

## Field, Habitus and Capitals from Narratives of Unemployed Men with Families

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### Abstract

This article proposes as a transversal axis the analysis of masculinity in unemployed men with families. The aim of this article is to analyse the connotations of field, habitus and capitals based on the narratives of unemployed men with families. In order to answer this question, an interpretative paradigm research with an exploratory multiple qualitative case study design with seven lower middle-class men from Bogotá, Colombia, is proposed. By means of a semi-structured biographical interview in which categorical analysis was carried out after axial coding. In the results, the hegemonic expectations of the male gender are recognised as explicit, which are linked to the ideal of well-being that cannot be fulfilled. Social class is dynamic, maintaining constructed fields and hegemonic gender habitus apprehended and stripped of symbolic capital. These conditions together reveal that masculinity is constructed on the basis of hegemonic expectations of what is expected of men within the social structure. It generates tension to assume the change of the field, habitus and capitals at the moment of unemployment.

### Keywords

Unemployment, social structure, habitus, masculinities

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## **Campo, Habitus y Capitales desde Narrativas de Hombres Desempleados con Familia**

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### **Resumen**

Este artículo plantea como eje transversal el análisis desde la masculinidad en hombres desempleados con familia. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar las connotaciones de campo, habitus y capitales desde las narrativas de hombres desempleados con familia. Para dar respuesta a esta cuestión se plantea una investigación bajo el paradigma interpretativo con diseño de estudio de caso cualitativo múltiple exploratorio con siete varones de clase media baja de Bogotá, Colombia. Mediante entrevista semiestructurada biográfica en donde se realizó análisis categorial previa codificación axial. En los resultados se reconoce como explícitas las expectativas hegemónicas de género masculino las cuales son vinculadas al ideal de bienestar que no logra cumplirse. La clase social es dinámica, mantiene campos construidos y habitus de género hegemónicos aprehendidos y despojados del capital simbólico. El conjunto de estas condiciones devela que la masculinidad se construye a partir de expectativas hegemónicas sobre lo esperado del hombre dentro de la estructura social. Genera tensión asumir el cambio del campo, habitus y capitales al momento de desempleo.

### **Palabras clave**

Desempleo, estructura social, habitus, masculinidades

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The social construction of masculinity has been analyzed from paradigms centered on power, hegemony and violence (Schongut, 2012; Etayo, 2019), aspects that in research concerned with understanding the dynamics and transformations around gender, are nuanced by the constitution of subjectivities and intersubjectivities (Mara, 2018). However, trends in masculinities studies are characterized by analyzing the topic as a transversal axis in the changing roles played by men in different social scenarios. One of them is employment and unemployment, so it is essential to understand "the meaning of masculinity for social analysis" (Télez & Verdú, 2011), from an interdisciplinary perspective.

The male experience of unemployment generates a deconstruction of the social class expectations provided by the status of being employed. The acquisition of money promotes male hegemony, which essentially considers that one is truly a man if he fulfills the three Ps: Provider, Protector and Progenitor (Gilmore, 1994). These cultural connotations have given him the hegemony of power and control within the family. However, this power and control is lost, or better yet, put at risk, when experiencing the state of being unemployed, in such a way that being an unemployed man allows for the emergence of changes and transformations in the role played by the male-male within the household and society. Especially in relation to the change of roles, the emergence of other values of masculinity and resistance to the same changes generated by unemployment (Pino & Traura, 2011).

For the framework of analysis of social class and its relationship with being unemployed, we resort to the approaches developed by Bourdieu (2000) on constructivist structuralism. The one that the French sociologist raises the dilemma that the human being has to face in social interaction; which, from the constructivist axis must face the relationships with the habitus, capital and agents; and, from the structuralism axis with the global space and social fields (Jimenez, 2019). The construction and constitution of masculinities are conditioned by a historical perspective that analyzes how structures permeate the individual in his own construction of identity and relationships with others, according to the trajectory he follows in each of the social spheres. The perception and experience of the situations faced by unemployed men are constrained by social structures, so Bourdieu approaches (2000) facilitate the understanding of the construction of social class as a category of analysis in the experience of unemployment.

