch. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003. Pp. 397. $60.00 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

VIRTUALLY VIRGINS: SEXUAL STRATEGIES AND CERVICAL CANCER IN RECIFE, BRAZIL. By Jessica L. Gregg. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003. Pp.207. $49.50 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

SEX AND THE STATE: ABORTION, DIVORCE, AND THE FAMILY UNDER LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS AND DEMOCRACIES. By Mala Htun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. Pp.219. $60.00 cloth, $22.00 paper.)

THE FAMOUS 41: SEXUALITY AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN MEXICO, 1901. Edited by Robert McKee Irwin, Edward J. McCaughan, and Michelle Rocío Nasser. (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2003. Pp. 308. $75.00 cloth, $25.95 paper.)

CHANGING MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN LATIN AMERICA. Edited by Matthew C. Gutmann (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. Pp. 416. $74.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

At this historic moment, when "family values" reportedly played a major role in determining the outcome of the 2004 U.S. presidential election, the books reviewed here reinforce the message that gender stereotypes provide a powerful language for justifying one's own actions and for condemning the actions of others. Gender stereotypes are powerful, not because they are singular and monolithic, but because they are multiple and riddled with contradictions. Different interpretations of gender stereotypes, however, offer different resources to their articulators and can lead to different outcomes. This is the theme I pursue in this review essay.

The five books reviewed here are varied, but all address, in one form or another, the question of whether the dominant gender stereotypes in

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Latin America are changing from "traditional" to "modern." Readers of *LARR* already know that academic research on gender issues in Latin America has blossomed over the past few years (see Bliss 2001; Kaminsky 2001; Tiano 2001; Hutchinson 2003; Rakowski 2003), suggesting that gender stereotypes are indeed becoming an increasingly contested domain in the region. The books reviewed here also document a growing conflict between allegedly modern and traditional images of femininity and masculinity. Far more interesting, however, both for the authors and for me, is the question of who uses which gender stereotypes when, for what purposes, and with what consequences.

Although some of the authors reviewed here refer to the Mediterranean gender stereotypes of "honor and shame" described by Julian Pitt-Rivers in the 1960s (1961; 1966), none of them mentions the irony revealed by subsequent studies of gender in Southern Europe (Brandes 1980; du Boulay 1974, Pina-Cabral 1986). This irony lies in the fact that when gender stereotypes are drawn from the Christian Bible, women—allegedly made in the image of Eve the Seductress—have a far easier time portraying themselves as better than their nature than do men, whom the Bible portrays as made in the image of God. Indeed, the books reviewed here suggest that women in Latin America have little difficulty justifying to themselves and others behaviors that vary radically, whereas men agonize over how to manage the conflict between family obligations and peer expectations. Femininity may be devalued, but Christian gender stereotypes allow most women to portray themselves as succeeding in overcoming their base natures, while condemning most men to fears of failing to realize God's perfection.

FEMININITIES

Jennifer S. Hirsch and Jessica L. Gregg have written quite different, but equally outstanding, books that, to my mind, represent some of the best work being done in medical anthropology today. Hirsch and Gregg are, respectively, an anthropologist teaching in a school of public health and medical doctor, with a Ph.D. in anthropology, also teaching in a public health program. Both of their books provide rich cultural analyses of how women from a rural area of Central Mexico (Hirsch) and a shantytown in Brazil (Gregg) justify their life choices, and of how their justifications put them at risk for sexually transmitted diseases.

The title of Hirsch's book, *A Courtship After Marriage*, reflects her principal finding: that younger married women wanted affection from their husbands, rather than the respect their mothers coveted. Hirsch began her research with the intention of comparing the sexual and fertility practices of Mexican women living in Atlanta with the practices of their close kin living in Central Mexico. As an anthropologist in search of

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in-depth understanding rather than survey results, she focused on collecting life histories from thirteen women in Atlanta, matched with their sisters or cousins living in the sending communities of Degollado, Jalisco, and a nearby *ranchería*. She also interviewed a smaller sample of mothers (nine) and an even smaller one of husbands (eight). As the research progressed, she found that the principal differences were not between migrants and women who remained in Mexico, but between generations. Women born before 1955 spoke of wanting *respeto* (respect) from their husbands, whereas those born after 1955 portrayed themselves as "modern" women who wanted to share a relationship of *confianza* (intimacy). Hirsch also found that she could not understand women's sexual and fertility practices without placing them in the context of how women talked about their marriages. Hirsch does not discuss same-sex relationships, primarily because none of her interviewees mentioned them.

