

## **Pedagogies of masculinity: reflections on processes of subjectivity of male EJA teachers**

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### **Abstract**

The objective of this article is to understand, through the speeches of three male teachers of Youth and Adult Education, the ways in which hegemonic masculinity acted in their processes of subjectivation. The aim is to reveal the negation of sensitivity as an essential dimension of the pedagogy of masculinity, to point out the ambiguities of bodily experiences in the process of becoming a man and, finally, to unveil the confrontations lived by the participants, regarding masculinity in the process of constructing the teaching identity. The research is qualitative, with an exploratory focus. Semi-structured interviews are adopted for the construction of the data. The results point to a constant tension between the unattainable ideal of hegemonic masculinity and the creative rupture with this parameter.

### **Keywords**

Masculinity. Teaching. Subjectivity. Youth and Adult Education.

## **Pedagogias da masculinidade: reflexões acerca de processos de subjetivação de homens professores da EJA**

### **Resumo**

O objetivo deste artigo é compreender, por meio dos discursos de três homens professores da Educação de Jovens e Adultos, os modos como a masculinidade hegemônica atuou em seus processos de subjetivação. Pretende-se revelar a negação da sensibilidade como dimensão essencial da pedagogia da masculinidade, apontar as ambiguidades das experiências corporais no processo de tornar-se homem e, por fim, desvelar os enfrentamentos vividos pelos participantes, relativamente à masculinidade no processo de construção da identidade docente. A pesquisa é qualitativa, com enfoque exploratório. Adotam-se entrevistas semiestruturadas para a construção dos dados. Os resultados apontam para uma tensão constante entre o inatingível ideal da masculinidade hegemônica e a ruptura criativa com esse parâmetro.

### **Palavras-chave**

Masculinidade. Docência. Subjetividade. Educação de Jovens e Adultos.

## **Pedagogías de la masculinidad: reflexiones sobre procesos de subjetividad de profesores varones de EJA**

### **Resumen**

El objetivo de este artículo es comprender, a través de los discursos de tres hombres profesores de Educación de Personas Jóvenes y Adultas, las formas en que la masculinidad hegemónica actuó en sus procesos de subjetivación. El objetivo es revelar la negación de la sensibilidad como dimensión esencial de la pedagogía de la masculinidad, señalar las ambigüedades de las experiencias corporales en el proceso de convertirse en hombre y finalmente desvelar las confrontaciones vividas por los participantes respecto a la masculinidad en el proceso de construcción de la identidad docente. La investigación es cualitativa, con un enfoque exploratorio. Para la construcción de los datos, se adoptan entrevistas semiestructuradas. Los resultados apuntan a una tensión constante entre el ideal inalcanzable de la masculinidad hegemónica y la ruptura creativa con este parámetro.

### **Palabras clave**

Masculinidad. Enseñanza. Subjetividad. Educación juvenil y de adultos.

## **1 Introduction**

The demand for equity, even though came through women, is only possible with the participation of men, since they are the one who in charge of many institutional spaces, having positions of power and economic goods. This involvement occurs ambiguously since men simultaneously dominate and must themselves adapt to the normative parameter of hegemonic masculinity (CONNELL, 2016).

With this in mind, it would be up to the subjects to adapt themselves to the most correct way of being a man. As a result, stratifications are created within this group and the domination of women is legitimized (CONNELL, 2016). These dynamics cross the entire society, being regularly observed within institutions such as the school (JUNQUEIRA, 2013; SILVA; DIAS; RIOS, 2020), marking the processes of subjectivation of men - and, in our case, of male teachers - from an early age.

That said, it is worth mentioning that subjectivity is understood as “[...] how the subjects experience themselves” (FOUCAULT, 2006, p. 236). However, there is no ready subjectivity, but processes of subjectification. We studied them to identify “[...] what the subject must be, to what conditions they are submitted, what's their status, what position they must occupy” (FOUCAULT, 2006, p. 235). When these singularities

are teachers, the modes of subjectification are visualized through “[...] events that transform relationships, knowledge, exercises, books” (CORAZZA, 2009, p. 103).

Accordingly, this article reflects on the problem of tensions experienced by three male teachers of Youth and Adult Education (EJA, in Portuguese) in the face of hegemonic masculinity. As an objective, we propose to understand how this mechanism performed in the subjectivity processes of the research participants. That being said, this article is organized as follows: initially, we present the methodology we adopted; soon after, we explored, in the discussion, three central dimensions of the problem under analysis (the denial of sensitivity, the ambiguities of the body, and the transition from student to teacher); and, finally, we point out some implications of these results for the training and the performance of the male teachers at EJA.