Likewise, it is fundamental to understand that the varied and dynamic social fields are the scenarios where the interaction between the individual and the structure develops throughout the life of each individual. This is conceived as a structured and structuring social space composed of institutions, agents, rules and practices (Vizcarra, 2002). Patriarchy, based on male hegemony, is the result of a series of institutions, agents and sociocultural practices that normalized, implanted and legitimized it with actions of exclusion, domination and constitution of a "machismo" in crisis and in the process of resignification (Redondo, 2019). The binary paradigm of the sex/gender system, that is, between male/female, man/woman, boy/girl, is also in this process of resignification.

Complementarily, interaction in these spheres is mediated by the capitals that each individual possesses, such as the economic, cultural and symbolic. These are forms of legitimization and constitution of power systems in society that have generated a constant struggle of individuals to have greater access to each of these capitals. On this depends their ability to manoeuvre in adverse situations, their social position and their status in relation to

their reference groups in each specific area of social life. Each individual acquires them in a diverse and non-homogeneous way, due to the historical interaction with social structures, this develops unconsciously or not explicitly in disadvantaged conditions.

Being employed allows access to economic capital, and around it allows the acquisition and construction of symbolic and cultural capitals, in such a way that the employment/unemployment binomial has allowed the emergence of psychological capital (Fernandez, 2018) as an important agent in the construction of subjectivity and intersubjectivity. The hardest blow for the unemployed is losing the ability to earn money to be able to exercise their role as a provider. This experience and experience affects the psychological capital, if he/she has not forged a character to face adverse situations, as in the case of not having a job.

According to Bourdieu (2000) capital proposal, the concept of habitus is understood as a set of principles and values that structure the way of feeling, perceiving and relating to the world and to others. The habitus is produced within a field, understood as a conglomerate of power relations between agents and institutions with the objective of legitimizing a group's own practices. Hegemonic masculinity is a prevailing habitus in Western societies, which is gestated within a field of relationships. For example, professions have been structured along gender lines, some for women and others for men. In the case of the study at hand, the work environment and the provider habitus have been developed and designated to men.

To complete the scheme of analysis, we turn to the concept of social class, which in this perspective moves away from its reduction only to economic terms, or to a set of static characteristics such as age or origin of the individual. Like most concepts, the concept of social class is relational, it is constructed in the dynamics of interaction between the individual and the structure (Bourdieu, 2000). Being employed guarantees permanence and belonging to a social class that develops in areas, establishes habits and strengthens capitals. An unemployed man, in the context of a hegemonic and patriarchal society, evidences the vulnerability of losing the usual role of provider, protector and progenitor.

The theoretical perspective on the understanding of reality reconciles the objectivist position that gives weight to the social structure that is beyond the reach of the individual, historically organized and grounded, which provides the objective conditions of social reality. At the same time, it recreates how the individual constructs his own experience, his subjectivity around this social objectivity, offering a multiplicity of explanations based on the particular trajectories of each subject and group. Under this theoretical perspective, the researcher becomes aware of being part of this objective and subjective duality (Meler, 2012), within the same research process. Each of the analyses from a scientific point of view must take into account the assessment and control of the researcher's own subjectivity in relation to the social field he/she analyzes (Bourdieu, 2000).

The aim of this paper is to analyze the connotations of field, habitus and capitals from the narratives of unemployed men with families in order to establish the dynamic relationship between the subject and the broader structures that have conditioned their own subjectivity. With the intention of offering the reader an understanding of socio-cultural processes, based on methodological bridges that articulate the structural levels of society with the particular practices of the actors, in a dialectical relationship (Vizcarra, 2002), in this case those derived from unemployed men.

