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The social problem of men

Volume 1

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EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

The social problem of men

Volume 1

Final report

Project HPSE-CT1999-00008

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**EU FP5 Thematic Network.
The European Research Network on Men in Europe:
The Social Problem and Societal Problematisation of Men and
Masculinities
(HPSE-CT-1999-0008)**

**“THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF MEN”:
FINAL REPORT (2000-2003)**

Jeff Hearn, Ursula Müller, Elzbieta Oleksy, Keith Pringle, Janna Chernova, Harry Ferguson, Øystein Gullvåg Holter, Voldemar Kolga, Irina Novikova, Carmine Ventimiglia, Emmi Lattu, Teemu Tallberg, Eivind Olsvik, *with the assistance of* Satu Liimakka, Hertta Niemi, Diane McIlroy and Jackie Millett

Project funded by the Key Action “Improving the socio-economic knowledge base”, 1999-2002

PREFACE

Within the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Union for Research and Technological Development (RTD), the Key Action *"Improving the socio-economic knowledge base"* carried broad and ambitious objectives, namely to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

Since the launch of the Key Action in 1999 more than 1600 research teams coming from 38 countries have been mobilised. While most of these collaborative efforts involve researchers from EU countries, the participation of accession countries and new member states is already noteworthy with 189 research teams from these countries.

The Key Action was implemented through the launching of three calls for proposals addressing different but interrelated research themes which contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be regrouped under a certain number of areas of major policy relevance, each of which is addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives. These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural changes;***
16 projects, total investment of 14.6 Million Euro, 164 teams
- ***Quality of life of European Citizens,***
5 projects, total investment of 6.4 Million Euro; 36 teams
- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***
9 projects; total investment of 9.3 Million Euro; 91 teams.
- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***
30 projects, 28 Million Euro; 249 teams.
- ***Employment, and changes in work***
18 projects; total investment of 17.5 Million Euro; 149 teams
- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***
13 projects; total investment of 12.3 Million Euro; 97 teams
- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***
8 projects; total investment of 6.1 Million Euro; 77 teams
- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***
14 projects; total investment of 12.9 Million Euro; 105 teams
- ***Economic development and dynamics***
22 projects; total investment of 15.3 Million Euro; 134 teams
- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***
28 projects; total investment of 25.5 Million Euro; 233 teams
- ***Challenges from European enlargement***
16 project; total investment of 12.8 Million Euro; 116 teams
- ***Infrastructures to build the European Research Area***
9 projects; total investment of 15.4 Million Euro; 74 teams.

The insights and information that the reader will obtain in the following pages constitute the main scientific findings and the associated policy implications of the thematic network *"The Social Problem of Men"*. The work undertaken by this project, which brought together 10 research teams in a collaborative endeavour

lasting 36 months, has certainly contributed to the advancement of knowledge particularly in the area of ***gender, participation and quality of life***.

The main objectives addressed by this project were the following:

- Analyse and understand more fully across the EU and its potential new members the differential associations of men's practices with a variety of social problems including: home and work; exclusion; violence; and health.
- Formulate provisional strategies to address some of those problems in terms of national and EU responses on equal opportunities and other policy areas.
- Identify areas for further ongoing enquiry to develop such strategies.
- Given possible EU enlargement, anticipate some of the national and transnational social problems relating to the impact of men's practices upon social cohesion and inclusion in existing and new members of the Union.
- Gain a more adequate understanding of contemporary and changing representations of men, and negotiations around such representations in governmental and other official, media and research contexts.

This report consists of two volumes: the first volume presents the main scientific and policy findings of the work undertaken and the second one assembles all related appendices. The abstract and executive summary presented in the first volume offer to the reader the opportunity to take a first glance on the main scientific and policy conclusions, before going into the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this volume.

While results of the projects financed under the *Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic knowledge base'* become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 "*Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge Based Society*" of the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Union for Research and Technological Development (RTD) is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union in fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

A. SORS
Acting Director

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM AND SOCIETAL PROBLEMATISATION OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES

FINAL REPORT: “THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF MEN”

Jeff Hearn,¹ Ursula Müller,¹ Elzbieta Oleksy,¹ Keith Pringle,² Janna Chernova,³ Harry Ferguson,³ Øystein Gullvåg Holter,³ Voldemar Kolga,³ Irina Novikova,³ Carmine Ventimiglia,³ Emmi Lattu,⁴ Teemu Tallberg,⁴ Eivind Olsvik,⁵ *with the assistance of* Satu Liimakka,⁴ Hertta Niemi,⁴ Diane McIlroy⁶ and Jackie Millett⁶

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Abstract

The Network: Changing and improving gender relations and reducing gender inequality involves changing men as well as changing the position of women. The EU Framework 5 European Research Network on Men in Europe (2000-2003) has aimed to develop *empirical, theoretical and policy outcomes* on the gendering of men and masculinities in Europe. The Network has investigated *the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities*. ‘Social problem’ refers to both problems created by men, and those experienced by men. ‘Societal problematisation’ refers to the ways in which men and masculinities have become problematised in society. The Network comprises women and men, researching men *as explicitly gendered*, in Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Russian Federation and UK.

The Main Phases of Work have comprised, first, four phases on *academic and analytical literature, statistical information, law and policy, and newspaper representations*, followed by analysis and dissemination. For each of the first four phases there are national reports for each of the 10 participating countries, along with four summary reports. The main focus is on four main aspects of men, masculinities and men’s practices: *men’s relations to home and work; men’s relations to social exclusion; men’s violences; and men’s health*. The European Data Base and Documentation Centre on Men’s Practices (www.cromenet.org) archives Network outputs.

The Main Foci: Recurring themes in *Home and Work* include men’s occupational, working and wage advantages over women, gender segregation at work, many men’s close associations with paid work. There has been a general lack of attention to men as managers, policy-makers, owners and other power holders. Another recurring theme is men’s benefit from avoidance of domestic responsibilities, and the absence of fathers. In some cases this tradition of men’s avoidance of childcare and domestic responsibilities is very recent indeed and still continues for the majority of men. *Social Exclusion* has proved to be the most difficult area to pre-define, yet one of the most interesting. It figures in research in different ways, such as, unemployment, ethnicity, homosexuality, homelessness, social isolation. The recurring theme in *Men’s Violences* is the widespread nature of the problem of men’s violences to women, children and other men, and the growing public awareness of men’s violence against women. Men are overrepresented among those who use violence, especially heavy violence. This violence is also age-related. The major themes regarding *Men’s Health* are men’s relatively low life expectancy, poor health, accidents, suicide, morbidity. Some studies see traditional masculinity as hazardous to health.

Contradictions: There is a profound, enduring contradiction between men’s dominance in politics and economy, and the social exclusion of some groupings of men. There is a comparable contradiction between the high responsibility placed upon some men for societal development, and the recognition of some men’s irresponsible behaviour in terms of health, violence and care.

Policy Context: Men and masculinities are set within changing policy contexts. There have been huge historical changes in forms of masculinity and men’s practices, yet also stubborn persistences in some aspects of men and masculinity. The EU itself can

be understood as a project of positive possibilities largely led and negotiated by men politicians after the Second World War in contradiction to short-term nationalistic interests. There is increasing recognition of the central place of men and masculinity in the collective violence of war. To understand the national and transnational policy context involves considering ‘the social problem of men’ within organisational and governmental policy formation, in national, regional and EU institutions. Changing gender relations both constitute governments and provide tasks for governments to deal with. Governments can be seen as both part of the problem and part of the solution. The social problem of men relates closely to EU social agendas. There is a need to develop policy options, ‘best practices’ and policies on men, as an important, urgent matter. Key issues include the relation of the EU to accession; migration; human trafficking, especially men’s actions as consumers.

Policy Recommendations:

Home and work. To encourage men to devote more time and priority to caring, housework, childcare, and the reconciliation of home and paid work; to remove men’s advantages in paid work and work organisations, as with the persistence of the gender wage, non-equal opportunities practices in appointment and promotion, and domination of top level jobs; policies on men in transnational organisations and their development of equality policies; to encourage men’s positive contribution to gender equality; to remove discriminations against men, such as compulsory conscription of men into the armed forces, and discriminations against gay men.

Social exclusion. To reduce the social exclusion of men, especially young marginalised men, men suffering racism, and men suffering multiple social exclusions; reducing the effects of the social exclusion of men upon women and children; ameliorating the effects of rapid socio-economic change that increase the social exclusion of men; specifically addressing the transnational aspects of social exclusion of men, in, for example, transnational migration, and homosexual sexual relations; to change men’s actions in creating and reproducing social exclusions.

Violences. To stop men’s violence to women, children and other men, assisting victims and survivors; enforcing the criminal law on clear physical violence, that has historically often not been enforced in relation to men’s violence to known women and children; making non-violence and anti-violence central public policy of all relevant institutions – including a focus on schools within extensive public education campaigns; assisting men who have been violent to stop their violence, such as men’s programmes, should be subject to accountability, high professional standards, close evaluation, and not be funded from women’s services; and recognising the part played by men in forms of other violence, including racist violence.

Health. To improve men’s health; to facilitate men’s improved health practices, including use of health services; to connect men’s health to forms of masculinity, such as risk-taking behaviour; to focus on the negative effects of men’s health problems upon women and children; to ensure that focusing on men’s health does not reduce resources for women’s and children’s health.

General. In designing policy interventions one must seek to bridge the central divide which has previously existed in much research on men i.e the splitting of studies which focus on “problems which some experience” from those which explore “the

problems which some create”. While the creation of effective policy interventions in the field of men’s practices are vital, they must never be made at the expense of funding for services to women and/or children.

Interrelations between themes. There were many interrelations, interconnections and overlaps between the four themes. For example, in most parts of Western Europe, there is a striking tendency to treat fatherhood and men’s violences as separate policy issues. There are countries which both enthusiastically promote fatherhood and, quite separately, address men’s violences, but do not join up the two. These two policy areas should be joined up. Another example is interconnections between social exclusion and men’s health. There is considerable research across many countries illustrating a correlation between poor health, including the poor health of men, and forms of social disadvantage associated with factors such as class or ethnicity. More generally social exclusion/inclusion can be seen as an important element entering into the dynamics of all the other themes. This emphasises the need for particular policy attention to social inclusion and far more research on men’s practices and social exclusion/inclusion.

1. Introduction

1.1. The Purpose and Structure of this Report

The topic of men is now on political, policy and media agendas.

The overall aim of the Thematic Network is to develop empirical, theoretical and policy outcomes on the gendering of men and masculinities in Europe. The central focus of the Research Network's effort is the investigation of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. This focus is set within a general problematic – that changing and improving gender relations and reducing gender inequality involves changing men as well as changing the position of women.

The initial work of the Network has been organised through four main phases of 'workpackages', followed by three further workpackages of analysis and dissemination.

The first workpackage reviewed relevant academic and analytical literature on men's practices within each country.

The second workpackage reviewed relevant statistical information on men's practices within each country.

The third reviewed law and policy on men's practices.

The fourth workpackage has examined newspaper representations on men and men's practices within each country.

For each of the first four workpackages there are national reports for each of the 10 participating countries, making a total of 40 national reports, along with four summary reports, one on each workpackage.

This report is structured mainly around the results of the first four workpackages and their subsequent analysis. Each of the next four chapters can be read separately. Further details are in the relevant national reports. These four chapters are followed by a short discussion of the interrelations between the four main themes, before considering questions of dissemination and some concluding remarks. This report thus provides information on the other Network outputs, including the European Data Base and Documentation Centre on Men's Practices (www.cromenet.org) and relevant publications of Network members, arising from the Network's activities.

We also particularly draw attention to the first set of national reports from Workpackage 1, as these also include information on:

- *the general national/societal gender situation*, including broad shifts in masculinity formations, and relationship between different masculinities; and
- *general or basic texts on men and masculinities*, including the growth of focused studies.

1.2. The Research Network

The Network comprises women and men researchers who are researching on men and masculinities in *an explicitly gendered way*. The bringing together of both women and men researchers is extremely important in the development of good quality European research on men in Europe. Research on men that draws only on the work of men is likely to neglect the very important research contribution that has been and is being made by women to research on men. Research and networking based on only men researchers is likely to reproduce some of the existing gender inequalities of research and policy development. Gender-collaborative research is necessary in the pursuit of gender equality, in the combating of gender discrimination, and in the achievement of equality and in the fight against discrimination more generally. The Network consists of women and men researchers from ten countries: Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Russian Federation and the UK (see Appendix 1). Thirteen institutions have been participating in the Network (Appendix 2). The Network also acts as information resource for other researchers and policy-makers. Good contacts with other researchers in other countries, both within and outside Europe, exist and are being developed further through affiliated Network contacts in selected countries. These are at present in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark and Sweden (Appendix 3).

The overall aim of the Network is to develop empirical, theoretical and policy outcomes on the gendering of men and masculinities. Initially, the Network focuses on two closely related gendered questions:

- the specific, gendered social problem of men and certain masculinities; and
- the more general, gendered societal problematisation of men and certain masculinities.

The main focus of the current work is on four main aspects of men and masculinities:

- *men's relations to home and work;*
- *men's relations to social exclusion;*
- *men's violences;* and
- *men's health.*

The 40 national reports address these four main themes, according to the different sources of information – research, statistics, law and policy, media.

1.3. The Organisation of the Research Network

The Network has been co-ordinated by a steering group of four principal contractors (Pringle [Network Co-ordinator], Hearn, Müller, Oleksy) with an additional six participating members (Chernova, Ferguson, Holter, Kolga, Novikova, Ventimiglia). The main research assistant has been Lattu, with additional part-funded research assistance by Tallberg (also funded by Academy of Finland). Eszter Belinszki, Astrid Jacobsen and Joanna Rydzewska have been research assistants in Germany and Poland. Satu Liimakka carried out the copyediting of the manuscript of the draft final report. Hertta Niemi has been a research assistant in the final stages of the project and the production of this Final Report. Very valuable feedback was given by the participants at the two Interface Workshops and the Final Conference.

The Network Administrator position has been occupied for most of the period of the Network by Jackie Millett. She has provided invaluable expert administrative support

to the Network, particularly in setting up the Network's administrative and financial systems. This position has been occupied for the last part of the Network's funding by Diane McIlroy, who has also provided invaluable administrative assistance.

Besides having an overall collective role in co-ordinating data collection, analysis and dissemination for the Network, each principal contractor has their own specific responsibilities:

Pringle – project financial co-ordination i.e. management and monitoring of budgetary planning and control for duration of project; co-ordination of the interface workshops (2);

Hearn – data co-ordination i.e. during the lifetime of the project, he maintains dissemination of analysis outputs in the form of interim reports across the network (and to EC services) at each workpackage stage and co-ordination of final data analysis outputs;

Müller - network seminar co-ordination i.e. arranging and chairing periodic network seminars (4) which run throughout the period of the project and provide strategic points of reorientation for the network;

Oleksy - co-ordination of dissemination strategies.

Each network member (and each principal contractor) has been responsible for the implementation of data collection and dissemination activities for their own countries; and for providing input to the analysis process. Regular contact has been maintained between members and steering group, individually via regular media channels and collectively via the four periodic network seminars and two interface workshops held across the lifetime of the project.

Others who have participated in the research and support work of the Network include Beata Duchnowicz, Agnieszka Dziedziczak, Elina Hatakka, Joanna Kazik, Jason Levine, Claire Mackinnon, Marczuk Magdalena, Alex Raynor and Tamar Pitch. We are extremely grateful for this work. We also would like to thank the many other researchers, policy-makers and practitioners who have commented on drafts of this report or parts of it, and particularly Dawn Lyon and Jouni Varanka for their detailed comments.

1.4. The Research Context

The overall project is primarily contextualised by previous scholarship on two areas of study: critical studies on men and masculinities; and studies of comparative welfare systems and welfare responses to associated social problems and inequalities. The project also has direct relevance to policy outcomes in relation to changing family structures; work configurations within the labour market and the home; and other changes in the wider European society.

The design and work of the Network has drawn largely on two particular fields of study:

- *critical approaches to men's practices; and*
- *comparative perspectives on welfare.*

We now provide a brief overview of each of these fields in turn.

1.4.1. Critical Approaches to Men's Practices

For a long time, men, masculinity and men's powers and practices were generally taken-for-granted. Gender was largely seen as a matter of and for women; men were generally seen as ungendered, natural or naturalised. This is now changing; it is much less the case than even in the mid-1980s (Metz-Göckel and Müller 1986; Brod 1987; Kimmel 1987a; Hearn 1987, 1992; Connell 1987, 1995a, Segal 1990; Holter 1997).

Recent years have seen the *naming of men as men*, first from feminism, then subsequently from some men (Hanmer 1990; Collinson and Hearn 1994). Men have become the subject of growing political, academic and policy debates. In some respects this is *not* totally new; there have been previous periods of debate on men (Kimmel 1987b), and then, in a different sense, much of politics, research and policy has always been about men, often dominantly so. What is new, however, is that these debates, particularly academic and policy debates, are now more explicit, more gendered, more varied and sometimes more critical. There are also more general debates in the media and public discourse about men.

A number of social changes now seem to be in place whereby men and masculinities can at least be talked about as problematic. It is now at least possible to ask such questions as: What is a man? How do men maintain power? Is there a crisis of masculinity? Or is there a crisis of *men* in a more fundamental way? Do we know what the future of men looks like or should be? What policy and practice implications follow both in relation to men and boys, and for men and boys?

Among the several influences that have brought this focus on men and masculinities, first and foremost is impact on men of Second, and now Third, Wave Feminisms. Questions have been asked by feminists and feminisms about all aspects of men and men's actions. Different feminist initiatives have focused on different aspects of men, and have suggested different analyses of men and different ways forward for men. They have highlighted the contradictions between men's ideologies and actions in practice, and pointed to the need for change. Feminism has also demonstrated various theoretical and practical lessons for men. One is that the understanding of gender relations, women and men has to involve attention to questions of power. Another is that to transform gender relations, and specifically men's continued dominance of much social life, means not only changes in what women do and what women are but also that men will have to change too. Such lessons have often been difficult for many men to hear, and even harder to act on. These are central concerns in both public and private life, in transnational, national and local policy-making and professional practice, along with the uneven process of social change in gender relations. There have also been since the early 1970s a wide range of men's responses to gender (in)equality and feminism – some positive, some antagonistic, some unengaged and apparently disinterested.

Something similar has happened and very unevenly continues to happen in academia. In some senses there are as many ways of studying men and masculinities as there are approaches to the social sciences. They range from examinations of masculine psychology and psychodynamics (Craib 1987) to broad societal, structural and collective analyses of men (Hearn 1987). A particularly important development has been the shift from the analysis of masculinity in the singular to masculinities in the plural.

This pluralised approach understands ‘masculinities’ as configurations, often collective configurations, of embodied gender practices, rather than traits, attitudes or psychologies of individual men (or women). Studies have thus interrogated the operation of different masculinities – hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, marginalised, resistant (Carrigan et al. 1985; Connell 1995a) – and the interrelations of unities and differences between men and between masculinities (Hearn and Collinson 1993). They have included detailed ethnographic descriptions of particular men or men’s activity and investigations of the construction of specific masculinities in specific discourses (Edley and Wetherell 1995).

The notion of hegemonic masculinity was developed in the late 70s and early 80s, as part of the critique of sex role theory. 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).

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.

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 (e.g. Rowbotham, 1979). Thus the notion of masculinities fits with a more diversified understanding of patriarchy (Walby, 1986, 1990; Hearn, 1987) or patriarchies (Hearn, 1992).

There is also a growing lively debate on the limitations of the very idea of ‘masculinities’, including around the confusions of different current usages in the term (Donaldson 1993; McMahan 1993; Hearn 1996b; MacInnes 1998; Whitehead 2002). For this reason some scholars prefer to talk of 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 quite a lot in this report, as it remains the shortest way to refer to the things men do, think and believe. Perhaps above all, the more recent studies, over the last fifteen to twenty years, have foregrounded questions of power.

There is now an established academic journal, *Men and Masculinities* (Sage), various book series, the International Association of Studies on Men, the European Profeminist Men’s Network, as well as other national and transnational networks of researchers, policy-makers and practitioners, for example, in Norway, Denmark and the transitional nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The study of men and masculinities, critical or otherwise, is no longer considered so esoteric. It is established, if often rather tentatively, for teaching and research in different localities. While it has examined boys’ and men’s lives in schools, families, management, the military and elsewhere, many aspects remain unexplored. As research has progressed, it has become more complex, and concerned less with one ‘level’ of analysis, and more with linking previously separated fields and approaches.

There are thus now a wide variety of disciplinary and methodological frameworks available for the study of men, masculinities and men’s practices. These include: biological approaches, stressing sex differences; essentialist searches for the “real” masculine; sex/gender role theory; gender-specific socialisation and identity formation; masculinities and hegemonic masculinity; habitus; social constructionist and deconstructionist approaches; transnational globalised conceptualisations. There are also tensions between approaches that stress an inevitability to gender adversities and dichotomy, as against those that provide an imaginative space for processuality, flexibility and self-reflection for different genders.

The making of men more gendered, in both theory and practice, has meant that previously taken-for-granted powers and authority of men, social actions of men, and ways of being men can now be considered to be much more problematic. They may not yet be much more negotiable, but they are at least now recognised as more open to debate. The paradox is that men and masculinities are now more talked about than ever before when it is much less clear what and how they are or should become.

Not only are men now increasingly recognised as gendered, but they, or rather some men, are increasingly recognised as a gendered social problem to which welfare systems may, or for a variety of reasons may not, respond. This can apply in terms of violence, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, buying of sex, accidents, driving, and so on, and indeed the denial of such problems as sexual violence (for example, Ventimiglia 1987). These are all activities that are social in nature, and can have both immediate and long-term negative effects on others, friends, family and strangers. Some men suffer from adversity, such as from ill-health, violence, poverty, and the vulnerabilities of men and masculinities are perhaps best illustrated by the trend of increasing numbers of men (across Europe) taking their own lives. The association of the gendered problematisation of men and masculinities, and the gendered social problem of men and masculinities is complex (see, for example, Holter and Aarseth 1993; Månsson 1994; Ekenstam 1998; Popay et al. 1998), as indeed are the differential responses of welfare systems (Pringle 1998a, Pringle and Harder 1999). But at the very least it is necessary to acknowledge the various ways in which the

more general gendered problematisations of men and masculinities both facilitate and derive from more particular recognitions of certain men and masculinities as social problems. Such recognition can apply through the use of measurable information, such as official statistics, as well as through less exact discursive constructions in politics, policy, law, media and opinion-formation.

These processes of problematisation of men and construction of men as gendered social problems apply in academic and political analysis, and in men's own lives and experiences; they also exist more generally at the societal level, and very importantly in quite different ways in different societies. Thus while it may be expected that some kind of problematisation of men and masculinities may now be observable in many, perhaps most, European societies, the form that it takes is likely to be very different indeed from society to society. In some, it may appear in public concern around young men, crime, relatively low educational attainments in schools; in others, it may take the form of anxieties around the family, fatherhood, and relations with children; elsewhere, the specific links between boyhood, fathering and men may be emphasised; or the question of men's ill-health, alcohol use, depression, loneliness, and low life expectancy; or the problem of reconciling home and work, with the pressure towards long working hours; or men's violence to and control of women and children; or men's participation in and continued domination of many political and economic institutions; or changing forms of men's sexuality. A very important area that has received some attention from the EU, though rather more from the Council of Europe, is that of men's violence to women and children.

These and other forms of gendered problematisation of men and masculinities and constructions of men and masculinities as gendered social problems have been examined in a range of European national welfare contexts by the Network. Furthermore, it is very important to consider how there is great national, societal variation in how men and masculinities interact with issues not merely of culture but also other major social divisions and inequalities, in particular, class, "race" xenophobia and racism, ethnicity, nationalism and religion. Indeed the intersection of "race", ethnicity, nationalism and nationality appear to be especially and increasingly important for the construction of both dominant and subordinated forms of men and masculinities. This entails investigation of the complex interrelations between these varying genderings and problematisations and the socio-economic, political, state structures and processes within and between the countries concerned. A fuller understanding of these issues is likely to assist the formulation of social policy responses to them in both existing and potential member states, and the EU as a whole.