The first half of Hirsch's book focuses on the generational differences she observed, based primarily on her research in Mexico, which, after all, was where the women she interviewed in Atlanta had grown up, courted, and married. In a brief review such as this, it is impossible to summarize Hirsch's complex and nuanced discussion of change, but the broad outlines are clear. In terms of behavior, younger women had longer courtships and, unlike their mothers, held hands and kissed in public places. The most important changes, however, were in how women of different generations talked about their courtships and marriages. Whereas women born after 1955 tended to portray themselves as having chosen their husbands, older women denied responsibility and spoke of their marriages as "destiny." Older women also portrayed their courtships as short and perilous. They and their parents had worried that girls might lose their virginity and with it their chance to marry. Younger women, in contrast, spoke of courtship as a time of pleasure when couples came to know each other. Older women spoke of wanting husbands who came from respected families and were good providers. Young women stressed individual personality traits. Older women, while apologizing to their daughters for having been so "submissive" in their marriages, also boasted of their skills in "managing" their husbands. Younger women, who dreamed of intimacy and equality in marriage, hoped to make decisions cooperatively with their husbands although, as Hirsch notes, marriage remained a hierarchical relationship.

Hirsch argues that the ideal of companionate marriage she found among younger Mexican women was not imported directly from the United States. Rather, it reflects a world-wide trend linked to changes in social conditions. Hirsch points out that the women she interviewed rarely watched U.S. television shows, even when living in Atlanta. The

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Mexican *telenovelas* they preferred, however, also privileged the caring, considerate boyfriend over the strong, domineering male. In addition, Hirsch credits the shift in marital ideals to such social changes as the rising level of education, decline in fertility rates, rise in life expectancy, increasing numbers of homes with electricity and running water, and the shift from an economy based primarily on agriculture to one based on remittances and money earned in the United States. Although other researchers have cited Mexican women's growing participation in the paid labor force as a factor that gives women more power in their marriages, Hirsch notes that the lack of jobs for women in Degollado ruled this out as a possible cause for the shift in marital ideals she observed.

Hirsch devotes one chapter to differences between women in Mexico and those who migrated to Atlanta. She draws the title of this chapter from a statement made by many of the people she interviewed: "En el Norte la Mujer Manda," which she translates as "In the North, the Woman Gives the Orders." This statement has some truth. In Atlanta, Mexican women could find paying jobs that gave them a measure of economic independence and power relative to their husbands. Only some women, however, could take advantage of available jobs. Those who spoke English, had nearby kin, were legal migrants, and could either drive or master the bus system had an easier time getting and keeping a job than women who lacked these resources. Hirsch also points out that Mexican men living in Atlanta, particularly if they were illegal immigrants, enjoyed less social power than men in Mexico, who could roam the streets without fear of being picked up by the "*migra*."

Hirsch does not, however, dwell on the derogatory gender stereotypes of North Americans implied by the people she interviewed. The observation that "En el Norte la Mujer Manda" can be heard, not just as an exaggerated statement of truth, but also as an insult to U.S. males, who are supposedly ruled by their wives. It seems no accident, for example, that the Mexican husbands Hirsch interviewed tended to stress that they had the last word, including the right to slap (but not beat) their wives, even as these men rejected the macho ideal and emphasized the importance of closeness and emotional satisfaction in marriage. These husbands wanted to appear "modern," but not henpecked or feminized, as U.S. husbands supposedly are. Similarly, the young women Hirsch interviewed, who claimed to be *más abierta* (more open) about sex than their mothers, were careful to say that they were not women who "asked for it," in unspoken contrast to the derogatory stereotype of U.S. women as sex-crazed sluts.

