Appendix A. Country Reports

Contributions from the partners and members:

Contributions from the partners and members: on forms of relevant data from the partner countries on violence and dominance associated with men's practices, understood in terms of intersecting forms of power relations as they relate to the social location of both those who commit violence/dominance and those who are subjected to it; and their methodological and epistemological assumptions.

CZECH REPUBLIC, Iva Šmídová

The basic information: most data available in the Czech Republic are statistical surveys based in positivist research approaches. The Czech Statistical Office is good in collecting various and numerous data (census and microcensus, representative studies) and categorises them by basic sociodemographic criteria (including sex). The trouble with using these data for a valid sociological analysis is in the fact of the lack of higher level categorisations (e.g. not by sex and for example education or position on the labour market and age etc.). But recently (2002, 2004 and 2005) topical publications offering more "gender" detailed statistics are available – but information on violences on men and by men is still very limited to criminal statistics and health statistics. Dominance can be judged on the face value of general data (income, representation etc.); no representative research study has been conducted with the aim to explore dominance, power relations in any gendered way (nor in any other).

On the other hand, critical analysis using (de)constructivism is widespread in small scale mostly qualitative (interpretative) sociological research studies reflecting and exploring issues of gender dominance. Here again, the issue of violence (perpetrators, victims and intermingling of these, structural conditioning) has not been a primary research goal of any study on men or masculinities.

The field of studies on violence (mostly on women) lacks gender perspective in the Czech Republic. Most of the studies conducted by NGOs (even women´s NGOs) dealing with battered wives etc. use essentialist (sociobiological) explanations due to a) strong infulence of "sexologists" (well established discipline considered very scientifc in the CZ, or at least dominating the public discourse) b) overwhelming (and still not fading) essentialist discourse in medicine, law and relevant disciplines dealing with violence and c) lack of feminist or gender sensitive knowledge (or at least sociologicaly informed in social constructionism). If these small scale nonrepresentative research studies do include "women perspective" they use it in a very differencialist way (women as victims, men as perpetrators).

To summarise that:

    (a) on violence and dominance associated with men's practices;

    (b) understood in terms of intersecting forms of power relations as they relate to the social location of both those who commit violence/dominance and those who are subjected to it.

Main types of data on a): lacking; some statistical (positivist) sources available; qualitative partial topics covered by using critical, (de)constructivist perspective – these are limited to dominance in more general terms - not to men´s practices

associated with violence as such (= ad. b)). The social location of the dominating and dominated is again possible only on the face value of the statistical sources. Few studies analysing power relations in the gendered structure of the society are available in the CZ, as it happens, they concentrate on the theoretical analysis of power and gendered structure without sociologically so relevant examples or base in the data.

Resources often used in the studies on the structures of masculine domination are: Sandra Harding, Joan Acker, Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Connell, Judith Butler, C. West and D. H. Zimmermann. Sandra Bem, Elisabeth Badinter to name the social scientists dealing explicitly with gender (but of course Beck, Foucault, Giddens, Fraser…).

The statistical surveys mostly do not include deeply conceptualised "reasons" for their explorations (sometimes the theoretical part is lacking at all).

There are, as far as I know, two sources that would be valuable on the level of international research studies (on the European level). One of them is International Violence Against Women Survey – Czech Republic/2003: Sociological Research on Domestic Violence – but again men´s practices are only latent in this study. And the second source is a big international study (to be finished in these days, known as the PISA study) on educational systems and structure (including chapters on gender, and on anticipating gender chances in the societal structures).

DENMARK, LeeAnn Iovanni

Research on men's violences is virtually absent from Danish academia; knowledge comes primarily from crime statistics, large scale surveys conducted by government agencies or from reports produced by knowledge centers. The national organisation representing the women's crisis shelters is leading voice and produces various statistics, surveys and reports with a focus on ethnic minority women.

Victimisation experiences – adults

Gender disaggregated crime victimisation statistics have been published by the police in Denmark since 2001 based on official police statistics. Information on violent victimisation is also available from surveys which either incorporate gender as an analytic category or focus exclusively on women's experience of men's violence. The former type of survey makes note of the relationship between gender and the intimate vs. stranger context but do not discuss it a gender critical way.

(1) Gender differences and experience of violence: Danish National Institute for Social Research and the Ministry of Justice (Christensen & Koch-Nielsen 1992) study based on telephone interviews with women and men asks about violence after age 15 and in the previous year, location of violence, relationship to perpetrator (unknown vs. known, current vs. previous partner), one time versus repeated violence, minor vs. serious violence, perceived reason for violence; questions about the experience of rape are also included.

(2) Gender differences and experience of violence: *The Danish Health and Morbidity Survey 2000 (SUSY 2000)* (Kjøller & Rasmussen 2002) conducted by the National Institute of Public Health included questions about exposure to interpersonal violence for a random sample of 22,500 Danish citizens age 16 and over. Since these questions were embedded in a health-related survey, results could reflect underreporting of violence.

(3a) Gender differences and violent victimisation were also examined in *Vold på gaden, i hjemmet og på arbejdet* [Violence on the street, in the home and in the workplace] (Rigspolitichefen 1998), for a sample of 26,193 Danish citizens. This report was not designed to specifically measure partner violence but rather violent victimisation in general. The survey examined factors such as gender differences, the victim-perpetrator relationship, and location of the violence. (3b) This survey data collected in 1995 is in the process of being updated in 2005-2006.

(4) Women's violent victimisation was examined in Denmark's participation in the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) coordinated by The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI). Published findings from the data collected in 2003 have been delayed and are due out in early 2006.

(5) Women's violent victimisation with a focus on ethnicity: A significant amount of statistical and descriptive knowledge on the women and children who populate the shelters in Denmark is generated by the National Organization of Shelters for Battered Women and their Children (LOKK). This organisation is a leading Danish voice on

the issues of violence against women and its effect on children. In addition to its annual statistics, LOKK publishes special topical reports, some of which are based on data from running surveys of women in the shelters. The reports focus primarily on the situation of ethnic minority women who are disproportionately represented in the shelter population compared to Danish women. LOKK also works in conjunction with the Danish Centre for Research on Social Vulnerability (VFC). The legal situation of victimised immigrant women, particularly those married to ethnic Danish men is a recent focus. Separate reports produced by LOKK (LOKK 2003) and by the Danish Research Center on Gender Equality at Roskilde University (Madsen 2005) elucidate the legal bind for ethnic minority women escaping violence in the context of stringent Danish integration laws, residence permits, etc. Their point of departure is a gendered power perspective on the violence.

Health consequences of domestic violence (Helweg-Larsen and Kruse 2003) are examined with register-based data, the relationship between domestic violence experience in 1995 (defined as intentional injury by blunt force occurring in a residential area) to subsequent hospital contacts in 1996-98 is examined. A control group of women with hospital contacts for all other reasons is used. Gender differences in violence and subsequent health problems (Helweg-Larsen and Kruse 2002) are examined with register-based data on men and women age 15-24 with a hospital contact in 1995 for intentional injury in a residence (domestic violence) and intentional injury outside a residence. Subsequent hospital contacts were measured for 1995-99. A control group of the same age with a hospital contact in 1995 for any reason is used.

Focus on rape victims: One of seven centers for victims of sexual assault in Danish hospitals since 1999, the Center for Victims of Sexual Assault at Copenhagen University Hospital also serves as a national research center. In addition to medical and health issues, work conducted by the Center's affiliated researchers spans other areas such as rape victims' underreporting to the police (Rust 2005); the development of a victim-offender mediation program (Madsen 2004); a critical view of the overemphasis of PTSD in current therapy practice and research (Pedersen 2004). Upcoming projects include rape victims' experiences with the criminal justice system; the views of ethnic minority women on sexual assault experiences; and views of relevant authorities with regard to ethnic minority women. Treatment of rape cases in the criminal justice system is also the subject of a Master's thesis which aims to understand the low rate of rape charging in terms of police officers' constructions of rape and their representations of police work Maskell and Poulsen (2004).

Victimisation experiences - children

Child sexual abuse and physical abuse: Researchers at the National Institute of Public Health reports findings from a survey about experiences of sexual abuse for approximately 6000 Danish youth at age 15, carried out via computer assisted self-interview (Helweg-Larsen & Larsen 2002; Larsen & Helweg-Larsen 2003). The study provides information on prevalence, type of assault, victim-perpetrator relationship; physical violence in the home against self and against mother; gender differences; ethnic differences are also examined (see (Helweg-Larsen & Kruse 2004).

The public health context lacks sociological analysis and offers no explicit critical gender perspective.

Children's exposure to partner violence: The Danish National Institute of Social Research (Christensen 1988) examined children's defense mechanisms and protection strategies children used for the angst associated with exposure to their mother being abused. This work was conducted in a developmental psychological and psychoanalytic perspective. More recently children's exposure to partner violence is reframed in terms of "social inheritance" and growing up in violent families in a study focusing on the knowledge, attitudes and personality characteristics children will develop as well as their overall development, well-being and health (Christensen 1999). Social inheritance is a current dominant discourse in Denmark. The nature and prevalence of children's exposure to violence against their mothers has also been examined within the women's crisis shelter population (Behrens 2002; Christensen 1990).

Men's use of violence

Information on men's violence is available primarily as criminal violence from various official crime statistics which represent case processing decisions by police, prosecutors and courts; men comprise the majority of criminal law violations overall for violent crimes.

Men, ethnicity and use of violence: In 2000, Statistics Denmark began comprehensive examination of crime and national origin, comparing crime rates for persons of foreign national origin (immigrants and descendants of immigrants) and the rest of the population (persons with at least one parent of Danish national origin) ages 15-64, and relationships to other social factors.

Men's violence and child custody: A critical examination of the shift in Danish custody law from a safety-oriented, pragmatic approach to a rights-based approach that emphasises equal access by non-residential parents (fathers) at the expense of child welfare, quality of access and mother's safety. There is no legal requirement to consider domestic violence in relation to the best interests of the child and the use of evidence in custody cases in limited (Hester 2002). The primary reason for the failure of contact arrangements is often continued violence from male ex-partners.

Men's use of prostitution: A recent study by sociologist Claus Lautrup (Lautrup 2005) of the Videns- & Formidlingscenter for Socialt Udsatte [Danish Centre for Research on Social Vulnerability] consists of a quantitative Internet survey of 6350 men both with and without experience paying for sex plus 20 qualitative telephone interviews of men the majority of whom use prostitution services regularly. The quantitative data covers prevalence, frequency, motivations; the qualitative data examines moral dilemmas, societal disapproval, perceptions of women as businesswomen, men's sense of powerlessness, and perceptions of ethnic minority women as victims of trafficking. The study aims to shed light on the social and cultural factors influencing men's purchase of sexual services. While there is some sociological interpretation, the study does not take an explicitly critical perspective on men and gender.

Other qualitative work on men's use of prostitution takes a psychological approach (life-span psychology coupled with traumatic separation theory) and pointedly argues against a feminist, patriarchal discourse as being dissonant with men's self-perceptions and thus precludes effective communication with them as well as meaningful dialogue on the issue of reducing prostitution (Lyngbye 2000).

Men and rape conviction: In a positivist approach, the Danish National Institute of Social Research (Christoffersen 2000) used longitudinal, population based, register data to examine differences between Danish males convicted and not convicted of rape on factors such as mental and physical health, education, social networks, family violence, self-destructive behaviour, parental alcohol and abuse, and unemployment. An unstable relation to the labor market emerged as the most important factor in rape conviction. In this study which is based on rape conviction data, it is additionally troubling that the author explicitly argues against a patriarchal culture explanation of rape and interprets his finding in terms of the poor marriage potential of men with poor employment potential, as well as the degradation and humiliation associated with poor education and employment which "put an extra stress on frail boys, which may provide a basis for an elevated risk for sexual coercion."

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FINLAND, Jeff Hearn

1. Introduction
This Report summarises relevant forms of data on:
1. On violence and dominance associated with men's practices.
2. Understood in terms of intersecting forms of power relations as they relate to the social location of both those who commit violence/dominance and those who are subjected to it.

The main types of data on the above, and their methodological and epistemological assumptions

One could therefore identify:

A. Main types of data
B. Their methodological and epistemological assumptions
C. Violence and dominance associated with men's practices
D. Intersecting forms of power relations relating to the social location of those committing and subjected to violence/ dominance.

Also connections can be charted between these boxes. Relevant data can be categorised by topic (type of violence/dominance), and by kind of data (in terms of methodology etc.)

2. Men's violences, abuse, violation, dominance
There are a range of key terminological and definitional issues that need addressing. Men's violences can be taken as a broad term to include abuses, as well as direct physical violence. They can be seen to include prostitution, pornography and the sex trade more generally. Violation is a concept referring the experience of that person(s) that is experienced as violating. Dominance is also a general broad term, referring in this context to (i) men's dominating practices; (ii) men's structural dominance. This latter meaning is now discussed briefly.

One of the most important observations is that while there have been relatively few studies on men's violence and abuse, there is also a lack of attention to men's dominance and men in positions of power. Statistics Finland publishes internationally comparable detailed statistical series by gender on employment, unemployment, labour force participation and hours worked. They offer relatively good statistical sources on men's domination of business management, public sector, government positions and politics in general (Veikkola, 1997; UNDP Human Development Reports). The most male-dominated sectors were the construction industry and transportation,; twheras the most female-dominated sector was hotel and catering. Women's entry to senior management has generally been slow; the number of women senior staff and upper management has remained stable during the first half of the 1990's: 21% in 1990 and 22% in 1995. In the 100 largest Finnish companies men make up 90% of top managers and board members (Hearn et al., 2002). The connections of this structural domination and direct violence are very rarely addressed.

3. Main types of data about men's violence

Non-gendered traditions. These have dominated the field, at least until recently. In 1998 Suvi Ronkainen wrote (1998, 39) that the two words that describe best Finnish research on violence: paucity and gender-neutrality. Violence has been taken for granted as men's violence, and the gender aspect has not been problematised (Ronkainen 1998, 7; Jyrkinen & Ruusuvuori 2002). The main traditions on violence research in Finland have been criminological, historical and psychological (Lagerspetz, 1990; Pajuoja, 1995; Ylikangas, 1996, 1999); all been rather gender-neutral. Psychological and biological traditions on aggression studies are fairly well established (Ronkainen 1998, 8). Since the 1970s psychological research on aggression has been developed (Lagerspetz, 1977, 1989, 1990) and others. Aggression studies have focused on comparing aggressive and non-aggressive people. In this approach the analysis of gender is somewhat problematic, as aggression is seen as a matter of individual character. Making the connection between alcohol and violence has a long tradition in Finnish research (e.g. Lindman and von der Pahlen, 1995, on alcohol and violence). Criminological studies on violence include Jussi Pajuoja's (1995) work on psychological statements about those accused of violent crimes and their "states of mind". Romanov at al (1994) have examined the more general relationship between self-reported hostility and suicidal acts, accidents, and accidental deaths. Their methodological and epistemological assumptions tend to be individualist, positivist, and gender-neutral (or at least not gender-critical). The gender-neutral term, 'family violence' (Peltoniemi, 1984), has been much used. Policy makers and policy researchers have frequently seen violence as a 'family problem', with assumptions based on family dynamics and psychoanalytic theory.

The main statistical sources on violence are police data, court statistics, Statistics Finland's interview and postal surveys on violence, National Research Institute of Legal Policy publications, which are often based on police and court statistics, and causes of death statistics. National surveys of women's experiences of men's violence. The most important survey in the 1990s was Faith, Hope, Battering. A Survey of Men's Violence against Women in Finland] (Heiskanen & Piispa 1998), based on a postal survey sent to 7100 women between 18-74 years. The study gives statistical information, such as prevalence of violence and threats, violence in partner relationships, violence perpetrated by others than partners, childhood experience of violence, and fear of violence. Men's violence is approached here through women's experiences of that violence.

Smaller scale surveys and interview studies include:
Focused studies on the intersection of sexuality and violence, from the experience of women For example, Marita Husso (1994, 1995, 1996, 1997) has studied violence in intimate relationships as eroticised oppression. She analyses violence as physical experience in the body, as well as the justifications for violence.

Focused studies on men and sexualised violence. A relatively early study on men clients responding to magazine advertisements for prostitution was by Hannele Varsa (1986). Johanna Lammi-Taskula (1999) has summarised the 1995 Habitus Study on men's activities. Mari-Elina Laukkanen (1998, 1999) has produced some of the first Finnish research on male prostitutes. Sari Näre has examined various aspects of sexual violence: misogynist relationships, pornography and brothels (1994), gender culture (1995) and sex bars (Näre & Lähteenmaa, 1995; Näre, 1998).

Experiences of girls and young women. A relatively new theme in Finnish research is work on sexual violence against girls and young women, including rape (Honkatukia 2000, Honkatukia et al. 2000). Honkatukia writes that 41% of 15 year-old-girls (N=2222) had experienced unwanted advances, touches or kissing attempts at least once during their lifetime. Sari Näre has reported on changes in young persons perceptions of sexuality and sexual violence, with their views becoming differentiated and often disillusioned.

Experiences of boys and young men. Tarja Tolonen (1996) has studied schoolboys' relationship with violence and she concludes that violence touches them all; they all use it either as entertainment or to gain social advantages. They all recognise the hierarchy between the boys even if they all do not support or agree to it. Observations and interviews have been used.

Workplace surveys and studies. Sexual harassment in the universities and elsewhere has received some research attention, through surveys and interview studies (Mankkinen 1995, 1999; Husu 2001). Other studies include general reviews of organisation violations (Hearn & Parkin 2001, 2005), and those on processes of workplace bullying, using surveys and written testimony (Salin 2003a, 2003b).

Studies of agencies and their users. Building on international research and using individual interviews with men and women, Leo Nyqvist (2001) has studied men, who have been violent to women partners and who are in contact with professional agencies, dealing with their own understandings and justifications of violence.

These have all been influenced by feminist research methodologies and debates around them, including on feminist empiricism, and the uses of multiple methods.

The most important policy intervention have been the National Programme for the Prevention of Prostitution and Violence Against Women (1998-2002, and legal reforms in violence against women, sexual violence and trafficking, that have generally sought to increase safety. Näre's research on sexualised public space interests both media and ordinary people, especially parents. She has been active in Helsinki City council which has recently forbidden sexualised, offensive naming in schools. The City authorities are alert concerning sexualised use of public space. This is an example of how research can affect political decision-making.

Critical studies reviewing the relations of men, boys and violence have not been well developed in Finland, at least not until recently. General reviews have been done on violence in relation to male culture (Grönfors, 1994, 1999) and on men's violence to women (Hearn, 1999).

Textual/cultural studies on men's violence. Arto Jokinen has produced a number of texts on men, masculinities and violence from a cultural studies perspective. Panssaroitu maskuliinisuus. Mies, väkivalta ja kulttuuri [Armoured masculinity. Man, Violence and Culture] (Jokinen 2000) is on cultural representations of violence, folk texts, army texts analyses and symbolic representations of violence analyses how in Finnish culture male violence is normalised and how it is represented as desirable behaviour.

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Gaps regarding violence. Overall there has been a lack of studies focusing on men who are violent to women and children. Gendered studies of men's racist violence, homophobic violence and suicide are needed. Gaps include detailed studies of men's violence to women and children, and gendered studies of racist violence, homophobic violence and suicide.

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Special mention should be made of The Academy of Finland "Targeted Call": Gender, Power and Violence (2000-2004). This has been an important research initiative in relation to men's violences. The ten (groups of) projects include those on global sexualised violence, men who batter their partners, sexualised violence in intimate relationships, violence in schools, gender in legal discourses, incest, prostitution, political violence.