## Methodology

This work is located in an interpretative paradigm with a qualitative approach, under the multiple and exploratory case study design from the perspective of Robert Yin (1994; 2009). This consisted of: identifying the case, locating the participants, consolidating the case and analyzing the data. It is based on the recognition of people as bearers of knowledge and that through narratives they account for diverse perspectives of reality. This allowed us to understand unemployed men as a community that shares experiences, in which collective and individual perceptions of reality are intertwined (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000; Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). This made it possible to analyze gender expectations and the ideal of well-being in unemployed men with families. From an understanding of class and social capital, based on the relationship between the subjective trajectories of the participants and the historical interaction with the social structures in the real context.

Seven heterosexual men of middle and low socioeconomic status from five localities in Bogotá, Colombia, were included. The age range was between 34 and 48 years, unemployed for a period of 1 to 4 years, with secondary education, established formal relationships and with one or two children (Table 1). The contextual aspects taken into account to constitute the case, according to Yin (1994; 2009), were the common characteristics mentioned, as well as the definition of the geographic location. The fieldwork was conducted between February and December 2018.

**Table 1**  
*Study participants*

Name	Age Years	Educational level Profession	Number of children	Marital status	Time of unemployment / years	Socio-economic stratum*	Locality of Bogotá
Mauricio	38	Systems Engineer Information	2	Married	4	3	Tunjuelito
Joseph	34	Systems Librarianship and Archival Science	1	Free Union	1	3	Kennedy
Miguel	41	Bachelor's degree	1	Free union	2	1	Usme
Camilo	48	Bachelor's degree Not finished university	1	Free union	4	1	Kennedy
Antonio	44	Bachelor's degree	1	Free union	1	1	Ciudad Bolívar
Jorge	43	Physiotherapist	2	Married	2	4	Fontibon
Eliecer	36	Graphic Designer	1	Married	1	2	Ciudad Bolívar

\*In Colombia, socio-economic stratification refers to a classification of residential properties in strata from 1 to 6 (where 1 is the lowest). This is due to a differentiated classification in the payment of public services and state subsidies (DANE, s.f).

Source. Prepared by the authors.

### **Sampling was Phased as Follows**

Qualitative sampling was carried out in several phases, as follows:

a) Snowball technique, b) Purposive sampling, and c) Convenience sampling (Bernard, 2006; Morse, 1991; Taylor and Bogdan, 1996). Prior informed consent was obtained from each of the participants. Seven semi-structured interviews (Bernard, 1998) were conducted using a biographical approach. The interviews were conducted by one of the researchers in places selected by the participants.

The average duration was 2 hours and 30 minutes, based on a guide of questions, previously published by the research team and whose thematic axes were: (a) Genealogy, (b) Relationship with the family of origin, (c) Schooling, (d) Work history, (e) Meanings, supports, achievements and difficulties in the development of work, (f) Relationships with other men and women, (g) Responsibilities and rights, (h) Contribution and distribution of income in the household, (i) Family government, (j) Care and upbringing of children, (k) Domestic activities (Mendieta-Izquierdo, et al. , 2022). These aspects made it possible to understand class and social capital from the relationship between the subjective trajectories of the individuals involved and the historical interaction with social structures. The interviews were faithfully transcribed from audio to Word text by one of the researchers.

### **Information Systematization**

The axial, selective and open coding process was used (Gibbs, 2007; Richards, 2009), in which codes were assigned to those who responded as closely as possible to the interviewees' narratives. Subsequently, relationships were generated between the codes, responding to axial coding, which were constructed mainly on the basis of the notion of "belonging" to a certain family. This allowed the subsequent construction of networks to facilitate the understanding of the relationship between categories. Selective coding was carried out, insofar as it responded to the careful selection of the researchers, several readings were carried out to select the most relevant information from the interviews. Action carried out by a researcher and a research assistant.

