

Body, gender and space. Automotive systems in the upper middle level

Cuerpo, género y espacio. Sistemas automotrices en el nivel medio superior

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Abstract

The study of school spaces and their interrelationships, with other aspects such as the Gendered position that, bodies take in different places of their school environment is a field of fruitful study, which, allows to analyze the dynamics of networks power in educational institutions, from a different perspective. The characteristics of each campus are significant for defining their particularities in institutional generality. This qualitative work is based on field notes, interviews and autobiographies in a group of 6th semester, the last of the technical expertise of Automotive Systems CECyT N°7 "Cuauhtémoc" Instituto Politécnico Nacional, México, morning shift. This group was formed with 40 students 32 men and 8 women. Four accounts as performative pictures show the complexity of networks space-gender, where axes intersectional gender, ethnicity, class and age condition, overlap to build situated dynamic of technical specialty.

Keywords

Body, space, technical expertise, gender, automotive systems.

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Resumen

El estudio de los espacios escolares y su entretrejo con otros aspectos como son la posición genérica que los cuerpos toman en los lugares de su entorno escolar, es un campo de estudio fructífero, que permite conocer, desde otra mirada, la dinámica de las redes de poder en las instituciones educativas. Las características de cada plantel permiten dar cuenta de sus particularidades en la generalidad institucional. El presente trabajo, consideró diarios de campo, entrevistas y autobiografías, en un grupo de 6° semestre, último de la especialidad técnica de Sistemas Automotrices del turno matutino del CECyT N°7 “Cuauhtémoc” del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, México. Este grupo se conformó con cuarenta alumnos, treinta y dos varones y ocho mujeres. Se presentan cuatro relatos que a manera de cuadros performáticos, muestran la complejidad de las redes espaciogenéricas, donde los ejes interseccionales género, clase y condición etaria, se imbrican para construir la dinámica situada de la especialidad técnica.

Palabras clave

Cuerpo, espacio, especialidades técnicas, género, sistemas automotrices.

Introduction

In October 2008, the National Polytechnic Institute incorporated its plans and programs of the Superior middle level, three technical specialties for the area of Physicomathematics: Automotive Systems, Aeronautics and Digital Graphic Design. These specialties were considered as a product of the need to update the educational offer that the institution has offered up to those times. In the Center for Scientific and Technological Studies No. 7, located in the Iztapalapa delegation of Mexico City, the technical specialties of aeronautics and automotive systems were implemented, increasing the technical specialties that make up the educational offer to six.

The categories with which the dynamics of this educational space were analyzed are Gender, Space and Body, imbricating the intersectional axes of juvenile condition, multiple inequalities and gender. The incorporation of these axes of analysis, aims to account for an intersectional approach that visibilizes both the structural and subjective aspects in the performance of the Technical Specialty of Automotive Systems.

The way in which the techno Gendered dynamics is shown is through four performative pictures, these pictures, in the form of scenes, seek to show the relationships that are established at the intersection of the categories during the technological educational practice, which takes place in the automotive systems specialty workshop that builds networks of power that shape the space between genders (Massey, 2001).

On the other hand, automotive mechanics, as a technological and labor field, has historically been marked as a highly masculine space, as it is associated with strong body movements and considerable weight loads. This expectation in technical execution contributes to the educational bias and differential performance, both male and female.

Methodology

We worked with a school group of forty young people, eight women and thirty-two men of the 6th semester, the last of the technical specialty of automotive systems. The young people of this educational level, have received the basic training to practice the technical specialty, were chosen for having the skills and basic competences of the automotive field (they are studying the last semester), besides forming a group that has worked continuously for four years in consecutive semesters, both in the learning units that integrate the baccalaureate in physical-mathematical sciences, as in the units of the technical specialty.

This school group formally constituted by the Department of School Control of the campus, was chosen to include, in addition, a quite generous number of registered students, which allowed having a greater number of possibilities to observe the power and gender relations that are established in a school group that has consolidated its practice.

The techniques of data collection, according to the qualitative approach of the study, had an influence on locating the students as main actors, as well as enabling us to consider the environment where the school education takes place based on the stories prepared by the students themselves, the field diary, group interviews, complemented with the story of professors of the group.

Six group interviews were conducted two with men and women, two only with women and two with men only. Ten individual interviews were conducted with five students and five students, with whom the narrative on

technological school experience and personal context was deepened. The field diary was conducted in twelve weekly sessions (four months), during their school practice work. Each session contemplated four hrs. of direct observation in the three workshops where the practical classes take place. The group was asked to elaborate a short autobiography, for which there were forty personal stories. Finally, a free personal story was requested in writing, about personal experience of the corporal use in the performance of the technical specialty.