Overall, such recent research has emphasised the gendered nature of violence, especially men's violence to women, with an increase in approaches that bring together feminist materialist and feminist discursive, and more structuralist and more post-structuralist (pro-)feminist analyses of these violences. The importance of multiple methods is emphasised, as is the interrelation of theory, policy and practice. Some details of some of the research in the Academy of Finland Call above are noted.

i. The Displacement of Violence" project includes the work of Marita Husso on intimate violence. This study understands the embeddedness of the relation between individual acts and societal, structural forces. It sees the notion of violence as both concrete acts of violence, experiences of violence, violating practices, discrimination, subjection, and exclusions and prohibitions, which support and construct societal orders and ways of knowing. It focuses on everyday life and corporeality. The research emphasises the agency of the subject, and the possibilities of resistance. Studies have focused on developing such notions of subjectivity, which would allow the existence of irrational, weak and contradictory acts and being. The approach has combines various differences - those concerning gender, ability, sexual identity, and social class - and the notion of the embeddednesses and overlapping of these differences. Questions such as - how do the differences emerge and open up, and what kind of possibilities for action they embrace or exclude - have been addressed. This has led to consideration on the possibility for socio-political interventions as well as the need to make changes in the situations and the actions such situations call for. Husso's (2002) study stresses:

1. Being the object of intimate violence is a unique experience. To understand this experience in theory, practice as well as in public discussions on it, we need concepts which reach beyond the notions of human beings as rational and logical agents, autonomous and coherent subjects.

2. Various traditions of thought provide us with useful concepts (corporeal phenomenology, post-structuralism, feminist theory, psychodynamic theory) and combining these concepts is useful in this context.

3. A meaningful / reasonable study of violence in heterosexual relationships calls for a clear and simultaneously complex analysis of gender.

4. Different forms of violence are profoundly interconnected.

5. The effects of violence on both the agents and the victims of it have individual and global percussions.

ii. "Violence in the Shadow of Equality: Hidden Gender in Legal Discourse"
The group project is located in socio-legal studies. It has concerned women as actors and legal subjects, and their invisibility in Finnish criminal law, criminology, criminal procedure, and legal theory. The main focus of the project has been on how (implicit) perceptions about violence against women are reflected and reproduced in legal discourses. Understanding of the Finnish gender system and sexual culture is a necessary prerequisite for a critical assessment of the gender blindness in the Finnish legal culture. Studying legal texts benefits from qualitative sociological methods, especially from discourse analysis. Also, understanding women's experiences benefits from analysis of the law. Both approaches are needed to assess how and why women's experiences have been excluded from legal discourse. Methodologically legal research has been opened up towards constructionism and discourse analysis.

iii. "The Violence of Sex: Meanings, Emotions, Practices and Policies of Sexualised Violence" organised by the Sexualised Violence Research Consortium.

(i) Suvi Keskinen's (2005c) doctoral thesis on Family Professionals and Discrepancies of Working With Violence. Gender, Power and Discursive Practices. When the issue became public in Finland the hegemonic discourse around it was that of 'family violence'. A decade later the 'violence against women' discourse was introduced and has gradually also become influential. The study: 1) how these two discourses were made use of by family professionals working with domestic violence and what kind of discursive practices were constructed; 2) what role did the discourses of heterosexuality and parenthood play in violence work; 3) what kind of subjectivities were constructed for abused women in the encounters with the family professionals. The study was ethnographic research in three family counseling agencies. The material comprised field notes and tape-recordings of encounters between professionals and abused women (as well as sometimes also children and violent men), and interviews with the professionals concerning their views on domestic violence and working with it. The theoretical frame was built on post-structuralist feminism.

The research showed that there were considerable differences between the discursive practices of the family counseling agencies. Two constructions of domestic violence were identified: 'violence as a form of power' and 'violence as a symptom of something else'. The preferred ways of working with violence also differed depending on the construction. The first emphasised working separately with abused women and violent men and set different goals for working with these. The second preferred working with couples and pursued for shared goals for the couple. The second way of working included much risk-taking, since the history of violence was not regarded as important and emphasis was placed on positive aspects of the intimate relationship.

Discourses of heterosexuality and parenthood proved problematic for professionals' commitment to end domestic violence. The responsibilities and duties within the intimate relationship were gendered, thus constructing women as responsible for making compromises and taking care of their partner. Some professionals also discussed sexual intercourse as a necessary and regular part of an intimate relationship, thus bypassing women's accounts of feeling sexually abused or coerced. The motherhood of an abused woman was strongly connected to the responsibility of taking care of the children and their safety. The fatherhood of a violent man was often constructed as nearly non-existing and problematic, but there were also a lot of hopes attached to it. When relying on the complementary heterosexual family model (that is very strongly entangled in family professional discourse) the father was constructed as a necessary figure for normal development of the child.

(ii) The Sexualised Violence, Global Linkages and Policy Discourses sub-project has focused on the sex trade (Hearn & Jyrkinen 2000; Hearn 2004b, Jyrkinen 2004; Jyrkinen & Hearn 2005). Marjut Jyrkinen's (2005) doctoral thesis, The Organisation of Policy Meets the Commercialisation of Sex: Global Linkages, Policies, Technologies, is based on semi-structured interviews with managers and professionals in 5 key groups of organisations (international affairs; law and law enforcement; social and health affairs and gender issues; technologies, communication and trade; and co- and self-regulating organisations and business), and many legal and policy documents relevant to the sex trade and ICTs. The study of the commercialisation of bodies, sex and sexualities by multi-faceted perspectives on global/local linkages contributes to more holistic analysis. Some of the conclusions are:

1) Much of the sex trade is linked with and originates from subordination of women and prevailing patriarchal structures and attitudes in organisations and society.

2) The sex trade is much connected to 'grey area' businesses, even organised crime.

3) Global linkages - especially economic, technological, geographical linkages - provide much of the basis for the increase of the sex trade locally.

4) Government policies do not effectively follow new situations in the sex trade.

5) Policies on the sex trade and sex trade in relation to ICTs differ between government sectors.

6) There are differing discourses, namely the legal/procedural discourse, the sexualised violence discourse and the negotiated discourse on the sex trade, which are much based on gender, gender positions and the level of expertise of the interviewees.

7) Technological and economic linkages of sex trade are increasingly important in its normalisation. Through ICTs and their applications, there are increasing pressures in Finland towards minimal regulative polices on ICTs and the sex trade. However, there are also contesting discourses on the 'free flow' of ICTs and the sex trade.

8) The discourses on ICTs and the sex trade - the discourse of the committed, the compromising discourse and the discourse of the concerned - have strong intersections with the discourses on the sex trade in general.

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This project has fed into general policy related studies on Finland (Jyrkinen & Ruusuvuori 2002; Hearn et al 2005), comparative studies between Finland and UK (Hearn 2002b; Hearn et al. 2004; McKie & Hearn 2004), Nordic region (Hearn 2002a, 2003); and European contexts (Edwards & Hearn 2004; Hearn & Pringle 2006).

(iii) Minna Piispa conducted further analysis on the national survey of women's experiences of men's violence. She focused in particular on the relevance and intersections of age and generation with gender. This included the likely greater recognition of such violence by younger, more educated women, compared with older, less educated women. The former group may also have better opportunities to act to change their life. The survey method tends to represent the experiences of violence of younger women better than those of others who may have experienced the long lasting effects of violence on their conceptions of themselves, partnerships and violence. The concept of agency is emphasised. The survey is seen as both representations of lived life, and a form of communication between researcher and researched. Methodological choices are seen to affect the knowledge produced.

(iv) Emmi Lattu is researching women's use physical violence, including violence targeted to children, partners and acquaintances, lethal and non-lethal. The study is qualitative and the data comprises interviews and anonymous writings. It examines how gender moulds women's experiences of their violence. Female violent offenders and women reached via family counselling centre have been interviewed. Anonymous writings from women who have used violence have been collected through writing requests published in women's magazines and free magazines. The focus is on how women, who have been violent, experience and interpret their violent acts.

iv. "Why Men Batter their Partners: A Narrative and Discourse Analytic Study"
This project examined how the voluntary participants of group therapy for intimately violent men spontaneously position themselves as victims in therapy-talk. This is in line with earlier findings on the mitigating, rationalising and self-justifying discursive practices of perpetrators. From a treatment process aspect this is a significant problem. The therapist deals with this problem either by ignoring and/or confronting directly the victim positions. The third way they use is more complicated interaction strategies to deconstruct victim position. In this occasionally confirmed and/or disconfirmed the victim position depending on the complexities of the conversations.

Another aspect in the study concerns how the therapists and the clients negotiate 'the identity construction of the violent man' in talks of (self-)control. The issue of (self-)control appears to be very sensitive area of conversation and the male clients strongly reject the idea of intentionality offered by therapists. The therapists and the clients did have different (and partly opposing) constructions of the meaning of the controlling one's use of violence that clearly affects to the therapeutic negotiations of responsibility. These studies show in detail how these therapeutic negotiations are done between the male clients and the therapists. The aim has been to describe and study the programme principles and practices of the groups for perpetrators.

The narrative analysis shows how the men in the groups told that talking with other perpetrators of violence had helped them to reduce violence although they were not willing to talk about their violent acts. Talking about the violent acts increased their

responsibility and decreased denial and belittling. They started to discuss more with their partner and felt more equality at home. The group opens up a new prospect for the construction of non-violent narratives and ways of acting as well as for the construction of a non-violent identity. The goal has been to increase the quality and quantity of programmes for perpetrators, in both individual and groupwork with perpetrators. This research project has been part of prevention of violence against women and developing good practices for perpetrators.

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5. Social inclusion/exclusion and intersectionalities
Intersections are of various kinds: between different social divisions; between social inclusion and social exclusion; between those commit and those subjected to violence. There is a strong development in Finland of studies on social exclusion from the 1980s. The 'misery studies' partly dealt with the social exclusion of men, who were often unemployed or low level blue collar. Early discussions defined social exclusion as mainly related to lack of work and/or family. Later, social exclusion have been defined in more complex ways, highlighting the relation of material and non-material marginalisation. Numerous studies give information on exclusion and poverty but much less on gender. Some forms of marginalisation have been seen as men's problems, especially alcoholism and homelessness, but generally gendered analysis is not the main focus.
Finland is ethnically a relatively very homogenous country, though with a complex language history (MacRae et al., 1997). One-two percent of the population are not ethnic Finns, although 6 percent are first language Swedish speakers. There are small minorities of Sami, Romanies, Russians and Estonians, and increases in migration with EU membership and transformations in Central and Eastern Europe. Karmela Liebkind has found that Finnish men are much more prejudiced against immigrants than women. She comments that "the symptoms of depression and a high level of experiences of prejudice and discrimination (the latter explaining a substantial part of the former) among male Vietnamese in Finland, but [also] the overall symptom level (anxiety, depression and psychosomatic) was higher among the female Vietnamese."

Jukka Lehtonen (1999a, 1999b, 2003) has studied gay young men in schools, and the bullying of them there. Osmo Kontula and Elina Haavio-Mannila (1993, 1995) have surveyed Finns' sexual practices, including longitudinal research. These provide quantitative data, on practices, and on attitudes, but little focus on sexual violence.

Gaps regarding intersections. Much information on men who are marginalised, most is not gendered. Studies of social exclusion of men are rather fragmented, according to the different forms of exclusion in question, with research lacking on gay men, disabled men, and men, ethnicity and racism.

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GERMANY, Ursula Mueller

1. Key points
Problems formerly addressed as "women's problems" have at least in part been successfully transformed into gender conflicts. These have in various areas been brought into public and scholarly attention, and they are to be seen in the context of a growing attention of gender politics as a whole. The distribution of housework and conflicts about this distribution between men and women, debates about men as fathers, a widespread awareness of male violence against women, and a tendency to de-stigmatise homosexuality are relevant as well as the challenge German men feel from women's pleas for more and more effective affirmative action policies. New emerging fields of research are "gender and organization", subtle discrimination, and new structural and cultural challenges in the reconciliation of work and home for both genders.

2. National gender background
2.1 Short historical remarks
Gender Relations in Germany are under reconstruction. After World War II, gender relations were restored in the West as a petit-bourgeois patriarchal model with a male bread-winner, a female home maker and a strong ideology of motherhood, in the East with the socialist emancipation model of integrating women into the workforce as totally as possible, therefore providing more and more child care and other care facilities. This opposition, especially in times of the „Cold War", made it difficult for a long time to fight, for instance, for public child care for children under three in the West, but also for reduced working time in the East (cf. Bertram/Mueller 1992). Since the late 60's/early 70's, a strong women's movement has begun in the West, having been very successful in making gender an issue. They scandalized successfully violence against women, discrimination in pay, sexual harassment in the workplace, rape in marriage, sexual abuse of children, discrimination of homosexuality, etc., have been influencing academic life (ca. 140 chairs for women's and gender studies nation-wide, 9.2% female professors compared to only 5% in the late 70's), initiated gender equality politics in the public sphere (equal opportunities programmes, regulations on sexual harassment) and in large organizations such as trade unions, but only partially also in the private economy. Today, some voices say women's movements are dead, but others- including the author of this text - think that it has been changing it's forms while progressing (cf. Mueller 1999).

Gender relations in the united Germany have been modernizing even under conservative government (see for details National Report III). The new red-green government (elected 1998) has promised, though not yet pursued very actively, more progress in gender equality.

2.2 Gender relations as an issue
Still, German women generally are in favour of gender equality, and many of them support actions to obtain it. 53% of German women are reported in 1998 to estimate the word "women's emancipation" very highly, whereas only 31% of the men do the same (Zulehner/Volz 1998, 15). But on the other hand, men are women consent about many issues; for instance, that women have to work harder for the same success than men, that they have to be more qualified than men, that success in working life is for men and women of the same high importance, and so on (each issue affirmed by both sexes with more than 70% (BMFSFJ 1996). Yet, men are more reluctant to support active equality

policies, although they see the necessity. This is one hint that gender questions in Germany have become an important issue, but at the same time are a constant source of quarrel and negotiation between the sexes, with women urging towards a quicker and more thorough change.

2.3 Men as an issue
Since some years, men have become an issue of public interest. Some men sued files against equal opportunities legislation, and a popular literature on men's wounds done to them by women emerged, but also groups like "men against violence against women", men's groups reflecting masculinity in German society, and others have evolved who situate themselves more anti-sexist. A pluralization of socially acceptable both femininities and masculinities has taken place; the "Manager Magazin" for instance had some years ago a title story on "gays as bosses"; bi-sexuality had a short but successful time as a public issue. Men are also publicly addressed as fathers by campaigns of ministries and churches, trying to motivate them to spend more time with their children, as „children need fathers".

Men's Studies in Germany have been largely influenced by Anglo-Saxon and North-American discussions, only recently Scandinavian concepts (for instance, addressed towards peaceful solutions of conflicts as training modules for boys) have come to the attention of experts.

Men as *objects of change* have widely been addressed in German speaking literature, at the beginning mostly by feminist authors (for instance Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1986 with the first feminist survey on the impact of the women's movement on men, and Hagemann-White/Rerrich 1988 with the first intensive German-speaking reflections on men and masculinities, as well as on construction theory), but then also by some gender-sensitive authors from sociology (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim) and neighbour disciplines. In some books having become very popular, men are discussed as the victims of women's liberation, loosing their place in society because women haft left theirs. Discourses to „restore" masculinity, to rebuild „masculine identity" clearly are grounded on a concept of a basic human need for a gender identity (following Bly and others). Men need to *be* men (again). In this literature, men are encouraged to also become *subjects of change*, but backwards. Other authors, more influenced by Pleck and others, try to provide a ground for men as subjects of change by role theory, more underlining that men ought to have to *do* something special, to fill their role with new contents. In these concepts, rather often the issue of gender hierarchy is left out or taken into account as a problem for men, too (for instance maintaining power making men lonely, or stressed, see Hollstein's works).

A more systematic view on gender relations and their connection with and structuring of economic and social processes has not yet taken broadly into account by men's studies. Meuser (1998) is the only author giving an intensive discussion on the concepts of masculinity in sociological theory, starting from the "classics" end ending up with constructionism.1BauSteineMaenner (1996) aim at the goal of putting masculinities into

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1 In Meuser's (1998) investigation into „Gender and Masculinity" two pieces of empirical research are presented. These research reports represent the second part of his book, the first part of which is dedicated to a theoretical discussion about concepts of masculinity in „classical„ sociological authors, such as Toennies, Simmel, Durkheim, as well as the gender role concept, Parsons, the concept of gender as social construction, the concept of patriarchy, and others. In the empirical part, Meuser

a societal context, and the journal „Widersprueche" („Contradictions"), edited by members of the „Socialist Bureau", a left-wing outside parliarment organization, has been pioneering in presenting a broad discussion on societal, historical and psychological ways to construct masculinities (1995). This level of discussion may further develop now with the German publication of Robert W. Connell's „Masculinities", as one of the more comprehensive approaches, being able to refer seriously to feminist research as well.

An important push for the development of discourses on masculinity has come from work with men in adult education and with boys in extra-school seminars. Based either on co-consulting (a principle of men's groups), or professional work (Brandes/Bullinger) or a mixture of both (elaborated for instance by Schnack/Neutzling), they either focus on learning to change their behaviour (especially with boys being taught alternatives to aggressive behaviour) or on trying to find out characteristic situations in their remembrance when their masculinities have been formed, with regard to their feelings, their sense of their bodies, etc.. In a way, this influential source of literature seems to have initiated or reinforced a kind of therapeutization in thematizing masculinities, in both the sense of promoting understanding how men and boys suffer from society, resp. societal constructions of masculinity, as well as demonstrating ways for men to change, and/or for society to change so that men can change, too.

In Germany, as in other countries as well, the spectre of discourse is ranging from a pro-male/masculinist pole to a anti-sexist one; to name the anti-sexist also a pro-feminist pole, is even in academic debates far less common than in the English speaking literature. At the moment, articles and journals mention „feminist" ore in contexts of contempt, for instance that film X tells important things about gender relations but is not without humour as a feminist film would be, etc. The masculinist discourse has taken the form of a feminization of education that is regarded as being threatening the healthy development of boys (Fthenakis 1985; Amendt 1999). Female parents are suspected of excluding their male partners from parenting, binding their sons to themselves with symbiotic messages (Amendt 1999). This discourse has already been politically successful.

Recently a change in law on child custody in non-married relationships officially aimed at equal rights for children in- and outside of wedlock and for married and non-married couples; de facto it bettered up the legal position of the non-married and divorced father. It set up joint custody as the normal case after divorce (whereas mother's custody was the normal case before) without giving the father any sanctions when he does not pay his share or does not take over responsibility. Here, a lobby group called „VaeterAufbruch" (app. „Fathers On the Move" or „Fathers' Upheaval") succeeded in displaying

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presents the result of a) a content analysis of 50 books in which men try to discuss their masculinities („Maenner-Verstaendigungstexte,,, a bit comparable to Connell's wording of „books on men,,), that have been influential in Germany; their impact is measured by the number of copies that had been edited. All books that were printed in 15 000 copies and more (figures from 1994) were included. The second empirical study presented is an analysis of 30 group discussions of men in various situations of life, and in varying cultural contexts of masculinity. „Natural,, groups such as gent's clubs, „new men,, – groups, football-clubs, groups of regulars in pubs, student flat-sharing groups, and others were chosen who differed a lot in their degree of taken-for-grantedness or reflexivity when discussing about being a man, being in relation to women, etc. The results do not directly relate to the topics of the Thematic Network, but have influenced this report and will be more fully discussed in Report IV.

misogynous arguments (for instance, about the supposed (although not empirically approved) higher proneness to violence and school failures in fatherless boys, and the damages done to male children by mothers preventing them to build up a relation to their fathers; see National Report IV).