## 2 Methodology

We adopted, in this study, the qualitative approach with an exploratory focus, interested in the in-depth understanding of the experiences lived by the research participants (SANDÍN ESTEBAN, 2010). The qualitative approach embedded the epistemological choices from the beginning to the end of the text, guiding us in the theoretical choices, in the organization of the instruments for the construction of the data, and the choice of the analysis technique of the textual material obtained.

We organized the investigation in the following stages: in the exploratory phase, we carried out the bibliographic review and documentary analysis of the Pedagogical Course Project (PPC, in Portuguese) of Specialization in EJA. At the end of this phase, we proceeded to choose the sample of participants. The parameters for this composition were: being a graduate student; identify themselves as a man; and, finally, exercise teaching at EJA. Once these criteria were defined, we conducted an active search in the course's class, by invitation. Three students volunteered to participate: Antônio, Samuel, and Roberto (pseudonyms).

Antônio is 50 years old, Black, studied only in public schools. In addition to being a licensed teacher in Pedagogy, he is a police officer. Married, he lives with his wife and children. Samuel is 46 years old, mixed race, studied only in public schools. In a private institution, he obtained a degree in Geography, the discipline he teaches in the EJA course.

He's married, lives with his wife and children. Roberto, in turn, is 26 years old, mixed race, attended only public schools, graduated in Physical Education at a private institution. Like the other two participants, he's married and lives with his wife and children. All participants signed the Free and Informed Consent Form.

We adopted a semi-structured interview script as an instrument for constructing the data. It was produced from categories specific to the theoretical framework used in the research, the script consisted of two parts. In the first, there was a brief socioeconomic questionnaire. In the second - focused directly on the research problem -, there were three portions: family, school life, and teaching practice.

The interviews took place in October 2019. To analyze them, within the usual procedures of qualitative research in Education, we resort to Textual Discursive Analysis (ATD, in Portuguese). Inspired by Foucault (1988), ATD understands discourse as a practice of articulation between power and knowledge, in which all simplistic opposition between dominated and dominant is overcome. The speech (but also the silence) can be, simultaneously, vehicle and effect of the power, as well as a barrier for it.

To incite theory and empirical field, we focused on the common elements between the content of the participants' speeches and the historical conditions that allow them to say - or not to say - what they articulated. We did this aware that the participants' discursive practices make possible how they give meaning to becoming-teachers (CORAZZA, 2009) and becoming-man in their speeches (BENTO, 2012).

ATD is organized in three stages: unitarization, categorization, and text production (MORAES; GALIAZZI, 2006). In the present study, this process resulted in the following categories: 1) the denial of sensitivity as an initiation to the "pedagogy of masculinity" (MISKOLCI, 2010); 2) the body and the ambiguities of the sensitive; and 3) students and teachers: the confrontations in the choice of teaching.

### **3 The pedagogies of masculinities in the subjectivity processes of male EJA teachers**

Utilizing the Foucaultian approach, we understand the processes of subjectivity in their inseparable link to the mechanisms, characterized by being a "[...] network of interlocking mechanisms" (FOUCAULT, 1988, p. 47). When defining the notion of

mechanism in Foucault, Agamben (2005, p. 14) explains that it is about “[...] anything that can capture, guide, determine, intercept, model, control and ensure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, and speeches of living beings”. Furthermore, “[...] every mechanism implies [...] a process of subjectification”.

Certainly, Connell's definition (2016, p. 259) of hegemonic masculinity as a “[...] configuration of organized practices concerning the structure of gender relations” dialogues strongly with the Foucauldian perspective. This is because it isn't possible to think of genders outside of historical dynamics and their discursive regularities - as shown by Albuquerque Júnior (2013) in his archeology of the Northeastern male - nor of the connections between knowledge, power, and pleasure - as revealed by Bento (2012) in his research on changes in male subjectivities. Thus, the ways of thinking, saying, and doing are enabled by practices that, in the Foucauldian way, are discursive practices (MEZZAROBA; CARRIQUIRIBORDE, 2020, p. 10).

Since birth, the subject has been the object of different discourses on the gender that would be appropriate for them, a fact translated into “[...] roles, character traits, rights, obligations and a finite number of possibilities” (CAMPOMAR *et al.*, 2020, p. 21). From this perspective, we perceived the subtleties in encounters of these men with hegemonic masculinity as a mechanism of subjectivity inscribed in culture. The categorization, arranged in the titles of the following sections, synthesizes the encounters between the subjects and subjection, a process that finds in the body the place of its materialization (BUTLER, 2019).