1.4.2. Comparative Welfare Systems in European Contexts

The Network aims to facilitate greater understanding of changing social processes of gender relations and gender construction particularly in the context of welfare responses to associated social problems. To undertake this exploration necessitates attention to the challenges and difficulties of comparative research. Consequently, the activity of the Network builds on existing comparative welfare analysis.

In recent years a comparative perspective has been applied to various studies within sociology, social policy and social welfare. There are many reasons for this tendency. One of the most convincing reasons for adopting a comparative approach is the

potential offered for deconstructing the assumptions which underpin social practices and policies in different countries. In turn, such a process of deconstruction facilitates a reconstruction of more effective policies and practices. There is also an awareness that such practices and policies increasingly interact transnationally, at both European and, indeed, global levels: consequently research may seek to explore the processes and outcomes of those interactions and connections.

In many cases where specific social issues have been studied transnationally, attempts have been made to apply various general theoretical categorisations to particular issues. In the case of differential welfare regimes, the most common model applied in this specific fashion is that devised by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1996). There has also been an extensive critique of such models in terms of their insufficient attention to gender relations (Lewis and Ostner 1991; Leira 1992; Lewis 1992; Orloff 1993; O'Connor 1993; Sainsbury 1994, 1996, 1999; Tyyskä 1995). Commentators have also taken a variety of positions regarding the analytic value of these applications from the general to the particular (for instance, Alber 1995; Anttonen and Sipilä 1996; Harder and Pringle 1997, Pringle 1998a; Pringle and Harder 1999), partly depending upon the issue being studied. Furthermore, there is a need for considerable open-mindedness in the assumptions that are brought to bear in such analyses. For example, Trifiletti (1999), through a feminist perspective on the relationship between gender and welfare system dynamics, has provided detailed arguments that Southern European welfare regimes may not in fact (contrary to some of the above opinion) be more sexist than those in Northern and Western Europe.

There has been a considerable development of research on gender relations and welfare issues in Europe (Dominelli 1991; Rai et al. 1992; Aslanbeigu et al. 1994; Leira 1994; Sainsbury 1994, 1996; Duncan 1995; Walby, 1997; Duncan and Pfau-Effinger 2000; Hobson 2002). Throughout much of Europe contemporary gender relations can be characterised by relatively rapid change in certain respects, for example, rates of separation and divorce, new employment patterns, alongside the persistence of long-term historical structures and practices, such as men's domination of top management, men's propensity to use violence and commit crime, and so on. This can thus be understood as a combination of contradictory social processes of change and no change (Hearn 1999). An important *feature and effect* of these changing gender relations has been the gradually growing realisation that men and masculinities are just as gendered as are women and femininities. This gendering of men is thus both a matter of changing academic and political analyses of men in society, and contemporary changes in the form of men's own lives, experiences and perceptions, often developing counter to their earlier expectations and earlier generations of men.

The critical study of men's practices has, until very recently, largely escaped specific comparative scrutiny, although it has received important attention within broader and relatively established transnational feminist surveys of gender relations (for instance, Dominelli 1991; Rai et al. 1992). Yet, the limited amount of work devoted specifically to men's practices transnationally suggests there is immense scope for extending critical analysis in that particular area.

In the field of social welfare there are complex patterns of convergence and divergence between men's practices internationally which await further interrogation

(Pringle, 1998b). Similarly, Connell's initial inquiries regarding the global transactions which occur in processes of masculinity formation have opened up a whole range of possibilities for exploration and contestation (Connell 1991, 1995b, 1998; Hearn 1996a; Woodward 1996). These studies have begun to conceptualise broad transnational categories of men and masculinities, such as 'global business masculinity' (Connell 1998) and 'men of the world' (Hearn 1996a). Recently, attempts have been made to push forward the boundaries in the comparative field using pro-feminist perspectives to consider men's practices in Asia, Southern Africa, the Americas (South, Central and North), Australasia and Europe (Breines et al. 2000; Pease and Pringle 2001). Moreover, these are attempts which seek to locate such considerations within those recent debates about globalisation and men's practices, throwing some doubt in the process on the more ambitious claims of globalisation theses. There are also a growing academic and policy literature on men in development studies, which also examines the impact of globalisation processes on men and gender relations (Sweetman 1997; Cornwall and White 2000; Greig et al. 2000; *the network newsletter* 2000; Harcourt 2001). Despite those relatively recent developments, there remains a massive deficit in critical transnational studies of men's practices and in the sources available for such study. It is this ongoing deficit which the Network seeks to address within the European context.

1.5. The Research Task

The central focus of the Research Network's effort is the investigation of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. The reference to 'social problem' refers to *both* the problems created by men, and the problems experienced by men. The notion of societal problematisation refers to the various ways in which the 'topic' of men and masculinities has become and is becoming noticed and problematised in society – in the media, in politics, in policy debates, and so on. The four themes – home and work, social exclusion, violences, health - engage with both problems created by men and experienced by men. Violence can be understood largely as a theme in which men create problems – for women, children, each other, even themselves. Health and social exclusion are themes around which some men experience particular problems, as well as sometimes creating problems for women and children. Home and work, and their interrelations, are fundamental themes, in relation to which men both create and experience problems. Together these themes provide a broad range of commentaries on men's problems, experiences and impacts on others. These themes may be unevenly invoked in the differential societal problematisations of men and masculinities. The research task of the Network has been to map these patterns; the research, statistical, policy and media information that is available; and the gaps that exist in that material. Throughout the research task there has been the attempt to work in a gender-explicit way (see Braithwaite 2001, 87-89).

1.6. The Changing Policy Context and the Changing Forms of Masculinities

Men and masculinities are understood as set within changing policy contexts. There have been huge historical changes in forms of masculinity and men's practices. Yet there are also stubborn persistence in some aspects of men and masculinity. Perhaps the most obvious of these is men's domination of the use of violence.

In many countries and until relatively recently established forms of masculinity and men's practices could be distinguished on two major dimensions - urban and rural;

bourgeois and working class. In these different ways men have both created huge problems, most obviously in violence, and have also been constructive and creative actors, as, for example, in the building industries, albeit within patriarchies. The exact ways these four forms were practiced clearly varied between societies and cultures. In addition, many other cross-cutting dimensions have been and are important, such as variations by age, ethnicity, sexuality. In recent years, urban bourgeois, rural bourgeois, urban working class, and rural working class forms of masculinity and men's practices have all been subject to major social change. Such changing gender relations both constitute governments and provide tasks for governments to deal with. In this sense governments can be seen as both part of the problem and part of the solution.

The historical legacy inherited by the EU includes the attempts to develop broad social democracy and stop fascism happening again. The EU itself can be understood as a project of positive possibilities largely led and negotiated by men politicians after the Second World War in contradiction to short-term nationalistic interests. The EU can be understood as a project devised to reduce men's historical tendency to nationalistic conflict and war, and so achieve relative stability in Europe. There is indeed increasing recognition of the central place of men and masculinity in the collective violence of war (Enloe 1990; Higate 2002).

On the other hand, to understand the national and transnational policy context also involves considering the relevance of 'the social problem of men' within organisational and governmental policy formation, in national, regional and indeed EU institutions. It is thus necessary to analyse and change the place of men within the gender structure of governmental, transgovernmental and other policy-making organisations. This includes the question of the relative lack of attention to men in power, including men in the EU.

The social problem of men also relates closely to existing EU social agendas, including EU policies on equality, gender equality, social exclusion, and racism. There is thus a need to develop policy options on men, including 'best practices' and policies on men.

Addressing policy around men and masculinities is an important and urgent matter. There are indeed risks and dangers in non-action, for example, in the intersection of various 'new' and 'old' masculinities, nationalisms, racisms and xenophobias. There are also key issues around the changing policy context in Europe. These include the relation of the EU to eastward expansion, including the specific conditions of application and accession; questions of migration, especially of young men, and their implications for women and men, in countries of both emigration and immigration; trafficking in women, children and men, especially the actions of men as the consumers within the EU member countries. The 'social problem' of men is thus of central and urgent interest to the EU and the applicant countries.

There are also many other transnational organisations and groupings, for example, the Council of Europe, the UN and UNESCO which have come to recognise the importance of the place of men in the movement towards gender equality. The UN held a Beijing+5 Special Event on Men and Gender Equality in New York, June 2000 (http://www.undp.org/gender/programmes/men/men_ge.html#Beijing + 5 Special);

the first EU Conference on 'Men and Gender Equality' was held at Örebro in Sweden March 2001. Further governmental and transgovernmental interest seems likely to develop.

2. Research on Men's Practices (Workpackage 1)

2.1. Comparative and Methodological Issues

The Thematic Network aims to facilitate greater understanding of changing social processes of gender relations and gender construction, particularly in relation to men and men's practices. Such research on men should not be understood and developed separately from research on women and gender. The research focus of the Network is the comparative study of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. To undertake this kind of exploration necessitates specific attention to the challenges and difficulties of comparative perspectives in European contexts. One of the most convincing reasons for adopting a comparative approach is the potential offered for deconstructing the assumptions which underpin social practices and policies in different countries. In turn, such a process facilitates a deconstruction of actual and potentially more effective policies and practices. There is also an awareness that practices and policies increasingly interact transnationally, at both European and global levels. In many cases where specific social issues have been studied transnationally, attempts have been made to apply general theoretical categorisations to particular issues. There has been an extensive critique of such models in terms of insufficient attention to gender relations. There is a need for open-mindedness in assumptions brought to bear in such analyses.

The critical study of men's practices has to a considerable extent escaped comparative scrutiny, although this has received important attention within broader transnational feminist surveys of gender relations. Yet the limited amount of work devoted specifically to men's practices transnationally suggests there is immense scope for extending critical analysis in that particular area. There are complex patterns of convergence and divergence between men's practices internationally awaiting further interrogation. Initial enquiries regarding the global transactions in processes of masculinity formation have opened up many possibilities for exploration and contestation (Connell 1991, 1995b, 1998; Hearn 1996a). These studies have begun to conceptualise broad transnational categories of men and masculinities, such as 'global business masculinity' and 'men of the world' (Connell 1998).

The Network's activity is conceptualised around the notion of 'men in Europe', rather than, say, the 'European man' or 'men'. This first perspective highlights the social construction, and historical mutability, of men, within the contexts of both individual European nations and the EU. This involves the examination of the relationship of men and masculinities to European nations and European institutions in a number of ways:

- national, societal and cultural variation amongst men and masculinities;
- the historical place and legacy of specific forms of men and masculinities in European nations and nation-building;
- within the EU and its transnational administrative and democratic institutions, as presently constituted – particularly the differential intersection of men's practices with European and, in the case of the EU, pan-European welfare configurations;
- implications for the new and potential member states of the EU;
- implications of both globalisation for Europe, and the Europeanisation of globalisation processes and debates;
- new, changing forms of gendered political power in Europe, such as, regionalised, federalised, decentralised powers, derived by subsidiarity; centralising tendencies, both economically and politically; and transnationalism.

In undertaking transnational comparisons, the problematic aspects of the enterprise have to be acknowledged. Major difficulties posed by differing meanings attached to apparently common concepts used by respondents and researchers are likely. This signals a broader problem: for diversity in meaning itself arises from complex variations in cultural context at national and sub-national levels - cultural differences which permeate all aspects of the research process. Practical responses to such dilemmas can be several. On the one hand, it is perhaps possible to become over-concerned about the issue of variable meaning: a level of acceptance regarding such diversity may be one valid response (for example, Munday 1996). Another response is for researchers to carefully check with each another the assumptions which each brings to the research process. The impact of cultural contexts on the process and content of research are central in the Network's work, as exemplified in the different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases and assumptions in the national contexts and national reports. In addition, the impacts and interaction of different cultural contexts is of major significance for the internal cooperation and process of the Network itself. This has many implications, not least we see these national reports as work in progress. It also means bringing the understandings upon which the national reports are based closer together over time, whilst maintaining the differences in national concerns.

The range of nations in the Network presents good opportunities for comparative study:

- The 'testing' general welfare regime typologies in relation to men's practices, as the Network includes representatives of different major welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1996).
- These and other considerations also have to be framed within developing notions of what 'being European' constitutes. This has salience in relation to how some influential sectors of society within Poland and the Russian Federation have recently evinced a greater desire to be considered European in certain ways including their relationship with the EU. The issues of social marginalisation consequent upon development of an alleged 'Fortress Europe' have relevance to the lived experience of many men, who are excluded and/or those actively involved in exclusion.
- They allow exploration on the extent of differential social patterns and welfare responses between countries often grouped together on grounds of alleged historical, social and/or cultural proximity, such as, Norway and Finland; Ireland and the UK.
- Inclusion of countries from within Eastern Europe allows exploration of how recent massive economic, social and cultural changes have impacted upon attitudes and practices relating to men. These matters need to be taken into account in the massive and likely future growth in cultural, social, political and economic transactions between Eastern Europe and EU members, both collectively and individually.

These matters provide the broad context of the national reports. In some cases, notably Estonia's, this comparative context is explicit. The contextual issue has also been addressed through both longer (Finland) and shorter (Norway, Germany) timescale historical reviews (Kolga 2000; Hearn and Lattu 2000; Holter and Olsvik 2000; Müller 2000). In all cases existing academic knowledge of members has

provided the base for the reports. This has been supplemented in some cases by extensive literature reviews, for example, the analysis of electronically accessible published literature on various aspects of masculinity available from the National Library in Warsaw, Poland, and by contacts with key researchers in the theme areas (Finland).

2.2. The General State of Research

It is clearly difficult to summarise the state of research on men in the 10 countries, even though the Network is at this stage focusing on only four main themes. There are of course broad patterns, but it should be strongly emphasised that the social and cultural contexts in which these national reports are written are very varied indeed. The national and local contexts need to be understood to make sense of the different orientations of the national reports. Each operates in different political and academic traditions in studying men, as well as distinct historical conjunctions for the lives of men. In some cases these social changes are profound, for example, the German unification process, post-socialist transition in Estonia, Latvia, Poland and the Russian Federation (Chernova 2000; Kolga 2000; Müller 2000; Novikova 2000; Oleksy 2000) and in Ireland rapid social changes from a predominantly rural society through a booming economy (Ferguson 2000), as well as the nearby political conflicts, challenges and changes in Northern Ireland. Somewhat similarly since the 1950s Finland has gone through a shift when people moved from the countryside to the suburbs in search of work. This has been reflected in 'lifestyle studies' and 'misery studies' of working class and structural change (Kortteinen 1982; Alasuutari and Siltari 1983; Sulkunen et al. 1985). These address men and patriarchal structures and changes in lifestyle in some ways, though they do not usually identify as research on men.

The state of studies on men in the 10 national contexts varies in terms of the volume and detail of research, the ways in which research has been framed, as well as substantive differences in men's societal position and social practices. The framing of research refers to the extent to which research on men has been conducted directly and in an explicitly gendered way, the relation of these studies to feminist scholarship, Women's Studies and Gender Research more generally, and the extent to which research on men is focused on and presents 'voices' of men or those affected by men. Other differences include different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases, assumptions and decisions.

In all the countries reviewed the state of research on men is uneven and far from well developed. In most countries research on men is still relatively new and in the process of uneven development. The extent of national research resources seems to be a factor affecting the extent of research on men. In some countries, especially in Germany, Norway, the UK, but also to an extent elsewhere, it can be said that there is now some form of relatively established tradition of research on men that can be identified, albeit of different orientations. In most countries, though there may not be a very large body of focused research on men, there is still a considerable amount of analysis of men that is possible. In some countries, in particular Estonia, Latvia and the Russian Federation, there is comparatively little focused research on men.

In many countries the situation is made complex by a difference between the amount of research that is relevant to the analysis of men, and the extent to which that

research is specifically focused on men. For example, in Finland and Italy there is a considerable amount of relevant research but most of it has not been constructed specifically in terms of a tradition of focused, gendered explicit research on men. For example, one might see something of a contrast between Norway and Finland, even though they share some features of broadly similar social democratic and relatively gender-egalitarian systems, or between the UK and Ireland, even though they share some geographical, historical, social and linguistic features. We see this way of understanding variations between and within countries as more accurate than any crude typology of nations.

While overall relatively many studies have been conducted on some research topics, there is much variation in the relation of research on men with feminist research. Research on men can also be contextualised in relation to the timing and extent of development of the women's movement, and the extent of identification of 'men' as a public political issue, for example as objects and/or subjects of change. This may be clearest in the UK, where feminist and pro-feminist research has been influential in producing what is described as a large amount of studies (Pringle 2000). In Norway there is a growth of equal status policy development that is not necessarily directly feminist-related (Holter and Olsvik 2000). In Germany, indeed in most countries, both non-feminist and feminist traditions, or at least influences, can be seen (Müller 2000). Parts of the newly emerging studies on men refer in a distorting way to feminist research, with sometimes overt, sometimes more subtle contempt for their results and theses - a challenge that also had to be dealt with. While in most countries there is evidence of the importance and evidence of the positive, if sometimes indirect, impact of feminist scholarship on research on men, there is also a frequent neglect of feminist research in much of that research.

It should also be emphasised that there are very different and sometimes antagonistic approaches within the same country, for example, between non-gendered, non-feminist or even anti-feminist approaches and gendered and feminist approaches. These differences sometimes connect with different research topics and themes, for example, research on men's violences may, understandably, be more critical towards men, while research on men's health may be more sympathetic and less critical. They to some extent represent and reflect disciplinary and indeed methodological differences in the analysis of men, which in turn sometimes are differentially influential in different research areas. The emphasis on different areas varies between the countries. The large amount of existing material is often scattered within a wide variety of different traditions and disciplinary locations.

2.3. General Discussion on the Reports, including the 4 Thematic Areas

2.3.1. Home and Work. Recurring themes include men's occupational, working and wage advantages over women, gender segregation at work, many men's close associations with paid work, men in nontraditional occupations. There has been a general lack of attention to men as managers, policy-makers, owners and other power holders. In many countries there are twin problems of the unemployment of some or many men in certain social categories, and yet work overload and long working hours for other men. These can especially be a problem for young men and young fathers; they can affect both working class and middle class men as for example during economic recession. In working life, work organisations are becoming more time-hungry and less secure and predictable. In a number of studies, time utilisation

emerges as a fundamental issue of creating difference in everyday negotiations between men and women (Metz-Goeckel and Mueller 1986; Busch et al. 1988; Hoepflinger et al. 1991; Notz 1991; Jurczyk and Rerrich 1993; Niemi et al. 1991; Tarkowska 1992). Increasing concerns about men and time-use have been reported in Estonia, Ireland, Norway, Germany and elsewhere (McKeown, Ferguson and Rooney 1998; Anttila and Ylöstalo 1999). Also in Italy research is highlighting the importance of quality of time for men in their family relations (Ventimiglia and Pitch 2000). In some cases, there is also the problem of a high rate of change in work and working place, for example with high amounts of layoffs. This has been very significant in the Baltic, Central and East European countries, but also in the UK and elsewhere. In Poland men aged 55-59 have been most affected by unemployment (Borowicz and Lapinska-Tyszka 1993).

Another recurring theme is men's benefit from avoidance of domestic responsibilities, and the absence of fathers. In some cases this tradition of men's avoidance of childcare and domestic responsibilities is very recent indeed and still continues for the majority of men. In some cases it is being reinforced through new family ideologies within transformation processes, as in Latvia (Novikova 2000). In many countries there is a general continuation of traditional 'solutions' in domestic arrangements, but growing recognition of the micro-politics of fatherhood, domestic responsibilities, and home-work reconciliation at least for some men. In many countries there are also counter and conflictual tendencies. On the one hand, there is an increasing emphasis on home, caring, relations. This may be connected to "family values", a political right wing or a gender equal status perspective. In Ireland a notable trend is the growth in the number of women, especially married women, working outside the home (Kiely 1996). By 1996, fathers were the sole breadwinners in only half of all families with dependent children in Ireland. On the other hand, there is a more demanding, turbulent and shifting working life. Through this men may be more absent. In Norway and elsewhere due to a post-parental-divorce system where most fathers lose contact with their children, higher work pressure and more work mobility, "father absence" has probably become more widespread in real terms over the last ten years, as has the "general absence of men" in children's environment, even if more positive trends can be seen (Holter and Olsvik 2000).

It is not surprising if there may be a degree of cultural uncertainty on men's place in the home and as fathers and a growing recognition of ambivalence, even when there is a strong familism. There is also in some countries, such as Finland, a growing interest in the reconciliation of work and home; and growing variety of ways of approaching this (Lammi-Taskula 2000; see also Oakley and Rigby 1998; Pringle 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Given the considerable difference that still exists between men's and women's earnings, it could be argued that it is not 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 do not need to be wholehearted advocates of traditional domestic ideology to opt for the traditional solution. On the other hand, this labour market difference is not in itself enough to explain the persistence of such patterns. Other factors include the impact of power relations between women and men in marriage and similar couple relationships.

Evidence from Nordic countries shows that parental leave which is left to negotiations between men and women, become mostly taken up by women although most people,

men especially, say they want a more balanced situation (Lammi-Taskula 1998; Holter and Olsvik 2000). For example, in Sweden it is true that more men there take parental leave than in most other European countries. However, women still take the overwhelming majority of such leave. Indeed one reason why a “daddy’s month” of parental leave was introduced was because men’s take-up was so slow (Bergman and Hobson, 2001). In 2002, a second “daddy’s month” was introduced because, although take-up had improved a little, it was still a relatively small increase. The experience in some other Nordic countries, for example, Norway, has been somewhat more positive. Nevertheless, if massive social policy inputs, such as the Swedish government has committed to increasing men’s actual parental leave, can result in such modest results, then that suggests we need to reconsider very carefully whether top-down social policy initiatives are of themselves often sufficient for the changing of men’s behaviours.

Added salience is given to this observation from the recent research by Bekkengen (2002) which suggests that the standard explanation for this low take-up (i.e. that the rigidities of the labour market allegedly prevent many men from taking as much parental leave as they want to take) have to be seriously questioned as sufficient in themselves. Her important qualitative study brings to light additional and crucial factors which quantitative studies have not been able to locate. In particular, Bekkengen’s study indicates that the most crucial factor is often the power relationship between men and women in relationships: specifically, the fact that the men in her study generally possessed much greater power to choose the extent of their involvement than did their female partners.

However, this pattern of women’s tendency to leave the labour force for childrearing, for varying amounts of time, has to be understood in terms of the diverse patterns across Europe. These patterns range from women’s employment patterns being similar to men’s to exit at the birth of a first child at the other. Similarly, there are wide variations in the extent to which women with children and women without children have similar full-time employment patterns. These two rates are rather close for Finland and very far apart for the UK, where the difference is nearly 30% (Bertoud and Iacovou, n.d., Chart 12).

Men and indeed fathers are clearly not an homogeneous group. Men’s unemployment can have clear and diverse effects on men’s life in families. In Poland, for example, in research on unemployed men under 36 of age, after they lost their jobs, 40 % reported the loss of ‘family leadership’ to their working wives (Pielkova 1997). Finnish research suggests some unemployed men may have closer ties with children (Tigerstedt 1994). Traditional men may not see any need to engage in balancing home and work, and may show more propensity and support for violence. ‘Money’ may be used to legitimate gender-specific divisions of responsibilities within families when traditional patriarchal models have to be justified; when the opposite is the case, the argument may not apply. Italian researches have highlighted the complexity of family dynamics with more or less traditional fatherhood (Ventimiglia and Pitch 2000).

Among men there has long been a contradiction between the ideas they profess and the way they actually live. 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. The

paradoxical ways in which gender conflicts on the distribution of housework may be negotiated may be illustrated from German research: 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 1990s 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 (Frerichs and 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. Relatively little research has been carried out on men as carers. For example, a huge gap in knowledge exists with respect to the sexual division of domestic labour and parenting in Ireland and most other countries. Irish fathers' accounts of their participation in childcare and domestic life remain to be documented. Little is known about why a third of Irish fathers work 50 hours a week or more: whether this reflects the adoption of traditional definitions of masculinity, or because men feel required to earn to meet the family's financial obligations and spend time away from home and children reluctantly. Further exploration of the complex dynamics surrounding negotiations between women and men in relationships regarding "housework", parenting and emotional work, would be welcome. It would be interesting to see how and when, if ever, women and men form coalitions through a politics of reconciliation, and how gender constellations at "work" and in the "private" sphere influence each other. It would be important to research further couples who experience difficult labour market conditions, so, for instance, making the female partner the main earner in the long term or forcing them to accept working times that do not allow traditional housework distribution.