Some authors in German men's studies plead chairs for men's studies in order to study masculinities properly (and to counterbalance to, in their eyes, the overwhelming presence of women's studies). Only some male voices up to now argue that it is maybe not the researcher's gender, but the analytical perspectives that will bring men's studies forward (cf. Meuser 1998), and who refer correctly and habitually to feminist prior or parallel results and debates (Widersprueche 1995). From this background, it can be explained as a strategy that some representatives of men's studies throw a dubious and distorting light on feminist research done on their own research topic, to prove the originality and innovative quality of their research questions.

2.4   Time scales of surveys

To discuss recent developments in academic research on men and masculinities, it is striking that there are fewer studies than expected. Only one representative and comprehensive survey on men seems to have been conducted in the 70's (Pross 1975), in the 80's (Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1986), and in the 90's (Zulehner/Volz 1998) respectively. A recent investigation on fathers (Vaskovics/Rost 1999) is focused on why German men are very reluctant towards parental leave. A recent study by Meuser (1998) is focusing on men thematizing themselves as men in a perspective of the sociology of knowledge. Beside these, there are surveys and studies on the *interrelation of men and women* referring to topics like gender equality, coping with everyday reconciliation of "home and work", and the like. Referring to "violence", new contributions from men's studies concentrate on very small samples (mostly from educational work with perpetrators), and referring to "health", very general concepts with secondarily analysed data or a very small primary data source on the one hand, and very detailed, but sociologically not yet suitable health studies, concentrating more on correlations of medical details in men and women, dominate the overall picture. „Social exclusion" is not figuring under this title in the research literature; it is therefore referred to as a question of unemployment, ethnicity, homosexuality, and networks. Thus, on special topics of interest, this report has to rely on a variety of sources which vary in quality as well as in quantity. Additionally, it turned out that parts of the newly emerging gender-research and men's studies-discourse in Germany refer in a distorting, with sometimes overt, sometimes more subtle contempt to results and theses of feminist research, a challenge that also had to be dealt with.

Helge Pross's study (800 survey questionnaires, group discussions, interviews) was sponsored by the biggest women's journal in Germany, "Brigitte", that had built up a tradition of big serious research funsings concerning issues that were spectacular at the same time. Pross found out out that although a women's movement had already begun, Herman men in the 70's did not see any reason to pay attention to it. They felt secure and comfortable in their traditional role, separated sharply between male and female spheres, yet they became allergic towards the term "equal rights for women".

Metz-Goeckel/Mueller's study (1000 survey questionnaires, group discussions, interviews) sponsored by the same journal ten years later as a follow-up study, figured as the first feminist survey in Germany and concentrated on the women's movement's

impact on men in the realms of home and work, gainful employment, sexuality, violence, and general attitudes abouts men and women. The results showed a dramatic change in men's orientations; women and men in the men's view had become much more similar than would have been expectable from Pross' 1975 data, and many men showed something that today would be called "gender awareness". Yet, there was a big discrepancy bet ween the new orientation towards equality and partnership, and the factual deeds, measured for instance as participation in housework, contraception, and the like.

Zulehner/Volz's (1998) study has been sponsored by the catholic and the Protestant church as well as the formerly Christian-democratic ministry for family, seniors, women and youth and aims at the diffusion of the picture of a "new man" as a focus for the educational work of the churches. This "new man" would leave the one-sidedness of traditional, work-oriented masculinity, develop a new active presence in their families, and be a competent inhabitant of their own interior, in order to be better at home with himself (16). The authors take as a starting point that there are several possible types of masculinity in society, and construct them theoretically from a concept of separated male and female gender roles, in a way comparable to Talcott Parsons and Brigitte and Peter L. Berger, whose works are referred to: the traditionals, the new ones, the pragmatics (combining old and new values in a pragmatic way) and the insecures (rejecting the old values without consenting with the new ones). The typology is thought to be read as a developmental path, representing 4 phases for the reconstruction of male identity, with the traditionals in the first phase and the new ones in the phase of perfection, whereas the two other groups are on their ways. The authors admit that this concept did not work out with all data (for instance the „new men", designed as the promising ones, are not very close to religion, what according to the authors is a central means for self development), but insist that it made sense with most of them.

2.5 Differentiation of masculinities

In Zulehner/Volz's results, the authors point to the fact that West German men tend to be more traditional than the East Germans. The majority in the West is insecure, the majority in the East "new". In general, the distribution of German men referring to the four "Types" reads as follows: "traditional" 19% West, 13% East; "pragmatic" 26%West, 28% East; "insecure" 34%West, 29% East; and "new" 22% West, 32% East. In a way, this comes rather close to Metz-Goeckel/Mueller's findings for the 80's, who estimated - varying according to the issue - one fifth to one quarter of (West-)German men being traditionalists. Thus, the change does not seem very big.

Various patterns of masculinity exist contemporarily, as Metz-Goeckel/Mueller have already shown for the 80's and Zulehner/Volz for the 90's, and a variety exists often inside one and the same man. This is for instance shown by Michael Meuser's study documenting 30 group discussions with „natural„ men's groups in varying social contexts: participants in a group of university students for instance may live in a rather balanced partnership referring to distribution of work, power, etc., but in the men's group monitor their verbal behaviour to be „macho„ enough for not to be labelled as „sissies". Meuser takes this result as a proof for the existence of a variety of discursive realities of masculinity (see also National Report IV) and as an expression of double morality; it can also be interpreted as a methodological challenge: which situation reveals the „real„ person, the one contextualized by women, or by men? Or must we

look for the answer in the contextualization it self, therefore criticizing the quest for „real reality„ as such?

3. Home and work

West and East Germans of both sexes differ considerably in their evaluation of societal frames for everyday gender life. Concerning home and work, public childcare plays an important role, but this is being argued on. Whole day public childcare, for instance, is regardrd as harmfuil by more than 40% of West Germans, but only 14% of East Germans (BMFJ 1992), and men are more traditional than women in this respect.

3.1 Partnership and its discontents

Relationships based on partnership are widely regarded today as an ideal to be aspired to; this is evident not only from academic studies but also from official government reports which, depending on their basic attitude to feminist politics, may speak critically of men's refusal, repeatedly verified by empirical studies, to accept an equal distribution of family responsibilities and the persistence of traditional gender ideology (cf. MGFM 1993) or gloss over essentially unambiguous data, interpreting them with notorious optimism as a change in the right direction (cf. BMJFFG 1988).

Women's practical experience of life, in a period when their educational levels and labour market participation rates have been rising rapidly but there has been little change in the division of domestic labour, gives rise to a   glaring and conflictive *disjunction between their desired way of life and the situation they actually experience* (Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1987, p. 10) (cf. MAGS Baden/Wuerttemberg 1985; Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1986; Berger-Schmidt 1986; Thiessen/Rohlinger 1988; BMJFFG 1988).

Among men, there has long been a contradiction betwen the ideas they profess and the way they actually live. Their lives have been empirically revealed as obviously not conflictive for a long period. Still in the eighties, they did virtually no domestic work (BMJFFG, 1988). If their partner was in full-time paid employment outside the home and had no children, they did somewhat more than nothing, but by no means half of what had to be done (Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1986). Once they became fathers, their involvement in housework declined; if their partner worked half-time, then she could expect virtually no help with the housework from her male partner (for Germany: Metz-Goeckel/Mueller, 1986; for international findings: Hoepflinger/Debrunner/Charles, 1991).

The thesis that the structures of working life are based on the notion of the „married man without domestic responsibilities" (or, as Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim put it in her suitably paradoxical phrase, a person which is looked after but remains independent) is repeatedly adduced as a reason why men are *unable* to behave any differently towards housework. The inflexible structures of working life leave them with no other option. There cannot be any intention to play down the structural constraints to which men are subject, but they should not become exaggerated, either. Even if men had had more time in the 80's, most of them would not spend it with their families but devote it to their hobbies (Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1986; cf., for an analogous finding for the former DDR, Bertram/Mueller, 1992). „The debate is increasingly focused on the growing tendency of women to be economically active, even those who have children. Less attention is paid to the fact that is becoming a problem largely because it is not matched by any increased

tendency among men to take responsibility for housework and childcare" noticed Gisela Notz in her study with young couples having their first child (Notz, 1991:17).

Findings reveal a subtle interplay of structural constraints and individual traditionalism in orientation. Metz-Goeckel/Mueller argued in 1986, that the prevalent male pattern of perception and organisation was segregation. In the sphere of gainful employment, or when fighting for their workers' interest, men do not act as fathers but as „family-free yet cared-for independents".

Given the considerable difference that still exists between men's and women's earnings, it is hardly surprising that it is the woman who stays at home after the birth of a child. Since she is usually the person with the lower income, a couple does not need to be wholehearted advocates of the traditional ideology of motherliness to opt for the traditional 'solution'. Furthermore, it is interesting that it is often the woman's income, if she remains in employment after the birth, from which childcare is paid for, whether in fact or by imputation (Notz 1991, p. 44), as if it were only *her* time that was being freed through the purchase of childcare and not the father's as well. On the other hand, the financial dependency of young mothers on their partner seems not to be accepted as a matter of course even by the women themselves, but comes rather as something of a shock (Notz 1991). They have problems using 'his' account and criticise rash spending by their partner for fear that there will not be enough money left over for the family, but they also feel that they are frequently criticised by their partner and that he controls their spending.

However, *men's attitudes* to their at least temporary status as the sole breadwinner also turn out *not* to be *homogeneous*. Some very much enjoy the fact that their current role conforms to the ideology of the male breadwinner, while others tend to reject the role. Thus it would seem that the 'money' question is now the cause of a great deal of dissatisfaction among married women and occasional uneasiness in their partners. However, any suggestion that this may open up space for renegotiating and new arrangements must be treated with scepticism. Some of the more modest effects of this uneasiness can perhaps be seen in the fact that the contradictory effect of the child benefit regulations also manifested itself in the families studied by Notz. Over a certain level of income, entitlement to the benefit lasts only 6 months; at that point, it becomes evident to many families that it is absolutely essential for the wife to return to work. 'Another factor was that, by this time, most women were sick to the back teeth of the total economic dependency' (Notz, loc. cit, p. 45).

In Zulehner/Volz's study, within the "traditional" groups, "home and work"- as well as "violence" - issues make much of a difference: traditional men do not see any need to engage in balancing home and work, and they show more propensity and support for violence; women on the other hand evaluate both the traditional as well as the other groups clearly less positively as these groups evaluate themselves with respect to balancing home and work and to violence. 73% of the men put "work" on the top of the list of things which are important of life, and 82% take family on the top as well. Although men seem to prioritize family against work in their evaluation, but seen through the eyes of women, it is the other way round: for 92% of the women, men put work first, and for only 77% they put family first.

3.2 The discovery of men as fathers
In the late eighties/early nineties, the tenor of publications partially shifted to a publicly discussed phenomenon of the discontent men who are hindered to act as a real father - partially by structural constraints of work, partially by their female partners who would not let them become active fathers (see also above). Political campaigns started to appeal to men not to leave out "the most important role of their lives". In 1996, a survey on the population's opinions about gender relations revealed a majority in women and men that thought it should be possible for men to take parental leave; asked if they would appreciate this for their own family, both the men and the women were split into two halves. The real figure of fathers in parental leave at that time was below 2%.

German men in general seem to have become more child-oriented than their fathers were, and they plead for more possibilities to combine home and work in order to be active fathers (Zulehner/Volz 1998; BMFSJ (1996); yet, as Vaskovics/Rost (1999) show, only a tiny group really is willing to share parental leave (under 2 % are actually taking parental leave). Although „money" is cited as the most important reason why fathers did not take parental leave, 12% of the sample earned the same as the female parent, and in 10% of the cases the female parent earned more before the birth of the first child. Gisela Notz found already in her in - depth study with 28 parents in 1991 that in the few cases where the mother's income was higher, it was nevertheless her who took parental leave. This shows that „money" is used to legitimate the gender-specific division of responsibilities within the family only when traditional patriarchal models have to be justified. When the opposite is the case, the argument does not apply.

Peinelt-Jordan (1996) adds a special perspective in discussing the reconciliation of home and work for men: he takes the focus of personnel politics and personnel development to prove that men have not yet received attention as a target group for measures facilitating possible solutions for reconciliation, although - this is the author's thesis - men are more and more confronted with reconciliation problems, because both the labour market and the private gender relations are changing.. Men who want to care for their children in person, and therefore negotiate for a reduction of working time, have to face even more difficulties than mothers, the author points out. He wanted to do interviews with all the fathers on parental leave in a certain period of time, who would automatically contact the local authority in a city to claim for the parental money they were entitled to. This would have been 55 persons, but only 5 consented to do an interview. The author suggests that problems of time, but furthermore a great fear to become de-anonymized by the investigation, and facing still more trouble in their work places than they had already undergone, were the reasons for this rejection.

3.3 What makes a difference
Even in the case of those few couples (Hoepflinger et al. 1991) who share housework and childcare more or less evenly, there are still differences emerging. In the study by Busch/Hess-Diebaecker/Stein-Hilbers, on couples with children who were trying their hand at "shared parenthood", i.e. a concurrent or at least even distribution of parental duties and lowering of professional ambition, the women were generally shown to be disadvantaged by higher workloads and less time and space for rest and recuperation (Busch et al. 1988). In this study, 15 couples with small children have been interviewed. One criterion for the sharing of parenthood was the reduction of working time by the father. It turned out that in some cases the women in those couples had constructed a connection between having a child at all and their sharing of parenthood: if their partner

would not consent to reduce his working time as well as she would, she would not have babies. Some of the fathers with reduced working time had to face difficulties in different ways at their workplaces, but also in the family context and with friends, because in the 80's when the research was done, this model was still very unusual. Only a few of the fathers interviewed were totally convinced and satisfied with the model of shared parenthood, because it enabled them to built up a close connection to their child or children and to gain insights into everyday life they would not have had access to otherwise. Another small group of fathers rejected more or less openly the decision for shared parenthood; they could not remember how it had come, as they were not able to describe any decision processes. The largest group of fathers however were ambivalent about the shared parenthood they practised. They saw advantages in it, but also felt attracted by the traditional model with the female home maker and the male money maker. Without their female partners being determined for shared parenthood, they wouldn't have done it; this points to both the attractiveness of the traditional model, but also to the potential of open-mindedness.

Men who are married to their partners turned out to do less in the home than those who are not married to the woman they live with. This was proved by a survey in the "old" FRG that compared a representative sample of married couples with a representative sample of non-married couples (BMJFFG 1986). If age, income level, educational level, women's economic activity, and other important variables are controlled, the status of being married turns out to be the most important variable to explain the significantly higher amount of housework that non-married male partners do. Furthermore, an additional sample of in-depth interviewees from both groups revealed that the distribution of housework is a frequent issue of discussion, quarrel, and negotiation between non-married partners, whereas married couples discuss this topic very rarely. In a micro-political perspective, reluctance towards marriage seems to be an important resource for women to pursue a strategy of sharing domestic work more evenly. In the nineties, marriage as a differentiating factor has no longer been pursued.

In a number of studies, time utilisation emerges as a fundamental issue of creating difference in everyday negotiations between men and women (Notz 1991; Jurczyk/Rerrich 1993; etc.). The study by Gisela Notz (1991) found that fathers sleep considerably better and for longer periods than mothers. Only two couples out of a total of 28 studied by Notz had shared night-time duties equally; in all the other families, it was the mother who got up to deal with the children. At first this seemed 'natural', particularly when the children were still being breast-fed. However, only a further three couples had arranged things so that the father relieved the mother of those night-time tasks he could perform equally as well, such as fetching the child, changing her/him and putting her/him back to sleep. Once established, this 'natural' division of labour was maintained long after the child had been weaned, and even when the father was on parental leave.2

In their study of the structures and demands of everyday living in a variety of life circumstances, Karin Jurczyk and Maria S. Rerrich found differences in time utilisation even in those extremely rare cases in which men and women both enjoyed an equal share of the time that can be used for paid work, housework, being together and general leisure. In these authors' view, it is no accident that time plays such a central role, since:

'It is also used to negotiate new patterns of dominance and subordination in the family and, ultimately, in the wider society as well' (1993, 306). 'More or less pronounced conflicts of interests emerge in the course of such negotiations. These conflicts are a reflection not least of structures of dominance and subordination within the family, of who has good and bad prospects, who has more or less freedom to do with their time as they wish and to impose his or her wishes in respect of time allocation on other family members. Freedom to organise time, both one's own and that of others, is an important indicator of the power relationships between the sexes and within the family' (303).

Even in partnerships in which more egalitarian views prevail - and it should be remembered that egalitarian attitudes are much more prevalent than egalitarian arrangements - much more of women's time is taken up with care of others. This reflects the existence of sub-structures underlying the divisions between the different strategies adopted by the sexes that go beyond the level of who takes responsibility for or refuses to do what household tasks. Jurczyk and Rerrich's study clearly reveals 'segmentation' as a control strategy regularly deployed by men. Men's efforts to find common ground with other family members frequently take the form of 'projects': they undertake a concrete, very clearly defined activity with the family (Jurczyk/Rerrich 1993:314), and in doing so prefer to integrate the other family members into the organisation of their own leisure time. This was a strategy for finding common ground within the family that was observed among men in all the social classes investigated. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to leave space in their daily time management for others, thereby creating scope for the spontaneous development of joint activities. However, this is not necessarily beneficial for the self-assurance of the 'all conciliating woman'.

If we accept a very broad definition of housework that includes all 'caring work' (Jurczyk) and then observe how the management of the routine care that has to be provided is organised, for example how gaps of half an hour or so in the care of children or handicapped or elderly people are filled by calling on additional helpers or delegating responsibility to paid carers, then the differences between the sexes become even clearer. Women provide their male partners with a backdrop of care, in the sense that they can be relied upon to ensure continuity of care even when they are not themselves available (Jurczyk/Rerrich 1993:324).

Karin Jurczyk rightly points out that a hierarchy exists in respect of reconciling family life and paid employment. Many of these problems can be solved only by fundamental changes, for instance of the structure of working times, and of the gendered income relations; many, on the other hand, can be solved by relatively simple measures. For example, it is difficult to understand why the work of filling the washing machine and then hanging out, drying and ironing the clean clothes cannot be evenly distributed between men and women (and older children) in private households, so that all members of the family could enjoy equally long blocks of free time of equal value, to be spent alone or together. In reality, men have more free time than women, even in households whose life together is relatively complex because of the differences in individual family members' schedules and requirements. They often have a hobby for which they always find time, while women, in what is only an apparent paradox, frequently identify paid work as the sphere in which their free time is located.

Neither Jurczyk and Rerrich's study nor others (for instance Vaskovics/Rost 1999) reveal any continuously compelling connection between objective structures and constraints -

e.g. those imposed by the husband's working hours and the family's economic circumstances, or by the number of children and the skill levels of all those concerned - that might explain the actual distribution of caring work. For example, there are academics who profess extremely egalitarian views but are able to adduce an abundance of reasons to explain why they are not in a position, at least for the foreseeable future, to practise what they preach and share the caring work more equally with their partners.

However, studies contain examples of working-class families with more traditional attitudes in which more of the *actual* burden of care has been shifted on to the man than in many families in higher social classes. Even a shift worker whose employer hired him only because he had a non-employed wife makes it possible for her to work temporarily by looking after the children before or after his shift, which means that he actually does more childcare than men so in some academic households, which pay much lip service to the right to equality (Jurczyk/Rerricxh; see also Meuser 1998; Behnke 1998).