Once the information was coded, families of categories were constructed to classify the information into broader groups, which allowed the data to be interpreted. This formed what is called the Hermeneutic Unit (the set of categories, codes and comments) and was the basis for generating an analytical report of the information found. This became the last step of this part of the analysis, in which a written report was produced from the participants' narratives, trying to provide a common thread based on the families of codes created.

Based on the systematization in Atlas Ti of the seven interviews, a total of 152 textual quotes from the participants' narratives were coded in a total of 13 categories of analysis that show the relationship between the unemployment situation, their personal life trajectories and the gender expectations associated with the personal and family sphere, as well as the idea of well-being based on access to economic remuneration. During the information systematization exercise, the importance of establishing the relationship between these narratives and the broader social structure became evident.



It is necessary that the analysis of qualitative information contributes to the understanding of social phenomena, with a relational stance between theory and practice, promoting an approach that validates that "every act of research is both empirical and theoretical. Thus, facts do not speak for themselves, they have a meaning independent of the reading that each one applies" (Gutiérrez, 2005).

For this case, an interpretative paradigm is proposed, guided by the concepts of Field, Capitals and Social Class of the structuralism of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2000). The Atlas Ti programmer was used to carry out the systematization and categorization. Based on the categories of analysis of the thematic guide of the biographical interview, codes were generated that allowed the identification of three emerging categories: a) The relationship between social class status and gender expectations, b) Social class and power in the micro-social sphere, and c) The non-valuation of domestic work.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The study was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Universidad Militar Nueva Granada, which approved it, as established in clause 15 of the IMP HUM 2654 project initiation act. The process of informed consent and data anonymity was exhausted. The current international guidelines for studies in humans were taken into account, in addition to considering it a research study without risk. The universal ethical principles established in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights (2005) were adopted. The principle of giving back to the participants through art was contemplated, with a staging in the framework of contemporary dance (*Desvío Danza UMNG*), a work that was presented in several academic spaces. The interview did not violate the privacy of the participants nor did it generate behavioral changes.

### **Results**

In order to establish the results, priority was given to the analysis of the relationships between subjectivity and the social structure present in the lives of the participants, based on their unemployed status. The relationship between the categories constructed and the number of textual quotations provided by each interviewee is shown below: gender expectations (n=23), masculinity roles (n=27), economic life (n=24) and emotional well-being (n=14) are relevant, representing 88 quotes from the interviewees. This allows us to establish that all reflections are made in relation to what generates the condition of unemployment. Their own reflection on what masculinity means throughout their lives, and the structural conditioning factors that shape their access to capital and their position in the social class.

In the narratives, participants made explicit the gender expectations associated with an ideal of well-being that cannot be fulfilled by being unemployed, generating tensions with themselves, with their families and with the environment, specifically in relation to social class. The social class of these men is vulnerable due to their unemployment situation, when analyzing that this is a dynamic concept, what varies in itself is not the objective social class, since people can continue to maintain the *habitus* they have acquired throughout their lives.

What changes is the social class status, the material conditions of existence and professional practice or trade, plus the change of role as provider.

Likewise, they modify the objective relations mediated by the symbolic, among their own objective social class, which calls into question status and recognition, provoking shame, exclusion and frustration for not being able to respond to the expectations of the social structure, which historically drives a patriarchal society. Social class is not only defined in terms of access to goods and services, but is also expressed in terms of the relationship between capitals and trajectories of individuals within specific groups such as family, peers. Unemployment mainly strips participants of their symbolic capital, largely annuls their ability to define themselves as men and to be recognized as subjects with agency and the possibility of exercising power in their environments.