Most research focuses on white heterosexual partners. There is a need for research on the intersections of men, the "home" and the "labour market" in its diverse configurations, including minority ethnic families and gay partnerships. In seeking to make sense of the albeit limited increases in parental activity by some men in the home, there is the question of to what extent do these changes represent real social "progress" or sometimes re-creations of patriarchal dominance in relatively novel forms. There is a need for much greater consideration of fatherhood in terms of cultural, sexual and other forms of diversity, and more inclusion of the "voices" of women and children in studies of fatherhood.

2.3.2. Social Exclusion. This has proved to be the most difficult area to pre-define, but in some ways one of the most interesting. Social exclusion often figures in the research literature in different ways, such as, unemployment, ethnicity, homosexuality. National reports have approached this area differently, as follows:

- *Estonia – homelessness, social isolation, poor education, poverty.*
- *Finland – unemployment, homelessness & alcohol, links between social exclusion and health, criminal subculture, racing & car subculture, youth subculture, gay men, HIV/AIDS, ethnicity, ethnic minorities.*
- *Germany – unemployment of youth, juvenile delinquency, loosening connections in old age, migrants, homosexuality.*
- *Ireland – unemployed, prisoners, excluded fathers (after divorce and unmarried fathers).*
- *Latvia – homosexuality.*
- *Norway – Sámi, new forms of marginalisation due to globalisation which leads*

to exclusion from labour market, men in nontraditional occupations.

- *Poland – homosexuality.*
- *UK – intersection of gender, sexuality and cultural identities; older men.*

The social exclusion of certain men links with unemployment of certain categories of men (such as less educated, rural, ethnic minority, young, older), men's isolation within and separation from families, and associated social and health problems. These are clear issues throughout all countries. They are especially important in the Baltic, Central and East European countries with post-socialist transformations of work and welfare with dire consequences for many men, as emphasised in the Estonian and Latvian reports. Even in Nordic countries, which are relatively egalitarian and have a relatively good social security system, new forms of problems have emerged. In Finland socially excluded men have been extensively studied through men's 'misery' and auto/biographical approaches, rather than through gendered studies of men (Kortteinen 1982; Sulkunen et al. 1985). On the whole, Norwegian men have experienced relatively little unemployment, alcoholism and migration in recent years (Holter and Olsvik 2000). However, in the last decade, new forms of marginalisation have developed, with shifts from traditional industry to more postindustrialised society. Globalising processes may create new forms of work and marginalisation. Some men find it difficult to accommodate to these changes in the labour market and changed family structure. Instead of going into the care sector or getting more education, some young men become marginalised from work and family life. Working class men are considered the most vulnerable. There is a lack of attention to men engaged in creating and reproducing social exclusion, for example, around racism.

There is a lack of studies showing the variety of structures and processes that may lead to the marginalisation of men as groups or individuals, and what differences and similarities there are to women. For instance, does ethnicity in some respects override gender? In Italy, Estonia and most other countries social exclusion is generally under-researched. For example, in Estonia the most visible example of social exclusion is people looking for something, usually bottles, in trash containers. Nobody knows how many 'container people' there are, but it is clear there are many, homeless, mainly non-Estonian, Russian speaking men, aged 30–50 years. More generally, the conceptual separation of "the social problems which some men create" from "the social problems which some men experience" is often simplistic and there is a need to study the intersections more carefully. There is also a lack of attention to men engaged in creating and reproducing social exclusion, such as around racism.

2.3.3. Violences. The recurring theme here is the widespread nature of the problem of men's violence to women, children and other men, and in particular the growing public awareness of men's violence against women (Ferguson 2000; Hearn and Lattu 2000; Holter and Olsvik 2000; Müller 2000; Pringle 2000). Men are overrepresented among those who use violence, especially heavy violence i.e. This violence is also age-related. The life course variation in violence with a more violence-prone youth phase has been connected to increasing exposure to commercial violence and to other social phenomena (Holter and Olsvik 2000), but these connections have not been well mapped.

Violence against women by known men is becoming recognised as a major social problem in most of the countries. The range of abusive behaviours perpetrated on victims include direct physical violence, isolation and control of movements, and abuse through the control of money. There has been a large amount of feminist research on women's experiences of violence from men, and the policy and practical consequences of that violence, including that by state and welfare agencies, as well as some national representative surveys of women's experiences of violence, as in Finland (Heiskanen and Piispa 1998). There has for some years been a considerable research literature on prison and clinical populations of violent men. There is now the recent development of some research in the UK and elsewhere on the accounts and understandings of such violence to women by men living in the community, men's engagement with criminal justice and welfare agencies, and the evaluation of men's programmes intervening with such men (Pringle 1995; Brandes and Bullinger 1996; Hearn 1998b; Lempert and Oelemann 1998). The gendered study of men's violence to women is thus a growing focus of funded research, as is professional intervention.

Child abuse, including physical abuse, sexual abuse and child neglect, is now also being recognised as a prominent social problem in many countries. Both the gendered nature of these problems and an appreciation of how service responses are themselves gendered are beginning to receive more critical attention, both in terms of perpetrators and victims/survivors. In Ireland a series of clerical scandals particularly involving sexual 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. This kind of focus has resulted in a playing down the significance of violences by hegemonic men and a reluctance to problematise active married heterosexual masculinity and bring into question gender and age relations within the Irish family (Ferguson 1995).

There is an amazing lack of gender awareness in studies that understand themselves as dealing with "general" issues around violence, 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. Masculinity seems to be recognised as playing a role when violence against women is the explicit topic. In many countries relatively little academic literature exists on elder abuse and on violence against men. Studies on the reasons for non-violent behaviour in men are lacking completely. There is a lack of studies on connections between violence between men and men's violence against women.

Other key research questions round violences that need more attention concern: (a) how men's violent gendered practices intersect with other oppressive power relations around sexuality, cultural difference/ethnicity, age, disability and class, and the implications of such analyses for challenging those practices and assisting those abused; (b) how different forms of men's violences interconnect; (c) how programs against men's violences can be developed, particularly research into the promotion of successful initiatives at school, community and societal levels; (d) men's sexual violences to adult men; (e) men's violences to lesbians and gay men; (f) men's violences to ethnic minorities, migrants, people of color, and older people.

In Germany, at the beginning of this project there was no serious empirical data on gendered violence. Since 2002, the first internationally comparable German survey on all forms of violence against women is being conducted (www.uni-bielefeld/iff.de),

which will also cover migrant populations, asylum seekers, prostitutes, and women in jail; and a first pilot study on violence against men has started as well (www.dissens.de).

There has been a strong concern with the intersection of sexuality and violence in for example Italy (Ventimiglia 1987; Castelli 1990) and the UK, and this is likely to be an area of growing concern elsewhere. There is some research on men's sexual abuse of children but this is still an underdeveloped research focus in most countries. In some countries sexual abuse cases remain largely hidden, as is men's sexual violence to men. There has also been some highlighting of those men who have received violence from women. Men's violences to ethnic minorities, migrants, people of colour, gay men and older people are being highlighted more, but still very unexplored.

2.3.4. Health. The major recurring theme here is men's relatively low life expectancy, poor health, accidents, suicide, morbidity. Some studies see traditional masculinity as hazardous to health. In some countries, such as Estonia, this is argued to be the main social problem of men (Kolga 2000). Men also constitute the majority of drug abusers and far greater consumers of alcohol than women, though the gap may be decreasing among young people. Yet surprisingly there has been relatively little academic work on men's health from a gendered perspective in many countries.

Men suffer and die more and at a younger age from cardiovascular diseases, cancer, respiratory diseases, accidents and violence than women. Socio-economic factors, qualifications, social status, life style, diet, smoking and drinking, hereditary factors, as well as occupational hazards, can all be important for morbidity and mortality. Gender differences in health arise from how certain work done by men are hazardous occupations. Evidence suggests that generally men neglect their health and that for some men at least their 'masculinity' is characterised by risk taking, especially for younger men (in terms of smoking, alcohol and drug taking, unsafe sexual practices, road accidents, lack of awareness of risk), an ignorance of the men's bodies, and a reluctance to seek medical intervention for suspected health problems. In this context it is interesting that Estonian research finds that men are over-optimistic regarding their own health (Kolga 2000). Men's suicide, especially young men's, is high in the Baltic countries, Finland, Poland, Russia. In these countries there is also a high difference in life expectancy between men and women. In Ireland and Norway, men perform suicide about 3 times as often as women; in Poland the ratio is over 5:1 (Human Development Report 2000). In several countries the suicide level has been related to economic downturns. Studies on men and sport, and the body are discussed in some reports and are likely to be a growing area of research.

2.4. General Conclusions

2.4.1. There are strong interconnections between the four focus areas – especially between unemployment, social exclusion and ill health. Patterns of men's violence interconnect with these issues to some extent but also cut across these social divisions.

2.4.2. There are both clear similarities between the ten nations and clear differences, in terms of the extent of egalitarianism, in relation to gender and more generally; the form of rapid economic growth or downturn; the experience of post-socialist transformation; the development of a strong women's movement and gender politics.

2.4.3. There is a neglect of attention to men in powerful positions and to analyses of men's broad relations to power, both in themselves and as contexts to the four areas.

2.4.4. There are also differences between men in the same country, for example, West German men tend to be more traditional than the East Germans, and also within one man or groups of men.

3. Statistical Information on Men's Practices (Workpackage 2)

3.1. Comparative and Methodological Issues

3.1.1. General Discussion

The Network aims to facilitate greater understanding of changing social processes of gender relations and gender construction, particularly in relation to men and men's practices. Such research and statistical data gathering on men should not be understood and developed separately from research on women and gender. The research focus of the Network is the comparative study of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. To undertake this kind of exploration necessitates specific attention to the challenges and difficulties of comparative perspectives in European contexts. One of the most convincing reasons for adopting a comparative approach is the potential offered for deconstructing the assumptions which underpin social practices and policies in different countries. Such a process facilitates a deconstruction of actual and potentially more effective policies and practices. This includes policies and practices on statistical information collection and analysis, most of which is itself a form of governmental activity. There is also an awareness that practices and policies increasingly interact transnationally, at both European and global levels. In many cases where specific social issues have been studied transnationally, attempts have been made to apply general theoretical and statistical categorisations to particular issues. There has been an extensive critique of such models in terms of insufficient attention to gender relations. There is a need for greater attention to conscious gendering in and of assumptions that are brought to bear in such analyses.

The critical study of men's practices has to a considerable extent escaped comparative scrutiny, although this has received important attention within broader transnational feminist surveys of gender relations (for instance, Dominelli 1991; Rai et al. 1992). Yet the limited amount of work devoted specifically to men's practices transnationally suggests there is immense scope for extending critical analysis in that particular area. There are complex patterns of convergence and divergence between men's practices internationally awaiting further interrogation, including by statistical methods of interrogation.

The Network's activity is conceptualised around the notion of 'men in Europe', rather than, say, the 'European man' or 'European men'. This perspective highlights the social construction, and historical mutability, of men, within the contexts of both individual European nations and the EU. This involves the examination of the relationship of men and masculinities to European nations and European institutions in a number of ways:

- national, societal and cultural variation amongst men and masculinities;
- the historical place and legacy of specific forms of men and masculinities in European nations and nation-building;
- within the EU and its transnational administrative and democratic institutions, as presently constituted – particularly the differential intersection of men's practices with European and, in the case of the EU, pan-European welfare configurations;
- implications for the new and potential member states of the EU;
- implications of both globalisation for Europe, and the Europeanisation of globalisation processes and debates;

- new, changing forms of gendered political power in Europe, such as, regionalised, federalised, decentralised powers, derived by subsidiarity; centralising tendencies, both economically and politically; and transnationalism.

All of these broad relationships and far-reaching developments have implications for both the collection of gendered statistics, and the interpretation of statistical sources, whether gendered or not. In undertaking transnational comparisons, the problematic aspects of the enterprise, including in statistical data collection and analysis, have to be acknowledged. Major difficulties posed by differing meanings attached to apparently common concepts and statistical categorisations used by respondents and researchers are likely. This signals a broader problem: for diversity in meaning itself arises from complex variations in cultural context at national and sub-national levels - cultural differences which permeate all aspects of the research process, including the collection and analysis of statistical data. Practical responses to such dilemmas can be several. On the one hand, it is perhaps possible to become over-concerned about the issue of variable meaning: a level of acceptance regarding such diversity may be one valid response. Another response is for researchers to carefully check with each another the assumptions brought to the research and statistical data collection processes. The impact of cultural contexts on the process and content of research and statistics are central in the Network's work, as seen in the different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases and assumptions in the national contexts and national reports. In addition, the impacts and interaction of different cultural contexts are of major significance for the internal cooperation and process of the Network itself. This has many implications, not least we see these national reports as work in progress. It also means bringing understandings of statistical and other data upon which the national reports are based closer together over time, whilst maintaining the differences in national concerns.

The range of nations in the Network presents good opportunities for comparative study:

- The 'testing' general welfare regime typologies in relation to men's practices, as the Network includes representatives of different major welfare regimes.
- These and other considerations also have to be framed within developing notions of what 'being European' constitutes. This has salience in relation to how some influential sectors of society within Poland and the Russian Federation have recently evinced a greater desire to be considered European in certain ways including their relationship with the EU. The issues of social marginalisation consequent upon development of an alleged 'Fortress Europe' have relevance to the lived experience of many men, who are excluded and/or those actively involved in exclusion.
- They allow exploration on the extent of differential social patterns and welfare responses between countries often grouped together on grounds of alleged historical, social and/or cultural proximity, such as, Norway and Finland; Ireland and the UK.
- Inclusion of countries from within Eastern Europe allows exploration of how recent massive economic, social and cultural changes have impacted upon attitudes and practices relating to men. These matters need to be taken into account in the massive and likely future growth in cultural, social, political and economic transactions between Eastern Europe and EU members, both collectively and individually.

These matters provide the broad context of the national reports in both Workpackages 1 and 2. In Workpackage 1 the extent to which this was addressed in national reports was variable. In some cases, notably Estonia's, this comparative context was explicit. The contextual issue has also been addressed in Workpackage 1 through both longer (Finland) and shorter (Norway, Germany) timescale historical reviews. In this workpackage there is a specific comparative element in the Estonia report comparing gendered rates of occupational mobility between Poland, Russian Federation and Estonia, and employment structure, gender wage gap, and homicide rates in several European countries. We include below baseline comparative statistical information for analysis, by assembling selected statistical measures for the ten Network countries.

3.1.2. Baseline Comparative Statistical Measures for the Ten Nations

Baseline measures have been gathered in the six tables attached (Appendix 5A), along with a supplementary table on employment patterns for EU countries (Appendix 5B). These are assembled to give a basic picture of men's and women's situation in the ten countries. However, in many areas there still are not gender-disaggregated statistics available. The main statistical sources used here are the *Human Development Report 2000*, the Research and Development Statistics of British Home Office (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/index.htm>) and *The Penguin Atlas of Human Sexual Behavior* (Mackay 2000). Other cross-national statistical sources consulted include WHO (<http://www.who.org>) and Eurostat (<http://www.europa.org/>). However, in many areas gender-disaggregated statistics are still not available. The baseline measures assembled were:

- i. demographic measures: population size, life expectancy. In all the nations women live longer than men, with mean difference of 8.1 years.
- ii. working life and labour market: economic structure, economic activity, unemployment, and decision-making. Rapid changes have occurred in societal structure, especially in Estonia and Russian Federation, but also Germany and Ireland. In 1993-1998 the primary sector has diminished and the tertiary sector has grown. Male domination of public sphere becomes obvious both in male/female ratios of economic activity rate and Gross Domestic Product. Unemployment seems to apply relatively equally to men and women, though these figures may not be very reliable due to different definitions used. Many countries have suffered from severe unemployment during the recessions of the 1980's and 1990's leading to social exclusion of certain groups. Men dominate decision-making and are in a large majority in parliaments, except in Nordic countries.
- iii. social exclusion: poverty, imprisonment, ethnicity.
- iv. violence: homicide and suicide. In all countries, men commit suicide more than women. Many national reports mention that homicide and violence is perpetrated far more often by men than women. Governmental statistics on violence are usually collected by police, courts and victimisation surveys, so giving different pictures of levels of men's violence.

In the appendix 5A Table 1 describes the ten nations through some demographic measures. Life expectancy figures report on women's longer life than men, with mean difference for the ten nations being 8.1 years. Tables 2-4 address working life and

labour market. Table 2 shows changes in societal structure, especially in Estonia and Russian Federation, but also Germany and Ireland. Between 1993 and 1998 the primary sector has diminished and the tertiary sector has grown. Male domination of public sphere becomes obvious both in male/female ratios of economic activity rate and Gross Domestic Product. Unemployment seems to apply equally both men and women, though these figures may not be very reliable due to different definitions of unemployment (Table 3). Many countries have also suffered from severe unemployment during the recessions of the 1980's and 1990's which might have led to social exclusion of certain groups. Men dominate also decision-making and are in a large majority in national parliaments, except in Nordic countries (Table 4).

In addition to this broad picture, it is important to consider that men are found far more in managerial positions and relatively less in professional positions. This is revealed, for example, in the figures in the last two columns of Table 5B (Crouch, 1999). The figures in Table 5B suggest two main configurations across EU countries. First, women are generally present in lower proportions (of total active women) than men (of total active men) in administrative and managerial positions, and in more equal proportions in professional and technical positions. This is the broad picture for Belgium, France (at least in 1960), Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the UK. In Sweden and Finland the proportion of women in professional and technical positions exceeds that of men.

The second configuration is where women are lower, as a proportion of total active women, in professional and technical positions, and more equal with respect to the proportion of total active men, in administrative and managerial positions. This is the case for Austria, Denmark, Greece and Spain (at least for 1995). Italy may also be placed here, with the qualification that it has a very small professional and technical sector (at least according to the classifications used).

Social exclusion is perhaps most difficult to describe statistically, as it depends largely on the definition. In these tables, poverty, imprisonment and ethnicity figures have been chosen to describe some forms of marginalisation, even though many other forms are mentioned in country reports (Table 5). Table 6 includes homicide and suicide rates. In all countries, men commit suicide more than women. Many national reports also mention that homicide and violence is perpetrated far more often by men than women. Statistics on violence are usually collected by police, courts and victimisation surveys. These all might give different pictures of levels of violence.

3.2. The General State of Statistical Information

It is difficult to summarise the state of statistical information on men in the ten countries, even though the Network is at this stage focusing on only four main themes. The state of studies on men in the ten national contexts varies in terms of the volume and detail of statistical information, the ways in which this has been framed, as well as substantive differences in men's societal position and social practices. To simplify the task, we address the following questions: information sources; some broad substantive patterns; and some interconnections of sources and patterns.

First, we make some remarks on sources. As in Workpackage 1, existing academic knowledge of members has provided the base for the reports. This has been supplemented in some cases by extensive statistical reviews of the available statistical

information from the national statistical offices. For example, in Estonia this is the Statistical Office of Estonia; in Finland this is Statistics Finland; in Poland it is the Chief Statistical Office; in the UK this is the Office for National Statistics (ONS), and so on. In some cases much of this material is available electronically, through websites, diskettes and/or CD-ROMs; in others extensive library work and examination of printed paper reports have been necessary; and in some cases there have been further contacts with key governmental statisticians and other researchers in the theme areas (Finland). In many cases key statistical information is also produced by individual governmental ministries or other national bodies.

In some cases, some national statistics are produced in both national languages and English. In some cases, sources arising from international cooperation are important, for example, in Estonia, the report issued by Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science (Norway) in cooperation with Ministry of Social Affairs of Estonia, Statistical Office of Estonia and University of Tartu. This collaborative survey, NORBALT, has been carried in 1994 and 1999 by these institutions on living conditions in the Baltic states and the two Russian regions of St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad. Many of social indicators used are the same as those used in other Nordic and European surveys.

The amount and detail of statistical information stems from the priority that is given to different policy areas, problem definitions and extent of problematisation within governmental systems. This is especially important in the fields of labour market and employment statistics, statistics on health and illness, and statistics on violence, all of which are generally relatively well developed. Sources for this last set of statistics are often compiled through police and criminal justice institutions in terms of crime and criminal actions, alleged or proven, rather than in terms of the perpetration or experience of violence. There is frequently a lack of statistical information on social exclusion, such as ethnic or sexual minorities. The emphasis on different areas varies between the countries. The large amount of existing material is often scattered within a wide variety of statistical locations.

The time framework of the data presented in the national reports generally focuses on the 1990s. In some cases, for reasons of space, only the latest statistical sources are used. Information is also provided on the 1980s in some cases in order to compare the situation. This is especially important in the transitional nations.

In Workpackage 1 we discussed how in some countries, especially in Germany, Norway, the UK, but also to an extent elsewhere, it can be said that there is now some form of relatively established tradition of research on men that can be identified, albeit of different orientations. We also addressed variations in the framing of research, that is, the extent to which research on men has been conducted directly and in an explicitly gendered way, the relation of these studies to feminist scholarship, Women's Studies and Gender Research more generally, and the extent to which research on men is focused on and presents 'voices' of men or those affected by men. There are also very different and sometimes antagonistic approaches to research within the same country, for example, between non-gendered, non-feminist or even anti-feminist approaches and gendered and feminist approaches. Other differences stemmed from different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases, assumptions and decisions. Addressing these differences is part of the task of the Network.

These political and academic differences are less apparent in these national reports on statistical information. The extent of national statistical resources seems to be a factor affecting the extent of available statistics on men. In most countries, though there may not be a very large body of statistical information specifically focused on men, there is still a considerable amount of analysis of men that is possible. All countries have a system of national statistics though there are variations in their reliability. While the transitional countries of the former socialist bloc have been reorganising their statistical data collection, it would be wrong to over-generalise about them. For example, on the one hand, public statistics in Poland provide reliable, objective, professional and independent data derived from surveys conducted by the Chief Statistical Office and its subsidiaries. On the other, there have been strong critiques of recent Estonian census survey by demographers. Statistical calculations in future should be considered within this controversial context in future. Moreover, there is national variation in the extent to which statistics are gender-disaggregated. A relative lack of gendering of data continues in many statistical sources. Detailed statistical sources directed towards a gendered analysis of men and men's practices are relatively rare. There is little statistical information and analysis that is explicitly focused on men, variations amongst men, and the relationship of those patterns to qualitative research on men's practices and lives.

There are, however, very apparent differences in the substantive patterns reported through these national statistics. There are of course broad patterns, but it should be strongly emphasised that the social and cultural contexts in which these national reports are written are very varied indeed. The national and local contexts need to be understood to make sense of the different orientations of the national reports. In Workpackage 1 there was a strong emphasis on the different political and academic traditions that operated in studying men in the different national contexts, as well as distinct historical conjunctions for the lives of men. In some cases these social changes are profound, for example, the German unification process, post-socialist transition in Estonia, Latvia, Poland and the Russian Federation. In the last mentioned a "Masculinity Crisis" has been recognised since the 1970s (Uralis 1978). This has referred to low life expectancy compared with women, self-destructive practices, such as hard drinking and alcoholism. (As such it is distinct from the 'crisis of masculinity' that has been discussed in the US and elsewhere, usually as a more positive re-evaluation of the 'male sex role'). The problems of the Russian masculinity crisis continue (Chernova 2000). Other major changes include those in Ireland with rapid social changes from a predominantly rural society through a booming economy, as well as the nearby political conflicts, challenges and changes in Northern Ireland. Somewhat similarly since the 1950s Finland has gone through a shift when people moved from the countryside to the suburbs in search of work.

While the transitional countries of the former Soviet bloc have been reorganising their statistical data collection, it would be wrong to over-generalise about them. For example, on the one hand, public statistics in Poland provide reliable and independent data derived from surveys conducted by the Chief Statistical Office and its subsidiaries. On the other, there have been strong critiques of recent Estonian census survey by demographers (Kolga 2001a). Statistical calculations in future should be considered within this controversial context in future. Moreover, although after the breakup of the Soviet Union all republics were formally at same point of departure, it

is now obvious that they have developed in very different ways and are located in different socio-cultural spaces.