In the first of two chapters on sexuality, Hirsch returns to the generational contrast, observing that older Mexican women spoke of marital intercourse in terms of husbands "using" their wives, whereas younger women spoke of "making love." Younger women also saw sexual

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intimacy, rather than children, as the foundation of marriage. Whereas older women thought they had to *cumplir* (comply with a husband's demands for sex) in order to keep a husband from straying, younger women felt they had the power both to say "no" and to initiate sexual intimacy with their husbands. Younger women also hoped to delay the birth of children in order to enjoy a courtship after marriage, although few succeeded. Like their mothers and husbands, younger women feared that postponing childbirth could lead to infertility.

The second chapter on sexuality focuses on differences in contraceptive practices between younger women living in Atlanta and Mexico. Women living in Atlanta tended to use technological means of birth control, such as birth control pills, to control the timing of pregnancies, whereas women in Mexico preferred "natural" methods such as withdrawal and rhythm, even though the Mexican government's birth control programs allowed them to obtain pills and other devices more cheaply and easily than their counterparts in Atlanta. Hirsch attributes non-migrant women's preference for "natural" methods to the Catholic Church, which continues to exert a powerful influence in the Bajío region. Priests denied communion to women who used the pill or other technological forms of contraception, publicly humiliating them during Mass by forcing them to sit while other women stood. Among women living in Mexico, Hirsch found a fascinating difference between older women, who preferred withdrawal, and younger women who favored rhythm. Older women treated withdrawal as a sign of a husband's "respect" for his wife, while younger women stressed the mutual *confianza* required for a couple to abstain during a wife's fertile period.

Although the younger women Hirsch interviewed clearly felt that their marriages based on intimacy were more satisfying than their mothers' marriages based on respect, Hirsch points out that companionate marriages are not only more fragile, but can endanger a woman's health by preventing her from wanting to learn about her husband's infidelities. Because marriages based on love tend to fail if love fails, women have good reason to avoid learning about a husband's outside affairs. Such willed ignorance, however, discourages women from taking precautions to protect themselves against sexually transmitted diseases, a dangerous practice at a time when the deadly the HIV virus is spreading.

The title of Jessica Gregg's, *Virtually Virgins*, also reflects her principal finding, which is that the women in the Brazilian shantytown she studied portrayed themselves as good women, despite the fact that, in their behavior, they resembled Eve the Seductress far more than the Virgin Mary. Like Hirsch, Gregg focused on how women talked about their relations with men and their sexuality in order to understand and assess women's susceptibility to sexually transmitted diseases. As a physician, as well as an anthropologist, Gregg chose to work in Recife,

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in northeastern Brazil, because it has the highest rate of cervical cancer in the world, and she studied a shantytown because the disease is more prevalent among poor women than among wealthier ones.

Gregg, like Hirsch, lived in the community she studied and focused on interviewing a small sample of women intensively—thirty from the shantytown and later thirty from nearby areas who had been diagnosed with cervical cancer. She observes that women in the shantytown knew about and approved of the sexual stereotypes that other researchers have described for Brazil: People said that men should be strong and dominant (and allowed promiscuity) while women should be virgins at marriage, sexually faithful to their husbands, and confined to their homes, raising children. Women in the shantytown also celebrated the stereotype of Brazilian women, particularly mulattas, as sexually "hot" and as therefore requiring male control. This vision of Brazilian women as "hot," while perhaps drawn from Brazil's Indian heritage, forms part of the widespread North-South contrast beloved of Southerners, who portray themselves as passionate in contrast to sexually frigid Northerners.

Although women in the shantytown approved of the virgin bride and faithful wife, they could not realize these ideals, largely because men could not support wives and families. Instead, women consciously used their sexuality as a resource to secure their, and their children's, well-being. Gregg contrasts what she describes as two survival strategies pursued by women—security and liberty—which women justified by drawing on different sexual stereotypes. Women who were in a primary sexual relationship with one man from whom they derived some economic support, and who thus appeared to be pursing a strategy of security, justified their behavior as conforming to the norm of the sexually faithful, stay-at-home wife, even though most of these women worked outside the home and had changed partners several times. Other women who considered themselves free to select sexual partners or have multiple ones, and who thus appeared to be pursuing a strategy of liberty, justified their behavior as reflecting their "hot" mulatta natures. Such women also justified escaping required male authority by referring to men's promiscuity and irresponsibility. Gregg explains that a woman's choice of tactic often depended on her circumstances and could change over time. Women who had less need for a man's economic support, either because they were young and still without children or because they were widowed and owned a house, could afford to pursue a strategy of liberty. But even women who needed a man's support apparently felt free to change sexual partners if the current one failed to meet expectations. In a social world where women characterized the men in their lives as malicious, women had little difficulty justifying to themselves and others a sexual freedom that apparently violated cultural norms.