The fact that men and women living together do not always give the same assessment of their relationship in general and the distribution of tasks between them in particular has become a much-discussed topic in methodology. As far as content is concerned, there has been a remarkable change: while in the early 1980s women living with men were generally more likely than men to claim that they did more of the work, some studies in the 90's have shown the opposite. Men now tend to be the ones who claim they do relatively little, while women insist that the work is shared evenly (see Frerichs/ Steinruecke 1994). It is almost as if women's psychic inability to tolerate a lack of equality, already noted in earlier publications, is now being expressed in an exaggerated assessment of the level of equality in their relationships. In Zukehner/Volz's data, however, the „old" feature is reaffirmed: here women declare to do more housework than men (1998).

We may argue here that orientation towards partnership may work as a trap for women, in case their are oriented towards partnership *as such*. Starting their partnership from highly egalitarian values, they become caught by normatively loaded emotional demands, mixing up partnership values with a pattern of prevailing harmony, based on avoidance of conflicts of any kind. This even holds when the women's "objective" situation is quite good, for instance financial independence and high qualification levels are given (Benard/Schlaffer 1994). Findings also show that once women take up struggle and quarrelling with their partners, they are very often successful in re-designing distributions of housework, re-allocating time, and the like (Benard/Schlaffer 1994; Busch et al 1988; Metz-Goeckel/Mueller 1986).

Zulehner/Volz's study shows that differences between the sexes concerning the design of gender relations for the future show up in the younger groups. Women from under nineteen up to 49 years of age favour the model of shared parenthood (more than 50% in each group): Men and women shall be both in the family and in gainful employment. In none of the age groups of men this model is favoured (exception: men between 40-49 favour this model with 48%). The men's model seems to be a modernised traditionalism: the woman shall stay home as long as the children are small.

4. Social exclusion
4.1 Unemployment of youth

The gender relations in unemployment show interesting changes referring to young people. Throughout the 80th until 1990, young women were clearly more suffering from unemployment than young men. Since 1991, the picture has changed, and young men are considerately more often without employment than young women are. Referring to this, a variety of potential causes are discussed (cf. Christe 2000): More young men than young women leave the compulsory school system without any formal qualification, which give them a bad start for the labour market. An the other hand, the amount of girls and young women who go to further education and stay in the education system until they have become adults and beyond, do not show up in the statistics of unemployment. But last not least structural changes in the branches of German economy are also of relevance here; a remarkable shift in the last 10 years towards the service sector has coincided not everywhere but in certain areas of the service sector rather clearly with higher demands on qualification, which could have had a positive impact for young women Christe (2000) also points to the fact that major employment is now regulated by law, which may have turned a certain amount of young women formerly counted as unemployed now to officially employed persons.

Juvenile unemployment is considerably different between East and West Germany; being the average of the Federal Republic 10,5% for young people under 25 years, the West shows a quote of unemployment in 1991 of 9,1% the East of 15,8%; but also some of the West „Laender„ show the youth unemployment high above average.

4.2 Juvenile delinquency

Studies on juvenile delinquency found out in the last decade that formerly strong correlations between social class and delinquency have differentiated. The social class of the parents of juvenile delinquent seems to have lost influence; more important is social class with respect to social status of the juvenile delinquent him or herself. Low educational level, unemployment and male gender may play a role, but the connections remain ambivalent (for instance, in one period, female rates are higher in thefts, in another period male rates). Mansel/Hurrelmann (1998) point to the fact that in 1988, in a representative survey more migrant than German juveniles admitted to have committed a crime out of a list in the questionnaire within the last year. In 1996, there is a general increase in delinquency in the group of juveniles as a whole, but the relative increase in the group of the migrants is smaller than the increase in the group of the Germans. If a migrant juvenile is becoming delinquent, he or she is more often perpetrator in 2 or more violent deeds; generally multiple perpetrators (committing the same crime several times) are more common among the migrant population. Thus, the correlation between delinquency and being a migrant is evident, but a rather weak one. This contradicts results from criminal statistics that give rise to rumours that juvenile migrants are much more delinquent than Germans (cited in Vogel 1999). In the view of some the sociological literature, this turns out to be a construction process of official criminal statistics, increases awareness of the police, stronger inclination to accuse migrant delinquents , and a higher probability to give them a sentence (Geissler/Marissen 1990).

4.3 Loosening connections in old age

Other authors are dealing with gender distractions of networks of social support. They especially deal with social support networks in old age, handling a mass data from the socio-economic panel, from ALLBUS-DATA which are regularly provided by research

cooperation financed by German research foundation, and from studies with relatives of ill elder persons. Gender turns out to be important for the structure of the networks; both men and women tend to have much more network people of the same sex than they self have. The networks of women inside family relations (kinship) are more extended where as men tend to have more network members outside kinship. Towards old age, discrepancies between men and women in social networks disappear in a way that also men develop more ability and interest to work for the maintaining of networks, whereas they did not do this in the same amount in the years of their active working life. Studies point out that gender is outweighed by the fact if somebody is living inside marriage and family relations, or outside. (Schuetze/Lang 1993).

4.4 Labour market and ethnicity

Studies of the 90's show additionally that the labour market integration of migrants is rather high, and that second generation of migrants become similar to German workers. Male full time workers are the biggest group of employed among the migrant population; in the old FRG they represented central areas of the labour market corrected by an intense density of institutional regulation. Employment of migrants has led, to a degree, in the 80th to an increase of non-qualified labour in the whole labour market; on the other hand migrants also succeed in climbing up the career ladder. Migrant employees leave more often the labour market and are suffering more from unemployment than Germans. On the other hand they succeed in leaving branches of the economy with disadvantaged working conditions. The distribution of migrant employment in the German economy has become rather similar to that of German employees, and their legal status has bettered up over time, so that their legal situation as an employee is comparably secure to that of a German employee (Baker/Lenhardt1993). Migrants of the second generation are also said to be rather similar to the German workers (Seifert 1992). In his interpretation, data show that the first generation may have made Germany more a society with a class structure by ethnicity and with partial segmentation by ethnicity, but his does not hold for the second generation which seems to be on a long, but steady way away from ethnical segmentation and class structure, although the frame conditions have not yet (1992) bettered up (see National Report III for details and changes). He sees Germany's economy as dependent on migrant employees, as well as the German system of social security.

4.5 Integration and segmentation: Germans and migrants

In a multi-method study on German and Turkish workers in two huge German production plants, Birsl et al. (1999) report the findings that concerning their general orientations towards inequality in society, German and Turkish men do not differ much. Referring to their interests as workers or trade union members, for instance, or to their estimations of their personal upward or downward mobility, as well as to their preferences of political parties, both groups are rather similar, with the Turkish group always a bit more radical. This picture changes when issues like equal rights for foreigners come to question; here, Germans are much more reluctant than Turks. The same holds for the question if foreigners in Germany should be allowed to maintain their own cultural ways, or if they should adapt to German habits. The differences are gradual, but clear: Germans plead for foreigners having the right to live their culture, but not too much; Turks on the other hand reject any idea of being forced to adaptations. They support much clearer than Germans that Germans and Turks should spend more time together in order to understand each other better. Contacts between Germans and Turks are becoming proportionally rarer with a growing distance from working-place contacts

(257). A majority of Turks wants to see their daughters marry compatriots, whereas less than half of the Germans have the wish that their daughters should marry German men. Generally, Turkish men in group discussions are talking more and more heavy about experiences of discrimination, than in the questionnaires that had also been distributed. Especially encounters with German bureaucracy are mentioned here, and the difficult procedure to become formally a German when being a non-EU citizen (see National Report III).

4.6 Homosexuality

Homosexuality has undergone a change in societal thematization; it is on the way to a "normal" issue in the media, and as well in central politics as in the "Laender" where a red-green coalition is running the government, gay (as well as lesbian) issues are on the agenda, with gays' networks and organizations being more active in claiming for public money than lesbians until now. "Violence against gays" is the topic of a joint campaign of the police in Northrhine-Westphalia, the "land" with the largest population (17.5 millions of people), and the gay association of that "land" (Schwulenverband NRW) (see also National Report III).

A recent study funded by the Northrhine-Westphalian Ministry for Women, Youth, Family and Health (Oppermann1999), revealed - with data representative for the population in NRW - that only about 4% of the population reject homosexuality as being perverse, unnatural etc., mostly because of religious motives (for instance Jehovah's Testimonies). Three quarters of the interviewed said they would not look at gays and lesbians with prejudices, that those people should be granted to live as they wish, and that homosexual people need support to live in their own right. On the other hand, only one third of the population personally know somebody who is homosexual, more often gay than lesbian, and most of the people who know homosexual persons only know *one*. Those who meet people living in same-sex relationships regularly talk with more respect about them than the majority who does not know anybody who is homosexual. To sum up, about three quarters of the NRW-population report themselves as being open-minded and tolerant towards, but not knowing much about homosexual people, and being interested to know more about them. 90% agree on the statement that homosexuals are humans like any others; this varies a bit with political affiliation (conservatives being less tolerant), sex (women being more tolerant) and with religion (people without confession being more tolerant).

In Zulehner/Volz's study, the acceptance of homosexuality is more reluctant. This may partly be due to the fact they their sample covers the whole FRG, whereas Oppermann's study is covering the land Northrhine-Westphalia, being rather progressive in gender politics. Additionally, Zulehner/Volz use a five-grade-scale (1=strong agreement to 5=strong rejection), whereas Oppermann is only giving the total agreement. 36% in Zulehner/Volz's data agree on the statement that homosexuality simply were another way of living that should not be kept from being shown openly, 30% hold a neutral position, 34% reject the statement. But similar to Oppermann's study, 4% have sexual experiences with other men (in Oppermann's data, 4% declared to be homosexual themselves); furthermore, 7% declare themselves to be bisexual and 1%homosexual only. Religion also plays a role towards intolerance, but as the study is financed by the two big churches, the authors seem to have difficulties to report this properly: membership in one of the two big churches "is not very (!) significant".

5. Violences

Male violence against women in intimate relationships has been brought to public by campaigns and research in Germany since the late 60's/early seventies. At first, publications came out by feminist activists who did voluntary work with battered women, fought for the first shelters to be founded, and reflected their day-to-day practices as well as the insights into the patriarchal German society (Frauen gegen Maennergewalt 1978). Soon after that, feminist activists and researchers had succeeded in building up broader coalitions, mostly inside the left-wing and/or ecologically oriented non-parliamentarian oppositional movements, and strengthened their publishing activities (Sexuelle Gewalt 1985), as well as inside the governmental politics, although "women" as an issue were not yet established as a policy field (Bundesminister fuer Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit 1981).

Male violence against known women comes up to four million female victims a year (estimated figures) and is estimated to occur in every third marriage. 40.000 women a year come to women's shelters in Germany; there are about 380 shelters. There are also studies on the societal costs of male violence against women which are estimated as about 29 million DM a year.

In multi-method study on violence in East German couples, Schroettle (1999) analyses data from social science and criminology and comes to the conclusion that in the 70's and 80's one in five to seven women had been suffering from battering and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner, and that major violence played an important role with one divorce in 4 to 5. It seems that very heavy violence, based an weapons, has been more rare in the former GDR. Schroettle does not share the opinion that violence in East German couples increased a lot after the breakdown of the GDR. In her opinion, this is only true for violence in public space, for instance within youth-groups, within delinquency concerning property, and robberies, whereas violence in intimate social relations, especially the gender-specific types, and the sexual violence against women didn't change in quantity. On the other hand, she points out that there is an increase of violent climate and of open misogyny in the realm of the former GDR, so that we could speak of an increase of latent violence.

In general, the German discourse on male violence against women is one of the success-stories of the women's movement and feminist research (Hagemann-White 1992). The thematization of violence against women, in former times a taboo, was completely successful as well as the increase of public attention and the taking over of responsibility by the state. Since recent times, community-based network approaches are regarded as the most progressive and effective means to handle violence, and white-ribbon campaigns, including politicians and football-stars, have received some echo (see National Report III and IV). On the other hand, Hagemann-White is right when putting the question: are 40.000 women a year in shelters really a success-story, and are shelters the solution of women's movement fought for in the end? She pleads for a change in the moral quality of communities to abolish a latent consensus that violence is a common and therefore normal trait of masculinity. As well as Carol Hagemann-White, Margrit Brueckner, the second of the German pioneers on systematically analyzing violence against women, is working to initiate efforts for efficient networking and professionalizing of social workers, social security and support agencies, health authorities, and the police (Brueckner 1998).

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Referring to violence, studies by male researchers who understand their work as men's studies often concentrate on drawing attention to men as until now socially invisible victims of violence. Lenz (1996) for instance analyses 10 interviews with men who have been victims of violence and encroachments. The dominant pattern of masculinity is said to be structurally intertwined with the hitherto invisibility of male victimization; this holds especially for institutions like the helping professions, justice, and youth research. While gender-specific interpretations ascribe the status of a victim easily to females, they often prevent male victims from getting recognized. The author is varying these central theses in various publications, one of them can be found in Brandes/Bullinger (1996). Here, he is differentiating special violent experiences of boys, such as emotional exploitation, mental maltreat, physical violence, neglect, and sexual exploitation (pederasty, incest, prostitution, child pornography), and for men, such as going to war, same-sex encroachments, rapes inside institutions, and violence against homosexuals.

Other parts of academic research literature draws on experiences with therapeutic work with violent men. Lempert/Oelemann (1998) argue that responsibility for male violence against women is with the perpetrators themselves and neither with their repressed fears nor society. The concept of making perpetrators take over responsibility with their deeds is presented as an alternative to routine procedure of justice and social work. The authors work within the initiative „men against violence in men". Brandes/Bullinger (1996) present several reports on work with imprisoned perpetrators and try to develop a typology of violent perpetrators (including rapists), in order to specify differentiated therapeutic measures: 1. Violence as revenge (offensive type), 2. Violence to keep status balance (offensive type), 3. Inhibited aggressive perpetrator (defensive type), 4. Violence as proneness to conformity (defensive type).

Gemuenden (1996) deals with male victims of female perpetrators in intimate relationships. The subtext of his book (Ph.D. thesis) is that „male violence against Women„ has been exaggerated in public debate, ignoring the „fact" that female violence against men is almost as frequent. This thesis is fed by the disputed concept of Strauss, measuring any verbal and non-verbal aggressive incident and weighting it in the same way for women and men. The author is concentrating on the level of frequencies, putting an effort into proving a more or less equality between women and men; but, like Strauss et al. he has to admit that the injuries of female victims of male violence are much more serious than vice versa, and that serious injuries of female victims occur much more often.

Zulehner/Volz (1998) measure male propensity towards violence with a factor analysis combining racist, projective and sexist attitudes and consider 4% of German men being very ready to act violently, 37% in a medium level of propensity for violence, and 59% on a weak level. Compared referring to their 4 groups of men, only one third of the traditional men is distant from violence, whereas in the "new" group 91% are registered as non-violent.

A first hint on a representative level gave the study of Metz-Goeckel/Mueller (1986). En were asked if their knew another men who hit his female partner, and they were confronted with a selection of situations and reasons, being asked if those would cause male violence in their eyes. Almost one fifth of the men knew a man who was a batterer in their eyes, only 36% rejected to know anybody of that kind, and 45% were not sure if

they know somebody. They could imagine that stress in the workplace, alcohol, being sexually ridiculed, or a woman being more capable than a man could be causes for becoming violent. They also estimated the degree of male violence against women as rather high and pleaded for more shelters. Both, the seriousness of the problem in men's eyes, as well as the plead for understanding the perpetrator as a victim himself, were important results.

In the population surveys in 1992, 1994 and 1996, 25%, 23% and 21% of the West Germans noted to know a woman of whom they suggest they she is being beaten by her male partner. In the East, the figures are 19%, 14% and 13%. The attitude that anybody knowing about such things should personally intervene is with more than 70% rather widespread; if the readiness to become active is equally high cannot be judged here. But it seems obvious that violence against women remains an important issue in the opinions of the German population, both male and female.

Another thematization of violence is juvenile violence against foreigners. Here, Heitmeyer et al. (1996, 1997a, 1997b) have become very popular with the thesis of the costs of individualization. The loss of reliable family contexts, the change of values, and the being thrown to oneself in our society without orientation is regarded as an important, if not decisive cause for violence as such, and specially against foreigners. Unfortunately, the Heitmeyer research group has until now not done diferentiation work on male and female perpetrators; until now, they seem to suggest a male-dominated model as the general one, but without explicitly referring to this.

6. Health
In German Health Research, some studies on eating disorders in men have been conducted in the last decade. They seem to be still on the level of attracting attention to the issue that men, too, may suffer from eating disorders - especially bulimia and anorexia nervosa. To say that the theses is empirically approved that *more and more men* suffer from these illnesses, would be going much too far. Often, in clinical studies, same-size male and female groups are compared with respect to the development the illness takes, the measures taken to cure it, and the like. Beyond the proof that men with severe eating disorders exist at all, studies from public health research do not yet offer sociologically interpretable material; and a recent study in sociology of medicine remains theoretically dissatisfying. As it brings together very general theses with a small sample, not explaining in depth how the operationalization has been done.

Some German publications take the view that traditional masculinity *as such* is hazardous to men's health (Bruendel/Hurrelmann 1999), a thesis brought up by Ehrenreich/English in the 70's. Bruendel/Hurrelmann refer to a triad: competition, career, collapse. In an article published earlier (1996), Hurrelmann is re-analysing the growing discrepancy between life expectancies of women and men in industrialized countries, drawing on sociological, psychological, and partially health science resp. medical publications. He emphasizes the necessity of a multi-factor model of explanation; genetic factors as well as social-cultural and mental-behavioural factors seem to be important, giving special weight to role expectations for males and females. The author supposes that the multiple burdens women have to bear with reconciling family, housework and gainful employment are not only disadvantageous for their health, but may be evaluated as advantageous at the same time: the multiplicity of tasks also provides some autonomy for women to create solutions and to organize their daily

life, what could provide a ground for successfully coping with health strains. From this background, it may sound more plausible that Bruendel/Hurrelmann argue1999 that traditional masculinity in its partiality may be hazardous to men's health, whereas becoming more like women would be healthier for them.

Only recently there have been some studies on boys, a survey on „becoming a man" (Zimmermann) and a multi-method study on boys and their relations to their bodies (Winter/Neubauer 1998). Winter/Neubauer confront an analysis of literature on the issue with the opinions of a large group of experts, and an interview study with 180 boys. One of the results is that boys seem to pay much more, and more sensitive attention to their bodies and their health as both literature and experts expected.

Referring to mortality rates, studies show that the qualification-level and social status, partially dependent on the qualification-level, has more impact on the live-expectancy in both women and men than any other factor, referring to men (Klein 1999). Social survey data and data of guess-rates show that men do not profit more from a marriage that women do, referring to live-expectancy. The impact of qualification for live-expectancy may partially be due to the fact that higher qualification also provides a more secure ground for obtaining a more „healthy„ gainful employment than low qualification. Qualification may lead to higher paid occupations as well and therefore in enable persons to do a more healthy way of living. Compared with data on subjective estimations of health, gender-differences are reported to be very relevant, with a remarkable exception: West German men are more similar to West German women in their self reporting of their health, as they are compared to East German men. The author (Sieverding 1991) takes this as a proof of thesis that „sex„ is less relevant for subjective self-reporting than „gender„. She proposes that this socialisation process of West German men has already been effected of the women's movement and the men's groups, leading to more public acceptance of men feeling not always alright and becoming more sensitive for their body, whereas East German men lacking a women's movement as well as men's groups, could still feel more obliged to follow a traditional ideal of masculinity which sanctions talking about pains, needing help as weakness.

In Zulehner/Volz's study, the group of "new men" reports to feel healthy to a higher extent than the traditional group, whereas the traditional men worry more about their health. Generally, one third of men report to be very attentive to their health.-31% of the traditionals see a doctor at least once a year, but 45% of the "New" men. Seeing a doctor differs also with age; from 46 years on, seeing the doctor becomes more and more common, and feeling themselves bad is increasing rapidly starting from 45 years on.