The form and development of statistical sources also intersect with the substantive form and nature of socio-economic change. This is perhaps clearest in some of the transitional nations, where changing governmental systems, including statistical data collection, are dealing with rapidly changing social and economic conditions. In 2000 Estonian population census produced very unexpected results. In all statistical yearbooks Estonia's population was forecast as 1 439 000 (as of 1 January 2000, calculated on the base of 1989 census data); however the figure, according to preliminary census data, was 1 376 743. The real decrease of population has been larger than expected or known before the census (Kolga 2001a).

A different situation is described in the UK report (Pringle et al. 2001a). Due to space limitations, this focuses largely, though not exclusively, on central government sources. Especially since the advent of the Labour Administration in 1997 these have become highly extensive on topics such as: poverty, unemployment, the labour market, crime (including violence to women), health, ethnicity – and often with a relatively strong gender focus. By contrast there is much less produced on areas of disadvantage such as disability, sexuality or crimes against children. This pattern largely reflects the government's policy agenda with a focus on: social exclusion defined by the government in rather narrow labour market terms; crime, with some areas highlighted more than others, for example, men's violence to women and other men now receiving considerably more attention in policy terms than men's violence to children. Thus in both these examples the form of statistical information is interrelated with the form of social, economic and indeed political change.

Finally, in this section, we note that many of the issues addressed have clear policy implications. While these will be focused on in the next workpackage, an example may be useful at this point. In discussing reproductive and sexual health, the Latvian national report highlights (Novikova 2001a) the following policy issues: a lack of co-ordination between the government, local government and non-governmental organisations working in reproductive and sexual health; the need to promote gender equality and men's participation in addressing reproductive health issues; insufficient and inadequate exchange of information between different organisations about statistics and research developments in the area of reproductive health; the absence of adequate gender equality and reproductive/sexual health education at schools.

3.3. General Discussion on the Reports, including the 4 Thematic Areas

3.3.1. Home and Work. There is a very large amount of statistical data on men's relations to home and at work. This area frequently constituted the major part of the national reports. There is also much more complexity in the variables and relations presented than for the other themes. This is reflected in the length of the summary below. On the other hand, much of the data continues the tradition of dealing with home and work separately, so reinforcing the 'public/private' division.

In terms of men 'at home', the general national systems of population and census statistics are clearly a useful starting point. These statistics need to be read in association with census and other statistical information on economic activity, employment and status. General demographic patterns include the higher mortality of

men relative to women, and thus the larger numbers of women in the older population. There are also a variety of statistics on patterns of family formation, childbearing, separation and divorce. Despite the growth of divorces, the traditional family - officially married or cohabiting, with children - is the largest type of family in Estonia. In Germany and elsewhere there is a trend toward smaller households. In Italy the process of decline of the marriage continues, even as cohabitations increase. This is also observable in Norway, where there has been a marked increase in cohabitation and, in that sense, decline in marriage. In the UK cohabitation has increased amongst young people. Similar changes in marriage patterns in Poland have meant increasing numbers of single, unmarried men (Oleksy 2001a). The other important trend that has been typical of practically all EU countries since the 1980's is the noticeable rise in the age at which people get married. Increasing emphasis on gender equality in society might lead to a decrease in the age gap in marriage. Over the last decades, the proportion of men marrying older women has increased in Norway. Studies on sexuality and other private life areas often show a twofold pattern – increasing gender equality, but often on traditionally masculine premises.

Housework is still mostly women's work, and this is clearly documented. There is much less statistical information on men's caring and associated activities at home, and on the interrelations of men's home and work, including the reconciliation of home and work life. For example, in Ireland government departments gather no data whatsoever on this and have been slow to commission research into this area. In many countries the option of a child-induced career disruption continues as the normal case for the mother and a special case for the father (Ferguson 2001a). There is a growing research and statistical literature on men's and women's differential take-up of various forms of state and occupational parental leave. This is an especially significant research area in Germany and Norway (Müller 2001a; Holter 2001a). In the latter, cash support reform for families with small children has created a new trend where "the mother cuts down on wage work while the father works as much, or more, than before. The number of fathers taking long parental leave has decreased."

Recurring themes in employment include men's occupational, working and wage gap over women, gender segregation at work, differences in patterns of working hours, many men's close associations with paid work. For example, Polish data show that more men worked full-time, in the private sector in particular, of all employees; part-time female employees dominate in both sectors. Another important variable is relation of women's salary to men's ones. The ratio of men's wages to women's have not changed greatly during recent years: there is still a gap of about 20-27%. There are also national differences in class structure and the extent of variation in salaries between men: in Estonia one man may earn 16-17 times more than another man. There has been a general lack of attention to men as managers, policy-makers, owners and other power holders. There are now some studies of this in Finland. The change of women entering into senior management has been slow and the proportion of female senior staff and upper management has very much remained stable during the first half of the 1990's; 21% in 1990 and 22% in 1995. However, recent research in Finland appears to indicate that the proportion of women in top management and on the boards of the largest corporations is about 10% (Hearn et al., 2002). The salary of managers depends strongly on gender, but less so in case of lower level occupations.

Many other major patterns of change are identified. In some countries, for example Ireland, there has been a notable increase in women's employment in recent years, with associated effects on men. The main breadwinning is no longer the monopoly of men. Structural changes in the economy have been especially significant in the transitional countries, where they have brought major change for women and men at home and work. In some cases, there is also the problem of a high rate of change in work and working place, with high amounts of layoffs. This has been very significant in the Baltic, Central and East European countries (Chernova 2001a), but also in the UK and elsewhere. In Norway, there has been a slight decline of non-standard employment forms over the last years. However, it is incorrect to consider all post-socialist countries in the same vein. Poland, Estonia and Russia are in the different points of development, which may account for different forms of the social problem of men in these countries, and different patterns of occupational mobility for women and men. In Poland men aged 55-59 have been most affected by unemployment (Oleksy 2001a). In some cases, notably Estonia and the Russian Federation, this has meant a decline in population, and the growth of the 'economically inactive' population and relatively high rate unemployment. In Estonia men, especially rural men, are the subjects of structural economic changes during last ten years which appeared in the diminishing of the primary sector and increasing the tertiary sector in economy.

There is a growing amount of statistical data on time. In Poland from the point of view of the mean time of the duration of the activity, men devoted to their jobs twice as much time as women on the average. They also used mass media more frequently. They spent nearly twice as much time on sports and leisure activities. Women devoted almost three times as much time to housework, slightly more time than men to studying, as well as to religious practices. In the context of the mean time of the performance of the activity, professionally active men devoted to work more time than women by 33 minutes every day on the average. The number of hours worked outside the home is a crucial determinant of the level of contact between parents and children. In Ireland men work an overall average of around 46 hours per week, with fathers tending to work slightly longer hours than non-fathers. A third of fathers (33%) work 50 hours per week or more compared to only a quarter of non-fathers (27%). Mothers, where they are employed, work an average of 31-32 hours per week outside the home, exactly 15 hours less than the number of hours worked outside the home by father. Non-mothers work longer hours in employment than mothers. It appears that fathers' work patterns are influenced by the employment status and earnings of their partners. Fathers whose partners are working outside the home spend less hours at work than fathers whose partners are not working. A further crucial variable is the time of the day or week when the work is done. A small proportion of fathers in Ireland do shift work, nearly half do evening work, a quarter do night work, two thirds Saturday work and two fifths Sunday work. Fathers are much more likely to work un-social hours than mothers.

In Ireland the proportion of mothers in full-time employment is, however, much lower than for fathers, with much higher proportions of women doing part-time work. Still fathers were the exclusive breadwinners in only half of all families with dependent children. In all countries fathers are more employed than non-fathers. In Norway fathers with young children are "the most stable labour power in the market". This applies especially to younger fathers in employment. In Finland educated men tend to

have more children; men have been asked in a national survey for their views on state support to families. More men than women considered the support satisfactory; about 33% of men born in 1953-1957 and 1963-67 thought it was completely or somewhat insufficient, whereas more than half of the women of the same age groups considered it insufficient. The majority of men thought that a lower level of taxation would be the best way to support families, whereas women wanted more services (Hearn et al. 2001a).

In many countries there are twin problems of the unemployment of some or many men in certain social categories, and yet work overload and long working hours for other men. These can especially be a problem for young men and young fathers; they can affect both working class and middle class men as for example during economic recession. In working life, work organisations are becoming more time-hungry and less secure and predictable. In a number of studies, time utilisation emerges as a fundamental issue of creating difference in everyday negotiations between men and women. There are increasing concerns about men and time-use – in Estonia, Ireland, Norway, Germany and elsewhere. Also in Italy research is highlighting the importance of quality of time for men in their family relations. On the other hand, it is necessary not to overstate the uniformity of this trend which is relevant to certain groups only and not all countries. For example, in France working time has decreased. In Germany, this is also so but only for working time regulated by trade union-employer negotiations. The working time of people in high level positions has grown, and overtime continues at a relatively high rate.

Generally, the wage-earning working life of men has shrunk, because the training phase is becoming longer, careers start later, working life is shorter, and life expectancy (in some countries) is increasing. However, a quantitative time gain does not necessarily mean a qualitative gain, because the shortened working life has become more intensive, less tranquil, and more uncertain. One of the most significant trends is the demand for productivity and an increasing pace of work. Work has also become mentally more wearing and uncertainty, competition and fixed-term employment contracts are more common (Ventimiglia and Pitch 2001a).

3.3.2. Social Exclusion. As in Workpackage 1, this has proved to be the most difficult area to pre-define, but in some ways one of the most interesting. Social exclusion has often been associated primarily with poverty. It now often figures in the research and statistical literature in different ways, such as unemployment, ethnicity, homosexuality, and imprisonment. Men make up the very large part of the prison population (as much as 98%). In some countries, the proportion of women is increasing. The typical profile of a male prisoner in Ireland is of profound social disadvantage. In the UK minority ethnic men (and women) accounted for relatively high proportions of the prison population. Some reports have addressed the growing recognition of education as a site of social exclusion for some men, especially young men. Regional differences are also recognised, notably in Germany, between the former East and West Germanies. National reports have approached this area differently, as follows:

- *Estonia – education, ethnicity, drug addicts.*
- *Finland – poverty, homelessness, foreign nationals and ethnic minorities, prisoners, sexualities.*

- *Germany – wage gap between western and eastern Germany, unemployment, consolidated poverty (men with a low level of education, younger age groups (under-40s)), immigrants.*
- *Ireland – educational disadvantage, disabilism, racism, long-term unemployment, prisoners, ethnicity.*
- *Italy – poverty.*
- *Latvia – no specific section; poverty, unemployment, suicide reviewed.*
- *Norway – unemployment of certain groups, exclusion of non Western immigrants, asylum applicants.*
- *Poland – homeless, ethnic minorities, homosexuality.*
- *Russian Federation – no specific section; "masculinity crisis", ill health reviewed.*
- *UK – poverty (care system, unemployment, skills, age), ethnicity (prison and the criminal justice system, education, unemployment, health), disability.*

The social exclusion of certain men frequently links with unemployment of certain categories of men (such as less educated, rural, ethnic minority, young, older), men's isolation within and separation from families, and associated social and health problems. These are clear issues throughout all countries. They are especially important in the Baltic, Central and East European countries with post-socialist transformations of work and welfare with dire consequences for many men, as emphasised in the Estonian and Latvian reports. Unemployment is also often higher for immigrant and minority ethnic men, as for example in the UK, Norway and Latvia. Long-term unemployment is a problem for a relatively small but significant group of men in 'consolidated poverty' in many countries, including those that are more affluent, such as Germany, and those that have gone through a recent economic boom, such as Ireland. Research there has shown the factors associated with long-term unemployment for men of working age (20-59), giving up active job search and withdrawal from the labour force into the 'inactive' category: poor educational qualifications; living in local authority housing especially in larger cities; in the older age groups; sharing a household with other unemployed or economically inactive; being single *or* having a large family.

These issues of social exclusion are especially important in the Baltic, Central and East European countries with post-socialist transformations of work and welfare with dire consequences for many men, as emphasised in the Estonian, Latvian and Russian reports. The confirmation of the continued existence of the phenomenon of a "Masculinity Crisis" can be understood to be this analysis of statistical information. This has led to the appearance of a peculiar "victimisation theory", according to which men are passive victims of their biological nature and structural (cultural) circumstances. In other words, men are seen as victims who can hardly be called "actively functioning" social agents. Men's social exclusion thus remains underresearched. For Russian society in the 1990s the problem of the masculinity crisis had not changed at all; the main demographic characteristics continue.

Even in Nordic countries, which are relatively egalitarian and have a relatively good social security system, new forms of problems have emerged. In Finland socially excluded men have been extensively studied through men's 'misery' and auto/biographical approaches, rather than through gendered studies of men (Kortteinen 1982; Alasuutari and Siltari 1983). Unemployment has been low and

stable in Norway over the last years, with men and women on a similar level. Norwegian men have experienced relatively little alcoholism and migration in recent years. However, in the last decade, new forms of marginalisation have developed, with shifts from traditional industry to more postindustrialised society, and globalising processes creating new forms of work and marginalisation. Some men find it difficult to accommodate to these changes in work and family. Instead of going into the care sector or getting more education, some young men become marginalised from work and family life. Working class men are often the most vulnerable. The job chances of non-Western immigrants are in many situations much worse, perhaps 5-10 times worse, than for Norwegians and Western immigrants. Discrimination seems to hit non-Western men especially. A similar pattern is found in the UK. There is a lack of attention to men engaged in creating and reproducing social exclusion.

3.3.3. Violences. The recurring theme here is the widespread nature of the problem of men's violence to women, children and other men. Men are strongly overrepresented among those who use violence, especially heavy violence including homicide, sexual violence, racial violence, robberies, grievous bodily harm and drug offences. Similar patterns are also found for accidents in general, vehicle accidents and drunken driving. Suicide is discussed in the 'Health' theme. Violence is also age-related. The life course variation in violence with a more violence-prone youth phase has been connected to increasing exposure to commercial violence and to other social phenomena, but these connections have not been well mapped. Most robberies and violent crimes are committed by men between 21 and 40 years old. In Italy and elsewhere directly physically violent crime tends to involve violence by men to those whom are known whereas with property crimes victims tend more to be strangers. There are gender differences in the kinds of crimes reported, for example, in Italy men report being victims of violent crimes, women more crimes against property. However, such official statistics need to be treated with caution as discussed below (Ventimiglia and Pitch 2001a). In many countries there is a large amount of statistical data on crime, as a more general organising principle than violences. The problem of violence in Polish public statistics is limited to cases registered by the police and adjudicated in courts. There are no data for the whole country that specify types of violence used and data on non-registered cases. The source of data for the Chief Statistical Office is the information of the Chief Police Headquarters, which also present on their webpages the most important data on perpetrators of offences connected with domestic violence, rape, sexual abuse of children, infanticide and desertion; they do not, however, specify the sex of perpetrators or characterise the victim. In Finland figures in *Crime and Criminal Justice 1995-1996* (Rikollisuus ja seuraamusjärjestelmä tilastojen valossa 1997), an overview of crime and the criminal justice system, were not separated by gender. This needs to be remedied in future work. Recent publications on homicide (Kivivuori 1999) give gender-disaggregated data on victims and offenders. The national survey of women's experiences of violence from men (Heiskanen and Piispa 1998) might be paralleled by statistical studies of men's use of and experiences of violence.

A form of violence that is repeatedly highlighted in the national reports is men's violence to women. The range of abusive behaviours perpetrated on victims include direct physical violence, isolation and control of movements, and abuse through the control of money. Estimates range from 10 to over 40 percent of women experiencing such violations. There has been a large amount of feminist research on women's

experiences of violence from men, and the policy and practical consequences of that violence, including that by state and welfare agencies, as well as some national representative surveys of women's experiences of violence, as in Finland (Heiskanen and Piispa 1998). Such focused surveys of women's experience of sexual violence (in the broad sense of the term) tend to produce higher reports than from general crime victim surveys. In turn, the latter tend to produce higher figures than police and criminal justice statistics. Thus some non-governmental sample surveys of the general population have produced higher figures than police and criminal justice statistics for levels of men's violence to women. For instance a local study in North London (Mooney 1993) suggested that a third of women will experience a form of 'domestic violence' in their lifetime and that just over 20% are raped by a husband or partner. Another local survey in Glasgow estimated that 40% of women have experienced rape or sexual assault (Glasgow Women's Support Project/Glasgow Evening Times 1990).

Child abuse, including physical abuse, sexual abuse and child neglect, is now being recognised as a prominent social problem in many countries. Both the gendered nature of these problems and an appreciation of how service responses are themselves gendered are beginning to receive more critical attention, both in terms of perpetrators and victims/survivors. A markedly 'male' offence is the sexual abuse of children. Around 90% of child sexual abusers are men. One Polish survey found that boys were physically or emotionally abused by their fathers and sexually abused by their relatives, teachers, friends of the family, neighbours and friends more often than girls (Kmieciak-Baran 1999). However, girls contacting a Polish 'domestic violence' hotline reported being victims of violence twice as frequently as boys who contacted it (Oleksy 2001a). In Ireland official statistics do not gather data on the gender of perpetrators of child abuse, a gap that is being filled to some extent by research. Retrospective Prevalence Surveys within general adult populations always reveal far higher levels of CSA than official crime statistics. The most quoted retrospective British prevalence study amongst young people used successively narrower definitions of sexually abusive experiences in childhood to gauge the differences in reported prevalence levels. Using the broadest definition produced figures of 1:2 for females and 1:4 for males.

An aspect of men's violence that is rarely addressed in a gendered way is 'civil disorder'. One example is a quantitative/qualitative study of 13 major recorded UK violent "riots" in 1991–1992, where police clashed with young people in residential areas. The study found that in these areas: "Concentrations of young people were much higher than ... average. Boys and young men aged 10 to 30 were actively involved. Girls and young women played very little part". "All areas had a history of disorder with unusual levels of violence and law-breaking by young men, who saw causing trouble as a compensation for an inability to succeed in a 'mainstream' way." "(T)he vast majority of rioters were white and British-born". Rioters and police officers saw the confrontations as chaotic street battles between these two groups of young men. (Power and Tunstall 1997.)

3.3.4. Health. The life expectancy of men has increased markedly since the beginning of the 20th century. There is a persistent theme of men's ageing in many, though not all, countries. This is especially notable in Italy, which also has a low birthrate. Yet still the major recurring theme in the national reports in terms of health is men's relatively low (to women) life expectancy, poor health, accidents, suicide and

morbidity. Men suffer and die more and at a younger age from cardiovascular diseases, cancer, respiratory diseases, accidents and violence than women. Socio-economic factors, qualifications, social status, life style, diet, smoking, drinking, drug abuse, hereditary factors, as well as occupational hazard, seem to be especially important for morbidity and mortality. Gender differences in health arise from how certain work done by men are hazardous occupations. Generally men neglect their health and for some men at least their 'masculinity' is characterised by risk taking, especially for younger men (in terms of smoking, alcohol and drug taking, unsafe sexual practices, road accidents, lack of awareness of risk), an ignorance of their bodies, and reluctance to seek medical intervention for suspected health problems. Thus 'traditional masculinity' can be seen as hazardous to health. There is some growing statistical information on perceptions of health and also health care use. In this context it is interesting that Estonian research finds that men are over-optimistic regarding their own health.

Morbidity and mortality are central topics of public discussions in some countries. For example, in Latvia, there is recognition that men fall ill and die with cardiovascular diseases more frequently than women, and life expectancy for males has decreased by four years, and two years for females. There has been attention to gendered health, with occupational health problems of work with asbestos, in chemico-pharmaceutical enterprises, and chronic lead poisoning, often mainly affecting men. Statistics indicate to a rapid decrease of fertility and growth of mortality, with a stress on the negative effects upon ethnic Latvians. The notion of depopulation is articulated in nationalist discourse. The most recent studies have shown that reproductive health in Latvia is characterised by the following problems: Latvia's birth rate is one of the lowest in the world; male life expectancy trends are downwards, and much lower than for women; male participation in the choice of contraception, family planning and child-raising is insufficient.

There is some information in the national reports on the social care sector, and the overlap of health and welfare. For example, of residents in Polish stationary welfare centres including children, in 1992, men constituted 44%, women 56%. Men (55%; 45% women) were more numerous only amongst mentally handicapped residents. Female pensioners – 62% (nearly 38% men), chronically ill women – 66% (34% men), disabled – 58% (42% men) were among adult residents in the centres. Data on underage centre residents revealed a contrary trend: boys were more numerous in all groups - chronically ill, disabled and mentally handicapped. The number of the homeless who stayed in shelters increased 46 times in 1998, of whom 91% were men.

Men's suicide, especially young men's, is high in the Baltic countries, Finland, Poland, Russia. In these countries there is also a high difference in life expectancy between men and women. In Ireland, Italy and Norway, men perform suicide about 3 times as often as women; in Poland the ratio is over 5:1. In Italy over the last 10 years there has been a clear prevalence of men in comparison to women, while as regards suicide attempts, the trend is reversed: more than 50% are by females. While Ireland has the highest known difference internationally between young male and female suicides (7:1), it does not have the highest overall 15-24 year old male suicide rate. With a rate of 16.6 per 100,000 Ireland comes 19th in the World Health Organisation table (of 46 countries). Finland has the highest figure, with a rate of 43.7, followed by New Zealand (38.0) and Estonia (28.5). There is a very low level of take up of

services by young male suicides prior to their deaths: ‘this group does not see the services, as presently structured and delivered, as being relevant to them’ (Ferguson 2001a). Suicide rates have generally fallen across the UK over the last 15 years, except among young men aged 15-44; suicide rates for Scotland are considerably higher than other UK countries. Local areas where suicide rates were significantly high tended to be those characterised as having high ‘deprivation’ levels.

3.4. General Conclusions

3.4.1. The Explicit Gendering of Statistics on Men’s Practices. In Workpackage 1 it was noted that an interesting and paradoxical issue is that the more that research, especially focused gendered research on men, is done the more that there is a realisation of the gaps that exist, both in specific fields and at a general methodological level. Clearly a lack of data on/from men hinders research development. This conclusion cannot be said to have been reinforced in any clear way from the Workpackage 2 national reports. On first reading it might seem that relatively few specific gaps have been identified in the statistical sources. In some senses there is indeed a wealth of information, especially on work and employment, as well as demography, family arrangements, health, illness and mortality. On the other hand, a closer reading shows that while the national statistical systems provide a broad range of relevant information, they usually have significant shortcomings. Explicit gendering of statistics is still not usual. Moreover, there is an absence of focused statistical studies of men, especially differences amongst men. Many statistical studies are relatively cautious in their critical commentary. Many provide data for further analysis, interrogation, comparison with other data, critical comment, and theory development. This is partly a reflection of traditions around the rules of statistical inference, and partly as many studies are produced within a governmental context where such further analysis and critique is not seen as appropriate.

3.4.2. The Source and Methodology of Statistics. A final conclusion is that there is a need to attend with great care to the source and methodology of statistics on men’s practices. For example, focused surveys of women’s experience of sexual violence (in the broad sense of the term) tend to produce higher reports than general crime victim surveys. In turn, the latter tend to produce higher figures than police and criminal justice statistics. Thus the use of statistics on men’s practices is a matter for both technical improvement and policy and political judgement.

3.4.3. Unities and Differences. There are both clear similarities between the ten nations and clear differences, in terms of the extent of egalitarianism, in relation to gender and more generally; the form of rapid economic growth or downturn; the experience of post-socialist transformation; the development of a strong women’s movement and gender politics. However, these data on men’s practices also reveal the pervasive and massive negative impact of patriarchal relations of power across all sectors of society. The importance of the ongoing challenge to these gendered power relations cannot be over-emphasised. There is a neglect of attention to men in powerful positions and to analyses of men’s broad relations to power, both in themselves and as contexts to the four themes. Unities and differences between men need to be highlighted – both *between countries* and amongst men *within each country*. There are, for example, differences between men in the same country, such as between men in the former West German and the former East Germany, and also within one man or groups of men.