Results

Performance pictures

The performative picture concept refers to the capture of different scenes that show the complexity of the technical performance of the work developed by the students in their practice space of the technological specialty. These pictures allow us to identify the different ways in which students appropriate school spaces, understood not as physical places only, but also as spaces that have specific meaning for each person, group and/or community. They are living spaces shaped by history, experiences, construction of skills and attitudes, not only are places where students produce ways of interacting with others, but the result of the production of power relations that are established in the school dynamics.

The automotive systems workshop can be studied according to Tuan's Topophilia proposal (Yory, 2005). This approach considers that human subjects create their own spaces with the relationships they establish and that promote the identities of the different groups; that is, the territory is not visualized as a geographical place only, but considering the meaning it has for the community that inhabits it (Tuan, 1977), in addition to the position of power it can mean. In the school the places have different meanings, they evoke in memory memories with strong meanings for the people who inhabit it. To inhabit means to make space itself along with others, to build in community the spatiality in which humans and non-humans take their place, producing it, self-constructing themselves in that place/position of power called space. Heidegger (1997) calls this process: being-in-the-world, our own self.

In the workshop where the students practice technology, this topophilic process is produced, they and they are located in the places in a group manner and develop their practices not only as students, but as young people, as women and men belonging to a social class, to an ethnic group, in the experience of diverse inequalities.

The Gendered space is a space with history. The appropriation of private and public places is crossed by the Gendered condition, condition that is “acted” in the spaces occupied by men and by women, the way in which the bodies of women are shown in public spaces has a relationship with the habitus of belonging, Bourdieu (2009, p 113) referring to the bodily Hexis as an in-corporated and naturalized political mythology, indicates that: “The opposition between the masculine and the feminine is realized in the way of being, of carrying the body, to behave in the form of opposition between straight and curved, firmness, straightness, openness ... and, on the other hand, discretion, reserve, docility”. This argument indicates that female bodies have a way of being and of showing themselves in places and under certain conditions, according to the rules that have been naturalized for women, under an unequal and restrictive scheme (Jimeno, 2004; Serret, 2011) . On the other hand, the masculine bodies take over the urban expansively, in space-time continuity, that is, the public space is a permanently masculine place, while the women are kept in certain places at certain times, an example of this is the low affluence of women in the night spaces.

The school also has naturalized occupation rules, girls and boys meet, have fun, eat and study in specific places and work in specific places. The technical specialty has its specific place of practice, in this place there are tensions, negotiations and spatial constructions. It is the workshop of the specialty, a space built by the people who inhabit it, who spatialize it.

Next, four performative pictures will be described, which seek to account for the power relations and intersections that overlap in the construction of the technological space of automotive systems.

Young body: strength or history

In this round-trip learning space, the bodies of teachers and students position themselves in different ways within the scope of their performative

acts, acting on their knowledge, making the instruments with which they solve specific problems theirs.

The female and male bodies are covered with a navy blue jumpsuit that dislocates the corporal difference to standardize them. The hair collected from the girls does not have any kind of adornment -for safety-, and also contributes with showing a unisex¹ image. However, bodies communicate with differentiated movements, the technogendered² chronotrope organizes the places that inhabit their learning space.

In the exclusively masculine subgroups of work, the movements that indicate who of them has greater capital in the technical knowledge take place. This is the case of Ángel, 19, who is heir to a tradition of mechanical knowledge in his family. Being the only male at home, with two younger sisters, he has seen the need to support his father in everything related to the repair of cars:

... since I was little I was always with him, always watching how he fixed or patched up the cars he had, I learned to use the equipment and the tool he used for those processes (Angel, student 6th semester).

Angel stands in front of the engine of that old vehicle, carefully observes its components, touches the mechanical parts, listens with great attention to the sounds and helps by another companion who has tried to start the car, perceives the smell of burning gasoline. Angel indicates what must be done: the other comrades agree to carry out the activities that Angel has indicated, some under the car, others dismantle mechanisms, others seek their own answers by experiencing the indications: the masculine body projects strong and precise movements, but also subtle and careful according to the solution needs for this practical task.

On the other hand, some work teams that have integrated both men and women are placed in specific positions. As in the homogender teams (male

1 Unisex, considering the analysis of Rosi Braidotti (2000) in *Nomadic Subjects*, where the blurring of sexual difference produces androgynous, asexual, chaste beings and that contributes to the fantasy of body symmetry.