Social class responds both to an economic system that is configured as the dominant socioeconomic structure, which establishes the supply and demand for employment with the cultural and symbolic credentials one must have to access it. On a day-to-day basis, social class serves a symbolic system of legitimate exercise of power, which is largely lost in the condition of unemployment, as expressed by the study participants as a whole. The relationship between the subjectivity of the individual in terms of how he presents his narrative about unemployment and the objectivity of the social structure that is imposed on everyone, raises situations that give meaning to categories that are common and recurrently presented, despite the fact that they are individuals with different social positions.

### **Social Class and Gender Expectations**

The men interviewed here construct a sense of masculinity based on the idea of being the provider of the household and the leader of decisions about family affairs. Frustration at not achieving this is repeated throughout the narratives:

It was very hard to be unemployed, because it was facing a very hard reality, with the frustration of not being able to get a job, to be able to support the family. (Mauricio 38 years old, 4 years without a job).

The concept of provider is rooted in a patriarchal culture, which is sometimes validated in the thought structures of both men and women:

She has been given everything, that's why she always reproaches me that she is the one who has to pay all the utility bills. Because that's how her brother does it, he's the one who pays for everything in his house, she says that's the way it should be. That's not easy for me. (Jorge 43 years old, 2 years without a job).

Social class is built around the hegemonic social structure of what it means to be a man; it is related to economic dynamics and access to money. That is, regardless of the origin of these people, their educational or socioeconomic level. The expectation is to maintain the household; it is a necessity and one of the most relevant tensions that unemployment generates, as stated by Miguel (41 years old, 1 year unemployed):



...And suddenly the economic issue. We have always had economic problems, in the sense that I have to pay for everything, I have to go out to invite her and she doesn't put much money in. So, I don't know! Maybe she also has a frustration in that sense. Like why didn't I get a guy who has money? I don't know, I mean, I'm speculating. But maybe that could be part of her frustration.

The financial aspect allows us to understand the relationship between the class status of the unemployed and the properties of the symbolic interaction with the partner. Here the man feels at a profound disadvantage, questioning the very subjectivity of his partner's expectations.

### **Social Class and Power in the Micro-Social**

Access to the dominant economic system makes it possible to increase the symbolic and cultural capital of individuals. In practical terms, this allows them to exercise situations of power in different scenarios, mediated by subjectivity, which is reconfigured to the extent that the situation of unemployment becomes permanent and enduring in time. This situation reconfigures and blurs the hegemonic role of man, as Camilo says (48 years 4 years unemployed):

I've always been seen as a leader to a certain extent, not only to my family, but also to that group of friends and to my wife, but now, at this point, that leader figure has definitely faded away for the last couple of years or more.

Remaining unemployed for a prolonged period of time favors the reconfiguration of roles within the social class and family environment. This is part of individual self-recognition and of the tension that unemployment poses in terms of the rejection generated by the social structure. This is part of the individual's self-recognition and of the tension that unemployment poses in terms of the rejection generated by the social structure. This manifests itself in the thought systems of those around the individual and, in turn, in the permanence over time of a situation that takes root in everyday life. This situation undermines the individual's entire capital, leaving him or her increasingly vulnerable and with fewer alternatives to face the social field.

### **The Non-Valuation of Domestic Work. It Does not Matter if it is a Man or a woman who does it**

Experiencing unemployment as a man leads to a change of roles within the household, such as taking on aspects of domestic work. The non-valuation of domestic work is a situation that has historically been associated with women's work. This is explained because the condition of unemployment expresses one of the premises of the socioeconomic structure, which is that of not valuing jobs that do not generate economic income, which transcends the fact of who does it. Camilo (48 years old and unemployed for 4 years):

I contribute to building what is not seen. When you come home and find everything tidy, when you come home and find a plate of food. Even if it's a contribution you don't see or don't want to see, it's different.

Position ratified and complemented by Eliecer (36 years old, 1 year unemployed):

Practically I do all the domestic activities, because I am in the house all the time. So, it is difficult because she is working, but she hardly collaborates. She says she's working, that she's tired, that I'm doing what? I'm not doing anything.