3.4.4. Recent Structural Changes and Constructions of Men. Analyses of the social problem of men should take into account that many of the countries have experienced recent major socio-economic changes. This applies especially to the transitional nations, though one should not underestimate the scale of change elsewhere, such as economic boom (Ireland) and recovery from recession (Finland). There is also the impact of more general restructurings of economy and society throughout all the countries reviewed. In the case of the transitional nations the political and economic changes were often viewed as positive compared with the Soviet experience. They also often brought social and human problems. While there is no 100% concordance between economic and social change, there is often a clear relation, for instance, a weakening of the primary sector leading to social and geographical mobility. In the transitional nations people never expected economic freedom would be associated with a decrease in population and birthrate, high criminality, drugs, and diseases such as tuberculosis. During the transition period there is often a negative relation between economy and welfare. These changes have implications for the social construction of men. In the Russian Federation there has been the recent appearance of “victimisation theory” to explain men’s behaviour, according to which men are passive victims of their biological nature and structural (cultural) circumstances. Men are portrayed as victims rather than “actively functioning” social agents, with the policy implications that follow from this. The various national and transnational restructurings throughout all the countries raise complex empirical and theoretical issues around the analysis and reconceptualisation of patriarchy and patriarchal social relations. These include their reconstitution, both as reinforcements of existing social relations and as new forms of social relations. New forms of gendering and gendered contradictions may thus be developing, with, through and for men's practices.

3.4.5. Interconnections, Power and Social Exclusion. There are strong interconnections between the four focus areas. This applies to both men’s power and domination in each theme area, and between some men’s unemployment, social exclusion and ill health. Social exclusion applies to and intersects with all three other themes: home and work, violences, health. Patterns of men’s violence also interconnect with all the themes to some extent but also cut across social divisions. Statistics are mainly focused on ‘dyadic’ analysis, for example, poverty and men/women, or poverty and ethnicity. Developing ‘triadic’ statistical surveys and analyses of, say, poverty, gender and ethnicity is much rarer, and an altogether more complex task.

4. Law and Policy Addressing Men's Practices (Workpackage 3)

4.1. Comparative and Methodological Issues

In planning the Workpackage it was agreed to develop reviews of both governmental and quasi-governmental legal and policy statements that explicitly address men's practices. 'Policy' has necessarily been interpreted in a broad sense; this includes governmental and quasi-governmental policy statements and developments that are not enshrined in law. It was also considered necessary to discuss briefly the historical development of the growth of laws and policy; the main character of the political and governmental system, and relevant recent changes; the political composition of the national government, and when relevant, 'regional' governments; and the main governmental ministries involved in relevant policy development and their broad policy responsibilities. In some cases, discussion on men's politics/organisations and policy organisations around men has been included.

The timescale was taken normally to start from the beginning of the 1990's, but earlier developments have been included as relevant. Extensions back in timescales are recognised as being valid where appropriate (for example, comparing the situation in some transitional nations pre-1989 and post-1989). Information is thus provided on the 1980s in some cases in order to compare these situations.

The Network aims to facilitate greater understanding of changing social processes of gender relations and gender construction, particularly in relation to men and men's practices. Such research and data gathering on men should not be understood and developed separately from research on women and gender. The research focus of the Network is the comparative study of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. Undertaking this kind of exploration necessitates specific attention to the challenges and difficulties of comparative perspectives in European contexts. In recent years a comparative perspective has been applied to various aspects of study within the fields of, *inter alia*, sociology, social policy and social welfare. There are many reasons for this tendency, some being more legitimate in scholarly terms than others.

One of the most convincing reasons for adopting a comparative approach is the potential offered for deconstructing the assumptions which underpin laws and policies in different countries. Such a process facilitates a deconstruction of actual and potentially more effective laws, policies and institutional practices. This includes laws, policies and practices addressing men and men's practices. Furthermore, laws, practices and policies increasingly interact transnationally, at both European and global levels. Consequently research may seek to explore the processes and outcomes of those interactions and connections. In many cases where specific social issues have been studied transnationally, attempts have been made to apply *general* theoretical, legal and policy categorisations to particular issues.

In the case of the study of differential European welfare regimes, the most common general model applied in this specific fashion is that devised by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1996). There has been an extensive critique of such models, partly in terms of their insufficient attention to gender relations (Lewis and Ostner 1991; Lewis 1992; Leira 1992; Orloff 1993; O'Connor 1993; Sainsbury 1994; Tyyskä 1995). There is a need for greater attention to conscious gendering in and of assumptions that are brought to bear in such analyses. Commentators have taken a variety of positions

regarding the analytic value of these applications from the general to the particular, partly depending upon the issue being studied. Furthermore, there is a need for considerable open-mindedness in the assumptions that are brought to bear in such analyses. For example, feminist perspectives on the relationship between gender and welfare system dynamics, have provided detailed arguments that Southern European welfare regimes may not in fact (contrary to some of the above opinion) be more sexist than those in Northern and Western Europe (Trifiletti 1999). In the field of social welfare law and policy there are complex patterns of convergence and divergence between men's practices internationally which await interrogation.

One field of social enquiry which has to a considerable extent escaped specific comparative scrutiny is the critical study of men's practices, although the latter has received important attention within broader and relatively established transnational feminist surveys of gender relations (Dominelli 1991; Rai et al.1992). Yet the limited amount of work devoted specifically to men's practices transnationally suggests there is immense scope for extending critical analysis in that particular area. There are complex patterns of convergence and divergence between men's practices internationally awaiting further interrogation, including in terms of laws and policies (Pringle 1998b). Yet, the limited amount of work devoted specifically to men's practices transnationally suggests there is immense scope for extending critical analysis in that particular area.

The Network's activity is conceptualised around the notion of 'men in Europe', rather than, say, the 'European man' or 'European men'. This perspective highlights the social construction, and historical mutability, of men, within the contexts of both individual European nations and the EU. This involves the examination of the relationship of men and masculinities to European nations and European institutions in a number of ways:

- national, societal and cultural variation amongst men and masculinities;
- the historical place and legacy of specific forms of men and masculinities in European nations and nation-building;
- within the EU and its transnational administrative and democratic institutions, as presently constituted – particularly the differential intersection of men's practices with European and, in the case of the EU, pan-European welfare configurations;
- implications for the new and potential member states of the EU;
- implications of both globalisation for Europe, and the Europeanisation of globalisation processes and debates;
- new, changing forms of gendered political power in Europe, such as, regionalised, federalised, decentralised powers, derived by subsidiarity and transnationalism.

All of these broad relationships and far-reaching developments have implications for both the collection of gendered laws and policies, and their interpretation, whether gendered or not. In undertaking transnational comparisons, the problematic aspects of the enterprise, including in the analysis of laws and policies, have to be acknowledged. Major difficulties posed by differing meanings attached to apparently common concepts and categorisations used by respondents and researchers are likely. This signals a broader problem: for diversity in meaning itself arises from complex variations in cultural context at national and sub-national levels - cultural differences which permeate all aspects of the research process, including the review and analysis of law and policy. Practical responses to such dilemmas can be several. On the one

hand, it is perhaps possible to become over-concerned about the issue of variable meaning: a level of acceptance regarding such diversity may be one valid response. Another response is for researchers to carefully check with each other the assumptions brought to the research and statistical data collection processes. The impact of cultural contexts on the process and content of research and statistics are central in the Network's work, as seen in the different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases and assumptions in the national contexts and national reports.

In addition, the impacts and interaction of different cultural contexts are of major significance for the internal cooperation and process of the Network itself. This has many implications, not least we see these national reports as work in progress. It also means bringing understandings of law and policy upon which the national reports are based closer together over time, whilst maintaining the differences in national concerns. This is clearly very important in terms of the different national relations with the EU, in terms of present and possible future membership.

The range of nations in the Network presents good opportunities for comparative study:

- In terms of “testing” general welfare regime typologies in relation to the issue of men's practices, these countries include “representatives” of all three of the welfare regime typologies identified by Esping-Andersen: Neo-liberal; Social Democratic; and Conservative. At a less theoretical level, the spread of the countries – in Southern, Northern, Western, and Eastern Europe - presents a broad cultural, geographical and political range within Europe.
- These and other considerations also have to be framed within developing notions of what ‘being European’ constitutes. This has salience in relation to how some influential sectors of society within Poland and the Russian Federation have recently evinced a greater desire to be considered European in certain ways including their relationship with the EU. The issues of social marginalisation consequent upon development of an alleged ‘Fortress Europe’ have relevance to the lived experience of many men, who are excluded and/or those actively involved in exclusion.
- They allow exploration on the extent of differential social patterns and welfare responses between countries often grouped together on grounds of alleged historical, social and/or cultural proximity, such as, Norway and Finland; Ireland and the UK.
- Inclusion of countries from within Eastern Europe allows exploration of how recent massive economic, social and cultural changes have impacted upon attitudes and practices relating to men. These matters need to be taken into account in the massive and likely future growth in cultural, social, political and economic transactions between Eastern Europe and EU members, both collectively and individually.

These matters provide the broad context of the national reports in Workpackages 1, 2 and 3. In Workpackage 1 and 2 the extent to which this was addressed in national reports was variable. In some cases in Workpackage 1, notably Estonia's, this comparative context was explicit. The contextual issue has also been addressed in Workpackage 1 through both longer (Finland) and shorter (Norway, Germany) timescale historical reviews. In Workpackage 2 there was a specific comparative element in the Estonia report comparing gendered rates of occupational mobility

between Poland, Russian Federation and Estonia, and employment structure, gender wage gap, and homicide rates in several European countries. We also included in Workpackage 2 baseline comparative statistical information for analysis, by assembling selected statistical measures for the ten Network countries. The comparative dimension has been part of the essential backcloth to the compilation of these national reports in Workpackage 3.

4.2. The General State of Law and Policy

Summarising the state of law and policy addressing men in the ten countries presents a challenge, even though the Network is at this stage focusing on only four main themes. The state of studies on men in the ten national contexts varies in terms of the volume and detail of law and policy, the ways in which this has been framed, as well as substantive differences in men's societal position and social practices. To simplify the task, we address the following questions: information sources; some broad substantive patterns; and some interconnections of sources and patterns.

First, we make some remarks on sources. As in Workpackages 1 and 2, existing academic knowledge of members has provided the base for the reports. This has been supplemented in some cases by extensive reviews of the available information on law and policy from national governmental, quasi-governmental and other related sources. Accordingly, there is a wide range of sources and materials that have been drawn on in the construction of the national reports. In some cases much of this material is available electronically, through websites, diskettes and/or CD-ROMs; in others extensive library work and examination of printed paper reports have been necessary; and in some cases there have been further contacts with key governmental contacts and other researchers in the theme areas.

Importantly, in examining law and policy, there is a need to distinguish between several different levels and layers of forms of law and policy, and hence their analysis. These are principally: the broad legal and constitutional arrangements; the specific embodiment of formal policy in law; the development of explicit governmental policy; the often changing forms of local and agency-based policies, sometimes operating more implicitly; and the practice of policy implementation in day-to-day policy practices. The balance between these various forms of 'law and policy' varies between the national reports. The importance of the comparative evaluation of legal and policy support for some form of the provider model (or other models) needs to be stressed.

The amount and detail of policy information stems from the priority that is given to different policy areas, problem definitions and extent of problematisation within governmental systems. This is especially important in the fields of labour market and employment, health and illness, and violence, all of which are generally relatively well developed. There is frequently a lack of clearly and easily available policy information on social exclusion, such as ethnic or sexual minorities. The emphasis on different areas varies between the countries. The large amount of existing material is often scattered within a wide variety of governmental locations. In most national reports the greatest attention is given to law and policy in relation to Home and Work; in most the focus on Violence is also pronounced. With some notable exceptions (Finland, Italy, Norway), Social Exclusion is examined in less detail. Although Health

is generally the least developed of the four focus areas, it is also an area in which there are marked differences between the countries.

In terms of substantive patterns, it may first be useful to note the connections and differences that there are with both academic research and statistical information on men's practices. In Workpackage 1 we discussed how in some countries, especially in Germany, Norway, the UK, but also to an extent elsewhere, it can be said that there is now some form of relatively established tradition of research on men that can be identified, albeit of different orientations. We also addressed variations in the framing of research, that is, the extent to which research on men has been conducted directly and in an explicitly gendered way, and the relation of these studies to feminist scholarship, Women's Studies and Gender Research more generally, and the extent to which research on men is focused on and presents 'voices' of men or those affected by men. There are also very different and sometimes antagonistic approaches to research within the same country, for example, between non-gendered, non-feminist or even anti-feminist approaches and gendered and feminist approaches. Other differences stemmed from different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases, assumptions and decisions. Addressing these differences is part of the task of the Network. As previously discussed, these differences in traditions were less observable in the national reports on statistical information in Workpackage 2.

To some extent, and in some perspectives, it might be presumed that academic research and statistical information provide two, often interrelated, ways of describing, analysing and explaining men's practices, whether dominant, subordinated or different. At the same time, they also construct those dominant, subordinated and different patterns of men's practices in their own ways. Meanwhile law and policy might be initially understood as governmental and quasi-governmental regulations of those dominant, subordinated and different patterns of men's practices. However, law and policy are also themselves modes of describing, analysing, explaining, and indeed constructing men's practices. For these reasons the political and academic differences, observed particularly in Workpackage 1, are both apparent and to some extent obscured in the specific form of the legal and policy modes examined in these national reports on law and policy.

There are both similarities and differences in the substantive patterns of national laws and policies. The social and cultural contexts in which these national reports are written are very varied indeed. The national and local contexts need to be understood to make sense of the different orientations of the national reports. The general state of law and policy in the ten nations is the product of several factors. These include their diverse broad historical and cultural traditions; their legal and governmental institutions; their more recent and specific relations to the EU; and their welfare and social policy frameworks and practices.

The EU is an economic, social and political union, initially of six countries in 1957, that has sought to increase the harmonisation of economic and social policies across member states, whilst respecting the principle of subsidiarity (decisions being made at the lowest appropriate level). It is premised on the 'single market' amongst member states and parliamentary democracy, albeit of different forms in the member states. Over the years this inevitably has involved tensions between the push to economic and social convergence and the defense of national political interests. As it has

expanded these tensions have become more complex, though it is probably fair to say that the ‘strong agenda’ towards greater unity has become more dominant in recent years.

The EU currently comprises fifteen countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the UK. Thirteen further countries are Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey. Accession negotiations are under way for the first twelve of these, with the objective of completing these by the end of 2002 for those countries that are ready to join, so they can take part in European Parliament elections by 2004. In addition, twelve of the fifteen EU member states (all except Denmark, Sweden, the UK) now have the same currency (the Euro), as part of the European Monetary Union (EMU). Thus the ten countries in our review have different relations to the EU.

As regards the various national relations to the EU, there are the clear contrasts between:

- EU/EMU: Finland (1995), Germany (1957), Ireland (1973), Italy (1957);
- EU/non-EMU: the UK (1973);
- EU-associated ETA: Norway;
- EU applicant countries: Estonia, Latvia, Poland;
- former Soviet non-EU applicant: Russian Federation.

	non-former Soviet	former Soviet
EU/EMU	Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy	
EU/non-EMU	UK	
EU-associated ETA	Norway	
EU applicant		Estonia, Latvia, Poland
non-EU applicant		Russian Federation

There is a growing recognition of the impact, albeit differentially, of the EU itself on the heterogeneous gender politics and gender regimes of the member states (Liebert, 1999). This is partly through the operation of various equal opportunities policies at the supranational and national levels, most obviously in the fields of family, welfare, labour market and education policies, but also more generally in migration and environmental policies (Walby, 1999). In most cases these debates on and in the EU have focused on (increasing) women’s participation in the public spheres of employment and education, along with the development of women’s rights in social protection and welfare. Overall policy development in the EU is to some extent framed by the development of the European Social Agenda (2000-2005). This seeks to advance a range of “future orientations for social policy”, of which the most relevant to men’s practices are:

- “Fighting poverty and all forms of exclusion and discrimination in order to promote social integration”;
- “Promoting gender equality”; and
- “Strengthening the social policy aspects of enlargement and the European Union’s external relations”.

There is, however, much to be done in giving explicit attention to the full implications of achieving gender equality within the ESA, in terms of what this means for men and changing men's practices. It is clear that the EU and the EU application process are themselves becoming important parts of the public politics of comparative European welfare development, including the comparative development of gender policies, including policy development in relation to men. There have already been some steps in this process, for example, the EU "Men and Gender Equality Conference", Örebro, held in March 2001 under the auspices of the then Swedish presidency. It is likely that this process of considering the implications for men and changing men's will increase in the coming years, albeit from different political interests and motivations.

A persistent challenge in this Workpackage has been how to focus on law and policy that specifically *addresses* men, whilst at the same time being aware of the broad range of laws and policies that are not *explicitly gendered* that are likely to bear on men. In one sense almost all laws and policies can be said to be relevant to men *as nationals or citizens* (or indeed as non-citizens, for example, as aliens). In another sense, in most countries, though there may not be a very large body of law and policy information specifically focused on men, there is still a considerable amount of analysis of law and policy in relation to men that is possible. These questions are affected by both deeply embedded historical constructions of citizenship, and more recent reforms around gender and 'gender equality'. On the first count, it is important to note that in many countries citizenship has historically been constructed as 'male', onto which certain concessions and rights of citizenship, for example suffrage, have been granted to women. However, there is variation in the extent to which this pattern applies, and in some cases citizenship has taken different gendered forms, with citizenship for women and men being more closely associated with relatively recent nationalisms for all citizens. This is not to say that such latter 'nationalistic' citizenship is non-gendered, far from it; it may indeed remain patriarchal in form, not least through the continuation of pre-nationalistic discourses and practices, sometimes around particular notions of 'equality', as in the Soviet regimes. Indeed it might be argued that some forms of (male) citizenship, based on notions of individualism and even exclusion of community and similarity, are often in tension with some forms of (male) nationalism, based on notions of cultural lineage, culture and language, and exclusion of individuality and difference.

On the second count, the contemporary societal context of law and policy on men is often formally framed by the ratification (or not) of such international agreements as the ILO Convention 100 on Equal Remuneration for Men and Women for Equal Work 1957, the ILO Convention 111 in Respect of Discrimination in Employment/Occupation 1957 (http://www.unesco.org/culture/worldreport/html_eng/stat2/table13.pdf), the UN Declaration on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (and reporting thereon) (<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/intlinst.htm>), a '(Gender) Equality Act', a Bureau of Gender Equality between Women and Men, Convention on the Rights of the Child and various forms of gender mainstreaming. Some of these international agreements are open to reservations and different interpretations.

The constitutions of all the nations in different ways embody equality for citizens under the law; non-discrimination on grounds of sex/gender. All, apart from the UK, have a written constitution, although even in this exceptional case the signing of the European Convention on Human Rights and EU membership more generally may be tending to override this anomaly. In addition, there are in the Nordic region traditions of non-constitutionalism, and a reliance on the legislative or popular sovereignty. Gender-neutral language is generally used in law and policy, though often also for different reasons and within different legal and political traditions. In the case of the EU applicant countries, considerable efforts have been put into the harmonisation of law and policy with EU members and directives, including in terms of positive measures on non-discrimination and gender equality. EU enlargement appears to contribute to strengthening the formal law and policy on gender equality. These various formal apparatuses may contradict with both historical tradition and contemporary legal and policy practice and implementation. The effectiveness of these measures, at least in the short term, is also in doubt, in view of the lack of gender equality, as reported in Workpackages 1 and 2. Gender equality legislation may indeed remain without clear consequences for policy and outcomes, for women and men. There is often a gap between the governmental rhetoric and everyday conduct in society, with men and women mostly unaware of discussions about gender equality at the labour market and elsewhere. For example, the Russian constitution stipulates that “Man and woman” shall have equal rights, liberties and opportunities. The problem is in the operationalisation and realisation of these principles in every branch of legislation, social relations and everyday practice. In addition, governmental responsibility for gender equality is frequently delegated to one ministry, or one part thereof, and in some countries there are significant legal and policy variations between different national or regional governments, and between ministries, and the extent these matters are subject to monitoring and analysis.

These broad national variations need to be put alongside contrasts between different welfare state policy regimes. Contrasts between Neo-liberal; Social Democratic; and Conservative welfare regimes in Western Europe have been critiqued in terms of their neglect of gender welfare state regimes and gender relations. Such distinctions (for example, Latin Rim, Bismarckian, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian (Langan and Ostner 1991); Strong, Modified, Weak Breadwinner States (Lewis 1992; Ostner 1994; Duncan 1995, 2000); Private Patriarchy with High Subordination of Women, Public Patriarchy with High Subordination of Women, Private Patriarchy with Lower Subordination of Women, Public Patriarchy with Lower Subordination of Women (Walby 1986, 1990; Waters 1990; Hearn 1992) Transitional from Private Patriarchy, Housewife Contract, Dual Role Contract, Equality Contract (Hirdman 1988, 1990) need to be refined in two ways: the specification of differences with and amongst the gender welfare state policy regimes of former Eastern bloc nations; the specification of differences amongst men and men’s practices.

There is also national variation in the extent to which laws and policies are gender-disaggregated. As noted, a relative lack of gendering of law and policy continues in most cases. Detailed laws and policies directed towards gendered interventions with men and men’s practices are relatively rare. There is relatively little law and policy explicitly focused on men, variations amongst men, and the relationship of those

patterns to men's practices and lives. Exceptions to this pattern include, in some cases, law and policy on:

Home and work

- specification, both formally and informally, of forms of work only for men (for example, mining);
- men as workers/breadwinners/heads of family and household;
- fatherhood and paternity (including legal rights and obligations as fathers, biological and/or social, and paternity leave of various kinds).

Social exclusion

- social assistance, according to sex and marital status;
- fatherhood, husband and other family statuses in immigration and nationality;
- gay men, gay sexuality and transgender issues.

Violences

- compulsory (or near compulsory) conscription into the military;
- crimes of sexual violence, such as rape;
- programmes on men who have been violent to women and children.

Health

- men's health education programmes;
- reproductive technology.

The form and development of law and policy also intersect with the substantive form and nature of socio-economic change. In Workpackage 1 there was a strong emphasis on the different political and academic traditions that operate in studying men in the different national contexts, as well as distinct historical conjunctions for the lives of men. More specifically, in terms of policy development that has addressed men, a simple, perhaps over simple, differentiation may be made between:

- the Nordic nations (Finland, Norway) - that have had both gender equality apparatus, and at least some focused policy development on men, through national committees, since the 1980s (thus prior to Finland's joining the EU), operating in the context of the membership and work of the Nordic Council of Ministers; this included the 'Men and gender equality' programme (1995-2000);
- the established EU-member nations (Ireland, Italy, Germany, the UK) – that have developed their 'equal opportunities' and 'gender equality' policies in the context of the EU, and with limited specific emphasis upon men; and
- the former Soviet nations (Estonia, Latvia, Poland, the Russian Federation) - that have a recent political history of formal legal equality but without developed human rights, and are now in the process of developing their gender equality laws and policies post-transformation, also with very limited specific emphasis upon men.

In addition, the various nations are experiencing different forms of substantive and ongoing socio-economic change. In some cases these changes are profound, for example, the German unification process, post-socialist transition in Estonia, Latvia, Poland and the Russian Federation. These changes set the context, the ground and the challenges for law and policy. Other major social changes include those in Ireland

with rapid movement from a predominantly rural society through a booming economy, as well as the nearby political conflicts, challenges and changes in Northern Ireland. Somewhat similarly since the 1950s Finland has gone through a shift with migrations from the countryside to the suburbs in search of work. In the UK the intersection of government, law, policy and statistics is clear.

As a way of looking at these varying situations in a little more detail, we shall contrast the situations in the two Nordic countries, two of the post-communist countries, Germany and the UK. In Norway, as in many other countries, the period after World War 2 was characterised by extended policy declarations concerning gender equal status, yet it was mainly in the 1960s and 1970s, with increased demands for women's labour power, that more detailed and binding policies were created. A national Gender Equality Council was created in 1972 as a partially independent organ with the task of monitoring equal status progress. In 1979, a new Gender Equality Act entered into force, with an Ombudsman arrangement and an Appeals Board. In 1986, the government created a Male Role Committee to look into and create debate about men within an equal status perspective. The Committee which existed until 1991 made a survey of men's attitudes and conditions through broad cooperation among feminist and other researchers (*Men in Norway* 1988 in Holter 2001b). In the early 1990s, there was a slowdown of the gender equality process. Several factors created these changes. Norway experienced economic setbacks as well as a shift to the right, with the welfare state increasingly targeted by neo-liberal political views. In the emerging political climate, more emphasis was put on 'actors' as against 'structures', market-led changes as against state reforms, and gender equality as something that had mainly been achieved, rather than a burning issue. A recent proposal to extend the Gender Equality Act's provision regarding gender balance in boards and committees (the 40 percent rule) to the private sector has so far met with delays. Recently this proposal has once more been delayed. Increasingly, the stalemate situation in the economy seems to reflect back negatively on other areas, like politics. In recent years, national politics have become noticeably less gender-balanced, with all the major parties led by men, although the figures do not yet show a clear setback. Media research shows the continuing male dominance in, for example, political debates.