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In her chapters devoted to cervical cancer, Gregg argues that a campaign designed to combat the disease both reinforced dominant sexual stereotypes and led women to blame themselves if they got sick. The campaign's slogan, "If You Have Sex, Get a Pap Smear," was very effective in encouraging women to get tested, and therefore succeeded in catching many cancers at the early stage when they could more likely be cured. But the slogan had several adverse effects. It led women to believe that Pap smears prevented the cervical cancer, implying that women who acquired the disease had only themselves to blame for not getting tested. It also led women to believe that they needed regular Pap smears only if they were currently sexually active. Finally, the slogan obscured men's role in transmitting the virus that is currently believed to be the major risk factor for cervical cancer. Instead of encouraging safe sex practices, or letting women know that faithful women whose men had many sexual partners were equally at risk with women who themselves had multiple partners, the campaign suggested that only female promiscuity caused the disease, thus reinforcing current gender stereotypes that cast women's sexuality, but not men's, as dangerous.

In her final chapter, Gregg observes that the medical practice of not telling women with cancer that they have the disease had adverse effects as well. Whereas medical personnel may have thought they were being kind to their patients, letting them think that their treatments were for a minor inflammation rather than a deadly disease, the practice of nondisclosure prevented medical personnel from warning women about the painful side effects of drastic therapies whose effectiveness the doctors themselves doubted.

Both Hirsch's and Gregg's books provide rich cultural analyses of how women in specific Latin American communities talk about their relationships with men and their sexuality. Undergraduates, as well as graduates and professionals, should find them fascinating. Both books are also well written with clear arguments.

Mala Htun is a political scientist, whose book, *Sex and the State,* analyzes the factors that encouraged or prevented governments in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile from passing laws equalizing marital rights, allowing divorce, and decriminalizing abortion. Her arguments are clear and easy to follow because she frequently summarizes her findings. Researchers interested in skimming this book to discover its conclusions, or who want to focus on specific issues or on events in a single country, will have no difficulty pursuing their aims.

Htun characterizes the struggle over women's rights as one between "traditional" values espoused by the Catholic Church, which focus on preserving the family, and "modern" values espoused by progressives intent on promoting gender equality. She observes that because the

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Catholic Church came to endorse legal equality between spouses, governments in all three of the countries she analyzed managed to pass laws abolishing the subordination of wives to their husbands and granting married women rights to manage property. But because the Catholic Church has consistently disapproved of divorce and abortion, only Argentina and Brazil managed to legalize divorce, while all three countries continue to restrict abortion. Htun explains the apparently counterintuitive finding that earlier dictatorships had more success in promoting gender equality than later democracies did by noting that dictatorships could appoint small expert commissions to revise legal codes, thus avoiding public discussion, whereas in democracies, the Catholic Church could mobilize effective opposition, particularly during periods when state leaders benefited from Church support. Htun's book also presents detailed analyses of how particular reforms came about, or were thwarted, in each country, thus identifying the specific factors that affected outcomes in each case.

MASCULINITIES

In contrast to the three single-authored books on femininities, the two books on masculinities are collections of essays. *The Famous 41* resulted from a symposium held at Tulane University on the centenary of a highly publicized 1901 drag queen ball that took place in Mexico City and was interrupted by the police. In addition to analytical essays, the book reproduces newspaper articles from the time, sections of a novel based on the event, and engravings by a popular artist that, to today's sensibilities, appear charming. The engraving reproduced on the book's cover depicts mustachioed men dressed as women dancing with similarly mustachioed men in formal suits. They seem to be having a wonderful time, which they probably were before the police arrived.