This situation recognizes the historical conditioning that the social structure imposes on each and every individual, in terms of the evaluation of what is correct, what is valuable and what is not. It is also evident that being at home is assumed as a role reversal of the hegemonic patriarchal structure, which places men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere. This role reversal is uncomfortable, generates frustration and is a recurring situation in the accounts of the participants, such as Jose (34 years old, 1 year unemployed) stated:

I bathed the child, changed him, dressed him, gave him a bottle, I was with him. I was with the child for six months, since he was born, all the time. Well, I was the one who was up all the time, almost playing the mother.

Thus, the change of roles institutionalized by the patriarchal and binary tradition is a *habitus* and a field that has been deeply re-signified. The above was evidenced in what was said by Antonio (44 years old and 1 year unemployed):

Practically I do all the domestic activities, because I am in the house all the time, so it is difficult because she is working. She hardly collaborates, because she says she is working. She says she's tired, that I don't do anything all day, that I don't do anything.

The results allow us to affirm that field, *habitus* and capitals in the context of unemployed men are a tool of constructivist sociology that allows us to validate the significant and profound change of the roles inherited by the hegemonic patriarchal system. The results of this study show that masculinity and the expectations of masculinity in each social class to which the participants belong, transcends the figure of: upper or lower-middle class. It is associated with power relations that are symbolically lost when there is a situation of unemployment. The main consequence of unemployment is the loss of the possibility of exercising this power within the social group, in addition to the undermining of the individual's entire capital that comes from not having access to money.

## Discussion

The condition of unemployment and masculinity is conceived as a social field, a situation that is understood as "a set of objective relations between historically defined positions" (Gutiérrez, 2005) that in turn have particular tensions in the trajectory of each individual, and that originate in broader and more complex social structures. These tensions lie in the amount of capital possessed by the participants. There are three types of capital: economic, social and cultural (Bourdieu, 2000). Each field, in this case masculinity and unemployment, has a capacity for

production, diffusion and conservation. Capital is understood as the wealth of the countryside, its appropriation and control, the object of the struggle (Vizcarra, 2002). The legitimate exercise of power is conceived as a *habitus* of the traditional patriarchal model of hegemonic masculinity (Gilmore, 1994; Connell, 1987).

The results presented correspond with other research that has addressed the issue of men and unemployment or the construction of masculinities (Meler, 2012; Figueroa-Pilz, 2010; Fierro-Morales, 2010). Here we validate the scarce intention to reconfigure what it means to be a man within patriarchal societies, as well as the consequences this implies for their emotional configuration. The concept of social class used in this analysis provides an additional understanding of the phenomenon of unemployment in men, since it does not focus on an economic perspective as social class has traditionally been configured (Meler, 2012). On the contrary, it is understood as the sphere where the symbolic configuration that sustains social relations and the loss of the possibility of exercising power, the foundation of class status, is established.

By analyzing being an unemployed man from the perspective of Bourdieu (2000) constructivist sociology in the field of masculinities and unemployment, economic, symbolic and cultural capital, specifically from the hegemonic patriarchal paradigm; and symbolic capital. It is possible to work on the symbolic referents, language, value systems and beliefs of the subjects, as well as to delve into the meaning of being an unemployed man. In turn, it opens a perspective of analysis that frames unemployment as an economic phenomenon, but also a cultural and symbolic one, due to its association with educational capital, but also with beliefs about health, as suggested by previous studies (Figueroa-Pilz, 2010).

From another perspective, the emotional consequences of work crises for men can take various forms. However, studies have shown different strategies that men, given their gender condition, tend to use (Meler, 2012) as a way of reversing the stress caused by work pressure situations, whether due to their absence, risk or precariousness. Men tend to evade rather than confront their discomfort through health risk practices (Figueroa-Pilz, 2010). In other words, it is necessary to have an impact on the subjectivity of men's emotional configuration, since avoidance and anger generate health problems, as stated in the literature (Meler, 2012; Figueroa-Pilz, 2010). The unemployed man finds it difficult to accept the dynamics of the field and the *habitus*, it is not easy for him to assume his situation that is going to change his role, due to the hegemonic and patriarchal socio-cultural structures.