Discussion and other comments

7.1 Gaps
1. There is a general plea for more awareness of feminist research and placing the study of men within a broad gendered social and economic context.
2. A lack of comparative studies on men's and women's health statuses and practices is obvious. The picture research provides until now consists of fragemented details, lacking an integrating gendered perspective.
3. Regarding "home and work", it would be very interesting to see how and when, if ever, women and men form coalitions through the politics of reconciliation, and in which ways gender constellations at "work" and in the "private" sphere influence

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each other. It would be important to research further couples who are likely to experience difficult labour market conditions, for instance making the female partner the main earner in the long term, or forcing them to accept working times that do not allow a traditional distribution of housework.

4.There is a lack of studies showing the variety of structures and processes that may lead to the marginalization of men as groups and/or individuals, and what differences and similarities there are to women. For instance, does ethnicity in some respects override gender?

5.Regarding violence, there is an amazing lack of gender awareness in studies that understand themselves as dealing with "general" (gender) issues, for instance racist violence. The question of traditional masculinity and its propensity for racist violence has not yet been even articulated in high-budget studies (Heitmeyer et al. 1996, 1997a, 1997b). Masculinity seems to be recognised as playing a role when violence against women is the explicit topic. Studies on the reasons for non-violent behaviour in men are lacking completely, too.

6.Generally, it would be interesting to have insights into the relevance of masculinity: has it become more or less important to be a man"? And is there any consensus about what this would mean?

7.Last but not least, there is great need for comprehensive secondary analyses that would re-analyse large amounts of results on „men" in a gendered perspective. Various sponsors - German Research Foundation (DFG) and other research foundations, ministeries, corporations, big newspapers, and so on - have financed a lot of studies producing interesting, but broadly spread data which could well be used to contribute to an adequate picture of men in German society in an gendered perspective, but this work is still to be done.

7.2 Discussion

In a way, the 'tour d'horizon' through the research on masculinities remain unsatisfactory. Mostly, recent studies on men seem to be interested to show that men are, too, affected (by health risks, by violence, and so on) without connecting the theses and results more systematically to a societal context. In some of the writings, men appear now as the neglected gender. That things in society have been changed in favour of women, and now men run risk to became the disadvantaged gender, has for instance been the underlying theme of some of the writings of Walter Hollstein (1996). Still existing disadvantages for women will be removed in due course, and there are indeed areas of society where women have become privileges that men did not get: over hundred chairs for women's studies in the federal republic, and none for men's studies.

That there is a plurality of masculinities may serve the purpose to refer to the interrelations of those various "types" only, without making an attempt to relate them to femininities and. gender relations. It seems that the insight that masculinities are interrelated with each other draws all the analytical attention - a common reproach against feminist research, being falsely accused for having ignored the plurality of men by treating them theoretically as a homogenous block.

One characteristic of men's studies in Germany is their prevailing neglect of feminist research on men and masculinities, respectively the German-speaking research. Even the normal scientific habits of giving a „state of the art,,- report beforehand is rather frequently violated; obviously the self-interpretation of some authors as „pioneers,, - who some of them indeed are, referring to their male gender as a researcher of masculinities -

together with a still prevailing asymmetrical gender culture (cf. Mueller 1999) seems to lead some of the authors to a cultural blindness. In a way, this corresponds to the spreading myth that women's studies have neglected gender as a structure (although starting to give attention to the neglected and hidden realities of women in society, women's studies from their very start have pointed to gender relations) and therefore gender studies is now the progressive alternative, or to the fact that in organizational contexts it is becoming more and more obsolete for women to talk about experiences of discrimination by their female gender (Mueller 1999). Ironically, Robert W. Connell's work, until 1999 only in German accessible in shattered essays and papers, was broadly received with respect to the concept of „hegemonic masculinity", but with indolence towards his recognition of feminist science and women's studies as pioneering in gender research, and with ignorance or contempt towards his concept of gender-asymmetrical distribution of power and the patriarchal dividend (cf. Loos 1998). In most cases, gender as structure is not theoretically (and empirically) located in society, its economy, institutions, and culture, but reduced to a rather simple role-concept.

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IRELAND, Harry Ferguson

'Domestic violence'

Violence against women by known men is a major social problem in Ireland. In relation to 'domestic violence', that is abuse of women by intimate male partners, the first - and still only - major national prevalence study was published in 1995. This independent study was commissioned by Women's Aid and showed that 18% of Irish women have been subjected to either mental cruelty, threats of physical violence, actual physical violence, and sexual violence at the hands of their husbands/partners and damage to property and pets (Kelleher and Associates and O'Connor 1995). Seventy-one per cent of women who had experienced physical violence reported that the violence resulted in physical injury, including fractures, head-injuries, severe bruising, burns, loss of consciousness and miscarriages, martial rape and sexual assault (O'Connor 1996).

A second strand of research into the nature of domestic violence in Ireland has focused on 'official populations' of cases that present to statutory agencies. Ferguson (2001) studied 319 referrals made to three Health Board child and family social work teams in the Mid-West region in 1996 and tracked them for 12 months into mid-1997. Domestic violence featured in 27% of cases referred. Ninety-four per cent of cases involved men's violence against women. In the majority of cases domestic violence was treated as a secondary problem as it invariably presented along with other child care problems which tended to be given prominence. This does not mean that efforts were never made to try and promote woman as well as child protection. The outcomes were mixed and instances of good practice were evident. In general, however, the status of violence against women in State policies and practices was found to be highly ambiguous, with a marked tendency to downgrade it as a problem and place far too much responsibility on abused women to protect themselves from violent men.

Domestic violence was substantiated in 32% of the 133 substantiated child protection cases in the sample, and involved 105 children, 58% of whom were male, 42% female. This represents a huge and hitherto undisclosed amount of domestic violence in Irish child protection work. Five per cent of children in substantiated domestic violence cases were under one year of age, 55% were under 10 years and 40% were aged 10 or over. The most common form of domestic violence was verbal/psychological violence by the male against the female partner, occurring in 58% of cases. Physical violence by the male partner towards the woman occurred in 55% of substantiated cases. The findings show the range of abusive behaviours perpetrated on victims, including isolation/control of movements, and abuse through the control of money. Some women experienced some of these problems, while others a range or them all. This picture represents the totality of 'coercive control' which characterises domestic violence. Ninety-four per cent of children in substantiated domestic violence cases were a daughter or a son of the abuser. A neighbour, grandparent and uncle were also cited as the suspect abuser in domestic violence cases.

While the research found that considerable service provision is being made in domestic violence cases, a significant post-investigative service deficit exists, including in high risk cases involving known injuries to women and adversity to children. The reasons for this service gap include an absence of focus on the

perpetrator, ambivalence on the part of women to follow-through on civil actions such as barring orders, and a lack of support from professionals in enabling them to do so, and an insufficient focus on the therapeutic needs of children in domestic violence cases (Ferguson and O'Reilly 2000).

Child abuse
Child abuse now has an extraordinary prominence as a social problem in Ireland. Both the gendered nature of the problem and an appreciation of how the service response is itself gendered are beginning to receive more critical attention, both in terms of perpetrators and victims/survivors. Since the 1990s, a dramatic shift has occurred in the degree of accountability expected of Irish professionals in responding to child abuse, reflecting the impact of how a new Child Care Act (1991) was implemented under the pressure of child abuse inquiries and disclosures of system failures to protect known at risk children. This process began with the Kilkenny incest investigation that examined why action was not taken sooner by the health services to halt the serious physical and sexual abuse of a girl/woman by her father over a 16 year period from 1976 to 1992 (Ferguson 1995). A series of clerical "scandals" involving child abuse by priests, some of whom were known to the Church hierarchy but not reported or brought to justice by them and moved on to another parish, has dramatically weakened the moral authority of that institution which held such a powerful position in the governance of traditional Ireland (Inglis 1998a, 1998b; Moore 1995). Whatever the social background of the offender, a crucial implication is that men have been disclosed as having perpetrated the most horrendous forms of abuse on children, and in some cases women also.

However, the ways in which men have recently gained prominence as offenders in Ireland has had mixed implications. The media focus has predominantly been on clerical sex offenders - the so called 'paedophile priests' - with explicit and invariably crude links being made in public debates between compulsory celibacy and child sexual abuse. While, given the nature of Irish history, their symbolic significance is understandably high, the numbers of clerical offenders is statistically very small. The majority of offenders are actively heterosexual men, many of whom are married. This kind of focus has resulted in a playing down of the significance of violences by hegemonic men and a reluctance to problematise active (married) heterosexual masculinity and bring into question power, gender and age relations within the Irish family (Ferguson 1995). In effect, child abuse has become a key site around which the re-configuration of gender and power relations and masculinities is taking place in Ireland.

In common with other Western societies, recognition and definitions of different forms of child abuse has changed considerably since the 1970s. The Irish government first issued what today are called 'child abuse guidelines' in 1977. Influenced by new concepts such as the 'battered child syndrome' and 'non-accidental injury' to children, the first series of guidelines focused on raising awareness of and guiding practice in response to physical abuse and neglect. It was in the 1987 edition of the guidelines that emotional abuse and particularly child sexual abuse gained full recognition, on the basis that it "has particular features which require special attention" (DoH 1987, 23). Arising from this, specialized child sexual abuse assessment units were established around the country (McGrath 1996). These units deal almost exclusively with assessment and reflect how the institutional development

of the Irish system has, until recently at least, favoured the allocation of resources to investigative responses to child sexual abuse. As a result, the state has failed to develop long-term therapeutic and preventative services that might address problems such as neglect and the broader range of adversities affecting children (Ferguson 1995; McElwee 1996; Murphy 1996), and serious shortfalls are also evident in therapeutic services for sexually abused children and in treatment services for perpetrators (Gieran 1996).

During the 1980s, the number of child abuse referrals made to health boards increased almost 10 fold: from 406 cases in 1982 to 3859 in 1991. Referrals continued to increase in the 1990s, from 3856 in 1991 to 7312 in 1997 - the last year that national figures are available - an increase of almost 200%. The Department of Health in Ireland has not produced up-to-date figures on the forms of abuse identified by health boards in recent years. But in 1989, 34% of the confirmed cases dealt with were child sexual abuse, 8% were emotional abuse, and 11% physical abuse, while neglect was the highest category identified at 47%. In the area of child sexual abuse, the number of cases confirmed by health boards suggests that at least one in every 1,000 children are sexually abused in Ireland (McKeown & Gilligan 1991). Around 90% of child sexual abusers are men. Fathers are the abusers in 35% of confirmed cases as compared to 3% of cases perpetrated by mothers. The remaining categories of abusers tend not to be immediate family members and include baby-sitters, distant relatives, and neighbors (McKeown & Gilligan 1991).

The situation with regard to physical abuse and neglect is quite different, with mothers being just as likely to be responsible as fathers. One recent study found that the concept of neglect dominated agency categories of abuse and was almost exclusively identified with mothers, or failures in mothering (Ferguson & O'Reilly 2000). Buckley's research into child protection practices in Dublin provides further evidence for how men, as fathers, are systematically ignored and avoided by social workers and other child care professionals (Buckley 1997, 1998). A striking feature of physical abuse and especially neglect cases is the *absence* of resident fathers. Single-parent mothers are over-represented in child protection cases in Ireland and high proportions of these women have experienced addiction problems and other indicators of vulnerability, such as social isolation, poverty, and disadvantage (Buckley, Skehill, & O'Sullivan 1997; Ferguson & O'Reilly 2000). A significant correlation is also emerging in Irish research between men's domestic violence against women and other forms of child abuse, especially maternal neglect, where the woman's capacity to parent is weakened by violence from her partner (Ferguson and O'Reilly 2000).

Responses to perpetrators
The law has come to play a much greater role in child welfare and protection in Ireland through the 1991 Child Care Act and institutionalization of the role of the police through the 1995 *Guidelines for the Notification of Suspected Cases of Child Abuse between Health Boards and Gardai* which require both agencies to share all suspected cases of abuse with one another. Research suggests that just over half (54%) of all child abuse referrals to Health Boards in Ireland are formally notified to the police under the 1995 guidelines (Ferguson & O'Reilly 2000). A quarter of these notifications (26%) is actually directly investigated by the gardai. However, just 13% of investigated cases actually result in prosecutions, of which, only a handful result in successful convictions.

Very few of such cases involve physical abuse, neglect, and emotional abuse, except in extreme cases where applications are made for care orders or supervision orders, while the use of the criminal law in such cases is extremely rare. Domestic violence is more directly subject to legal intervention and while effective coordinated interventions by the police and social workers do occur, as already mentioned, health board professionals are often perplexed by the *under*-use of the law by the gardai in terms of a perceived reluctance in some cases to arrest and prosecute suspected offenders (Ferguson 1997).

Intervention programs based on group work with violent men who abuse their partners have been developing in Ireland since the late 1980s. Two programs now exist: Men Overcoming Violence (MOVE) which operates broadly on a self-help model and runs group work programs in approximately seven of the 26 counties of Ireland (Ferguson & Synott 1995). Secondly, there is the Cork Domestic Violence Project which operates only in the Cork city region and adopts an accountability model of working which endeavours to have men referred to the program by the courts as part of a sanction (O'Connor 1996). As well as a new Domestic Violence Act (1996), a Government Task Force on Violence Against Women has set out core principles for best practice for work with violent men - which must have the safety of abused women and children as its primary goal - that have now become government policy in this area (Task Force on Violence Against Women 1997). Despite these efforts, the Irish State provides little or no financial or institutional support for work with violent men, which is all done by voluntary organisations.

In relation to child sexual abuse the prosecution rate is very low, relative to the numbers of cases being substantiated. Consequently, social workers, other childcare professionals, as well as non-abusing parents, feel hugely constrained by the operation of the legal system. Major efforts are expended gathering evidence that is "forensically" sound with minimal beneficial outcomes for children and families. Decisions regarding all prosecutions by the state are made by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), who is responsible for the low prosecution rate of confirmed child sexual abuse cases. The major issue here is whether the legal system is anti-child, or at least pro-adult. This includes the presumption of unreliability on the part of children in giving evidence, particularly in cases involving alleged sexual offences. Even attempts to empower children as witnesses through the use of video links to courtrooms have been frustrated by a constitutional challenge to such practices by a defendant. In reality, children are no less reliable witnesses than adults and are in many respects more reliable informants because of their less developed ability to lie or deceive (McGrath 1996).

As a result, not only is justice not served, but many sex offenders remain free and untouchable in the community, which has huge implications for child protection since this is a compulsive form of behaviour which offenders don't give up voluntarily. Few attempts are even being made to work with *known* offenders, especially those who have been imprisoned for such offences. Although it is now broadly accepted within the professional community that sanctions and "treatment" programs are the only way to stop abuse and protect future victims, such programs for sex offenders of all types are scandalously under-developed in Ireland. This is despite the best efforts of front-line professionals such as probation officers and psychologists who are working with

offenders and who advocate the extension of treatment facilities (Cotter 1999; Geiran 1996; Murphy 1998). Approximately one-third of child sex abusers in Ireland are adolescents, for whom just one treatment project exists, in Dublin. Just one Irish program - located at Arbour Hill Prison in Dublin and is jointly run by the Probation and Welfare and the Psychological Service of the Department of Justice - has official backing at a central policy level. It was created in June 1994 and caters to a mixed group of imprisoned sex offenders. While there are some 300 sex offenders in Irish prisons at any one time, just 10 of these at a time participate in the Arbour Hill program (Geiran 1996). Participation is voluntary, leaving it to offenders themselves to decide whether they wish to seek rehabilitation. Unless made mandatory, large numbers of known sex offenders will continue to be released into the community without any real attempt to directly address their offending behaviour. In August 1998, the Irish Government announced plans to introduce a register of convicted sex offenders designed to monitor perpetrators after release from custody.

Elder abuse
Little or no academic literature exists on elder abuse in Ireland.

Violence against men
No academic literature exists on this topic, although there are some relevant government statistics which will be considered in a separate work-package. A self-help group for 'male victims of domestic violence', Amen, was established in 1998. It has already held two international conferences and made a significant impact in terms of media coverage and placing the issue of alleged violence against men on the public agenda. Amen claims to have received thousands of calls from men being abused by their female partner.

Suicide
In recent years, increases in suicide by men has also placed men's health and vulnerability on the public agenda in Ireland (Kelleher 1996).

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LATVIA, Irina Novikova

Children

Convention on the Rights of the Child has been in force in Latvia since 14 May 1992. Based on the principles of the Convention, Protection of the rights of the Child law has been in force since 22 July 1998. In 2006 it is planned to join the Amendment to Article 43(2) to the Convention of the Rights of the Child and Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child On the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

Article 95 of Satversme determines that the state shall protect human dignity and honour. Torture or other cruel or degrading treatment of human beings is prohibited. No one shall be subjected to inhuman and degrading punishment. Article 110 of Satversme (Constitution) of the Republic of Latvia determines that state protects and supports marriage, family, rights of parents and child, state particularly helps children with disabilities, children who are left without parental care or have experienced violence.

Chapter XVI of the Criminal law "Criminal offences against morals, and sexual inviolability" protects the morals and sexual inviolability of a person, especially distinguishing the minors and juveniles. But chapter XVII of the Criminal law "Criminal offences against the family and minors" protects in particular the interests of family and minors. In this chapter the liability is determined for a person who commits cruel or violent treatment of a minor if physical or mental suffering has been inflicted upon the minor if such has been inflicted by persons upon whom the victim is financially or otherwise dependent (article 174). The cruel treatment means humiliation of minor's dignity and honour, mocking at him/ her, leaving without care, food, drink, expulsion from home, threats of physical reprisal. Violent treatment is characterised by the physical violence – beating, hitting, torturing.

In 2002, Centre for Criminological studies has conducted a research "Legal and social protection of children victims of illegal acts", where different kinds of dangers to the rights of children were evaluated (physical, sexual and emotional violence, offences in the everyday life, non-observance of rights and interests, discrimination), factors that promote danger analysed, as well as necessary spheres of legal and social protection for children victims and the ways for the improvement specified. According to the opinion of respondents children in Latvia are mostly affected by violence (physical, emotional), non-observance of their rights and interests (including proper living conditions and assess to qualitative education), elimination of freedom (kidnapping, trafficking abroad, etc.). Endanger of children from physical, sexual or emotional violence the respondents have evaluated differently. When evaluating different kinds of dangers physical violence has been evaluated as the most dangerous (84,9%), however dangers of sexual violence (65,4%) and emotional violence (62,8%) were evaluated only a bit lower.

Article 1542 of the Criminal law of the Republic of Latvia determines that human trafficking is recruiting of persons made with the aim of transportation, transfer, hiding or receipt by using violence, threats or abduction, using manipulation or using the dependency of a person from the causer or the helpless state of a person or by

providing or receiving benefits of material or other kind in order to achieve the agreement of a dependent person for trafficking.

To promote prevention and combat of traffiking State program for the prevention of human trafficking for 2004-2008 has been developed. To achieve the aims of the program, Ministry of Welfare is currently working on the criteria for identification of persons who have suffered from violence to provide support services for victims.

The most active in combat against violence against children are professional and women's associations, religious groups, as well as local and international NGOs - the crisis centre "Skalbes", the centre against abuse "Dardedze", the International Migration organization, the Victims support centre of the international foundation "Resque", resource centre for women "Marta", the Latvian centre for gender issues "Gender". This year was the first when parents training programme "Emotional upbringing of the child" has been started in Latvia.

A comprehensive policy concerning violence against children is not developed in Latvia, however several policy planning documents have been worked out that concern different kinds of violence and activities on the elimination of violence against children are included in them.