National legal and governmental policy in Finland is framed and characterised by a complex formal mixture of statements favouring gender equality in principle and statements using gender-neutrality as the major form of governmental communication; statements typically promote and favour gender equality, and this is generally done through gender-neutral laws and policies. This means that there are relatively few explicit governmental statements on or about men. Most laws are constructed in a gender-neutral way. The Finnish Act on Equality between Men and Women came into force in 1987. As with other Nordic predecessors of the Finnish Act, it is mostly a passive law to be used when it is alleged that someone is discriminated against. Gendered exceptions to this generally gender-neutral pattern in which men are explicitly or implicitly named include: compulsory conscription into the army; a strongly pro- fatherhood policy and ideology; national program against violence; and recent registration of same-sex partnerships. There has also been a variety of extra-governmental political activity around men from various gender political persuasions. In 1986 a working group on men was begun, and in 1988 the Subcommittee on Men's Issues, a subcommittee of the Council for Equality between Women and Men, was established. This has recently produced a publication (Kempe

2000) that sets out ways in which gender equality can be developed to men's advantage. There is a lack of consideration of how men might assist the promotion of gender equality in ways that assist women; there is a lack of consideration of how different aspects of men's practices might connect with each other, for example, fatherhood and violence.

The situation in the post-communist countries is very different. A gendered examination of Russian legislation allows one to talk about gender asymmetry. The goal of the study of Russian legislation is to describe an "objective" picture of the realisation of constitutional principle of gender equality: "Man and woman have equal rights and freedoms and opportunities for its realisation" (Russian Federation Constitution, Part 3, Article 19. In Zavadskaya 2001). At first sight, this constitutional principle is reflected in contemporary legislation. However, not only do everyday practice and the reality of funding break them, but legislators do not always understand the principle of gender equality. The formal legislation reflects the idea of gender equality, but does not reflect nor guarantee its realisation for both sexes. Women have equal rights to be elected (equally with men), but they do not have equal opportunity for realisation of equality with men's rights. Absolutely another situation is found in the sphere of labour legislation. The legislation reflects the idea of gender equality. In this legislation we see a system of actions for the defense of female rights, especially the "unwed mother". In this sphere it is most important to address objective necessity and produce appropriate measures. Discrimination of men exists in family legislation. A man finds it very difficult to have the right to bring up a child. Gender research into Russian legislation testifies to ambiguities in understanding gender equality in different spheres of society. Gender legislation is yet at the formative stage, as shown by the examination of some specific branches of Russian legislation.

Recent developments of the Latvian legal process have reflected the commitment of Latvia to join the European Union. A somewhat similar situation operates in Estonia, where the drafting of Equality Act is being prepared by Bureau of Equality between Women and Men in the Ministry of Social Affairs. Thus, a number of the international and EU documents and conventions have been ratified by the Latvian government. In 2001 alone there have been introduced new strategies and initiatives expressed in such documents of The Ministry of Welfare as *The Gender Equality Initiative. Draft document* (Konceptija dzimumu l dz ties bas stenošanai, 2000) and *Equal Opportunities to Everybody in Latvia. Draft document* (2000). The expected adoption of the document on gender equality and the establishment of The Gender Equality unit, however, are not provided with clear-cut statements on future policy development. This national report has coincided with an initiative on a new Family Act in which the idea of the paternity leave is introduced and the necessity to struggle with family violence is stated. Both documents mainly deal with issues of men and women in home, health and work. The family is defined as a reproductive heterosexual partnership for securing the economic and social "body" of the society. Neither document contains the language of differences, sexual, ethnic, racial. It is considered that issues of ethnicity and cultural differences are to be solved through the policy developments in ethnic and social integration to overcome the ethno-political division of the Latvian society. The rigidly "disciplinary" character of the documents issued either by The Ministry of Welfare or by The Department of Naturalisation is to the disadvantage to the future policy developments because the language of gender equality and gender mainstreaming is excluded from the ethnic

integration policies, and the language of ethnic integration is excluded from the gender equality initiatives. There are no explicit statements addressing men and ethnicity/race, or men and sexuality, thus pointing to as yet “untouchable” questions of social exclusion in family, work, health, violences. However, overall in Latvia since the restoration of political independence, the political climate of the country has never been stabilised, and rapid changes of governments have been detrimental to the principle of continuity in implementing the initiatives in policy development and pursuing the principles of transparency, accountability and policy responsibilities.

In Germany, laws directly concerning men are also rare. Western laws that kept women from certain work conditions – for instance nightshift in blue-collar work – were abolished after German unification. Therefore, army or substitutive civil service were the last fields restricted to men; but since some years, following a European Court’s rule, the German army has been opened up for women in all positions and fields of service. After much debate, a law permitting same-sex relationships to become officially registered and partially gain the status of married couples has been passed, which is of great importance for the social acceptance and public visibility of German gays (and lesbians, of course). Moreover, a law to protect victims of violence by known perpetrators that enables police to distance the perpetrator from the home, instead of the victim, has become effective last year. Furthermore, under red-green government, any ministeries on the central and the federal level have established task forces or under-departments for same-sex relationships, and some explicitly for men’s issues. Therefore, the German men’s movement has obtained some success in obtaining public attendance and in entering formal political routine processes.

Since the advent of the UK Labour Administration in 1997 topics, such as poverty, unemployment, the labour market, crime (including violences to women), health, ethnicity, have become major focuses of policy attention – and often with a relatively strong gender dimension. By contrast, there is much less policy focus on areas of disadvantage such as disability, sexuality or crimes against children. This pattern largely reflects a government policy agenda on: social exclusion defined in rather narrow labour market terms; crime, highlighting some areas more than others, for example, men’s violences to women and other men receiving considerably more policy attention than men’s violences to children (Pringle 2001b). In Latvia since the restoration of political independence, the political climate of the country has never been stabilised, and rapid changes of governments have been detrimental to the principle of continuity in implementing the initiatives in policy development and pursuing the principles of transparency, accountability and policy responsibilities. Thus the form of law and policy is interrelated with the form of social, economic and political change (Novikova 2001b).

4.3. General Discussion on the Reports, including the 4 Thematic Areas

4.3.1. Home and Work. Although there may not be a very large body of law and policy information specifically focused on men, the various historical and national traditions in the constructions of citizenship have large implications for the place of men in law and policy. These constructions of citizenship have often been presented as ‘gender-neutral’, even though they have clear historical gendering as male. These constructions of citizenship have clear relevance for the formulation of law and policy on men in relation to home and work. There is a general use of gender-neutral language in law and policy, and this has been reinforced in recent years through the

ratification (or not) of such international agreements as the ILO Convention 100 on Equal Remuneration for Men and Women for Equal Work 1957, the ILO Convention 111 in Respect of Discrimination in Employment/Occupation 1957, the UN Declaration on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In all the countries there is some form of equality or anti-discrimination legislation, and in many there are a '(Gender) Equality Act', and some form of Equal Opportunities Office or Bureau of Gender Equality between Women and Men. Various forms of gender mainstreaming are also being increasingly promoted, in word at least, in government. In terms of the EU, the main areas of activity, for member and applicant nations, include:

- equal pay;
- equal treatment for women and men at work and in access to employment;
- balanced distribution of work-related and family duties;
- training and informing of social partners about equality policy and norms in the EU;
- participation in EU equality framework programmes.

The general tradition in operation here is gender equality in treatment, opportunities and process rather than gender equality of outcome. There is also in EU countries the Directive on the restriction of working time, though again its practical implementation is varied. These and other formal 'gender-neutral' national and transnational apparatuses and objectives may contradict with both national historical tradition and contemporary legal and policy practice. Importantly, these include the different traditions of welfare capitalism or welfare patriarchies, that are themselves commentaries on home and work, such as:

- Strong, Modified, Weak Breadwinner States;
- Private Patriarchy with High Subordination of Women, Public Patriarchy with High Subordination of Women, Private Patriarchy with Lower Subordination of Women, Public Patriarchy with Lower Subordination of Women.

The various national governmental and constitutional frameworks intersect with the everyday patterns and realities of home and work. Housework is still mostly women's work; men's family statuses are still, despite long-term increases in the levels of separation and divorce, defined mainly through marriage and fatherhood; recurring themes in employment include men's occupational, working and wage gap over women, gender segregation at work, differences in patterns of working hours, many men's close associations with paid work. These variations in both men's practices at home and work, and in state law and policy in relation to home and work, interact in complex ways.

In all countries there are elements of the provider-breadwinner model, though the strength of this is very variable. Taxation is sometimes and increasingly an untypical arena of policy. Marriage and paternity law have been and largely remain basic ways of defining different men's statuses in law, with fatherhood generally assumed for men whose wives have children. These have been and to varying extents are ways of defining men's relation to work as providers-breadwinners. For example, in Ireland (Ferguson 2001b) men have been constructed very much in terms of the good provider role at home rather than strictly as workers; the married father is the

legitimate father, ‘complementing’ the recognition of motherhood in the national constitution. In Italy there is also support for maternity in law; alongside this, fathers have rights in the case of illness or death of mother (Ventimiglia 2001b). In Poland paternity is assumed for the mother’s husband, although it can be declared differently or established by the court (Oleksy 2001b). In Estonia men are generally not yet used to staying home to take care of children or to being single parents, and after divorce, as a rule, children are left to the mother to raise. In the Russian Federation the norms of the Family Code are mostly gender-neutral (Chernova 2001b). At the same time a number of norms violate gender equality. Among them is the husband’s right to divorce his wife if she is pregnant and within a year after the birth of child as well as the husband’s duty to support his wife (his former wife) during her pregnancy and within three years after the birth of a child. There are also serious discrepancies between the legal stipulation of equal rights and the practical opportunities for their implementation, for example, in the field of women’s property rights. These and other elements contrast with and complicate the gender-neutrality of most law and policy.

There are, however, major changes, complications and contradictions. There is growing politics around fathers’ rights, some degree of shared care/parenthood, and leave for fathers and as parents. In Latvia a husband-breadwinner model coexists with an egalitarian family model reflecting a diversity of social attitudes towards the institution of the family. The model of a husband-breadwinner’s family, however, is implicitly reconstructed in family politics and legislation targeted at women as childbearers and major childcarers. Two further tendencies are the growth of ‘family sovereignty’, on the one hand, and the growth of ‘family policies’, on the other, as the family is stated to be an important institution of society in the draft document of the Family Act. A key issue here, as elsewhere, is what is to be defined and counted as ‘a family’. In Estonia an employer is required to grant parental leave at the time requested to the mother or the father raising a child up to three years of age. a holiday at the time requested to a woman raising a child up to three years of age. A father’s additional childcare leave is paid from the state budget. The new amendment is a significant new right for fathers and clearly acknowledges that both men and women have family responsibilities (The Holidays Act RT I 2001, 42, 233). This is also clear in Ireland, where the movement from a traditional, largely rural society has involved pressure to give fathers’ equal rights as mothers, and an increasing sharing of breadwinning between women and men. In Finland there is an emphasis on shared parenthood after divorce in law if not always in practice. In all the nations apart from the Russian Federation there is some kind of parental/paternity leave, but the conditions under which this operates are very variable.

Policy development around men’s parental and paternity leave has been active in the Nordic countries. Supporting fatherhood is a central part of governmental policy in Finland (Hearn et al. 2001b). In Norway a proposal from the Male Role Committee for the father’s quota, or “the daddy’s month” (now two months) has been enacted (Holter 2001b). The results were remarkable. Soon after its introduction in 1993, two thirds of eligible fathers used the reform, which gave the father one month of paid leave (of a total of 10 months). This reform, like most of the debate on men as caregivers, had women as the main subject – to the extent that the father’s pay was stipulated on the basis of the mother’s labour market activity.

To illustrate the importance of national and cultural context, the Irish case is particularly instructive. The 'family' in Irish law is the kinship group based on marriage, and the only legitimate 'father' is the married father. Despite the fact that 26% of all births in Ireland are now outside of marriage, unmarried fathers are not acknowledged as fathers under the Irish Constitution (whereas the mother is given automatic rights by virtue of being a mother). Unmarried fathers have to apply to the courts for guardianship of their children. The Irish State has come under increased pressure in recent years to give fathers equal rights as mothers to be a parent to their child. Yet there is little sign that this has led to a more explicit gendering of men in terms of legal reform or that fatherhood is being more actively addressed as a policy issue. Fathers have had no statutory entitlement to paternity leave, though the recent EU directive is likely to change this.

All countries have some kind of equal wage legislation on such grounds as an employee's sex, nationality, colour, race, native language, social origin, social status, previous activities, religion. Equal pay for work of equal value is far from being realised, as discussed in Workpackages 1 and 2. There are clear gendered policies and laws for the armed forces and conscription, and also for some other areas of work, such as religious workers and ministers. For example, in Finland the Lutheran church exercises legal self-government. In the workplace historical restrictions of work according to arduous and hazardous to health for women, and thus indirectly men, also continue. Definitions of unemployment and retirement age also vary for women and men, though EU requirements have meant in practice a leveling down of rates.

In many countries the increasing neo-liberal and market-oriented climate has brought a more individualist approach to gender. Various trends in the 1990s, such as 'turbo capitalism', globalisation, restructuring, more intense jobs, have ensured that absent fathers and the lack of men in caregiving roles remain as key issues. The result of a more laissez-faire political attitude and economic and working life developments is often an increase in the *gender segregation* in parts of society. There are, however, 'counter-trends' and increased positive engagement from men are 'intact' families, post-divorce childcare, and wage work. There is also evidence from Norway that the *provider model* is again strengthened in some sections of working life, especially at top levels, although ideological changes further down in the hierarchy, including middle management, seems to develop a pro-equality direction.

On the other hand, there are limited moves towards greater equality planning in workplaces, as in Finland and Norway, where the 40% rule (as a minimum for women and men) operates, in theory but not always in practice, in public sector bodies and committees but not employment. In Germany a law on promoting gender equality in private enterprises, was been announced two years ago and just recently been postponed again (Müller 2001b). A proposal for reform of the private sector, including company boards, along the lines of the 40% quota system, has been made in Norway, and there the proposal for quotas similar to the public sector has been delayed.

While there are growing governmental and related discourses about men at home and work, including the reconciliation of the demands of home and work, there is usually a lack of explicit focus on men, especially in clear and strong policy terms. There is

also a lack of linkage between men as parents and governmental documentation on men, for example, as violent partners or violent parents.

4.3.2. Social Exclusion. As in Workpackages 1 and 2, this has proved to be the most difficult area to pre-define, but in some ways one of the most interesting. The ways in which social exclusion figures appears rather differently in the ten nations. However, even with this variation there is still frequently a lack of gendering of law and policy in relation to men: This is despite the fact that men often appear to make up the majority or vast majority of those in the socially excluded sub-categories. This also applies to the association of some forms of social exclusion with young men. Again to use the Polish example, except for a general anti-discrimination clause (Constitution of the Republic of Poland, Article 32.2), the issue of social exclusion, is not unequivocally reflected in legislation, with the exception of national and ethnic minorities which are referred to directly (Constitution of the Republic of Poland, Article 35, Clause 3.2). No differentiation on the grounds of sex is made in these laws. There are thus rather few laws and policies specifically addressing men in relation to social exclusion. In most countries many socially excluded citizens may often be discussed in politics and thus socially defined as men, yet the relevant laws and policies are not constructed in that way.

To illustrate these considerable variations, we may note, for example, how in Norway, there is a focus on the relation of citizens to the social security system, and on rural and urban youth. In Estonia government is increasingly recognising social exclusions, such as men's lesser education than women, non-Estonian men's lower life expectancy, homophobia, drugs, AIDS. Such problems have been denied a long time; however government is close to recognising these problems, especially drugs and AIDS. However, there is no clear plan how to deal with these men's social problems. In Germany there has been extensive debate on same sex partnerships. Although this has not yet yielded the same status as for heterosexual marriages, there has been some extension of rights, for example, old age care, housing rights, medical and educational rights regarding the partner's children. In Ireland men are generally not gendered in public policy, yet, through EU funding, men's groups for men have been set up in disadvantaged localities, usually based within a personal development model. At the same time outside the state father's rights groups are exerting greater pressure.

National reports have approached this area differently, as follows:

- *Estonia – poor education, non-Estonian men's lower life expectancy, homophobia, drugs, AIDS, unemployment.*
- *Finland – poverty, unemployment, homelessness, alcohol and drugs, social exclusion and health, gay men and sexualities, ethnic minorities/immigrants, disabled.*
- *Germany – homosexuality, migrants.*
- *Ireland – travellers, asylum seekers, economic migrants, gay men, men in socially disadvantaged areas, personal development, fathers' rights, disabled.*
- *Italy – poverty, pensioners, benefit claimants.*
- *Latvia – not specified.*
- *Norway – class and ethnic divisions, welfare/benefits claimants, poverty, northern and poor municipalities, rural and urban youth.*
- *Poland – homosexuality, national/ethnic minorities, homeless, alcoholics, drug users, offenders, prostitutes.*

- *Russian Federation – not specified.*
- *UK – neighbourhood renewal, gay men, sex and relationship education, young men, poor education.*

Somewhat paradoxically, countries with a stronger hegemonic masculinity, represented by great concentrations of capital and power, may in fact offer some more options for diversity among some groups of men, compared to smaller tightly-knit “male-normative” societies. Gender power relations and sexism intersect with other dimensions of oppressive power relations, such as racism, disablism, heterosexism, ageism and classism, and are a major dynamic in the generating patterns of social exclusion. Yet most governmental strategies to counter social exclusion do not explicitly address the issue of men; and where they do, an acknowledgement of oppression towards women and children is largely absent. Occasionally we hear of men as the socially excluded, rarely of men who perpetrate the various social exclusions.

4.3.3. Violences. The context of law and policy is set here by the recurring theme of the widespread nature of the problem of men’s violences to women, children and other men. Men are strongly overrepresented among those who use violence, especially heavy violence including homicide, sexual violence, racial violence, robberies, grievous bodily harm and drug offences. Similar patterns are also found for accidents in general, vehicle accidents and drunken driving.

Formal gender-neutrality operates in law in most respects. Exceptions to this include in some cases the specification of sexual crimes, of which rape is a clear, though complex, example, with fine differences between countries. In Estonia the Criminal Code deals only with the rape of women, and the Code of Criminal Procedure does not distinguish between the sexes. In the latter Code, rape is included under private charges proceedings. This means unnecessary additional hindrances and inconveniences to the victim in criminal proceedings (Kolga 2001b). In Poland provisions of the penal code do not refer to the rape victim’s or perpetrator’s sex, even though men are almost exclusively perpetrators in these cases. In Latvia while there are legal acts and documents dealing with rape, only one woman has come to claim rape against her husband and nobody has come in connection of rape as a sexual and human rights violation. Recent UK legislation has made it an offence for a man to rape another man; rape became non-consensual sexual intercourse by a man either vaginally or anally. In Germany there have been reforms on the illegality of rape in marriage. In the Russian Federation gender asymmetry in criminal law manifests itself in defining the range of criminal offences, and in describing the formal elements of definition of a crime, i.e. in the establishment of criminal responsibility. There are also other national gendered differences in the definition and operation of law, for example, on the doctrine of self-defence and the doctrine of consent. Gender-neutrality and gender specificity intersect in complex ways.

While the codification of crime and punishment is ancient, the issue of violence against women is a relatively new topic for policy development for many countries. In many countries this is still constructed as ‘family violence’ rather than ‘violence against women’. For example, in Latvia such violence is discussed in documents as a problem of a impoverished, less educated family with children. The family level remains a politically convenient target of governmental strategies and initiatives. In

1999, with the initiative of the Baltic-Nordic working group for gender equality cooperation both the situation of family violence and violence against women was mapped in Estonia. On the basis of the results of the survey, a national strategy to combat violence against women will be prepared. It was noted that due to the lack of information the general public, as well as health care specialists and police officers, do not fully realise the seriousness of the problem. In Italy public debate has led to new precautionary laws being developed, with a focus on orders of protection against family abuses; these are, however, not gendered (Ventimiglia 2001b). Given that the central organising ideology which dictates how men are governed in Ireland is the provider model and the hard-working 'good family man', when evidence emerges that not all men are in fact 'good', a deficit in governance and services arises. Minimal attempts have been made to develop intervention programs with men who are violent to their partners, while only a fraction of men who are sex offenders are actively worked with towards rehabilitation/stopping their offending. Masculinity politics with respect to violence are becoming more complex, with increasing pressure to recognise male victims of women's domestic violence.

In the UK 'domestic violence' has both received far more attention and been far more defined as a gendered crime in recent government guidance and legislation than any other form of men's violence. In Finland a national programme has been developed against violence, along with other initiatives against prostitution and trafficking (<http://www.stakes.fi>). There is also some change in terminology in Finland, UK and elsewhere from 'domestic violence' or 'family violence' to 'violence against women'.

In most of the Western European countries there is some system of refuges for battered women but these are generally very much lacking in funding. In contrast, in Estonia there is no network of shelters for women or indeed consultation services to violent men. Overall in most countries there is little intervention work with men who are violent to women. In Norway there has been the development of alternatives to violence projects for men on a voluntary basis; in the UK there is some use of men's programmes in some localities on a statutory basis. In many countries the concern with men's aggressive behaviour is still regarded in traditional stereotypes and is explained in terms of impoverishment, value crisis, alcohol and drug-addiction. The results of Norwegian research indicating the possibly significant impact of bullying on men's violence is underexplored. In the UK and elsewhere there is often a lack of consistency regarding violence against women and governmental policy pressing for greater involvement of men in families and greater fathers' rights. In Germany there has also been policy attention to other diverse forms of men's violence, including in the army, sexual harassment, and violence in education.

Even with this rather uneven set of responses to violence against women, it is important to consider that other forms of men's gendered violence have not received the same attention. For example, little recognition is afforded to the predominantly gendered nature of child sexual abuse in governmental documents/legislation despite the fact that this gendered profile of perpetrators is virtually commonplace as knowledge in research, practice and (to some extent) public domains. In the UK there have been numerous official enquiries into cases of child sexual abuse. Hardly any of them acknowledge one of the few relatively clear facts from research about this crime, namely that it is overwhelmingly committed by men or boys. It is to be hoped that the studies by mainly feminist researchers, highlighting the very real linkages between

“domestic violence” and child abuse, may focus attention on child sexual abuse as a gendered crime. Overall, there is generally a lack of attention paid to the gendered quality of violences inherent in, for instance, pornography, prostitution, child sexual abuse, trafficking in people. There is a need for more coherent government policies regarding men as childcarers recognising *at the same time* both men’s real potential as carers and the equally real problems of gendered violences by men against women and children.

4.3.4. Health. The context of law and policy in relation to men’s health has a number of contradictory elements. The life expectancy of men and thus men’s ageing has increased markedly since the beginning of the 20th century. Yet the major recurring health theme is men’s relatively low (to women) life expectancy, poor health, accidents, suicide, morbidity. Men suffer and die more and at a younger age from cardiovascular diseases, cancer, respiratory diseases, accidents and violence than women. Socio-economic factors, qualifications, social status, life style, diet, smoking, drinking, drug abuse, hereditary factors, as well as occupational hazards, can all be important for morbidity and mortality. Gender differences in health arise from hazardous occupations done by men. Generally men neglect their health and for some men at least their ‘masculinity’ is characterised by risk taking, especially for younger men (in terms of smoking, alcohol and drug taking, unsafe sexual practices, road accidents, lack of awareness of risk), an ignorance of their bodies, and reluctance to seek medical intervention for suspected health problems. Thus ‘traditional masculinity’ can be seen as hazardous to health.