The results open a debate on social structures and how they shape employability, quality, duration of jobs and working conditions. The above are a structural condition for men's failure to meet gender expectations associated with the provision, protection of the household. The malaise evidenced by the participants in the study must be addressed in the context of the characteristics of the neoliberal system, globalization and labor, situations that are expected to be understood from all the elements, institutions and actors that are part of social transformation (Figueroa-Pilz, 2010).

The trajectories analyzed in this study underline the fact that unemployment implies questions in the subjects, a situation of subjective interest (Fierro-Morales, 2010). This may be based on the changes in the productive systems in current economies, which pose challenges for the insertion of subjects in terms of employability. We find in this study that in order to reconfigure the notion of masculinity, as a field, it is necessary to analyze the economic and

industrial model, which is undoubtedly the organizing axis of family and social life, and therefore of identities. In this way, its restructuring affects the subjective experience and poses other ways of situating oneself in the symbolic universe, which is nothing other than the way in which we inevitably confront a cultural problem (Fierro-Morales, 2010).

The narratives of the participants are the axis of the relationship between social structure and subjectivity; their experiences are the prism through which they mean and attempt to explain in part their current situation. It is thus understood how they situate themselves in a social context and how they believe they are seen and treated by other subjects with whom they interact. This study contributes to understanding unemployment as a cultural and social form, which is directly associated with the category of work, affecting the culture and identity of individuals (Fierro-Morales, 2010).

The condition of unemployment stands out as a pathogenic situation, with men presenting a higher degree of vulnerability. The proposed system of the masculine ideal is based on the capitalist and industrial system, in order to feel as a bearer of masculinity, in this contemporary moment, men must work (Meler, 2012). Therefore, it is necessary to reconfigure the analysis of the social structures that condition the value and belief systems of individuals, in this case masculinity and unemployment.

### Conclusion

One of the desires of the participants in this study is to continue constructing their masculinity based on the hegemonic expectations of what a man should be within the social, family and group structure. Despite their unemployment situation, none of them change their conception of masculinity, since the situations they are going through, such as being at home, are assumed with evasiveness or as temporary. Despite having been unemployed for a long time, they recognize changes in their *habitus* and risks in their capital.

The social class of individuals is explained by family economic life, which at the time of the research is explained by the situation of unemployment. That is, not being able to generate income distances him from gender expectations, generates frustration and also invites him to reconfigure himself in the power structure, both micro and macro-social. Similarly, both social class and family economic life are associated with participants' family trajectories, as their stories and experiences give content to their perception of themselves and their personal interests, which, once again, are underpinned by the gender expectations imposed by the social class to which they belong.

The analysis by categories suggests that the participants' perception of masculinity is associated with family economic life, that is, the role of provider and protector. Unemployment breaks this main function of traditional masculinity, which distances individuals from the ideal of well-being and its different manifestations (physical, mental and emotional). Likewise, unemployment invites us to evoke how their emotional construction was configured in childhood. The situations grouped in the men's family trajectories allow us to understand family structures that for the most part reproduce hegemonic schemes of what it means to be a man.

That is, in a role of economic provider, with an explosive character from the cultural point of view, and with little emotional expressiveness from the symbolic point of view.

Approaching this type of studies from the proposals of constructivist sociology, with the postulates of Bourdieu and other researchers, allows us to affirm that research must be increasingly flexible, open and interdisciplinary due to the multidimensionality and polysemy of the phenomena inherent to sociocultural processes. Studies on the field of masculinity and employment/unemployment, in the context of *habitus* and capitals, allow us to understand the change of roles and the dynamics of transformation of masculinities.

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