### **3.1 The denial of sensitivity as an initiation to the pedagogy of masculinity**

The first question of the interview was about the subjects' life history. Antônio, from an early age, didn't have the figure of his father and was raised with four brothers. Samuel and Roberto, both raised by their grandparents, share with Antônio a peculiar space-time context: the rural countryside. Those responsible for the children, especially the men, devoted a lot of their time to working in the fields and gave little attention to their children and grandchildren. In their accounts, we note not only the absence of male figures in the home but the lack of space for sensitivity. In the domestic space was even revealed experiences of violence.

It's necessary to remember the importance of the family in the socialization process, especially concerning learning gender roles and the uses of the body. The similar class situation of the three participants also had implications for primary socialization. In the popular classes, there are other uses and even another awareness of the body and the phenomena and practices associated with it: hygiene and beauty care, sexuality, and pleasure, the use of domestic spaces, and privacy (BOLTANSKI, 1971).

Roberto, for example, reports that he slept in one of the rooms with an uncle. At some point, this relative kicked him out of the room, a fact that led the child, from then on, to sleep on a mattress on the floor in the living room. During his childhood, Roberto lived with his grandparents, an aunt, and this uncle, of whom he was the victim of verbal and physical assaults.

The memories of this participant's childhood are full of cartoons, among which Saint Seiya: Knights of the Zodiac and Dragon Ball Z. These are oriental productions with a physical combat theme, in which not infrequently there's depiction of violence, which were a huge success at the time. Roberto shows us the significant influence of these characters in his life, notably in the construction of traits of virility, such as courage and physical strength. His experience shows masculinity as a synonym of strength and domination (HAROCHE, 2013), as well as referring to the need to “[...] exaggerate the performance of masculinity” (CONNELL, 2016, p. 140) to differentiate themselves - above all from women and homosexuals, as will be shown below.

Roberto also mentions the absence of opportunities to demonstrate his weaknesses: “I was beaten up a lot by my uncle ... I didn't have a father figure to defend myself and that made me very sad, right?”. The impacts of these episodes on his upbringing are constant throughout the interview. Furthermore, when his uncle called him names, homosexuality was evoked as an insult: “He [...] called me gay, you know, fag”. According to him, a heterosexual, this made him see the homosexual “[...] as something bad”. He adds: **“I was constantly called names and that made me angry, a feeling of insecurity, helplessness and lack of protection”** (emphasis added).

Dos três participantes, Roberto apresenta mais detalhes sobre esse que é um dos mais violentos componentes dessa “pedagogia da masculinidade” (MISKOLCI,

2010): referimo-nos ao aprendizado ao qual os meninos são submetidos com vistas a exorcizar qualquer traço capaz de distanciá-los da masculinidade, sob o risco de serem associados à feminilidade e, quase que por consequência, à homossexualidade (JUNQUEIRA, 2013). Experiência similar é apresentada por Antônio: “*Se a gente fosse se agarrar com um menino, a família sempre dizia: ‘Isso é coisa de fresco [...]’. Mas a gente sempre se reprimia nesse sentido (de brincadeira de chegar e abraçar o outro)*”.

Being sensitive implies recognition of one's own weaknesses, openness to one's own affections and those of others. Hostile environments, such as those of the childhood of our participants, are marked by the fear of impotence (HAROCHE, 2013) and fight the development of sensitivity all the time, feeding back the mechanism of hegemonic masculinity. The price of this is the mutilation of subjectivities, with different consequences in the history of those involved, including their effective dynamics.

It is relevant to note how these data coincide with the reports of our interviews, showing that discourses and subjectivities are connected. While Antônio says: “When I was sad, I looked for my family”, Samuel and Roberto affirm, respectively, to have practices similar to that time: “Always, when I am [I was] sad [...] or with a problem, I always look for [looked for] an area [...] that is just me ‘and’ I cried hidden [...]. Really, when I was younger, there was a lot of (not crying)”. Denying sensitivity was essential to start the violent rituals of hegemonic masculinity.

### **3.2 The body and the ambiguities of the sensible**

When trying to obtain some elements regarding the participants' perceptions about their bodies and the gender inequalities associated with them, we asked Antônio if he had any memory that referred him to the distinctions between men and women in childhood and/or teenage years. He responded negatively. However, when we asked if he remembered racial prejudices, he points out other elements: “There was always discrimination between colleagues (who was Black, who was white)”. And he adds: “[...] mainly men had this: ‘Don't get near that guy because the hair will prickle you, [...] it will get you dirty’”.