The book's introductory essay portrays the event as important for exposing the existence of a queer underworld, thus provoking for the first time public discussion of alternative sexualities. Although the dancers were arrested, publicly humiliated, and punished without a formal trial because their actions were not mentioned in the penal code, the publicity accorded the event, despite displaying rabid homophobia, stimulated discussion of subversive sexualities and of sexuality in general. Robert Buffington, in an essay called "Homophobia and the Mexican Working Class, 1900–1910," argues that the scandal of the Famous 41 solidified an existing working class homophobia expressed in political cartoons used to denigrate the masculinity of bourgeois men who, according to the essay by Víctor Macías-González, were vulnerable to such feminization because the Porfirian elite equated conspicuous consumption—including several changes of clothes per day—with progress and

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modernization. Two other essays in the volume, by Pablo Piccato and Cristina Rivera-Garza, explore the discourses of disparaged sexualities in the records of a prison and an insane asylum. The final essay, by Sylvia Molloy, analyzes gender ambiguities in the poetry of Amado Nervo.

None of the contributors mentions a fact that struck me on reading the sections of the 1906 novel reproduced in the book. The main villain is not—as one would expect—one of the male dancers, but rather the woman engaged to the main character who, after her fiancé is disgraced, sinks into debauchery and abandons her young son. The main character—a man who wore a suit at the ball—repents and is redeemed by marrying an innocent young girl he met during his exile in Yucatán. The novel thus suggests that the real threat to social order comes less from men who pursue erotic relations with other men, even if they dress as women, than from women who behave like men in seeking sexual pleasure for themselves. Interestingly, the female villain is not a lesbian. She is, instead, a personification of Eve the Seductress.

The title of Matthew Gutmann's edited collection, *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, implies that masculine stereotypes are shifting in the region. Indeed, this sense of change is reflected in the other books reviewed here, such the collection on the Famous 41, which documents the growth of discourses on alternate sexualities, and Hirsch's discussion of how younger Mexican husbands expressed the hope of enjoying more egalitarian and cooperative relationships with their wives than had their fathers. But I would challenge the unstated implication that masculinity was less problematic before the proliferation of discourses on homosexuality and companionate marriage, and before economic changes undermined men's earning capacity. As I noted at the beginning of this essay, gender stereotypes derived from the Christian Bible confront men with a dilemma not experienced by women. When God made Adam in his own image and granted him authority over, and responsibility for his wife and children, God condemned Adam to an impossible task. The authors in Gutmann's book convey this fear of failure. The men they write about seem to be continually juggling stereotypes to prove their masculinity. Younger men may draw on new stereotypes and endure new challenges, but, like their fathers, they face the problem of forever trying to convince themselves and their male peers that they are real men.

In his introductory essay, Gutmann focuses on three topics. First he addresses the relationship between local and global changes in discourses and practices of masculinity. He concludes, as do most authors, that Latin American men reinterpret global discourses of gay culture and companionate marriage to fit their own circumstances. In his third topic, he justifies the decision to focus on men, rather than gender, by arguing that men, as men, wield power in the region. It is also true that

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the men described in the book seem to defend their masculinity primarily in all-male settings.

The second and central topic of Gutmann's essay focuses on the question of whether there is anything typical about Latin American men. Gutmann, again like most authors, argues for the presence of many masculinities in the region. He criticizes earlier scholarship for over-emphasizing dichotomies, such as the active/passive one used to portray Latin American men as concerned with dominating others. Indeed, Gutmann subtitles his essay "Discarding Manly Dichotomies in Latin America." But, like most authors in the volume, he ignores the unifying influence of the Catholic Church, which—as documented by Htun's book—continues to play a major role in shaping laws affecting the family. Latin American men may avoid going to Mass and may indulge in activities, such as drunkenness and promiscuity, that the Church condemns, but they nevertheless live in social worlds pervaded by Christian gender stereotypes. In contrast to social contract (and social Darwinist) justifications for male dominance, which portray women as too weak and silly to support themselves (Pateman 1988), Catholic justifications for patriarchy imagine a world in which women loosed from male authority would consort with the Devil. Catholic gender stereotypes thus require men to actually control their wives and daughters, a far more difficult—if not impossible—task than merely feeding and protecting them.