Despite this, law and policy on health is often non-gendered, or rather, as with Violences, is a mix of non-gendered and gendered elements. In Poland both men and women are entitled to social welfare and health care use on the grounds of orphaning, homelessness, unemployment, disability, long-term illness, difficulties in parental and household matters (especially for single parent families and families with many children), alcohol and drug abuse, difficulties in readjusting to life following a release from a penitentiary institution, natural and ecological disasters, and, in the case of women, for the purposes of the protection of maternity. There are only government programmes on the protection of women’s health and no programmes on men’s health have been identified. Similarly, in Latvia policy is directed towards the health of mother and child, and stress is put on the importance of women’s health in terms of their reproductive health. There is no statement or mention on the issues of men’s (reproductive) health. In general, the family is marked as an integrated unit out of which a woman is singled out in terms of her childbearing functions. In Germany the state is now withdrawing partly from health insurance and this will impact upon gendered health outcomes.

In several countries there are now national health education programmes. In Germany, the Federal Bureau for Health Education has been focusing men’s health since some years in a rather comprehensive perspective. The relation that boys develop to their bodies, men’s procreative behaviour, men’s experiences of violence, knowledge about procreation in juveniles with migrant backgrounds are some of the issues (www.bzga.de; www.maennerleben.de). There are the beginnings of health education in Ireland, though the construction of health is mainly in physical terms. Sometimes health programmes, as in Estonia, focus especially on children and youth.

In Norway a number of health campaigns and measures are related to men's health, like attempts to reduce the proportion of smokers, but masculinity is not a main focus. Some research on men's health is ongoing or planned, but it cannot be described as a coherent research field. It is only recently that women's health has achieved this status. In many areas of health prevention, like reducing smoking, the problem patterns persist. There is a need to try new perspectives and methods, including a focus on masculinity and negative 'semiautomatic' life style habits among boys and men. Similarly, in Estonia, national programmes for the prevention of alcoholism and drug-use, tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, are all relevant for men.

There is growing concern with young men's health in a number of countries, for example, in Finland with young men's accidental mortality. Much needs to be done on men's and young men's suicide, and on the very high level of deaths from accidents (especially road traffic accidents) for young men. UK reports have noted how class factors intersect with gender regarding suicide rates for the highest risk age group (under 44 years), thus making an explicit link with some men's social exclusion. However, in many countries there are no policies. For example, there are no relevant provisions in Polish law exclusively on men's health. Men are referred to in individual provisions related to self-inflicted injuries or incapacitation of health carried out in order to evade compulsory military service (both of which are treated as offences). No data were found on Polish organisations that deal exclusively with problems of health, social welfare and suicides concerning men or on nationwide initiatives and programmes (they are mainly aimed at women and children).

The health of men is just beginning to be recognised as a health promotion issue in Ireland, in the context of growing awareness of generally poor outcomes in health for men compared with women and generally lower resource allocation to men's health. The Irish government is committed to publishing a new health strategy in 2001 (Ferguson 2001b) and has stated for the first time that a specific section on men's health will appear. Health is still tending to be conceptualised in physical terms, with a neglect of psychological well-being. While increases in male suicide, especially by young men, are increasingly the focus of public concern, there has been little attempt to develop gender specific policies and programs which can help men to cope with their vulnerability and despair.

The UK Government has supported the movement towards improving men's health by other strategies. Since 1997 it has assisted The Men's Health Forum (founded 1994) in several ways, such as setting up its website. In January 2001 an All Party Group on Men's Health was set up to raise awareness and co-ordinate policies. This indicates that some MPs consider that there have been insufficient discrete initiatives directed towards the issue. Previously the Men's Health Forum has argued that the government has relied too much on general health policies, hoping that men would be included in these via the normal health structures, even though men often do not access these structures as much as women. The Government's Health Development Agency has recently appointed its first men's officer. The aim is to encourage surgeries to open at times more convenient to men and make health promotion material more accessible to men.

What is almost wholly absent from national governmental policy discourses, as opposed to some research, in relation to men's health is any recognition that high levels of accidental and suicidal death might link with more critical approaches to men's practices, such as risk-taking, self-violence, problems in emotional communication, being 'hard'. Overall there is virtually no consideration of how problems of men's health link more broadly with a critical analysis of men's oppressive social practices.

4.4. Conclusions

4.4.1. *Gender-neutral language* is generally used in law and policy, though for different reasons within different legal-political traditions. The national constitutions embody *equality for citizens under the law; non-discrimination on grounds of sex/gender*. Despite these features, major structural gender inequalities persist, as noted in Workpackages 1 and 2.

4.4.2. The different traditions of *gendered welfare state policy regimes* have definite implications for men's practices; this is clearest in men's relations to home and work, including different constructions of men as breadwinners. The implications for men's social exclusion, violences and health need further explication.

4.4.3. The implications of *gender equality provisions* for men are underexplored. Different men can have complex, even contradictory, relations to gender equality and other forms of equality. Men's developing relations to gender equality can include: men assisting in the promotion of women's greater equality; attention to the gendered disadvantage of *certain* men, as might include gay men, men with caring responsibilities, men in non-traditional work; men's rights, fathers' rights, and anti-women/anti-feminist politics.

4.4.4. Efforts towards *gender mainstreaming* in law and policy are often, quite understandably, women-oriented; the implications for such policies for men need to be more fully explored, whilst at the same time avoiding anti-women/anti-feminist "men only" tendencies that can sometimes thus be promoted.

4.4.5. *The intersection of men, gender relations and other forms of social division and inequality*, such as ethnicity, remains an important and undeveloped field in law and policy. Both the substantive form and the recognition of these intersections in law, policy and politics vary considerably between the nations. These intersections are likely to be a major arena of political debate and policy development in the future.

5. Newspaper Representations on Men and Men's Practices (Workpackage 4)

5.1. Comparative and Methodological Issues

5.1.1. Methods of Analysis

In each nation, three (national) newspapers were selected for analysis as follows: 1 largest circulation 'serious'/'quality'/'broadsheet'; 1 largest circulation 'popular'/'yellow'/'tabloid'; 1 other to be chosen at the discretion of the national member (Appendix 7). These were acquired for the whole of May 2001. While all of May's papers were available for use, detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis focused on weeks 19 and 20, that is, Monday 7th May to Sunday 20th May, as these were the first two *full* weeks. These newspapers were thus collected and available before the commencement of the Workpackage.

We used the following guidelines in the process of choosing articles:

- include articles which explicitly discuss masculinity or masculinities.
- include articles which implicitly discuss masculinity or masculinities, that is, those articles whose focus is *centrally* on the activities of a man or men, even if they do not explicitly make links between the subject and masculinity.
- exclude material where a man or men are mentioned but the focus is not centrally on them. Sport is an area where it could sometimes be difficult to make distinctions e.g. not include an article where (men) footballers are mentioned but where the focus of the article is on (for instance) the start of the season rather than on those men as players.

The main method of analysis was qualitative analysis of the relevant articles on men and men's practices. This involved analysis of the key themes that were represented in the articles, and the dominant modes of their representation. The extent to which reporting on men and masculinities was framed in an individual, group, cultural, or societal context was also examined. There was also the attempt to place this analysis of national newspaper reporting in the context of the wider pattern of cultural representations, especially in newsprint, magazine and internet media.

In addition, quantitative calculations were made for each paper for each day of number of articles addressing men in relation to the four main themes: Home and Work, Social Exclusion, Violences, Health, along with an additional 'Other' category for articles on men that do not fit these four main themes. Also, calculations were made for each paper for each day total square centimetres (including title of the article and any pictures attached to the article) of articles addressing men in relation to the four themes: Home and Work, Social Exclusion, Violences, Health, along with the additional 'Other' category for article on men noted above. These quantitative calculations were completed with pre-designed proformas. The qualitative analysis of coverage examined the four themes: Home and Work, Social Exclusion, Violences, Health.

The general timescale for the Workpackage was taken normally to start from the beginning of the 1990's, but earlier developments have been included as relevant. Extensions back in timescales are recognised as being valid where appropriate (for example, comparing the situation in some transitional nations pre-1989 and post-1989). Information is provided on the 1980s in some cases in order to compare these situations.

5.1.2. Broader Comparative and Methodological Issues

The Network aims to facilitate greater understanding of changing social processes of gender relations and gender construction, particularly in relation to men and men's practices. Such research and data gathering on men should not be understood and developed separately from research on women and gender. The research focus of the Network is the comparative study of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. Undertaking this kind of exploration necessitates specific attention to the challenges and difficulties of comparative perspectives in European contexts. In recent years a comparative perspective has been applied to various aspects of study within the fields of, *inter alia*, sociology, social policy and social welfare.

Overall, much research on gender, media and newspapers, along with cultural studies more generally, has highlighted the deep embeddedness of gender in cultural artifacts, including, for present purposes, newspapers (Neale 1983; Craig 1992; Middleton 1992; Berger 1995; Pedersen et al. 1996, Edwards 1997; Nixon 1997; Penttilä 1999; Jokinen 2000). Men play the main role primarily in events in the context of politics, economy and sport. These categories, however, were not considered for the preparation of the report, unless men were the central focus of the article. In one sense, the press provides clear and explicit representations of men – sport, politics, business and so on. For example, in most sports journalism there is a kind of transparent taken-for-grantedness of men, such that within the confines of the text it is not necessary to focus specifically on men and women as genders. In these kind of textual orders man is the norm and woman is the exception. At the same time, assumptions about men, masculinities and men's practices pervade most, perhaps all, press reporting. When studying journalism or rather mainstream journalism, dominant assumptions about men and gender, such as heterosexual assumptions, pervade the texts and can be taken as a starting point in their interpretation and deconstruction. In journalism, as elsewhere in society, there are arenas where taken-for-granted heterosexual gender segregation and assumptions are so transparent that there is no need in the texts to specifically and explicitly emphasise gender.

As noted in the previous section, we used the following guidelines in the process of choosing articles: include articles which explicitly discuss masculinity or masculinities; include articles which implicitly discuss masculinity or masculinities, that is, those articles whose focus is *centrally* on the activities of a man or men, even if they do not explicitly make links between the subject and masculinity. However, the operationalisation of these guidelines is far from unproblematic, partly because of the very pervasiveness of 'men' and 'masculinity' throughout much newspaper coverage. Thus our attempts to focus on only those articles that discuss masculinity or masculinities implicitly or explicitly is fraught with difficulties of definition. While in general we would define masculinity as that set of signs that show someone is a man, we have not sought to impose a single definition of 'masculinity' or 'masculinities' on the researchers in each country. Rather it has been left to each to decide what would be recognisable as 'masculinity/ies' in each local, national cultural context. This clearly raises difficulties of comparison, which this workpackage can only begin to address. It also explains why there are so few articles identified as related explicitly to men; this is not a surprising conclusion but rather the 'normal situation', because of the taken-for-granted pervasiveness of 'men', 'masculinity' and dominant forms of gender relations more generally.

Indeed, in this sense apparent 'gender-neutrality' is a very widespread mode of representation in newspapers. Accordingly, when referring to notions of 'gender-neutrality' we do not mean that gender is not present or does not matter. On the contrary, 'gender-neutrality' is a taken-for-granted and widespread mode of representation in which the object is represented *as if* gender is not present or does not matter; this supposed 'gender-neutrality' is a form of gendering. Similarly, the extensive use of factual styles of reporting and various forms of 'facticity' in news journalistic genres, that may appear to be presented as simply 'neutral', does not mean that such news can be said to be 'gender-neutral' (Hearn 1998a; Hanmer and Hearn 1999).

The kind of 'silence' or 'absence' regarding men through apparent 'gender-neutralisation' helps explain why investigating men can seem 'difficult', and even perhaps why men and boys often find it difficult to change or break with the established, dominant and neutralised pattern. This pattern seems to express or embody a broad resistance. In some situations women are given a similar form of 'main person' neutralisation, as, for example, in the dominant representation of women in nursing journals, even though there have historically been long traditions of male nurses. The same kind of meta message can be found in journals and material from various parts of professional life and work organisation: that there is a 'right' gender and then there are 'exceptions'.

The main categories for both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the press material - Home and Work, Social Exclusion, Violences, Health - have been taken from the themes of the Network's work. In this sense a somewhat artificial structure has been imposed on the analysis of the newspapers concerned. There are, for example, many overlaps and interrelations between the coverage of the four themes, for example, between the *representation* of social exclusion and violence, or homelessness and home and work. On the other hand, this consistent structure maintains the possibility of comparing the way in which these four broad themes have been treated across the research, statistical, and law and policy, as well as the newspaper media in question here. In this sense, research, statistical, and law and policy can themselves all be understood as *forms of media and representation*, with their own diverse traditions, interests and genres.

The classification of articles in relation to the four themes has often met systematic problems in the sense that the categories tend to overlap in the empirical data. In some cases there have been problems of an article fitting into two or even more categories. For example, 'violences' and 'social exclusion' often go together with each other because perpetrators *and* violence are indicated in one article. Generally, each article has where possible been categorised in one main category, that is, the category which appears to be the most important for why the article is produced. Thus we have solved this methodological problem by classifying articles into thematic categories on the grounds of the thematic frame that the article *primarily* addresses. If an article would fit 'equally' in two categories, it has been counted in both (that is, twice). Sometimes the visual material, headline and text differ in their messages, concerning the given categories. For example the photo shows 'violence', the headline focuses on 'home and work', while the text talks about the situation of a socially excluded person. In this case we again decided to chose the most obvious and striking category. A major

reason for these difficulties in classification is that the thematic categories are of different characters: social exclusion is a sociological category, while violence, home and work, and health represent categories of the participants themselves, namely the authors of the article.

The period of study of the chosen papers is also important. The period of two or four weeks devoted to the analysis is too short to define the representations of men. For instance, in the Polish case the amendment of the labour code, in which the Parliament granted fathers the right to a part of maternity leave was important from the point of view of 'men's' issues at that time. A very different pattern of reporting would have been apparent, for example, during the weeks following the September 11 attacks. One may wonder whether the data are representative and whether conclusions drawn on the basis on the analysis of so small a sample of press material are indicative of longer-term and more general patterns and trends. The analysis performed does not provide grounds to specify the nature of well-defined thematic trends on men that have been addressed in the project.

For all these reasons, this report has focused more fully on the general issues around comparative study, methodology and the general state of the newspaper representations rather than the more specific issues raised by the four main themes that have been tended to be emphasised in the previous workpackages.

5.2. The General State of Newspaper Representations

The general situation of newspapers is very different in the ten countries, partly because of the huge variation in the size of the populations and the geography of the countries, and partly the sheer range in the size and complexity of their newspaper and other media markets more generally. There are also variations in the extent of research on the gendered representation of men in newspapers in the countries. Generally, however, there has been much less research on newspapers as an aspect of gendered media research than on the 'more glamorous' media of film and television. Newspapers are *literally everyday phenomena*; their *very ordinariness* mean that they may not be taken as seriously in studies on men, gender relations and media representations as other and 'more dramatic' forms. Yet apart from the question of the representation of 'men' and 'men's practices' in printed newspaper articles and visual depictions, principally advertisements and photographs accompanying articles, there are many other aspects of newspapers worthy of much further study in relation to men and men's practices in the future. These include broad socio-economic questions around men and men's practices in the ownership, production, circulation and consumption of newspaper, the interconnections of newspapers and other media, and the representation of men in apparently mundane aspects of newspapers, such as announcements of 'births, deaths and marriages', obituaries, cultural reviews of film, television and other media, listings of television and other media, and personal small advertisements, for 'soulmates', sexual services, buying and selling of goods, 'exchange and mart', and so on.

While many countries have a relatively few market leaders in both the more 'quality press' and the more 'tabloid press', there is also a great diversity of newspapers at the national and especially regional levels. The extent of separation of 'quality' from 'tabloid' press (and thus the continuum of market segmentation) is also variable by nation. For example, in Ireland there is a clear preference for the better quality,

serious media over the tabloid press (Ferguson 2001c). There are no Irish produced tabloids though there are Irish editions of UK tabloids. In general, the markets are diversified, starting from mainstream newspapers mainly distributed in cities and newspapers of smaller, regional and local scale whose circulation is really low and addresses a very specific target audience. In some cases these newspapers may survive mainly through their donors' financial support; in some cases they may be distributed for free or at reduced price. There is also a recent growth of free newspapers, sometimes distributed in the larger cities with the cooperation of transport authorities, and supported by advertising and sponsored by larger normal priced newspapers. Another key area of growth is internet newspapers and the internet versions and resource archives of paper printed newspapers. These archives are in some cases a huge potential resource for research, basic information and analysis of representations of men and men's practices.

In the cases of the transitional nations there have been considerable changes in the structure and operation of the news media in recent years. During the Soviet period media was very much the tool of state, party and communist ideology, with high levels of printing and circulation of state newspapers. Counter newspapers were also very important in the lead up to the collapse in the communist regimes in some cases (*Russia national report on newspaper representations on Men and Men's Practices. Workpackage 4, 2001*). Following the collapse of the former Communist bloc, there has been further development of the mass media market, including the informational universe of international mass media, cable stations and the Internet. National television and press are still and seriously lagging behind some Western European media, in terms of professionalism, social engagement and consumer/market competence/flexibility.

The coverage of different themes in relation to men in the national newspapers surveyed varies between the countries. As a broad generalisation, printed media do not generally devote much *explicit* attention to men, masculinities and men's practices. The overall space devoted explicitly to men is low – generally a few percent of the total coverage. Contrary to some expectations, the most popular, more comprehensive and the most quality newspapers do not necessarily allocate the greatest surface area to these issues. Interestingly, such 'quality' papers do not necessarily have less advertising, catering as they tend to for more affluent sections of the population.

The extent of coverage on men is greater in the Western European countries than in the Eastern European countries. The greatest number of articles in most countries is on violences, with the second greatest number usually on home and work. However, in both Germany and Ireland the largest category of articles was on social exclusion, followed by violences in both cases. However, the articles on violences are often relatively short, so that Home and Work is often the largest category by space covered. The range of the amount of the number of articles by theme is as follows: home and work (9%-24%), social exclusion (4%-48%), violences (20%-78%), and health (2%-19%). The greatest coverage is for men's relations to violences and to home and work. Apparently 'gender-neutral' ways are commonly used for reporting on all 4 main themes. The explicitly gendered representation of men in the press is not strongly visible. When gender is explicitly presented, then traditional views are often

reproduced. The image of men that emerges from the above analysis, is often necessarily incomplete and partial, even negative.

An important issue is how the content of coverage that addresses men in terms of social problems and problematisation of men relates primarily an individual focus, primarily group/cultural focus; primarily societal focus; other focus; unclear focus. For example, in the 'tabloid' press the articles often had an individual focus. Even when they were implicitly addressing a problem unique, or at least more common, to men this still tended to be done through an individual's story. This was somewhat less so in the 'quality' press, though societally focused articles were still generally unusual.

In some cases there is explicitly anti-feminist journalism. In Ireland, for example, this is having a distinct effect on gender politics in Ireland (Ferguson 2001c). While it may have helped the problematisation of men and masculinities in public discourse, it has appeared to have made it more difficult for stories about violence against women, and women's issues in general to be a legitimate focus of comment in their own right. In some journalistic accounts defeating feminism seems more important than promoting men's welfare.

While broad political positions can be identified in press and other media, the specific interpretation of the possible meanings and structures of articles needs to be related throughout to context and genre. Though for reasons of time and space, questions of context, genres and linguistic metaphor are generally not examined in any detail, it is important to note that the contexts in which the male gender is given importance or meaning are themselves gendered. For example, when male company managers are presented as supposedly non-gendered, this can itself be seen as a means of obscuring gendered practices whereby female managers are seen as 'exceptions'. Thus the question can be asked: to what extent are there established genres regarding the four main themes? As a provisional observation, there appear to be several well-established genres that are relevant to the representation of men. These are most obvious in the field of violence, specifically through crime reporting. There are also clear genres in sport, politics and business. The field of home and work is more diverse, though some articles are research-based or produced in response to governmental or academic research. The fields of social exclusion and health are also less clearly organised in their reporting, though it may be that there are emerging genres in both, in terms of the public debates on men's health problems, and the awareness of the social exclusion of some groups of men.

One interesting strategy or genre is that of scandalisation or the scandal. This is to be seen in some German and British newspapers for example. This aims to make the public stand up stunned or shake their heads about the unbelievable things that may happen in the world – a world 'abroad' which can mean geographically and culturally far away as well as far away from the reader's social status or a world 'nearby' which alarms about what evil and cruel things may happen to them themselves or in their close neighbourhood. In particular, items around violence are presented in this scandalising way. On the other hand, in some countries, notably Ireland, such aggressive investigative journalism and thus forms of scandalisation are just not possible as elsewhere, because of the strict nature of the libel laws. The political and public service culture in Ireland is such that resignations for being 'outed' (as gay), or

as having failed in one's public duty are very rare indeed. Politicians are simply not held to account in the same manner as in the UK, or at least they do not take the ultimate step/sanction of resigning; nor are they sacked.

In some cases a particular news issue concerning men has a special prominence for a considerable period of time, and almost a life of its own in the national press. For example in Ireland, the most prominent reporting in all categories of men's issues during the study period concerned the dismissal of the Managing Director of the national airline, Aer Lingus, for alleged sexual harassment. The rights and wrongs of the action were hotly debated, with some commentators questioning the motives of the women who made the complaint and whether men can ever properly prove themselves innocent of the charges. While some journalists were concerned about natural justice, some of the commentary fitted with a sense that is growing in the Irish media that feminism has gone too far and men are being unfairly discriminated against and always losing out (Ferguson 2001c).

The study of such *contextual* aspects of representation are one major gap in current research on men in the media and thus need to be explored further in future work. Indeed, it could be important to examine in which kinds of journalistic contexts men are given meaning *as a gender* or *as gender* (in a comparable way to how women are sometimes equated with *sex/gender*). It is quite apparent that those kind of contexts where men are given meaning as gender are rather untypical and could perhaps at their part change the typical man-woman segregation prevalent in mainstream journalism.

Interestingly, this foregrounding of men *as a gender* or *as gender* is currently done, or performed, in rather limited and specific ways within mainstream news media. This includes occasional 'men's supplements' or 'fathers' supplements' (as, for example, on Father's Day), which are presented, sometimes in a humorous or ironic way, as parallel or equivalents to 'women's supplements' or 'women's pages'. Not only daily newspapers would be worthy of analysis, but also information magazines – weeklies, biweeklies, or monthly papers. The press of this type sometimes presents problems directly or indirectly bearing upon men or related to 'men's' issues. There are of course other media that directly foreground men, in the texts and as readers/consumers. These include pornography (of many different types), men's health (such as various national language versions of the originally US-published *Men's Health*), style and other 'men's' magazines (largely but not exclusively for younger men and sometimes including what might be described as 'soft porn'), gay media, and a relatively small anti-sexist/pro-feminist media. There is a limited development of literature and other media on other non-pro-feminist 'men's movements', such as Christian, 'fathers' rights', and so on. There are also a huge variety of 'specialist' hobby and special interest magazines and other media, that appear to focus very much indeed on male/men consumers and readers, and are partly explicitly and partly implicitly on men; these range across sports and games, fishing, personal computers and the Internet, cars, motorbikes, even pipe smoking.

One crucial aspect of historical change in the media is the movement towards the visual in mass media. While there are many forms of visual mass media, advertising is a particularly potent source of cultural imagery. Advertising images can even be seen as an educational instrument of "gender literacy". The ideology of what it means to be

a “real man” is translated into advertisement images of expensive businessmen’s clothing or young stylish men or, some countries at least, working clothes. Such images are inferential of certain recognisable models of masculinity – public/individual/young/acting/building/ achieving/enjoying – and are provided by the advertisement-sponsoring companies, whether or not they have consciously concerned themselves with the textual productions of men and men’s practices and representations of men.

With more transnational contacts, information, exchange, possible models of men’s behaviour in the family, their jobs and sexual identifications are translated into local and national societies from a wider informational world and international perspective, which in practice often means Western, especially US, corporate imaging and representations of men. This applies throughout Europe. For example, in Norway (Holter 2001c) many wonder why the diversity and competition has led to endless series material (mostly US) on most television stations, advertising and apparently superficial commercial or commercial style radio, and so on. The overall media picture has generally become much more commercialised over the last decade, including advertising targeting children, and other specific groups. In some countries there is debate on the attempts to diversify the television and radio channels over the last ten years and is attracting a lot of debate and critique at the moment. The nature of this increasingly transnational debate (around satellite, cable, digital, multi-channel, multi-media developments) need to be placed in the specific national media and newspapers contexts. For example, Norway has a state support system for small newspapers and scores highly on the number of papers per inhabitant; Finland has one of the highest per capita rates of newspaper production and reading in the world.