2 The chronotrope concept has been theorized by Teresa del Valle to refer to a construct of memory where experience is incarnated, that is, it takes shape in a gendered body and a large number of temporalized creative meanings that negotiate identities, interpretations can enter into conflict creating inequalities and/or reaffirmations in a specific situation and / or ritual (del Valle, 1999). The term *technoGendered* is mine and I am referring to the differentiated use of gender in technology.

only), the male leader takes the initiative, explores, identifies, touches, listens and makes decisions, unlike the latter, the other bodies are placed in subordinate positions. In a specific space of the work table, some students clean with special care the pieces that have to be placed in the engine, their hands handle brushes that at a very peculiar rhythm, mark small and precise movements, almost as if they embroidered and constructed from that space, a new piece that emerges gleaming with the help of special cleaners. These girls project in their bodies the inheritance of feminine learning of smooth movements, with an outstanding fine motor coordination, which avoids large and coarse movements privileging doing well their own work. The naturalization that this picture goes through makes this performance appear as something “typical of women”. The girls show a positive disposition towards the work, but they do not observe their own individual exploration, but support the classmates in different tasks. Men repair, seek and disarm without involving them in activities. The female bodies are grouped in a safe and distant space, in a space of restriction and silence. It is the inequality in the team’s technological opportunities that makes these students place themselves in this marginal position. Sandra gives an account of her feelings about it:

When I entered a third semester I joined a team where the guys are very macho, they did not explain how to use the tool, only because they knew they had assured that me and my other partner too, if we did it wrong or were delayed, they got angry and said offensive comments, so I better stopped wanting to learn³ (Sandra, 17 years old).

In another team of students, the girls take the initiative and count on the participation of their colleagues to help them in some task of strength that surpasses them, but these supports are scarce since the female bodies have found strategies to strengthen their strength, either individually or collectively. Some surprise for their strength, which is none other than the successful management of the body and its bodily qualities. In this space, hierarchy levels manifest themselves differently, horizontality is reflected more clearly, since participation is active and decision making is shared more frequently.

3 “Stop wanting to learn”, refers to a demotivating process in front of the skills that you know you can develop but that you choose not to take back.

The student stories link realities, express events and feelings from the inside, from the personal to project themselves as valid forms of interpretation, which explore the past in the present and elaborate a look towards the future. The testimonies are also rescued from the point of view of others and with others; that is, they configure a look that is individual and at the same time collective, they build memory. Halbwachs (2004) discusses memory, as a spin-off of shared experiences that give meaning to the polyphonic view of history, but at the same time it unifies it. In a historical moment where objective knowledge has been valued as the only true and subjective becomes secondary or unstable and uncertain, providing a space for analysis to the elements of subjectivity, gives way to a different position, to more open possibilities.

The memory of students who have had contact with the problem of automotive systems is present: the personal experience and teaching of their parents and grandparents returns to the present to become visible in their technological practice. They are heirs and heirs of the knowledge that today allows them to solve problems.

Susi: memory and technique

Susi always lived far from their schools. In one way or another the circumstances meant that the journeys she traveled were very long, so much that the time invested could fluctuate from 60 min to 110 min per trip, therefore, the use of cars marked emotional experiences that left their mark on her short age:

... as we were very small me and my sisters, (my dad) did not want us to worry, so it happened ... the car got hot and could not take it anymore ... it did not turn on and it was all flooded and my dad ... desperate because he did not know how I was going to take his car from there, the worst of all is that nobody helped him, he had to solve everything and I felt very bad because I saw my father's desperation knowing that nothing could be done... (Susi, 18 years old).

The car represents the non-human agent that made it possible for Susi to come to school as well. It should be noted that Susi achieved important academic recognition for her and was honored on two occasions. Therefore, when their parents separated, again the distance became nostalgia, challenge

and struggle. Her mother's car always had problems, coincidentally they repeated themselves again and again, making Susi wonder if they really gave good service to her mother. The car has come to represent for Susi not an artifact, but the space of security and comfort that protects her, as her father did a little while ago when she was a little girl. In this way the automobile, contributes with its "agency" to create an emotional bond with Susi and its performance, Latour (1996) explains how human and non-human agents intertwine to produce realities, link and have leading roles and hierarchical in different historical-social events.