According to Braga (2015), when analyzing the discursive constitution of the aesthetics of Black bodies in Brazil, he highlights the ways of reactivating and appropriating these discourses. The speech of others, recovered by Antônio, is part of the Brazilian archive of racist statements. “Moreno” is a linguistic strategy for whitening. The necessary distance “not to get prickled or get dirty” points to the social production of stigma, as the individual is reduced to “[...] a damaged and diminished person” (GOFFMAN, 2013, p. 6) or even pathogenic.

It's impossible to measure the effects of this violence on Antônio's subjectivity. So, despite having someone to lean on in times of sadness, when asked about how he discovered his own body and the so-called “boy” practices in childhood, the answers, for the most part, were quite vague: “Nothing, because I never changed, I have always been that person that I am”. However, the scene described above is so striking in Antônio's history that this “nothing” evoked by him, when trying to erase painful episodes related to his own body - after all, he himself is Black -, is very close to denial as a psychological defense strategy.

The same questions were asked of Samuel, who says: “I started masturbating early. [...] It was crazy”. In addition to the reference to masturbation, a ritual of body self-discovery common among boys, Samuel also brings up a kind of collective ritual of initiation to virility, specifically, going to the brothels: “I slept in cabarets, I enjoyed sleeping in cabarets, but it wasn't because I was there that I had to have sex to be more manly”.

Sexual practices, for Connell (2016), are one of the occasions that result in the production of masculinity and the learning of heterosexuality. With prostitutes, young men exercise not only sexual performances strictly linked to the genitals but modulation of affectivity. Some women can be resorted to just for pleasure; on the other hand, there are others with which the exercise of affection will demand another know-how because love will be directed to them: the wives. The ambiguities of male desire, therefore, are strongly intertwined with the positions to be occupied or not by women. In this environment, it is curious to note how, after saying that “I didn't have to have sex to be more manly”, Samuel adds: “I'm the most fearful person in the world”. The male and the fear, diametrically opposed, reveal the ambiguity of the subject.



As for Roberto, it's important to describe a scene from his school memories when asked about the interaction with male and female teachers: **With men, he was more resistant, [...] because men looked tougher** (emphasis added). This memory evokes characteristics of hegemonic masculinity - the fact of "being tough" - even at school. On the sociability in this space, Roberto adds: "I think I showed a lot of masculinity in defending my group of friends. My friends were like that too, and so were my friends' parents [...]. The parents [of the friends] said: 'This is a gay thing'; 'You really have to get the girl'". One of the characteristics of boys' socialization, the formation of "cliques" or groups (BAUBÉROT, 2013), often has the presence of older men, whose function is often to oversee the demonstrations of virility.

In another episode, his masculinity was put to the test by a girl: "I only know that the girl was calling me gay [...]. I don't know if she wanted me". What follows presents yet another angle of the problem. When he was called "gay", says Roberto: "I was very angry, because I remembered the memories I had when I was younger [...] and I attacked the girl". Again, we can observe the return of the imperative display of masculinity, which is also present in Samuel's narrative. Interestingly, however, the person which should be the object of his affection becomes the object of his violence. According to Bourdieu (2009, p. 64), "[...] the male privilege is also a trap [...] that imposes on every man the duty to affirm, in any and all circumstances, his virility", which is, "[...] above all, a burden".

For Connell (2016), another space for making men is sports, which is almost as important as sexual practices. Sports performance involves "ritualized combat", constituting itself as a "[...] place of male camaraderie, a source of identity" (CONNELL, 2016, p. 143). As an adult, jiu-jitsu worked for Roberto as an escape from his aggression: "When fighting, you pour a lot of energy [...] and become closer to people". Also, and not least in the case of this interviewee, the connection with the jiu-jitsu teacher was decisive in his choice to become a teacher.

### ***3.3 From students to teachers: struggles in the choice of teaching***

In the formal education, differences are more or less veiled by the schooling of bodies: different ways of behaving in different situations, the manner of walking,

speaking, dressing, and thinking. There is constant vigilance of the family and at school to ensure the boys' masculinity (LOURO, 2000). Through the articulation between incidents that happened in the family and school sphere of our interviewees, we diagnose relevant factors that, at least in parts, influenced their choice to teach.