In 2004 national plan "Latvia fit for children" has been adopted. The plan is based on the UN developed document "World fit for children". The national plan includes a section on the issues on child protection against exploitation, violence and discrimination.

The government does not monitor the impact of the policies and programs directed towards violence against children directly. However Ministry for children and family affairs edits annually a Review on the situation of children in Latvia. In this Review one chapter is usually devoted to the problem of violence against children and the activities for its elimination.

In 2004 centre against abuse "Dardeze" on the initiative of Ministry for Children and Family affairs and with the financial support of UNICEF has conducted a research "Attitudes and behaviours regarding marriage, childbirth and positive parent – child relationships".
In 2000, within the State program on the improvement of the situation of children a research "Spread of Violence in Latvian Schools" has been performed with the aim to determine those factors that affect the situation of children negatively.

It is commonly considered by analysts and politicians that only by strengthening the institution of heterosexual nuclear family in the national legislation violence against children will be elimininated. Two "threats" loom here – the Soviet "sex equality" policies that "emasculated" men in the past, and the "dangers of homosexuality" today.

Women
In July the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women considered Latvia's initial, second and third periodic reports on its implementation of the UN Women's Convention. The Committee noted a number of positive aspects,

including progress in legislative reform. However, among its areas of concern were the lack of sufficient data and information on the prevalence of violence against women, particularly domestic violence, and of comprehensive legislation on such violence. These deficiencies appeared to indicate that violence against women, particularly in the family, was considered a private matter between the individuals involved. The Committee was also concerned that marital rape was not a separate offence in the criminal code.

Among its recommendations, the Committee urged Latvia to adopt legislation on domestic violence and ensure that the perpetrators of violence against women were brought to justice. Women who had experienced violence should be provided with immediate means of redress and protection, including protection or restraining orders, and with access to legal aid. There should be sufficient numbers of shelters to meet the needs of women at risk of violence in the home. Marital rape should be criminalised as a separate offence. The Committee also recommended that law enforcement and other officials receive training to sensitise them to all forms of violence against women. The Committee additionally urged Latvia to ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention, which provides a procedure for the submission of individual complaints to the Committee.

The Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights also raised concerns about domestic violence in a report of his visit to Latvia in October 2003. He noted that such violence was relatively common, and that the courts and police appeared to play down its seriousness, treating it as of private concern only.

The "private concern only" is a very true evaluation of the gendered dominance pattern private/public in which the "private" subjections are constructed as separated from the public "gender equalities". The gender analysis of domestic violence against women and children is separated from the context of how gender regimes have been transformed within market welfare regimes depending on many factors of political, economic, social, ethnic and historical legacy. Thus, gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming have been taking place in the societies with a radically different mindset of women and men in terms of their social citizenship, rights and entitlements. Soviet social policies had been based on the identity of a woman as a worker and as a mother, thus, shaping up her social identity through granting her welfare protection and security in the production-reproduction relationship. The radical economic change exposed all disadvantages for women derived from the socialist model of citizenship and challenged by the introduction of market economy. Economic reforms have accumulated complex gendered impacts upon women's entitlements and rights, a deterioration of their economic and professional prospects, impoverishment, an increase in women's vulnerability to trafficking for sexual purposes.

In the 1990s, the position of women in the national labour market has been characterised by discrimination and by a strong occupational segregation: a high degree of horizontal and vertical segregation, with a growing wage differential. Gender asymmetry has become explicit in the increasing proportion of women in part-time employment, part of the feminisation of this market segment. Discriminatory practices affect young women who enter the labour market, and women of pre-retirement age are particularly vulnerable to recruitment into part-time

jobs and to impoverishment. Thus, gender equality developments should be viewed at the crossroads of several legacies and processes: patriarchal attitudes in the cultural and social legacies and traditions, the transformation of women's social roles versus celebrations of their traditional roles in the family (the Soviet period), post-Soviet marketisation process and establishment of social welfare regimes, and beyond all of this, radical marginality of women in politics, in academy, in grass-roots movements, in trade-unions, in personal challenges to existing inequalities.

Trafficking of women: While recognising the legislative and other measures that the government had already taken, the concerns are still strong about the continued trafficking of women and girls for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Among a number of other recommendations, there is an international recommendation for the full implementation and funding of a national strategy to combat trafficking in women and girls. Latvia has to take action towards improving the economic situation of women, to eliminate their vulnerability to traffickers, and introduce rehabilitation and reintegration measures for women and girl survivors of trafficking, including special shelters.

To conclude, violences against children and women are not analysed in terms of dominances associated with men's practices. The methodological frameworks on men's violences and men's gendered practices as forms of power relations are not used in the reports and in the related research practices.

Homophobia

The events during the Gay Parade-2006 in Riga showed a very high level of intolerance toward homosexual people among people of different ethnicities and confessions as well as among mainstream politicians, including leaders of the major parties. Example - "To a packed basilica holding tens of thousands of Catholics on Monday, Latvian Cardinal Janis Pujats warned that homosexual militancy is more dangerous than the militancy experienced by the war-torn country in Soviet times. "In Soviet times we faced atheism, which oppressed religion; now we have an era of sexual atheism," he said. "This form of atheism is even more infectious and dangerous, spiritual values disappear in a swamp of sexual irregularity./…/ Cardinal Pujats told his listeners, "Just imagine! Homosexuality is viewed as a value, although it is one of the most serious sins! If gays and lesbians had gone to a church to repent their sins, we would have welcomed it. But this parade was intended to show off their sin. Why did they do it in a church? To show how absurd they are?" The leading prelate's frank words received praise from the Russian Ambassador to Latvia Viktor Kalyuzhny. The Russian diplomat also criticised the pride parade saying to the Baltic Times, "Today, the mortality rate in Latvia exceeds the number of births, and now here is an attempt to say in the framework of democratic principles that this [the gay parade] is necessary and democratic. This is not only a matter of the church, but that any normal individual should understand that cheating nature is impossible." At the same time, the Prime-Minister followed the politically correct rhetoric: "Aigars Kalvītis, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia, has responded to the concerns expressed in July by *UK Gay News*, and many others, in the run-up to the July 23 Gay Pride Parade in Riga, the capitol. He admits that the Executive Director of Riga City Council "acted hastily, when he withdrew the previously granted permit". The Prime Minister praised what he called "highly professional and successful operation of the police, who ensured security of participants of the parade and public order, and

prevented physical clashes and disorder", a point that was made by the local gay community and an ILGA-Europe official immediately after the parade where some ugly scenes by anti-gay protestors developed. Mr. Kalvītis went on to say that his government is against discrimination of any kind and just before the Parade the Cabinet of Ministers "adopted decisions preventing discrimination of sexual minorities in labour market".

Xenophobia:
Attacks of people on the basis of racism and anti-Semitism.

Research issues:
Inter-sectional approach in the comparative analysis of violence as a gendered practice – social, ethnic, sexuality and age inequalities.

Research of violent behaviours as gendered practices in the societies and their gender orders (social welfare regimes) redefined – how patriarchy is reinforced behind gender-friendly legislations.

POLAND, Elżbieta H. Oleksy, Marek M. Wojtaszek

(a) violence and dominance associated with men's practices:
1) The Act on Counteracting Family Violence of 29.07.2005
2) Statistical data collected by the Police Headquarters in 2005
3) "Home conflicts and violence" report prepared by CBOS (Public Opinion Research Centre) of February 2005
4) "Behind the Closed Door", *Blue Line* report no. 1, 2005
5) "The First Front Line", *Blue Line* report no. 2, 2005
6) Data collected by the telephone service of the so-called *Blue Line* (Emergency for Home Violence Victims of Poland) for 2004.
7) Report "Violence" prepared by Renata Siemieńska February 2006

(b) their relation to the social location of both those who commit violence/dominance and those who are subjected to it as well as their methodological and epistemological assumptions:

Ad 1. This legislative act defines, as it follows from the first article of the Act, all action to be undertaken to counteract family violence, and explicitly addresses principles of conduct towards both persons submitted to family violence and persons inflicting or committing it.

Ad 2. The statistic displays the listing of the amount of the police interventions made as from 2000 until 2004, and cites the articles of the Penal Code which define and address a violator and regulate the punishment respectively to the committed violence. Additionally, it also provides a register of the numbers of all violations and offences committed annually (1999-2004) corresponding with the quoted articles. Lastly, it presents a comparative table of the number of home victims since 1999 until 2004, the number of women, men, children under 13, and teenagers 13 – 18 years of age therein.

Ad 3. The report addresses different forms of home violence and offences committed in the spouse-to-spouse relation and parent-to-child relation. Its focus is on the victim. In bringing together both the relatively latest outcomes of research on home violence and commentary it constitutes a thorough insight into the filed. Its spectrum ranges from uniquely in-home violence, both physical and other forms, misunderstandings and conflicts, and outside of home offences. It also looks at the situation of children and the roles they play in family conflicts.

Ad 4. It focuses on the victim and variegated sorts of violence committed within the walls of home. It comprises demographical data with an emphasis on educational background, catalogues forms of offences between spouses, provides interlinks between alcohol and home violence, and publishes the outcomes of the social survey on attitudes and convictions on the home violence as societal issue.

Ad 5. The report directs attention to the role of the victim enquiring about the attitudes, experiences, and competences of the social workers dealing with different sorts of violence. The provided statistical data have been collected by interviewing specific work groups (teachers, police, medical service, psychologists and pedagogues). The outcomes are accompanied with a commentary.

Ad 6. This quantitative report provides the annual listing of a number of all registered telephone calls made with the Blue Line service from 01.01.2004 till 31.12.2004. (The Blue Line emergency call service has been established to provide space for communication with and assistance to the victims of violence. It has existed since 1995). The report groups the calls into several main clusters: general information, legal advice or assistance, psychological aid, developmental problems, educational problems, and addictions.

Ad 7. The "Violence" report prepared by Renata Siemieńska in February 2006 investigates broadly construed family violence. It characterises and contextualises family violence, and typifies violations according to gender, specificity of violation, and size. It looks into the gendered acts of violence with respect both to oppressors and victims. Its focus is decisively upon women as victims of both social and societal systemic structures. Terminology and definitions utilised throughout follow the ones of the Penal Code. Most presented data tables span from 1990 up till 2003. The report, also, publishes data coming from the TEMIDA programme (Police Criminal Statistical System) accompanied with descriptions and commentaries. This programme ignores gender and introduces two categories of victims: underage and adults (here, also foreigners).

Special attention in the report is dedicated to the women trafficking issue considered as a phenomenon uneasily subject to quantitative estimation. Here, the statistics display the percentage of social consciousness of the problem.

The main focus, however, is on in-home violence as experienced by women. These violences are explored with reference to other social/societal problems and factors such as: alcoholism, unemployment as well as environments: urban, rural. Other variables employed are gender, age, education and income. The report pinpoints the issue of rape as an epistemologically and legally unclear. An actual definition precludes differentiation and specification of an in-home rape from the other cases. The survey questions investigate general social consciousness of a problem, attempt to deepen understanding thereof (roots and reasons for in-home aggressive behaviour and perpetrated violences).

Additional part concentrates attention upon the problem of sexual harassment at workplace (also known as "mobbing", as human resource management pathology), underscoring the lack of substantial quantitative and qualitative data.

The last part looks at in-home violence perpetrated on children (beating, sexual molestation) by the two genders, employing education and age as variables.

The report utilises divergent data collected by governmental agencies, non-governmental organisations as well as public opinion centres (CBOS, OBOP). The outcomes of the latter ones are presented separately as they are concerned with opinions and judgments of interviewees, not facts. The major quantitative data input of the report comes from the national statistics prepared by GUS (Main Statistical Office).

As an appendix, the report provides a cluster of statistical tables spanning from 1990 till 2005 presenting numbers regarding the many forms of violences according to gender and kind. The second part thereof focuses on family violence; employing gender, age, education, name of the city or town population, it publishes outcomes as of 2000 until 2005.

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SPAIN, Fátima Arranz (Translated by the PhD student Victoria Rosa Sturley)

I will first of all approach some of the methodological and epistemological considerations of the main research available, so as to improve the research framework in accordance with our agreed recommendations from Osnabrück and Paris. I will then carry out a critical and methodological re-reading of the Spanish sources of data on the subject of male violence.

1) Methodological and Epistemological Aspects/Considerations

There are obvious difficulties - most of them political - in developing reliable national and European statistics which allow for a social science from a gender perspective that is more efficient and higher quality. They must allow us - if not to eradicate - to fight against male violence and domination. Despite these difficulties, as researchers we must continue to strive for the following:

(a.) The production of statistics in accordance with the aims of our research (primary sources) rather than adapting our goals to the statistics available, which were produced with different aims in mind (secondary sources).

(b.) The production of statistics that contemplate the demands on gender equality (indicadores of male violence and domination) by the national institutes for statistics.

(c.)They must have the same prestige, advantages and recognition as the rest of the statistics produced by them (economic, demographic, etc.): repeatedness, quality evaluation, etc.

(d.) Specific training of the experts and professionals working in these bodies on gender discrimination, so as to avoid the present bias in the production of statistics in general and in those of gender violence that we hope to produce.

Increasing attention of public policy on indicators on violence and male domination of symbolic character. Symbolic violence[3] is the basis of physical one and its source of legitimation. The indicators we are to use would come from the fields of symbolic production, such as academic (e.g.: ratio or male and female professors) or artistic production (e.g.: ratio of female and male theatre or orchestra directors). It is the symbolic aspect of violence that leads to the violation of the following articles of the Declaration of Human Rights: 23.1; 26.1; 27.1 and 27.2 [4], among others.

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[3] Following Pierre Bourdieu in "Masculine Domination" symbolic violence is defined as: "Cushioned violence, unconscious to its own victims, that is carried out almost exclusively through the purely symbolic means of communication and knowledge, of recognition or, ultimately, of feeling" (Madrid: Anagrama, 2000)

[4] Declaration for Human Rights, Article 23: 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
Article 26
1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
Article 27
1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(e.) The relevant institutions (such as the UN and the Council of Europe) should give political relevance to the symbolic dimension of the violence detected in social research. Some ways of doing this could be through affirmative action, equality plans, etc.

(f.) One very important problem in current social research is the lack of a common international understanding of what constitutes an act of domination or male violence, beyond cultural or religious limits. For example, the only form of gender violence the UN recognises is forced prostitution. It is obvious that concept is constructed from an ideological rather than scientific perspective. This renders more difficult for social researchers to obtain data on the number of prostituters.

(g.) From the epistemological position defined by Sandra Harding as *standpoint feminist*[5], social research should critique and reconsider the dichotomies of western culture: mind/body, abstract/specific, man/woman, etc. Feminist social practice should, therefore, look for ways of overcoming the working of such dichotomies, especially reason/emotion, theory/practice and research/action. Thus, the specific proposal we are making here is for our research not to forget the aspect of social and political intervention. Measures must be taken in accordance with the results of our research. We must therefore look for political strategies so that our findings are really taken into account by policy makers, while making it obvious that they should implement urgent social intervention plans.

(2) Methodological critique of the Spanish databases on male violence.

(a.) The major objection about the said databases in Spain, as in other European countries, is that the data is not specific. As the problem is not fully recognised as such, the data social researchers use come from data bases elaborated with other objects in mind. We lose very important aspects of our goals, as we cannot have a correct approach to our object matter. This renders more difficult key methodological aspects, such as techniques for comparison or evaluation of the data.

(b.) Most of the data in this area are not scientifically reliable. Some reasons for this are:

(i)The lack of unified criteria for data acquisition and production. There is usually not a unified legal or social definition of the problem studied. An example would be the divergence in the number of women killed by their partners offered by the Women's Institute and several women's associations, which results from differing notions of who is to be considered a victim of gender violence.

(ii)Very restricted definitions, or exclusive ones, in the conceptualisation of the categories to be studied also induce an inadequate understanding of the social dimensions of the problem. This is mainly due to the translation of codes or normative descriptions from outside social research. For example, the application of the legal term "illegal migrant" causes a partial knowledge of the phenomenon of migration in official statistics.

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2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.
[5] Harding, Sandra. *Ciencia y feminismo*, Madrid: Morata (1996)

(iii) The application of the protocols for data production is most often carried out by non-experts, or the criteria of classification is not previously fixed, leaving the classification of the facts open to the person filling out the questionnaire. This also produces a bias in the production of reliable data.

(iv) The different regions in Spain are autonomous and often have their own independent centres or ways of measuring. One finds then a multiplicity of criteria for the production of data, which makes comparison and the use of time scales difficult.

(c.) There is an absolute neglect of the study of the processes leading to conflicts and violence. Spanish data bases lack qualitative information analysing the practice of violence and its social processes.

(d.) There is a strong political use of research. In the last 8 years Spanish public opinion has recognised the serious social problem of gender violence. That is not to say that this problem is greater here than in other European countries. The greater sensibility of public opinion towards this problem is due to its continuous public denunciation by the feminist movement and the favourable attitude of the media, which have taken up public denunciation. It is due to this that in 2000 the Popular Party used for its own political gain the manipulated results of research on violence against women. The specific piece of research manipulated was the macrosurvey entitled "Violence Against Women". The technical-political "faults" found are the following:

1) The title of the study was "Violence Against Women. Results of the Macrosurvey". However, the data belonged exclusively to the domestic sphere. The rest and very important forms of violence against women were left out: rape, abuse, harassment, prostitution, etc.

2) In the estimate of the rate of abuse there is a division between "women technically considered abused" and "women self-classified as abused". There is no justification of the criteria used for this difference. The items of the question in the questionnaire that measured this are divided into two. This means that the data was only treated for the responses of one of the sides. We therefore cannot but assume that the rate of abuse that was presented was halved.

3) Using exclusively quantitative estimates on gender violence simplifies the reality surrounding the problem, as the socio-political context for the appearance and continuous presence of this violence is rendered invisible. Policy makers are thus freed of any responsibility in the prevention and eradication of the problem.

SWEDEN, Dag Balkmar

Background
There has been a large amount of research on aspects of gender - specifically on men's practices - carried out in Sweden compared to many other European countries. Since the late 1990s studies on men in Sweden have expanded broadly. However, this productivity does not refer to gendered studies of men's violence. Research on men from a critical perspective is mainly connected to the Swedish gender equality project. The field is grounded in a feminist research tradition; areas of focus are fatherhood, men as family members, men in working life and homosocial behaviour, gay men, men & manliness. In later research on men's violence to women discussions of men and power in relation to women are made explicit. Still, compared to statistics available, for instance, on gender and the labor market, data on gender and violence is quite under-reported in official and semi-official reporting. One of the most striking aspects is the lack of recent, thorough prevalence studies of child sexual abuse in Sweden. (Balkmar & Pringle 2005a, b, c)

Research data on violences
The *sociologically oriented* perspective has had a strong influence on the understanding of men's violence against women alongside the individual *psychological* point of view (Eliasson, 1997: 91, 92). However, Eva Lundgren et.al (2001) concludes that there is a long established view of the perpetrator of violence as a deviant, exceptional man, and violence as a phenomenon occurring exclusively in special, socially deprived milieus (Lundgren et. al 2001:11-15). Eva Lundgren's research is often described as central to the knowledge of violences in Sweden. Lundgren, among others, points to that men's violence against women must be interpreted in a cultural and social context where violence is understood as an expression of a gender power hierarchy and a means of upholding it. Different forms of violence, violence exercised in different types of arenas and relationships are understood as interconnected (Lundgren 2004, SOU 2004:121). Other research contributions focussing on relations of power and violence are for example Holmberg & Enander who elaborates on why women in violent relations don't leave their partner (2004). Ekbrand have investigated the complex interconnections between the ending of intimate heterosexual relationships and men's violence against women (Ekbrand 2006).