In the workshop, Susi takes the initiative in disassembling the engine, looking for different ways to open the components of it, so that her body takes a supportive position, its slender figure becomes powerful to show the strong and precise movements that are required for this work, she opens the engine and the comrades approach to hold the pieces and distribute the pertinent actions, Susi's body is relocated to continue with the task.

The masculine/feminine binarism that has marked the activities of automotive mechanics, is blurred to the extent that the student bodies being male or female, appropriate various ways to solve the failures of that engine, without addressing its gendered condition. Nespor (2004) proposes the concept of educational levels/scales to explain the complexity of spatio-temporal power relations that exist between educational actors and situated factors. Nespor's proposal gives an account of the dynamics of the networks of power that are interwoven between spaces such as the Hangar, which although being shared (not exclusive to the specialty), provides prestige to the student community.

On the other hand, this space is interwoven with the personal need of Susi to find a place of protection that, at the same time, allows her to show gender transgression. It is the space where the resolution of Susi's childhood anxiety can be produced by helping her father through this technical knowledge, which moves this site to an earlier time with devices that allow it to act here and now. Likewise, Susi retains that place-car as a symbol that can be recovered in her memory and that allows her to follow firmly with her vocational objectives.

Body and agency

The bodies of the students and the students are not docile. They attend to the teacher while explaining and yet they also take their own rhythm, invent

and reinvent specific movements to recognize the pieces they work with, they have one goal: to operate that dead engine, that engine of an old truck that in three years nobody has been able to drive.

The young body appropriates, through the senses of the identification of technical problems. Technology, as a body extension, is also used for this purpose. They review for the umpteenth time the mechanisms; surprisingly use the camera of their cell phone to photograph the suspicious piece that fails, piece that is far from the scope of their sight but not of their manual dexterity. The arms of a student cannot reach this piece: another adolescent, taller and thinner takes his place and manipulates the piece, using only his touch and the fixed image he sees on the cell phone. His long, thin hands have managed to remove the piece and show that the distributor is broken. They agree to buy another one with their own resources⁴ and place it later. Meanwhile, other bodies adjust tires and check the steering under the car: nobody supervises them; they take extra time and extra days to reach their goal. Finally, the adolescent bodies clump together, adjust parts and bands, listen carefully to the sounds of the engine, the aromas of combustion and gasoline arrive... Someone enters the truck with the keys and between great celebration, they listen to the closing of the circuit accompanied by the ignition of the engine, they film with their cell phones that moment of great satisfaction, they close the hood and they drive the truck a few meters. Their project has been successful. It is a group performance and is performed at different times. Following Nespór (2004), the social network that these students have formed confronts the disciplining of the place inhabited by excellent students: they work alone, use their resources, and celebrate alone. They have appropriated the space.

Teacher overprotection: heritage of patriarchy

Teachers indicate that there is no difference in the skills and knowledge that girls and boys must put into play during their training and that the

4 It should be noted that the location of this campus is Sta. Ma. Aztahuacan, Iztapalapa. Nearby is an area of autoparts affluence of well-known tradition, called several years ago "El deshuesadero", the trace of this tradition is a series of small places where it is relatively easy to find internal and external, new and used auto parts. The importance of the social networks of the students is indicated, through which they obtain more economic materials and the geographical situation that facilitates the fast obtaining of the inputs. On the other hand, it is noted that it is the students who mobilize their resources, without teacher or school mediation.

curriculum supports this equity. However, the gendered ordering for women and men places the bodies of the male and female students in specific places.

Professor Arturo, a teaching part of this specialty, relates the gender order according to which, he constructs spaces of protection for the female body of his students:

... I leave the strongest responsible for that, as is the physiology of the woman, well ... of course, she is thin, it is delicate not that she is a woman, it is that this is her body ... always someone [a male partner] is behind [of her] for anything, but he's not saying: get out of the way, *I do it or do it like that*Not is aware of any situation ... the kids like it, the student feels someone's protector...

The female body becomes the main indicator of fragility and little ability of the students, which must be protected by male colleagues who must also be among the tallest and strongest of the group, as Professor Arturo relates, who also emphasizes in the taste of the man to position himself in the role of protector of someone, who happens to be justly a partner. This care is not extended to the other males, who might have a fragile body, nor is it released for the tall and strong girls that the group has. The sense of solidarity is thus limited and gender biased.

The naturalization of the masculine body from strength arises from the gendered imaginary imposed for the males in the division of the work, where the corporal sign is encouraged to fortify its power over women. In them the fragility and delicacy are enhanced, managing to embody the Hexis that Bourdieu (2009) names to refer to the history in the body that has naturalized and whose reality is no longer questioned.