Returning to the racist episode mentioned earlier, we had yet another question to Antônio, trying to identify his postures in the face of possible situations of sadness. He says: "It never happened at school". And he gives the reasons: "I was always that student who dedicated myself to studies and always speaks". Finally, he adds: "I never had that kind of thing at school (sadness). Never had".

It's curious to notice the almost successive recurrence to the adverb of frequency always and to the adverb of negation never. The linguistic and discursive structures here make an important intersection. When you are a subordinate subject, the strategy of always being "the best student possible" requires an enormous expenditure of energy to try to "compensate" for the fact of being who you are, with a view to "[...] inclusion allowed in a hostile environment"<sup>1</sup> (JUNQUEIRA, 2013, p. 489).

The acts of always study and speak and supports the never condition that seems to be about to happen all the time, in disguised or in apparent ways. In fact, regularly this never actually happens: "[...] the daily relationships within institutions will reproduce common social practices, including racism, in the form of explicit violence or micro-aggressions" (ALMEIDA, 2019, p. 32). Antônio tries to exempt the school from any responsibility: "This wasn't the school, but the students who were in the car with us". He seems to ignore, however, that the curriculum is exercised not only in the classroom but also outside of it.

Still regarding Antônio's relations with teaching, it's important to say that he already worked as a teacher in the courses offered by the Police, a context in which he had already found out that he liked to teach: "When I became a sergeant, I started teaching the other soldiers. I always taught, I always did that". Besides, two women decisively marked his choice to become a professional teacher: his wife, who is also a teacher, and a teacher from the public school system. This last professional noticed Antônio's dedication on the occasion of an English course offered by the Education

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<sup>1</sup> Junqueira's statement (2013) refers specifically to LGBT + students, but we believe it is equally applicable to the multitude of abject subjects, outside the norm, that are in the school space.

Department of that city. About the impact of this experience, the interviewee says: “That happened to me to teach in the civilian world. It was when I took this course that the city called me to teach”.

In Antônio's words, his exercise as a teacher begins with the development of the duties of his first profession in the police department. Despite being a “different” classroom, one cannot forget that school and military forces are disciplinary institutions. As such, they use techniques capable of defining “[...] a certain mode of political and detailed investment by the body” (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 134). Thus, they normalize the subjects through a powerful “[...] control equipment [...]” (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 167) that “[...] compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes” (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 176).

Furthermore, these anatomic-political investments in the body, both in the barracks and in the school, are nourished by the device of hegemonic masculinity. The Brazilian school system is historically built on references centered on “[...] adult, male, white, heterosexual, bourgeois and ‘healthy’” (JUNQUEIRA, 2013, p. 482), and in the school routine, one finds “[...] a curriculum in action at the service of framing, dehumanization, and marginalization” (JUNQUEIRA, 2013, p. 490) of subjects located outside these references.

In the barracks, the virile formation initiated in the family or in the teen “cliques”, to which we have alluded to before, in which the boy is in contact with his peers, is completed. Military service appears as the culmination of the fabrication of masculinity because in it the boy “[...] finishes acquiring physical strength, mastery of weapons, courage and a sense of discipline, becoming, at last, a ‘grown man’” (BAUBÉROT, 2013, p. 205).

The “that” mentioned by Antônio (“I always taught, I always did that”) he always did. How can we not refer to the preceding excerpts, in which the interviewee reinforces his constant effort to always be an excellent student or professional? At school or in the police force, his body is thoroughly educated to produce a well-behaved subject. His life is marked by the symbolic and material hierarchy operated by racism in conjunction with the tactics of normalization mobilized by disciplinary institutions, in formal and non-formal educational dynamics.

In the wake of these non-formal educational processes, we enter into Samuel's narrative. From an early age, his interaction with learning and teaching seems to be revealed in the work in the fields with his grandfather: "He took us [to the fields]. He went and called ... he taught and we went because I was very interested in learning something". The apprenticeship also took place through paths based on indigenous traditions: "As he was a caboclo, he took a lot of snake bites, but he didn't die because he had a ritual that we did [...]. We have a wisdom that was passed down from his grandparents".

Samuel's story is nuanced by traditional knowledge in which, on one hand, a certain performance of masculinity is required: use of force, physical resistance, and constant exposure to the risk of poisoning by dangerous animals. On the other hand, these same knowledges allowed him to learn a "technique" taught by his grandmother: to dialogue with himself, in a kind of "spiritual conversation". Considering that it's through the body that techniques are learned (MAUSS, 2003), through the indigenous knowledge, Samuel exercises a masculinity distinct from that of the other participants, since the spiritual dimension becomes clearer. On the other hand, whenever he could, he refused to do manual labor in the fields, because he didn't identify with it.