Prevalence studies: *Slagen dam. Mäns våld mot kvinnor i jämställda Sverige* [Captured Queen, Men's violence to women in equal Sweden], the survey was based on answers from 7000 (out of initially 10 000) randomly chosen women of the population between the ages of 18 to 64 years of old. The women were asked about their experiences of physical violence, sexual violence, exposure to threats and controlling behavior and sexual harassment. It provides statistical information, such as prevalence of violence and threats in sexual relationships, violence outside sexual relationships, most recent violent incident, sexual harassment and women's perceptions of the effect of violence and shows how widespread men's violence is in Sweden. The results show that 46 % of the respondents report that they have been subjected to violence by a man since their fifteenth birthday. Over half of the women have been sexually harassed; out of these women 31 % have been subjected to sexual or physical violence prior to their fifteenth birthday (Lundgren et. al. 2001) (See also Lena Widding Hedin (1999) on the prevalence of physical and sexual abuse by an

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intimate partner before and during pregnancy in Sweden.) The first of its kind Swedish survey on violence in same-sex couples shows that almost ten percent of the respondents who were persons living in same-sex relations have been subjected to violence of some kind. (A total of 4 977 questionnaires were sent out, 2 013 answered, response rate of 42 percent.) (Holmberg & Stjernqvist 2005).

During the last years so called **"honour" related violence** has gained increasing interest, mainly focusing on the victims and the meaning of culture (see Eldén 2003, Schlytter 2004, Kvinnoforum 2003). de los Reyes (2003) concludes that research on **gender and ethnicity** as an integrated perspective is lacking in Sweden; knowledge on how different forms of men's power relations to control women intersect has not gained much interest among Swedish researchers. However, some contributions on violence and ethnicity place violence among minority ethnic groups in relation to the existence of gendered violence within the majority ethnic group (see for example Eldén 2003, Eriksson 2003, de los Reyes 2003, Pringle 2005). Pringle (2005) provides a more nuanced and complex picture of the place of "culture" (defined as beliefs and practices) in the context of men's violence. On the one hand, he does not dismiss the idea that "culture" sometimes may mediate the precise forms which men's violence takes. On the other hand, he also emphasises that men's violence and indeed patriarchal relations more generally characterise both the majority ethnic group in Sweden as well as minority ethnic groups.

In studies on **prostitution and men as sex buyers**, men are discussed from various points of views, but only a few discuss men from a gender perspective (Kuosmanen & Johansson 2003, see Sandell et al 1996, Svanström 2004, Hydén 1990, Andersson-Collins 1990, Månsson 2004).

There is an increasing academic attention to **rape** in Sweden that incorporates issues of gender and power. Jeffner (1997) interviewed young people on their perception of the relationship between what is regarded as "normal" and what is regarded as "extreme" in relation to heterosexual relations and rape. Other scholars (Andersson 2004) have examined the Swedish criminal justice system and how victims of sexual offenders are being protected by the state. Sutororius and Kaldal (2003) have investigated how the Swedish judicial apparatus handle suspected sexual offences in police investigations and in the courts. Diesen et. al investigated the legal foundation for trials concerning suspected sexual abuse against children and how the police and courts handle these cases. (Diesen et. al 2001) In a recent project Diesen et. al analyse how the principle of equality before the Swedish law and judicial apparatus works in practice. The authors concludes that defendants in rape crimes, and victims, are treated differently depending on intersecting social divisions such as ethnicity, class and gender (Diesen et. al 2005).

Literature and research focusing on **children's experiences of violence** in the home and treatment of crises where children have been exposed to violence against the mother has become more focused in the late 1990's and in the beginning of the 2000 (Arnell & Ekbom 2000, Eriksson 2003, Hällberg 2004, Metell et al. 2001, Weinehall 1997). Sociologist Maria Eriksson (2003) have analysed the handling of father's violence in the context of separation and divorce in Sweden. Eriksson relates age, gender and kinship to each other through three interlinked studies of what

constructions of age, gender and kinship mean for the handling of fathers violence against mothers and children. She concludes that violent fathers neither exist as a policy problem nor as a concept in the professional handling of father's violence.

Maltreatment against children has been discussed actively since the 1950s but very few Swedish studies have been performed so far. Therefore it is not possible to tell the prevalence and how outspread maltreatment against children is in Sweden today. (SOU 2001:18) In a qualitative study by Keith Pringle (2002), intersecting social divisions such as age, ethnicity and gender is analyzed in relation to the Swedish child welfare system. Pringle (2005) interviewed a range of "actors" in the Swedish child welfare system including welfare practitioners and managers, politicians, policy-makers and some key academics. The results shows that a considerable number of these respondents seemed to use relatively weak research evidence to support arguments which diverted attention away from the problematic aspects of men's practices in relation to children and women; especially the practices of some men from the Swedish majority ethnic group. At the same time, some respondents would ignore relatively strong research evidence which highlighted those problematic aspects.

Statistical data on violences
Gender statistics are part of the Swedish official statistics. The official statistics are produced according to the statistical act and ordinance, published as required by official regulations. Official statistics in Sweden only reflect *reported* violence towards women and men. Since 1981 gender is distinguished in statistics on violence; however, children under the age of 14 years of old are not characterized by gender (Brottsförebyggande rådet 2004a). In statistics on violence, the perpetrators are characterized as unknown or known to the victim and whether the crime was committed outdoors or indoors (Steen 2003). Deadly violence, meaning homicide, attempted homicide and maltreatment accidentally leading to death are separated out in the statistics (Nilsson 2001). Statistics Sweden also provides data from interviews with victims of violence.

Since the end of the 1990's Swedish authorities are to explicitly focus on men's violence against women as evidenced by the 1997/98 *Act on Freedom from Violence Against Women Reform*,[6] which resulted in data gathering and reporting from the National Courts Administration (*Domstolsverket*), the Office of the Prosecutor-General (*Riksåklagaren*), the National Council for Crime Prevention (*Brottsförebyggande rådet*), the Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority, the National Prison and Probation Administration (*Kriminalvården*), as well as the National Board of Health and Welfare (*Socialstyrelsen*). This may mark the beginning of more official and statistical attention to the phenomenon of men's violence against women and children.

Victim-surveys: The most quoted Swedish crime victim survey, included in *Undersökningar av levnadsförhållanden* (ULF) [Investigation in living conditions], has been carried out by Statistics Sweden since 1978. In total, 165 000 persons have been interviewed during this period. It provides statistics about the number of violent

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[6] Prop. 1997/98:55

acts reported in the interviews: according to gender and age, family conditions, regional divisions, nationality (immigrants), where the violence takes place and when. In a report Statistics Sweden provides a charting of victims of violence and crimes against property between1978-2002 (SCB 2004b) based on statistics and interviews on living conditions. Questions about increased criminality, consequences of violence, what groups are subjected more than others and the relation to the perpetrator are covered.

The analyses that **The National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå)** provide are mostly based on official statistics, police data, statistics on legal proceedings, self reporting studies focusing crimes from the perpetrators point of view, victim studies based on interviews and statistics on causes of death. The report **deadly violence directed to women in Sweden** (Brå-report 2001b) is mainly based on police reports and registers, verdicts and examinations conducted by a forensic psychiatrist, analyzing all reported cases of deadly violence to women in intimate relations during the 1990s. The report includes gender separated statistics on prevalence, under what circumstances the felony is committed, where and by whom. This also includes mental status, motives and crime record of the perpetrator. (See also Brå 2000c on Gross violation of a woman's integrity) The **National study of rapes reported to the police (**BRÅ-report 2005:7) builds on information from victims and proceeds from the perceptions, experiences and reality experienced by these women. It is based on information from approximately 90 per cent of all cases of consummated rape reported to the police in the years 1995 and 2000. The material contains data relating to 2,370 reported rapes, with a total of 2,277 victims and 2,745 perpetrators. The number of consummated rapes reported to the police has tripling over the course of the past two decades.

Child sexual abuse: There have been a few victim surveys carried out in Sweden, however rather a long time ago (see Edgardh 2001). Since 1987 suspected crimes of the type sexual coercion of children have been separated in the statistics according to the *type of relationship between the suspect and the victim*. The changes are largely attributable to the group with a close relationship between the suspect and the victim, i. e. abuse within the family. There are prevalence figures; however, there are no studies from Sweden regarding the willingness to report these crimes. There is only the number of police reports to rely on (Svedin 2001, see Svedin & Banck 2002). The National Board of Health and Welfare, gives an overview over the statistics on **child sexual abuse in Sweden (**Socialstyrelsen 2002). Sexual crimes against children have been reported separately in the statistics since 1965. The occurrence of child sexual abuse is divided into figures of incidence and prevalence. Figures on the number of suspected crimes against children aged 0-15 reported to the police between 1975-1997 shows that the quantitatively largest increase concerns sexual coercion. This means in practice cases where the suspect was a man and the child a girl.

Social exclusion
Research on social exclusion explores the labour market and marginalisation, residential segregation and diversity within working life. Research where gender and ethnicity is an integrated perspective is lacking in Sweden; men are in focus in research on social exclusion but little is done on comparative ethnicity and masculinity from a gender perspective. Gender divided statistics on social exclusion are available, measuring living conditions as indicated by education, income, work,

age, country of birth, social contacts, victimisation, political resources, leisure time and health. These statistics are also published in special reports.

Other sources of data are the Swedish policy literature. Furthermore, within some of the policy literature there is an explicit condemnation of structural racism in Swedish society (SOU 2005:41, see also other publications from the investigation "Power, Integration and Structural Discrimination": SOU 2005:69, SOU 2005:112, SOU 2006:21, SOU 2006:30, SOU 2006:37, SOU 2006:40). On threats towards ethic groups see Brottsförebyggande rådet (Brå) 2001, 2004b.

Living conditions and welfare: Statistics Sweden provides statistics on living conditions among individuals and households. A large package of social indicators is used as measures of living conditions: education, income, work, transports, social contacts, *victimisation*, political resources, leisure time and health. The statistics are divided by gender, social economic class, generation, type of family, country of birth, region and occupation. According to the report *Välfärd och ofärd på 90-talet* [Welfare and lack of welfare in the 90's] only one fourth out of the estimated number of threats and acts of violence crimes (1, 3 million per year in Sweden) were reported to the police. There is a high risk for young people to be affected by violence; 20 per cent of men and 14 per cent of women (16-24 years of old) were affected by violence or threats of violence between 2000-2001 (SCB 2003).

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UNITED KINGDOM

Excerpted from: "The United Kingdom: The Problems that Men Create and the Problems which Men Experience." Keith Pringle

There has been more critical research and scholarly enquiry regarding men's violences to women, children and, to some extent, men in the UK than anywhere else in Europe.

One important issue thrown up by the extent of research on men's violences in Britain are the complex linkages between those forms of violence: violences to adult partners and violences to children (Hester and Pearson, 1998); child sexual abuse and pornography (Itzin, 1996; 1997; 2000); pornography and men's violences (Itzin, 1992; Cowburn and Pringle, 2001); prostitution and pornography (Itzin, 1992; Swirsky and Jenkins, 2000); prostitution and men's violences (O'Neill, 1996). A vital policy implication of this ongoing research connecting men's violences together is that an effective challenge to those violences needs to be broadly based.

Despite the marked emphasis on critical studies of men in the UK, major gaps in research on men's violences nevertheless remain. There needs to be more systematic exploration of: how men's violent gendered practices intersect with other oppressive power relations; how concerted programmes against men's violences can be developed - in particular more research into the promotion of successful initiatives at school, community and societal levels; transnational comparisons.

In terms of official statistical sources focused on violences, there are interesting and striking continuities and discontinuities between the emphases in the academic literature and the emphases in that statistical material. On the one hand, government statistics in the UK now pay considerable attention to men's violences to women within heterosexual relationships (or "domestic violence" as it is termed in official publications) and to racist crime (or "racially motivated" crime as it is termed in official publications). This must be seen as a considerable achievement. On the other hand, relatively speaking, there remains little official statistical attention directed towards men's violences to children or to men's violences against gay men and lesbian women.

It is particularly striking that the academic literature in the UK has probably focused more on the extent and gendered quality of child sexual abuse than anywhere else in Europe. Yet, official statistical sources are remarkably silent about these issues in contrast to their emphasis noted above on "domestic violence" in adult relationships. The fact that academic research is increasingly making clear the major overlaps between men's violences to adult partners and violence to their children means that this contrast is not only worrying but that also illogical.

In terms of the official statistical material available in the UK, as with the academic data, it is striking how clearly the statistical picture confirms the importance of understanding the complex intersections of disadvantage associated with gender, ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, and disability. Similarly, the statistical data confirms that issues of home and work, social exclusion, violences and health overlap and intersect in complex ways - and that these complex intersections have not been

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adequately addressed. At the same time, there are imbalances in terms of what issues have been focused upon by official statistics and which have not. In the UK, there is an immense quantity of official data on gender in relation to the labour market: it dwarfs the amount of data on other topics, even those relatively well covered, such as crime. There is an urgent need for much broader official statistical data-gathering in relation to issues of social disadvantage and gender - in particular on: disability, sexuality, age, and men's violences to children.

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Appendix B. **Other contributions by the members and partners**

Appendix B1.

Cornelia Helfferich

Short remarks concerning the draft in workpackage 9
They fit into the frame and refer to some formulation, which can be misunderstood, or to paragrafs, in which the excellent theoretical level is not kept up.

Excellent:
- Contextualize the "roots" – violence as emerging/produced in power relations
- Violence and violation
- Cultural comparative approach – needs Meta-level of discussion

Remark 1
Violence seems sometimes to be directly linked to masculinity (App D. p.5 – only difference whether this relation is constitutive or subtle). This might support the idea of *homogenous masculinity* and uses a not differentiated understanding of violence. It is in contrast to other parts of the draft, in which the *relation between (different) masculinities* (App D, p.3 and 4) is referred to. And in some formulations it seems to be set, that violence *is generally* a male practice or a proof of masculinity (p. 8 "men tend to understate…"). But this means to accept and presuppose a definition of masculinity, which should be reconstructed and not set.

The relation between masculinity and violence is more complex: Hegemonial masculinity might dispise physical domestic violence or interpersonal violence, and this violence is seen to be connected with subordinated masculinity exclusively (of course this is not the case).

- There are men, who condemn or despise violence against women and children. This does not necessarily imply an egalitarian view of gender relations, but possibly a point of view like: A men has to make his wife obey without using physical strength, that is: because of his authority.

- The construction of masculinity is contradictory: there are complex connections between "responsibility" and "violence", between "honour/respect" and "violence", between "autonomy" and violence"; both might contradict each other or go together (violence in the name of honour, responsibility, education or even respect), and the specific combination is contributing to the construction of masculinities and defines what kind of violations against whom is acceptable and what kind is not (This also puts the question whether we have to address other male "non-violent" practices that are tightly bound to violent practices).

- The attitude concerning male violence (in different forms) and the practice of non-(physical) violence constitutes a distinction between masculinities. The superiority of masculinity is produced by: This masculinity does not need to use

physical strength. The condemnation of violence might be a male practice to reassure masculinity.

In other part of the draft it is more clear: There exist power relation between men and masculinities, which regulate what kind of violence is accepted or who has the power to condemn violence for what kind of men in what context. This idea is important for the analysis of the German situation: The police as a (still) male (on the symbolic level) attributed organisation is now involved in the convicting men because of violence against wives.

There should be the aspect of power relation between men (and not only between offender and victim) and different handling of violence (accepting, expecting, convicting) as part of the regulation of the power relation between men (in the context of changing hegemonial masculinities?). This can be stressed within the draft and be integrated in the main course of the thoughts very well.

There is another, connected question, where the draft is not quite clear: In the context of the military we have the discussion, whether sexual harassment is a general part of ordinary (military) masculinity or whether it shows up, when masculinity is threatened and then helps to defend and keep up masculinity. The question should left open, because it depends rather on the context, the question of male victims should be addressed (something we do not know much about), and it might be part of the discussion of changing masculinities. Anyway I think, the position, that violence is primarily thought as defending threatened masculinity should be handled with caution (App D, p. 5)

Remark II

On page 7 the peers are mentioned. They are seen as important concerning "information" (learning?) and support of violent behavior. The remark is in the context of socialisation, that is: it focuses on the individual, learning and growing up in a context.
There is one critique to this point of view: Peer-groups are *not only* socialisation, but in the same way selection, that is: young men choose the peer-group and peer-groups have very different rituals and regulations of accepted or expected violence, so the young man really makes a choice.
Second this misses the more important social meaning of male peer-groups for male youth: They are a part of the social organisation of transition into adult masculinity, they are necessary for taking the steps of initiation. Young men do not yet have the symbolic attitudes of masculinity, so they are in a special way vulnerable for degradation not only by girl(friend)s but by the peers, too. The collective action – including separation from and dehumiliation of the female - is one of the ways, to come along with this contradiction in male youth. (this is only mentioned in App. D, p. 3 individual *and collective practices*)

This perhaps explains, why male violence in youth is often regarded as transitory or temporary and accepted (if not supported) – especially by adult men. And indeed, most of the violent behaviour ceases, when young men start to have a girl friend or

even having a family. This is a kind of transformation of masculinity and the peers have to be regarded in the context of this biographic dimension.

Remark III

I do not go deeper into this, because this is not as easily integrated in the draft as the other remarks are. Just see it as some of the questions, which especially arose at the meeting in Paris (In my notices: "More questions than answers"). The following questions might be linked to the Human-Right-Discussion, which clearly and reasonably condemns violations.

The connection "violence of men against themselves" – "violence of men against female" is found in (a traditional and specific) construction of masculinity as overcoming weekness and subjugate the body with "discipline", "control" (see research on masculinity and sports). Critical theory has seen this as the roots of civilisation: Civilisation is based on violence, maintained by violence and produces violence. Foucault shows the changing of dispositives of power. So it is rather a question of the *changing of violence* in the changing power relations and not achieving a general state of Non-violence.
If there is something we perceive as the contrary of violence, we should reflect it. It might be "Non-violence" as a moral vision? Or egalitarian gender-relations (on the level of couples we see violence in egalitarian couples, too. In a broader sense: we should reflect from what point of view we identify "problems". The connection between marginalization/social exclusion and violence might be misunderstood as "problems coming from problems", with an implicit understanding, that solving the problems of social exclusion might hinder violence. The contrary of violence might be seen as a society without social exclusion resp. without problems. But neither the violence comes from problems exclusively nor can problems be defined without a historical dimension. The contextual and comparative studies have to address this process of defining and changing "problems" (as it is done in the draft in several ways, p. 17!)

The questions can be omitted now, but I think they will emerge here and there in the later discussions (as they did in Paris). They are linked to the discussion of masculinity, when we think about: what comes beyond patriarchy? Or is patriarchy a never ending (his)story? The discussion of Human Rights might give a good starting-point for a position towards problematization of violence.

Appendix B2.

Valencia cross-cutting workshop
June 5-7, 2006, Tuesday 15.30 – 18.30
Iva Smidova´s contribution to Session 4:
Session 4: Relevance of human rights frameworks to men being victims or becoming perpetrators of interpersonal violence

"Men as victims are equally subjected to ´gender-based violence´

1. Gender based violence and men

Gender as a structural element connected with normative cultural representations of femininities and masculinities; on the symbolic level or on the level of social institution, it represents structural inequality based on the division of labour (to take the concept of Sandra Harding) based on the duality of men and women or public and private.

I argue together with Joan Acker that it is already the institutions that are gendered and so in order to conform to the rules of any institution, we (men and women) accept their gendered patterns.
In this respect, when we talk about violence, we ask whether these structural elements incorporated in our individual actions (in our habitus, with P. Bourdieu) do apply for women and men as well. And as expected, I say YES.