Another example of this overprotection process is the handling of hazardous substances, this handling is necessary to perform cleaning procedures and to provide maintenance to the engines that they review during their technical training. This activity is part of the competences that must be built. The self-care of the bodies is part of this competition, again the teacher's speech shows an important bias when considering that the girls can and should choose their participation in these activities. Under the warning of high dangerousness, the teacher insists on questioning the ability of the students to handle the substances; however, males have no choice. This skill seems to be invisible for girls with the option of omitting;

reiterating their biological weakness/lack of skill, the naturalized body of girls is limited to this possibility.

...Of course there is work that although women would like to do it is almost ... very difficult, because more strength is needed, but other jobs are very specific or of high risk, for example they are going to handle acids, they are asked: Can you do it? Are you sure? they are questioned like that (Arturo, teacher).

The naturalization of the masculine body as agile and strong arises from the teaching comments, alludes to a body in movement that is strengthened by physical effort, which also enjoys in its nature the broad and audacious movements, of the intense noise that projects power, resolution and strength.

In the tool the male tends more to use heavy tool, the bigger, thicker, heavier, he is happy, because he knows he is going to do something big in a car, to get a screw out of a wheel is to use a big and heavy spanner and sometimes he has to climb and jump on top of it; That pleases the man, the woman ... she does it too, but I see the man more pleased.

In his comments, the teacher shows the overprotection that it imposes on the students, the naturalizing belief that their body is incapable of developing the work of the technical specialty, which always needs help and that is inappropriate for these tasks.

The term patriarchy has been defined by Pateman and Agra (1995) as a traditional social historical condition where the father is given a voice of maximum authority over family members. As the maximum authority, the father has the right to have different forms of family members establishing an order that should not be questioned: also within its functions is established as a social contract, which should protect the members of this family or families who congregate with him as a center.

In this performative framework "Teacher overprotection, inheritance of patriarchy", comes from the cultural integration of a Gendered order in which the male (European, white, owner, heterosexual and without disabilities) is considered following Castro-Gómez (2005) as the *hibris* of point 0, that is, the point from which the norms of what is allowed or acceptable in a colonized society such as ours are dictated. The patriarch determines that the other persons who do not maintain their condition, are subordinate persons who gradually move away from their initial point (0 or *hibris*),

positioning themselves as persons with lower social hierarchy. The students in this case, are located in a subaltern place, as women, adolescents, weak and inexperienced. The need to be protected, does not come from them, originates from the preconceived evaluation by the teacher, which they are incapable of being alone the challenges posed by the technical specialty.

Gender from the theory

Gender has been defined according to Serret (2011) as a significant organizer of traditional and contemporary human societies, which is culturally constructed according to sexual difference and which is a primary system of power relations that traverses history and culture. Serret distinguishes three levels for the analysis of the functioning of the masculinity/femininity gender distinction.

The first level called *symbolic gender*, accounts for the concatenations of signs that make up chains of meanings and that change their order to give rise to other meanings. The symbolic order as a unit is presented in the form of symbolic pairs: *being* always accompanied by *non-being*, the limit, the alterity, the difference, what it is not. In this case, masculinity in distinction from what it is not, that is, femininity. Femininity is the margin, it is the set of characteristics that are not masculine, it is the negation of the masculine. The construction dynamics of the binary and unequal culture, places masculinity as central and intelligible, man acts here as the desiring, lacking subject and the feminine, the woman, as: a) object of desire, as wholeness; b) object of fear, in which the subject disappears and; c) object of contempt, because it delimits the other, can be converted into subordinate.

The second level called *social imaginary gender* is established based on the sexual difference of bodies. In performative acts, men are the human beings who act the meanings of masculinity and women are the people who act the meanings of femininity. Males will therefore represent centrality, prestige, power and the public, while women will ritualize complex values of gender as desired and feared, as well as the oppression of domination. The ways in which the characteristics of men and women are presented are different according to history and geography, class and race, among other axes. It is the common and consensual way in which men and women appear before others, in a situated and sexed position.

The third level is constituted with the *subjective imaginary gender*, whose function is to establish one's own voice before the imaginary gender. It is the interpretation of the gender norms that the culture imposes, to mediate with the individual needs. The way, in which each person solves the masculine-feminine binomial, linking with the socially established forms, not mechanically, but with agency to mark their Gendered identity, establishing the sexual difference and their position against desire. The subjective imaginary gender is an always fluid space that originates identities, that is constructed discursively, that contains contradictions and possibilities, is what allows between other types of agencies, which different and dissenting manifestations, dislocate the imaginary gender and question it or that also keep it.