Another specific difficulty with his schooling: being dyslexic. This disorder leads to difficulties in memorizing, recognizing, and reading some words, in addition to causing the inversion of letters and numbers. For Moojen, Barbosa, and Gonçalves (2016, p. 53), dyslexia is characterized by "[...] an unexpected and substantial low performance of the ability to read and write, despite the proper formal instruction received, the normal intellectual level and the absence of sensorial deficits". Given the impact of this reality on his school life, Samuel says that education was not "his forte", but, in the end, he became a teacher. About this, he says: "I still cannot understand how I am in education, [...] due to my difficulties, but I usually understand it as a spiritual issue".

Two issues drew our attention in these reports: Samuel says he wants neither agriculture nor education. Also, he says he has "fled the countryside", but lives and teaches in the countryside. His desire, associated with the different circumstances of his life, led him precisely to what he said he didn't want and which today is so important in his life: to be a teacher precisely in a rural school. His students, by the way, are subjects with learning difficulties that are similar to his.

The learning disorder, imprinted on his body, had a strong influence on the way he was a teacher, making him more sensitive to the diversity of students. For him, “At least if a teacher heard; if they only listened, we would have another education process”. Listening to the other appears more than once in the interview with Samuel, who ends up associating this exercise of otherness with women. When talking about his relations with professors at graduation, he claims to be closer to female professors, stating the reasons: “I think they can hear me, you know?”. Although we identify a stereotyped view on the sensitivity to listening to others, we also find in Samuel the breaking of this stereotype that he reproduces.

It was while studying Physical Education that the other participant, Roberto, found someone whose influence would be crucial for his choice for teaching: the jiu-jitsu teacher. Roberto speaks of him as an iconic subject: “I had a strong feeling relationship with my jiu-jitsu teacher in the martial arts; it was the first time that I was heard, it was the first time that someone saw me as important”. And he adds: “I was inspired to be a Physical Education teacher because of that teacher”.

Roberto said earlier he doesn't show his feelings and wasn't even moved when great grandmother died. In this report, however, there is a great transformation after the encounter with an inspiring teacher. Being heard and seen was decisive for Roberto. From this attentive listening, but also from the escape to the aggressiveness provided by the sport, he came to believe that, when expressing feelings, “You become closer to people”.

Unlike what happens in other studies on gender stereotypes and teacher education, specifically in Physical Education (CAMPOMAR *et al.*, 2020), Roberto broke with the hegemonic masculinity. This fact was materialized by a listening practice, similar to the one experienced by Samuel. The relationship between master and pupil, in the martial arts, proved to be crucial for a new configuration of affections and the way of exercising teaching in the case of Roberto. Certainly, as Silva (2020) argues, the mobilization of the body and the discipline within this body practice contributed to a transformation of the participant.

## 5 Final considerations

In Antônio, Samuel, and Roberto's stories, teachers of EJA, we identified that the mechanism of hegemonic masculinity is organized as a backward pedagogy. In the tensions experienced with the denial of sensitivity, with ethnic-racial belonging, and with affective-sexual and sports practices, the three interviewees were faced with the ambiguities of the sensitive, whose vehicle is the body. It's in it that affections and bonds work, but also the exclusions that are enhanced by stigmas and by the mechanism of hegemonic masculinity. This physically and symbolically violent device not only victimizes homosexuals and women but also heterosexual men themselves, as it is an unattainable ideal (CONNELL, 2016).

However, it's also in the power of the body that the splits with the control mechanisms brought about by the hegemonic masculinity happen. We refer to: (I) the techniques learned by Samuel from indigenous knowledge and his particular way of experiencing pleasures; (II) Roberto's meeting with an affectionate teacher - attentive to his suffering; (III) and the incentive given by two women to Antônio to pursue a teaching career. In all these experiences, there's something connected to the functions performed by the feminine in culture, but above all in the (dis)order of affections: the feminine points to something that we lack. This lack marks the processes of initial and continuing training of these teachers.

The results express the importance of the discussion of gender in the training of teachers. Inserted in another pedagogy, male teachers will be able to contribute significantly to gender equality and to the understanding of masculinity as an identity construction that can be dismantled to give way to a healthy way of being a man, of being an educator in EJA and of being a subject of affections.

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