This is not to question the hegemonic masculinity and/or patriarchal dividend (Connell) but it points to contexts and processes or mechanisms that produce settings where men also become victims of violence. And this happens precisely because of these existing structures of gendered expectations on individual actors in particularly gendered settings.

On the level of an individual these gender- based expectations are interconnected with other forms of normative aspects concerning their sexuality, ethnicity, health status – and all this meets in the concept of hegemony.
And as an individual men or woman situate themselves and are being situated in the structures of masculine domination, meaning domination of the hegemonic form of masculinity. It necessarily happens, that some forms of masculinities, or on the level of observation, some forms of men´s action or practice are subjected to violence. And they are subjected to violence based precisely on/in the gendered symbolic order – power relations, hierarchical order of social institutions and of division of labour.
The normative constructions surrounding individual gender practices should be explored by CAHRV with at least the same attention as incidents of violence against women.

2. Questioning the duality

As long as men and violence is concerned, we have mostly questioned motives and behavioral patterns of violent men here. Also, we have spoken mostly on domestic violence, or on men´s violences in relationships with women.
I think for the reasons alredy mentioned, both violence on women and violence on men, can as should be called gender-based violence and become a part of human rights violations framework, as long as these normative expectations on masculinity

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and femininity intervene. And I just add that on the symbolic level, the gendered patterns are closely related to power, that means hierachical structure relations. And I also assume these structural factors intervene in most acts of violence, and they affect various women as well as different men.

Now, when I again mention women and men. I think a part of our argumentation when framing human rights violations from a gender perspective, we should keep repeating the reference to the constructedness of forms of masculine and feminine behaviour, actions or practices; e.g. that they are not static of definite. The forms of gender identities and gender relations we adopt can be violating, or subordinate or both at the same time, or consequentionally (and we have heard this several times here already).

And even though we speak here of women and men, I think exploration of institutional settings of our societies, structures and bonds among them, together with cultural stereotypes and expectations, and with the context, or surrounding circumstances, have powerful impact on framing interpersonal violences. These cannot be used to excuse violent practices (of men or women), but should be taken into consideration, regarding their influences on the so called free will to act independently as an individual.

To sum it up: I just want to problematise the kind of essentiality of connection between women and suffering or submissive behaviour and men and perpetrating violence and being offenders, and I believe a way how to work with it, is to look closely on the gendered structures of instututions that in fact require certain types of action fro human beings regardless of their gender identity. So in fact I am saying nothing new, just that I think that the structures are much more dualistic, hierarchical and gendered than individuals actions. And that is why I argue that men as victims are equally subjected to "gender based" violence.

(And I am making the point for us because I think that if we explore the structural complexity this will, I believe, enable us to understand the human rights violations from a perspective that is helpful in my opinion, for defining and adopting strategies how to reduce levels of gender based violence.)

Appendix B3.

Comments from Spain by Fátima Arranz and Victoria Rosa

Regarding Deliberable 23 in Workpackage 9, we would like to make the following comments. First of all, we would like to point out that there is no adequate translation for the term violation into Spanish (nor into other latin languages, as far as we know). This is very important, as it is a sign of the cultural diversity within Europe. Therefore, to be able to use this term in our research have to create a new term or adapt a previous one. The etymological translation would be "violación", which means rape or to violate something sacred. When trying to explain 'violation' in Spanish we have found that we do not use terms with the same root (viol-), which implies a certain loss of the relationship with violence. We therefore need to create a different term and explain the concept behind it, which is in itself a complicated social process.

Secondly, we would like to point out the important implications of social class in violence in many respects, especially in sociological analysis. In the document we have seen great attention is paid to exclusion and poverty as roots of men's violence, as well as the use upper-class men make of institutions to exert violence. However, we also find that the very way violence is conceptualised is mediated by class, upper class (interpersonal) violences often not being conceptualised as such. And even when middle and upper class men do exert "normal" violence they have more resources allowing them to hide it, thereby rendering it invisible.

Thirdly, even though we have seen that homophobia and transphobia are present in the document we find in certain places where they are relevant they are omitted (i.e.: p. 30, paragraph 4). We believe homophobic and transphobic violence and violation (exerted almost only by men) are very linked to masculine identity and forms of men's dominance, and their examination is thus very relevant. There is also very little statistical data regarding these types of violations and violences, there also being therefore few academic studies about it.

Lastly, when reading the appendix we have found that different partners have answered different questions. We find that we have interesting points that could be taken into account regarding media and policy around men's violences in Spain, but we had not included them as we saw them as being beyond the points in discussion. However, we have seen other partners have discussed such issues. Do you want us to send you our comments on these areas?

General considerations on men's violences in the media and public policy developed against them

Over the last five years the aspect of gender violence most focused on by the media has been that of men's murders of their wives and partners as part of a process of abuse, as well as the policy measures taken against it by the socialist government. Each new death is reported in newspapers and all television news reports. This phenomenon has received such media attention that many believe Spain to have a much greater problem with gender violence than the rest of Europe and Latin America. Statistics, however, show its prevalence to be similar to other European countries. The difference lies merely in the degree of media attention it has received.

Once the law against gender violence was passed the media have increasingly only addressed the problem in terms of women murdered by their (men) partners. When they portray other men's violences, such as bullying or aggressive driving these are not considered in their gendered dimension.

While there has been an important change in policy regarding gender violence, as affirmative action is taken when penalising men abusers, there is still a strong need to address prevention. It is especially important that the economic needs of preventive measures be met (which has not been the case up to now), as well as undertaking reform of important social institutions (such as education, health care, etc.).

Another shortcoming in policy and academic treatments of men's violences is their focusing away from those not taking place within heterosexual relationships. Children's abuse (sexual or otherwise), pornography, prostitution, youth gendered violence, or rape are absent from statistics and research. Sexual harassment at work has only recently started to be the subject of research.

Appendix B4.

Building on and Reviewing the Contribution of International Critical Studies on Men

Jeff Hearn and Keith Pringle

The variety of disciplinary and methodological frameworks available for the study of men, masculinities and men's practices include approaches from: biology, stressing sex differences; essentialism searching for the "real" masculine; role theory; gender-specific socialisation and identity formation; history; anthropology and cross-cultural studies; feminist theories; patriarchy theory; multiple masculinities and hegemonic masculinity; focus on habitus; gay theory; queer theory; social constructionism and discourse theory; deconstruction; postmodernism; postcolonialism; transnational globalised conceptualisations; as well as humanities perspectives (Kimmel et al., 2005).

There are tensions between approaches that stress gender dichotomy and inevitability to gender adversities, as against those that emphasise change, processuality, flexibility and self-reflection for different genders. There are also variations in the extent to which these studies take a critical stance towards men and masculinities, between the development of feminist/profeminist Critical Studies on Men (CSM) (Hearn, 1997), as opposed to the much more ambiguous and sometimes even anti-feminist activities of "Men's Studies", which can become defined in a much less critical way as 'by men, on men, for men'. In this sense Critical Studies on Men are part of the broader project of Women's Studies and Gender Research, rather than competitive with them.

Having said that, there are, in some senses, as many ways of studying men as there are approaches to social science. They range from analysis of masculine psychology and psychodynamics (Craib, 1987) to broad societal, structural and collective analyses of men (Walby, 1986, 1990; Hearn, 1987, 1992; Hanmer, 1990). Increasingly, they have interrogated different masculinities in the plural, not the singular – hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, marginalised, resistant (Cockburn, 1983, 1991; Carrigan et al., 1985; Westwood, 1990; Connell, 1987, 1995; Pringle 1995) – and the interrelations of unities and differences between men (Hearn and Collinson, 1994). They have included, on the one hand, detailed ethnographic descriptions of particular men's activity and the construction of specific masculinities in specific discourses (Edley and Wetherell, 1995; Wetherell and Edley, 1999), and, on the other, analyses of men and masculinities within a global context (Connell, 1993, 1998; Hearn, 1996a; Pease and Pringle, 2001).

The approach here argues for Critical Studies on Men, that is:
- *comparative, international and transnational*
- *interdisciplinary*
- *historical*
- *cultural*
- *relational*
- *materialist*
- *deconstructive*

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CSM examine men as part of historical gender relations, through a wide variety of analytical and methodological tools and approaches. The notion of men is social and not to be essentialised and reified, as in some versions of the equivocal term 'men's studies'. Men are understood as historical, cultural and changeable, both as a social category and in particular constructions. CSM are: on men; explicitly gendered; critical; by women and men, separately or together. They seek to present critical, explicitly gendered accounts, descriptions and explanations of men in their social contexts and contextualisations.

Critical Studies on Men have brought the theorising of men and masculinities into sharper relief, making men and masculinities explicit objects of theory and critique. Among the many areas of current debate, we would draw attention to three particular sets of questions that have preoccupied researchers: the concept of patriarchy; similarities and differences between men and between masculinities; and men's, or male, sexualities and subjectivities (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). In each case, there are tensions between generalisations about men and masculinity and specificities of men and masculinities. More specifically, the notion of hegemonic masculinity was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as part of the critique of sex role theory (Eichler, 1980). In a key 1985 article Carrigan, Connell and Lee wrote:

> What emerges from this line of argument [on the heterosexual-homosexual ranking of masculinity] is the very important concept of hegemonic masculinity, not as "the male role", but as a particular variety of masculinity to which others – among them young and effeminate as well as homosexual men – are subordinated. It is particular groups of men, not men in general, who are oppressed within patriarchal sexual relations, and whose situations are related in different ways to the overall logic of the subordination of women to men. A consideration of homosexuality thus provides the beginnings of a dynamic conception of masculinity as a structure of social relations. (emphasis in original). (p. 586).

In the book *Masculinities*, Connell (1995) discusses and applies the notion of hegemonic masculinity in more depth. He reaffirms earlier discussions of the link with Gramsci's analysis of economic class relations through the operation of cultural dynamics, and also notes that hegemonic masculinity is always open to challenge and possible change. Hegemonic masculinity is now defined slightly differently as follows as:

> … the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (p. 77).

Masculinities operate in the context of patriarchy or patriarchal relations. The notion of patriarchy is understood in this context not simply in its literal sense of rule of the father or fathers, but more generally as men's structural dominance in society. The development of a dynamic conception of masculinities can itself be understood as part of the feminist and gendered critique of any monolithic conception of patriarchy, that was developing around the same time in the mid 70s and early 80s (for example,

Rowbotham, 1979). Thus the notion of masculinities fits with a more diversified understanding of patriarchy (Walby, 1986, 1990; Hearn, 1987) or patriarchies (Hearn, 1992). In reviewing the field, Connell (1998) has summarised the major themes in contemporary studies on men as: plural masculinities; hierarchy and hegemony; collective masculinities; bodies as arenas; active construction; contradiction; dynamics.

There is growing lively debate on the limitations of the very idea of 'masculinities', including around the confusions of different current usages in the term (for example, Donaldson, 1993; Nordberg, 2000; Whitehead, 2002). The concepts of 'masculinities' has been critiqued for its ethnocentrism, historical specificity, false causality, possible psychologism and conceptual vagueness (McMahon, 1993; Hearn, 1996b, 2004a). Cross-cultural research has used the concept of 'manhood' (Gilmore, 1991) and historical research the notions of 'manliness' and 'unmanliness', in the UK (Mangan and Walvin, 1987) and Sweden (Andersson, 2003; Tjeder, 2003). We generally prefer to talk rather more precisely of men's individual and collective practices – or men's identities or discourses on or of men – rather than the gloss 'masculinities'. However, the latter term is still used at some points in this book, as it remains the shortest way to refer to how men act, think, believe and appear, or are made apparent. The concept has been very important, even though commentators use the terms very differently, in serving several definite academic and political purposes. Perhaps above all, more recent studies have foregrounded questions of power.

To summarise, recent CSM can be characterised as follows:

- a *specific*, rather than an implict or incidental, *focus* on the topic of men and masculinities;
- taking account of *feminist, gay and other critical gender scholarship*;
- recognizing men and masculinities as *explicitly gendered* rather than non-gendered;
- understanding men and masculinities as *socially constructed, produced and reproduced*, rather than as somehow "just naturally like this or that";
- seeing men and masculinities as *variable and changing* across time (history) and space (culture), within societies and through life courses and biographies;
- emphasizing men's relations, albeit differentially, to *gendered power*;
- spanning both *the material and the discursive* in analysis;
- interrogating the *intersecting of the gender with other social divisions* in the construction of men and masculinities.

The various literatures on men's violence have generally focused on violence as an *attribute of individuals*, on violence as a *process between individuals in a family relationship, or on women's experiences of violence from men*. While they all to some extent attend to men's part in these 'violent situations', this has often been indirect or at least less direct. Thus while these accounts can be *re-read* as about men and masculinities, an explicit focus on men as the doers of violence is relatively rare.

There is some development of critical studies on men and masculinities addressing men's violences. In such critical approaches the focus on men's power and

domination is central. Violence is located as one element of that power and domination, even though there are major discussions and debates about the explanation of those violences. This literature places the analysis of men's violence to known women within *the context of the analysis of men*, rather than within the context of violence or 'domestic violence'. Thus in order to understand men's violences, it is necessary to understand the social construction of men and masculinities, not just the nature of violence. Each of the perspectives noted can be seen as a possible mode of explanation of both men and men's violences. Different perspectives on violence — psychoanalytic, learning theory, sociopolitical critique of patriarchy, and so on — give different accounts of men and masculinities. An explicit focus on men may engage with the variety of ways in which men, masculinities and violences interrelate with each other, for men in general, particular groups of men, and individual men.

In such an approach, the focus is explicitly on 'men', whether it is men who rape (Groth, 1974; Beneke, 1982; Scully, 1990), who are 'behind bars' (Wooden and Parker, 1982). Messerschmidt (1993) has argued that crime, including violence, is available as a resource for the making of masculinity, or at least specific forms of masculinity. The production and reproduction of masculinities is also detailed by Miedzian (1992) in her description of the significance of violence in the rearing of boys and sons (Salisbury and Jackson, 1994). Both Miedzian and Jackson do not simply chart the socialization of boys but also see the construction of masculinity of boys and young men within wider society as intimately interconnected with violence. Stanko (1994) has spoken of the need to look simultaneously at masculinity/violence in analysing the power of violence in negotiating masculinities. The explicit focus on men is emphasised by Pringle (1995) in his review of men's violence to women. He notes first that 'men tend to have a need to dominate and control', and, second, that 'structural factors play a part in the generation of men's physical and emotional violences' (p.100). Drawing particularly on the work of Tifft (1993) and Kirkwood (1993), he stresses that such violence is behaviour *chosen* by men, it is the product of choice within a *structural* context of hierarchical power arrangements. As Tifft puts it: 'The prevalence of battering is directly related to the ideological and institutionalized strength of these arrangements.'

Men are members of a powerful social group and a social category that is invested with power. This has the consequence that membership of that group or category brings power, if only by association. As with other powerful groups, dominance is maintained and reproduced in many ways, including persuasion, influence, force, violence. To put this slightly differently, systems of subordination have a social-political dynamic that comprises hierarchy, objectification, submission and violence. 'Whenever you see a social situation in which violence is widespread, so widespread that, in fact, it's normalized, then you know you already have the other three existing elements (hierarchy, objectification, submission), solidly in place.' (Dworkin, 1985; see Hanmer, 1990).

Men are the main *doers* of violence of all kinds — to women, children, each other, animals, men themselves. In a general sense, all of these forms of violence reinforce each other and focus the contexts of each other. The doing of violence is both the result of dominance, is dominances, and creates the conditions for the reproduction of dominance. This reproduction of dominance through violence does not necessarily refer to the reproduction of the dominance of the individual man concerned. Indeed,

it is of course quite possible that an individual man may cease violence to women through growing older, separation from the woman, imprisonment or killing himself.

Furthermore, to develop such a perspective on violence is not to say that all men are violent all the time, or that it is only men who are violent. Rather it is that it is men who dominate the business of violence; it is men who specialize in violence. And while women as the receivers of violence in some ways know more about the direct effects and experiences of violence than men, men remain the experts in how to do violence and in the doing of violence.

These kinds of violence used and done by men are organized and individualized; to strangers and to known others; in public and in private; in deed and in text. Violence is thus a means of *enforcing* power and control, but it is also power and control in itself. Violence is often a means to an end — more obviously of men's control of women; and it is also *meaningful* (to some men at least, *as an end in itself*. In other words, some men simply enjoy violence or at least say they do. The connections between violence and masculinity are everywhere — in the media, in sport, in film, in representations of physical action, in 'fantasy'. Being violent is often an accepted, if not always an acceptable, way of being a man. Doing violence is, that is, is available as, a resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man.

Furthermore, men's violences can be understood as standing at the centre of patriarchy or patriarchies, patriarchal relations and patriarchal institutions. Within this context, men's violence is in large part a development of dominant-submissive power relations that exist in 'normal' life. Men may resort to violence when men's power and privilege are challenged or under threat, and other strategies have failed. Such violent actions may be available as part of men's repertoire at all times, but are most used at times of particular threat, such as the physical and emotional demands of babies and young children, or the resistance to authority of teenagers, or women's responses and resistance to the situation. Furthermore, men's violence may develop in association with feelings of threat when men or women do not do what men expect. Frustration and anger at possible or potential loss of power in one sphere may also be acted upon in another sphere or relationship, where there may be less resistance. Men's violence is one powerful way of demonstrating that someone is a man. This applies to the generic quality of violence. It applies all the more so to men's violence to women, that is violence by men to those who are different to men. Men's violence to women thus speaks and shows this difference. The difference is produced and reproduced in and through violence.

Seeing men's violence in this way means that violence can be considered in relation to the said category of 'men', men's structural location, and the tension between men as a gender class and differences among men. It also raises the question of how violence relates to different forms of masculinity. Just as Messerschmidt (1993) talks of crime as a resource for the making of masculinities, so the same can be said of violence. Different men may, however, relate to violence, quite differently and distinctly. In some cases, men's violence may be constitutive of 'masculinity': it may be a central and typifying, even symbolizing, feature; in other cases, men's violence may be less obviously, more subtly, related. It may appear to contradict the dominant, overt form of masculinity yet may reinforce it through its presence, potential or threat. Thus the interrelation of violences and masculinities can be simpler or more complex,

unified or more contradictory. Men's violence is inherently gendered. It is a gendered way of men referring to themselves and to violence. Men's doing of violence to women is simultaneously showing 'being a man' and 'being a man' can simultaneously show violence.

Men's violences need to be studied in the contexts of specific situations. For example, at times of separation/divorce, and times and places of intense and unmonitored change there is a particularly high likelihood of men's violence to women (and children in the household) may well occur before, during and after separation/divorce. The central issue is men's use of power and control in the context of separation/divorce, rather than separation/divorce itself. Other contexts may be quite specific. A violent perpetrator or sexual abuser in the workplace may act as a nurturing partner and parent at home, and vice versa; a politician can promote and defend anti-violence and anti-discrimination laws without change on his (or her) own domestic arrangements (Harne, 2004).

The lack of sanctions may be another situational factor. Where, for whatever reason, adults or children may have greater opportunities for committing sexual or other forms of violence against others, with reduced risk of being found out, then sexual and other forms of violence are particularly likely to occur. The risks statistically are also, overall, considerably higher of violence in such settings (e.g. employment situations, welfare settings, situations of dependency in non-formal care settings) being committed by men or boys compared to women or girls. Situations include, for instance, where children or adults are physically or emotionally isolated for whatever reason (for example, persons with disabilities in any form; children in foster care; children in institutions); or where people work or live in situations where others have especially "invulnerable" degrees of power over them. There is a major difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of separating situational factors from both individual factors, and cultural, economic, political and social factors.