Discussion and results

In the performative pictures described here, several forms of placement and dislocation of these gender levels described by Serret are observed. In Susi's case, she has chosen a specialty in which she does not have a previous history to support her skill, but her motivation for care and chronotopic conservation is powerful, so her activity overcomes the Gendered feminine imaginary. Felipe, on the other hand, recovers both his personal history and the gendered forms signed to his body to propose an execution of high performance and autonomy. The bodies of the studied males show this masculine sign and also show ethnic differences (height and complexion) as well as having economic resources that allow them to invest in the truck's arrangements, regardless of whether the school has them or not.

Considering the socioeconomic position, the experience of precariousness is a condition that limits people in their initiative, predisposes to the fact of denial of possibilities, limits their agency López Gil (2014). Precarity is a subjective condition that has been constructed from socially established conditions to distinguish certain groups of people, providing them with less possibilities of development. That is to say, the possibilities that these people, groups, peoples and nations reach the conditions of the global north are limited by diverse conditions related to the inequality of opportunities for non-hegemonic peoples. In this sense, the precariousness of material and social order is projected in the subjectivities of the lower class students,

limiting their agency to invest in school and extra school efforts. However, even with non-abundant resources, the student agency have internalized and created different forms of resistance and agency in the face of precariousness, allows the construction of strategies to reach their goals, in this case, the *body and agency* picture, makes explicit the actions that the group of these young people takes to achieve their objectives, note that the benefit is group and that each one takes a position that makes possible the common goal.

As for the body category, this is the objective and subjective space where history, culture, discourse and the incarnation of all this converge as the ultimate limit. Gender in the body can be understood from three specific dimensions that Citro (2011) proposes from three interrelated spaces of daily appropriation: at first, the genre materializes in corporeity, is incarnated in a material body that is molded socially and subjectively. Secondly, it takes its place in the production of specific gendered spaces established as appropriate for the genres, that is, according to Citro, it is spatialized. The third dimension refers to the discursive construction with which it is represented and promoted what is “feminine” and what is “masculine” from schemes of division, production of identities and power relations (Citro, 2011).

The body, the gender and the space come together in complex and diverse ways, as Serret and Citro pose. In the field of education and specifically the Higher Secondary Education offered by the National Polytechnic Institute, it is necessary to rethink this complexity and the specific ways in which it manifests itself. The explanation of the complexity that manifests itself in the daily school life and the students that belong to the Technical Specialty of Automotive Systems requires an in-depth analysis of the categories that make this analysis possible.

Conclusions

The interviews and the data collected showed contradictions, tensions and negotiations between the actors and the gender biases present. The experience of the students and professors, accounts for important inequalities related to gender, space and technical specialty.

The bodies of the adolescents are placed in the school spaces permeating the traces of their personal and collective history in the technical performance. The space appropriated by students is a gendered space, but it

does not constitute a rule for the imaginary gender conformed to automotive systems. Within the hangar, female students locate and construct space heterogeneously, locate their bodies and movements according to their objectives and in relation to the hierarchy of power they have established to affect their technical performance. Some young women show the naturalized history of bodily practices produced for women and their performance according to the traditional model (Barbieri, 1992, Citro, 2011, Scott, 1992, Serret, 2011, West and Zimmerman, 1987) that place women in subaltern spaces (Jimeno, 2004; Viveros, 2010), but others do not perform in this performance, they act in an alternative and even transgressive way. In the case of males, many of them retain the hegemonic practices, but they are not general.

Some important Gendered tensions have been presented through male verbal violence towards girls, alluding to their lack of knowledge and/or skills. Reaction that can exemplify an attempt to relocate women in traditional divisions of labor, considering the discursive content of verbal interactions. These tensions occur in the conformation of the Gendered spaces and also in the hierarchical spaces with the teachers.

The teacher reproduces the expected imaginary gender order, not only discursively, but in concrete practices that project the establishment of continuity between the imaginary and what he expects to be the correct ordering. However, during the free exercise of its performativity following Briones (2007) acquires nuances of time and place; the students dislodge this naturalized proposal, relocating their bodies and actions according to their needs.

The body-space-gender complexity allows us to account for a non-dichotomous heterogeneous Gendered order that is an important part of technical practices.

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