Gutmann's volume includes essays by several scholars from Latin America, realizing one of his aims in putting the collection together. After an informative introductory essay by Mara Viveros Vigoya, which analyzes previous research on masculinity in Latin American countries, the book is divided into three sections. The first, entitled "Urban Men and Masculinities," includes five essays by sociologists and anthropologists who studied working- and lower-class communities. Except for the essay by Francisco Ferrándiz, which documents the stigmatized masculinity experienced by jobless and futureless men in a Venezuelan shantytown, the remaining essays focus on the economic and social forces that men confront in asserting their masculinity. Norma Fuller, who analyzed interviews with 120 men in three Peruvian cities, provides an excellent overview of men's problems. To be recognized as a full adult, a man must be a father, but fatherhood requires him to balance the inherently contradictory demands of the domestic and public spheres. To the degree that a man demonstrates his freedom from wifely control by hanging out with his buddies, he appears to waste scarce family resources and is unable to oversee his wife's activities. Agustín Escobar Latapí, in an essay analyzing life histories collected from working class men in three Mexican cities, documents men's fear of losing power and identity as declining male employment forces women to take up paid labor outside the home. He also discusses young men's

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desire for a closer relationship with their wives than their fathers experienced, echoing Hirsch's findings. Claudia Fonseca, who studied gender relations in a Brazilian working class neighborhood of Porto Alegre, documents the deep animosity between men and women that Gregg also found, and describes how women taunt men with being cuckolded. Although Fonseca suggests that men's difficulty supporting women and children fuels men's fears of wifely betrayal, it seems to me that female adultery reveals, as no other action can, a man's failure to exercise the control over his wife as required by Catholic gender stereotypes. Finally, Brandes describes how men who joined a branch of Alcoholics Anonymous in Mexico City use their AA meetings to assert the aggressive and sexist masculinity they can no longer demonstrate through drinking with buddies.

The second section, called "Representations and Practices," contains five essays, two of which focus on historical representations. Florencia Mallon analyzes images of the heroic and doomed warrior idealized by fighters for agrarian reform in Chile, 1965–1974. And Peter Beattie argues that Brazilians during the late nineteenth century experienced army service as dishonorable because impressment too closely resembled the slavery that had recently been abolished. The other three essays analyze written texts. Daniel Balderston argues that Puig's footnotes to his famous 1976 novel, *The Kiss of the Spider Woman*, reflect mock-philosophy rather than scientific findings. Miguel Díaz Barriga analyzes Chicano writings to explore how authors recast *verguenza* (shame) from a female virtue commonly associated with modesty and fear of being caught, to a male virtue reflecting a sense of personal dignity and trustworthiness that both attracts and justifies community respect. Finally, X. Andrade analyzes the writings and associated cartoons of a political journalist in Guayaquil, Ecuador, who used implications of sexual misconduct to criticize the corruption of local officials.

The third section, titled "Sexuality and Paternity," contains four articles, two of which focus on homosexuality. Richard Parker analyzes the emergence of a self-identified gay subculture in Brazilian cities since the 1970s, and explains how funding for AIDS prevention programs enabled an advertising campaign that portrayed homosexuals as gorgeous, hyper-masculine men. And Héctor Carillo analyzes Mexican *telenovelas* to observe that even when conveying positive images of men who are attracted to other men, *telenovelas* nevertheless avoid portraying either a gay community or gay sexual practices. The two remaining essays explore paternity. José Olavarría observes that Chilean working-class men, who experience pressure to assume household duties due to male job insecurity and the family's need for a working wife's income, handle the problem by doing some housework on weekends while avoiding further pressure by spending long hours away from

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home. Finally, Donna Guy argues that laws decriminalizing honor crimes in Buenos Aires at the turn of the twentieth century protected the privacy and patriarchal power of men by discouraging everyone from reporting rapes.

The books and essays reviewed here suggest three conclusions. First, people in Latin America have access to multiple sexual stereotypes, including positive gay ones, that they can draw upon when affirming gender identities. Second, urbanization, the insecurity of male employment, women's increasing participation in the paid labor force, and "modern" images of companionate marriage are leading younger people to portray themselves as discarding "traditional" patriarchal family relationships, supposedly as based on obligation and respect, in favor of family ties based on affection and communication. Finally, men find it more difficult to portray themselves as "good" than do women, not only because recent economic and social changes are undermining men's economic power, but also because the Catholic Church's continuing influence in the region insures that gender stereotypes based on Adam and Eve remain salient.

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