Younger generations of men appear to often prefer Internet sources and other informational sources that are largely beyond the exploration of the topic here. Many use either Internet, television or radio, rather than be regular readers of national newspapers. It might be that the power of newspapers to influence their target audiences and shape their opinions is undergoing significant long-term change and reduction. In several Estonian Internet portals there have been very lively and active and non-censored discussions on gender equality, and the position of men and women in society. This would suggest that Estonians, especially the younger and active sections of society, are not indifferent to gender equality issues. Unfortunately it is quite common for articles written by feminists to receive very aggressive responses and even personal attacks. However, the Internet can compensate for the relative ‘passivity’ of newspapers and other media (Kolga 2001c).

Other important ICT media developments include email lists, bulletin boards, websites, chatrooms, virtual worlds, and interactive and multimedia, for example, combining mobile phones and Internet. The monitoring and control of media is thus increasingly becoming a very difficult transnational question, with contradictory implications. These include, on the one hand, the increasing availability of pornography, much produced from Eastern Europe (Hughes 2002), along with the harmful sexually violent effects for those involved, and yet the potentially democratising possibilities of much of the new media (see, for example Loader 1997; Liberty 1999 for relevant debates).

5.3. General Discussion on the Reports, including the 4 Thematic Areas

5.3.1. Home and Work. This theme covers a very wide range of issues, and as such it is perhaps not very surprising that it is relatively well represented in the newspapers of many countries. In many countries it had the second biggest coverage after the theme of violences. However, in some countries, such as Poland, the representation of this theme remained small. This theme of home and work sometimes includes relatively longer, more detailed articles, especially in the ‘quality’ press. The overall range of the amount of the number of articles for this theme is 9%-24%.

There are a small amount of articles, sometimes based on research, on the changing role of (some) fathers and parenthood models for promoting gender equality more generally. Indeed, with some exceptions, representations of men as fathers, sons, brothers and other male family members appear to be relatively excluded in the press. This is less so and may be becoming even less so, especially in Nordic, UK and other Western European countries. However, overall men or a man in his family context are still relatively rarely represented.

On the other hand, men play the main role primarily in events in the context of politics, economy and sport. These categories were not specifically considered for this report, unless the focus on men was central. In Latvia, for example, it was noted that most articles on professional men politicians are written with a critical or ironic tone on the men’s national political work. There were very few articles in the genres of “outstanding man’s biography”, “model life story”, “achievement story”, and so on on men in business in contrast to a number of articles on men and their “work” as hockey-players. Indeed business as a traditional men’s sphere has acquired ambiguous connotations in the context of economic crimes, government corruption, murders of businessmen and fear of mafia groups (Novikova 2001c). In some countries, there is a widespread tendency to trivialise references to men, as in the titles of such Estonian articles as “Men satisfy love of adventure by travelling and forget about career” or “Top businessmen earned millions in last year”. Gender has been clearly though implicitly presented in these titles. Somewhat parallel themes around hegemonic and business masculinities are found in Western Europe in terms of what has been described in the Norwegian context as “greedy boys are at it again”. This kind of sceptical coverage is quite frequent, especially when male leaders give each other large “golden parachutes”, options, benefits, and so on.

More generally, there is often an explicit absence of representations of many of the range of jobs and professions that men do beyond the traditional set of businessman/doctor/ soldier/actor/singer/sportsman. In some countries, especially the post-communist states but also elsewhere such as the UK, the military can act as an instrument of shaping certain dominant images of masculinity. This has received attention in the light of bullying of soldiers and “initiation rituals”. Politics, economy and in some cases the military are central interests of the state, the media and their dominant ideologies, and as such this involves imagery of manhood and masculinities based on “traditional”, “progressive” or sometimes “foreign” models.

In several countries – for example, Latvia, Norway and Finland - there was some more specific discussion of men and equality issues. In Latvia, the Gender Equality Draft was during this period drawn up and proposed for discussions in NGOs. In Finland the most discussed gender-explicit topic was the possible introduction of a men’s quota in teacher education. In 1989, when the Equality Act came into effect,

the quota which guaranteed that 40% of the students would be men, was eliminated. The majority of teachers are women and this led to worries that lone mothers' children especially might need a 'father figure'. There has thus been some pressure to make the quota valid again. Interestingly, the articles were mostly *against* a men's quota, and instead the personal qualities of the teacher were seen as more important than gender. State feminism and gender equality ideology has been to some extent internalised within Nordic mass media.

5.3.2. Social Exclusion. Social exclusion of men is often a relatively less reported theme than home and work. However, in Germany and Ireland it constituted the largest category, and is also very significant in Estonia. Social exclusion constituted between 4% and 48% of the articles on the four main themes on men. The mainstream press often does not deal with men's experiences around deprivation, poverty, unemployment and disadvantage. This is despite the fact that in the transitional nations and indeed in other countries, many men have had to face social downward mobility, as reported in previous workpackages. Questions on homeless men are sometimes discussed, and issues of men's health are rarely discussed, even if they might be mentioned. The relationship of issues of gender, class and ethnicity in terms of men do not figure much in the press as well. There are occasional reports on racism and racist attacks. For example, in Estonia a big story was when a racist announcement was found in a bikers' bar - "no dirty men in bar" – referring to black men. In some countries, such as Italy and the UK, there is a continuing media interest in scandals around sexuality and violence, such as political homophobic scandals, rent boys, paedophilia (Ventimiglia 2001c).

Interestingly, in Finland the theme of Social Exclusion received the least coverage in every newspaper in the time period (Hearn et al. 2001c). Two of the newspapers did not report on men and social exclusion in any way. This is despite the fact that during this time period, there were discussions going on nationally on the so-called poverty package of the government and measures to be taken to combat unemployment. It also contrast with the earlier academic and media debates on 'men's misery' (Hearn and Lattu 2000), that have been noted in previous workpackages, and that may now be less in fashion.

In many countries the press is relatively fixed within representational cliches that do not embrace a wide variety of positions of identification that are accessible to men, including those of social exclusion. This could be for a variety of reasons, including sometimes low social engagement and low professionalism of journalists; editorial censorship; in some cases weakness of the press in opinion-formation; and the more general preference for mainstream events and personalities. On the other hand, there are also continuing debates amongst some journalists on to foster social engagement, including on gender issues.

5.3.3. Violences. Violences is overall the most well represented theme, constituting 20%-78% of articles on men. Relatively less reporting appears to be found in the German and Latvian presses. In the latter general, discussions on forms of violences and men's involvement in them are marginal in the press. However, some of this variation may be accounted for by methodological differences in interpretation. Indeed some articles do not even state directly that it is men who are concerned as perpetrators of violence; common knowledge, however, suggests that men are

concerned in many of these instances, as, for example, in the articles that deal with socially marginalised groups. This makes for great difficulties in quantitative analysis.

Frequently in the newspapers surveyed, men as perpetrators of crimes, as a threat to society and, often, to safety and life of innocent people, are reported as relatively dominating social life. Men are described as perpetrators of crimes in the majority of articles, and yet that does not necessarily mean that crimes committed by men are seen as an important social issue. On the other hand most articles on violence are small in size. Short reports on violent acts or crimes comprised the majority of the articles related to violence. The cases described include violence perpetrated by men upon men, women or children, and even a dog (battery, harassment, rape and murder), and other breaches of the law by fraud, theft, robbery and organised crime. There were certain particular topical violent cases, such as rape cases, which received a relatively large amount column space.

Men's violence against women and children is often presented as a frightening, yet expected event; in case some things happen, that in fact happen every day. For example, if a woman wants to separate from the male partner she is living with, this may 'cause' danger, even death, to herself or her children, or to the new partner she starts to live with instead, or even to people who just happen to be around. Thus, many newspapers reproduce the view that makes violence against intimate partners and children a non-surprising element of masculinity, given a situation of private break-down.

The analysis of the articles recorded shows that descriptions of *individual* cases constitute the main way of reporting on violence. However, there are several kinds of exceptions to this pattern. For example, an interesting alternative is the reporting in both the Polish and the Finnish press on honour killings in Muslim countries which addresses social phenomena from the point of view of *culture*. A UK article addressed the alleged fact that a boy with a mobile phone is said to be more at risk of violence than a pensioner outside. This article took a *more societal* focus as well as explicitly recognising a problem for boys. Other articles have focused on the *group and cultural* aspects of gangs formation on the streets. Another UK article discussed how some boys carried out muggings because they needed the money whilst others did so either to enhance their reputation or because it was easy since there was no one and nothing to deter them, thereby bringing a societal focus to bear on the issue. A *social* focus was also used to look at the circumstances surrounding five men being held in custody as a result of the pregnancy of a 12 year old girl. The article discussed the social problems of the area in the context of regional steel and coal closures. More globally, some articles published dealt with *historical* or *international* crimes perpetrated by men (Pringle et al. 2001c). In Poland, the case of crimes against Jews perpetrated by Poles in 1941, as well as compensation for compulsory work in the Third Reich, repeatedly featured in the papers examined (Oleksy 2001c).

Although it is seldom stated explicitly, there is often an appeal to the view that "men are bad". More precisely, men are seen as bad in domestic and children matters. The appeal to men's bad nature may be used as a political angle to avoid debate on wider gender political changes. Such a tone is not so different from the Victorian message that men are barbarous, and need to be kept in the marketplace or away from home, while women are the moral elevators. More generally, this fits with the "men are

selfish” angle that is often used provocatively in the Norwegian press. For example, a recent Norwegian headline read “Pay Up or Become Pedestrians” reporting a new proposal that drivers licenses should be taken from fathers who do not pay child support (Holter 2001c).

What we have here is a complex intertwining of gendered and non-gendered aspects and reporting. For example, in the Finnish case most reporting about violence is in a gender-neutral way. The fact that men are far more often the perpetrators (and in some respects the victims) of violence was usually not specifically discussed. Furthermore, an important intersection of gender, nationality and ethnicity is that newspapers in Finland also mentioned the nationality of the perpetrator, if it was known not to be a national.

5.3.4. Health. Men’s health is the least reported theme in most countries, ranging from 2%-19% of the articles in the newspapers surveyed. The definition of health can be relatively complicated, for example, whether to include reports on traffic accidents, which are often reported in a gender-neutral way just mentioning the gender of the victim. Sport could also be seen as part of health. In most newspapers the very large majority of the sport news was on men and men’s sport events. However, these were not included as they were generally reported in a supposedly ‘gender-neutral’ way. There also appears to be much less reporting on men’s health in the transitional nations. No articles or information dealing explicitly and only with men’s health as a social, economic and medical issue were found in Latvia in the time period. And only one article, dealing with free prostate examination arranged for men, addressed the problem of men’s health in Poland. In Estonia there was slightly greater attention to men’s health. In Ireland the theme constituted 0.02% of the entire newspaper coverage.

The greatest number of reports were found in the UK press. These were sometimes individually focused. For example, an article on autism, though giving background information, focused on an individual boy and his circumstances, did not mention the high prevalence rates among boys. Explicit men’s issues did sometimes bring in a group focus but these were few. One article briefly addressed men’s need to talk more about illness, go to the Doctor more and not to ignore symptoms in a sub-article within one man’s cancer diary. Another brief article reported research suggesting that men feared impotence more than cancer, AIDS or even death; only heart disease worried them more. Only prostate cancer was addressed as an explicit issue for men. This was given a group focus but even in the ‘quality’ press the majority of the stories were about individuals or used individual accounts to illustrate a problem. Another example of a more group focus reporting was that on military conscripts’ meningitis in Finland.

At the detailed level, there are some newspapers that appear to place relatively greater emphasis on health and men’s health. This applies, for example, to the German newspaper, *BILD*, which includes numerous articles talking about dramatic cases of death. In *BILD*, the health of men seems to be always in danger. ‘Men’s health’ is thematised mostly in terms of risks, in traffic and in work, as a result of irresponsible behaviour, and as a result of violence (Müller and Jacobsen 2001).

5.4. Conclusions

5.4.1. Research: While in recent years there has been an increasing amount of research on representations of men in the media, there has been relatively little concern with the mundane, everyday media representations of men in newspapers. This workpackage is thus founded on a less firm research base than the previous three workpackages. This opens up many questions for future research on men in newspapers, and men's relations to newspapers.

5.4.2. Methodology: This workpackage has involved new qualitative and quantitative research that has raised very complex issues of measurement and analysis. In particular, there are major methodological and even epistemological issues in assessing forms of representation to 'men', 'men's practices' and 'masculinities'. This is especially so when a large amount of newspaper reporting is presented in supposedly or apparently 'gender-neutral' terms. Men are routinely taken-for-granted and not problematised in the press. Additionally, there are significant sections and genres of reporting, especially around politics, business and sport, that are often 'all about men', but without explicitly addressing men in a gendered way. Furthermore, the framework of the four main themes has been to a large extent imposed on the newspaper material surveyed.

5.4.3. Extent of Newspaper Coverage: While the overall extent of coverage of men, particularly explicit coverage, is relatively small, there is noticeably more coverage in the attention to men in families and, to an extent, gender equality debates in the Western European countries, especially Norway and Finland, than in the transitional nations.

5.4.4. Distribution: The most reported themes were generally Violences, usually followed by Home and Work. Social Exclusion was reported to a variable extent, and it was the most reported theme in Germany and Ireland. Health was generally the least reported theme; this was especially so in the transitional nations, with, for example, no articles in Latvia and only one in Poland. This contrasts with the higher number of articles in, for example, Finland and the UK.

5.4.5. Violences: This theme needs special mention as it figured so strongly in some countries. There is often a relatively large amount of reporting of short articles on men's violence, much of it reported on an individual basis. There are, however, some exceptions to this pattern with limited attention to group, cultural, social, societal, historical and international perspectives.

5.4.6. The Cultural Dimension: More generally, this Workpackage points to the possibilities for greater attention to the cultural dimension in comparative studies of men and gender relations. Literatures, where attention is given to, for example, cultural repertoires and national discourses could be useful here. The primary research completed by the Network on newspaper articles provides an initial analysis of what could be a much larger project.

6. Interrelations between the Themes

It is clear from the previous chapters that there are many important interrelations between the various aspects of men's positions and experiences, as there are between their impacts on women, children and other men. There are strong interconnections between the four main themes. This applies to both men's power and domination in each theme area, and between some men's unemployment, social exclusion and ill health. Men dominate key institutions, such as government, politics, management, trade unions, churches, sport; yet some men suffer considerable marginalisation as evidenced in higher rates of suicide, psychiatric illness and alcoholism than women.

The mapping of interrelations is one of the most difficult areas of research. It deserves much fuller attention in future research and policy development. This applies especially as one moves beyond dyadic connections to triadic and more complex connections.

The possible interrelations and connections noted below should not be interpreted in any absolute way. It is important to both emphasise local specificities, and to be alert to the contradictions that persist within these interrelations.

The main forms of interrelations include:

- (i) the interrelations within the main themes.
- (ii) the interrelations between each of the four main themes.
- (iii) the interrelations with other social structures and processes.
- (iv) the interrelations between social problems of men and the various constructions of societal problematisations of men and masculinities.
- (v) the interrelations between the different kinds of data.
- (vi) the interrelations induced through societal change.

We now briefly discuss each of these kinds of connections.

(i) the interrelations within the main themes

The pervasive importance of interrelations between social arenas and experiences is clearest in two of the main themes: men's relations to home and work, and the social exclusion of (certain) men. In the first case, there are many ways in which men's position and experiences in home affects work, and vice versa. These interconnections also clearly affect women at both home and work.

The basic relation of home and work lies at the heart of many understandings of society and especially the different traditions of analysis of welfare capitalism or welfare patriarchies. These latter approaches are themselves in effect often commentaries on men's relations to home and work (even if implicitly so), as, for example, in the ideas of Strong, Modified, Weak Breadwinner States; and Private Patriarchy and Public Patriarchy, with High or Low Subordination of Women.

The very construction of masculinity which is often the dominant form in popular governmental and welfare policy today is that of the apparently ‘neutral’ notion of the ‘hardworking good family man’. This way of governing men, and women and children too, can also mean a failure to address masculinity in terms of the social problems, violence and trauma it causes for women and children, and for men too.

There are also important connections around gendered time-use. The number of hours worked outside the home is a crucial determinant of the level of contact between parents and children. In many countries there are twin problems of the unemployment of some or many men in certain social categories, and yet work overload and long working hours for other men. These can especially be a problem for young men and young fathers; they can affect both working class and middle class men as, for example, during economic recession.

Research on men at home generally focuses on white heterosexual partnerships and families. There is a need for research on the intersections of men, the “home” and the “labour market” in its diverse configurations, including minority ethnic families and gay partnerships. The connections between home/work and both sexuality and ethnicity are rarely well analysed.

The interrelations between social arenas and experience is also clear within the theme of social exclusion. First, as repeatedly noted, social exclusion is defined in very different ways in different social and societal contexts. But it is always social exclusion from something. Most, arguably all, forms of social exclusion relate to other social positions and experiences – work, home, health, citizenship, education, and so on. There is also a lack of attention to men engaged in creating and reproducing social exclusion, such as through racism.

(ii) the interrelations between each of the four main themes

Home and work, violence and health can all be thought of as arenas of men’s and women’s and children’s experiences. Social exclusion is a more analytical category that may not be understood or experienced in that way by those so affected – in either being socially excluded or creating or reproducing that social exclusion. The main forms of interrelations are now noted between these themes.

a. Home and work – social exclusion. Men’s social exclusion from home or work is likely to create problems in the respective other arena. This is likely to have even more impact on the women in that arena, as partners, work colleagues, and so on. Men are also active in assisting and reproducing the social exclusion of both women and men, at both work and home.

b. Home and work – violence. Much violence occurs in the home, in the form of men’s violence to known women and men’s child abuse, including child sexual abuse. The home is a major site of men’s violence. There is increasing recognition of the scale of violence, including bullying and harassment, at work. Violence at home is clearly antagonistic to equality and care at home, and is detrimental to performance at work. Home and work both provide potential social support and networks, to both reproduce and counter men’s violence.

c. Home and work – health. Home and work are sites for increasing or decreasing men's health. Men, especially men in positions of power or with access to power, are able to affect the health of women, children and other men in their realm of power. This can apply to men as managers in, say, restructuring of workplaces, and to men as powerful actors in families and communities. Men's health and indeed life expectancy is also often affected by relative material wellbeing arising from work, and by dangers and risks in specific occupations.

d. Social exclusion – violences. The social exclusion of certain men may often be associated with violence. This may be especially popular in media reporting of men's violence. In some situations social exclusion may indeed follow from violence, as in imprisonment. On the other hand, social exclusion may even be inhibited by some forms of violence, as when men show they are worthy of other men's support by the use or threat of violence. Social exclusion may also be seen as one of the causes or correlates of violence, but this explanation may only apply to certain kinds of violences, such as certain kinds of riots. The connections of social exclusion with interpersonal violence to known others are complicated. Deprivation may be associated to some extent and in some localities with some forms of men's violence, such as certain forms of property crime, violence between men, and the use of physical violence to women in marriage and similar partnerships. Such forms of violence are also typically strongly age-related, with their greater performance by younger men. On the other hand, men's violence and abuse to women and children in families crosses class boundaries. Generalisations on these connections thus need to be evaluated in the local situation. There is growing recognition of men and boys as victims of violence, albeit usually from other men.

e. Social exclusion – health. Social exclusion is generally bad for one's health. Socially excluded men are likely to be adversely affected in terms of their health. Physical and mental health and wellbeing may in some cases be resources for fighting against social exclusion.

f. Violences – health. Men's violences and health may connect in many ways. Violence is a graphic form of non-caring for others. Some, but only some, forms of ill health, such as those induced by risk-taking, may also involve non-caring for the self. Risk-taking is especially significant for younger men, in, for example, smoking, alcohol and drug taking, unsafe sexual practices and road accidents. In this context it is interesting that some research finds that men are over-optimistic regarding their own health. Recent studies on men have often been concerned to show how men too are affected by health risks, violence and so on, without connecting the theses more systematically to societal context.

(iii) the interrelations with other social structures and processes

The main themes are in turn interconnected with other social structures and processes that have not been the main focus of the Network's activity. Several crucial areas of connection that can be identified here, including age and ageing; education; 'race' and ethnicity; and sexuality. Whilst all of these areas have been noted to some extent within the analysis of the main themes, they are worthy of much greater attention in the future. They are both important in their own right and they may act as connecting variables that influence the main themes. For example, education is a key determinant of both men's relations to home and work, and to social exclusion. Furthermore, age and ageing,

education, 'race' and ethnicity, and sexuality, all in different ways act across both the main themes studied and men's individual and collective lifecourses.

(iv) the interrelations between social problems of men and the various constructions of societal problematisations of men and masculinities

Connections apply in both the sense of social problems produced by and the sense of social problems experienced by men. Men's creation of social problems and men's experience of social problems are both powerful ways in which men and masculinities can be problematised more generally in politics, media, policy debate and elsewhere. More generally, the conceptual separation of "the social problems which some men create" from "the social problems which some men experience" is often simplistic, so that there is a need to study these intersections with great care.

There is a need for focused research on men's practices, power and privilege, in relation to both those men with particular power resources, and hegemonic ways of being men. The connections between some men's misfortunes and men's powers and privileges is a crucial area for future research.

The ways in which societal problematisations develop appears to be strongly related to the more general processes of societal change, as noted in section (v) below.

(v) the interrelations between the different kinds of data

Different forms of data and different workpackages have provided different information and emphases. A valuable task is to compare these differences within individual countries. An example (the UK) is provided in Appendix 8. Statistics and other research data have revealed the frequently contradictory nature of men's positions and experiences.

(vi) the interrelations induced through societal change

Connections and interrelations between gendered positions, impacts and experiences are perhaps most clearly seen at times of rapid social, political and economic change. Many of the countries have been going through major socio-economic changes. These include Ireland with rapid social changes from a predominantly rural society through a booming economy, and Finland which has gone through a major shift when people moved from the countryside to the suburbs in search of work since the 1950s. These have both brought problematisations of men and problems of change for women and men, especially in terms of the relatively rapid shift from rural to urban life.

In some cases social changes have been and continue to be profound, for example, the German unification process, post-socialist transition in Estonia, Latvia, Poland and the Russian Federation. With the restoration of national statehood, many welfare and social protection measures shifted from the state to local levels, and this meant new forms of dependency for people. The new conditions for property acquisition and upward social mobility have, however, benefited selected men-dominated echelons of power that were already structured by the vertical gender segregation of the Soviet political, ideological hierarchies and labour market and through access to economic, material resources that were soon to be re-distributed. The toll on certain groups of men, including ex-military men, marginalised and poor men, ethnic minority men has been immense, as shown in worsening health statistics.

In many countries the increasing neo-liberal and market-oriented climate has brought a more individualist approach to gender. Various trends in the 1990s, such as ‘turbo capitalism’, globalisation, restructuring, more intense jobs, have ensured that absent fathers and the lack of men in caregiving roles remain as key issues. In such different ways and contexts all aspects of the gendered social formation are subject to change, so altering the connections between the main themes, gendered positions and experiences.

7. Policy Recommendations

These can be considered under four headings which correspond precisely to the key dimensions of men's practices which the Network focused upon in its analysis.

7.1. Home and Work

One central recommendation is *to encourage men to devote more time and priority to caring, housework, childcare, and the reconciliation of home and paid work*. This is clearly an important and difficult goal for all countries, including the Nordic countries which are often applauded for their progress in this field. Indeed even there the changes in everyday practice have often not been very substantial. If major social policy inputs and governmental commitments to increasing men's actual parental leave can result in relatively modest results, then that suggests we need to reconsider very carefully whether top-down social policy initiatives are of themselves often sufficient for the changing of men's behaviours. In particular, a crucial factor is often the power relationship between men and women in relationships: specifically, the fact that men generally possess much greater power to choose the extent of their involvement than do their female partners.

Other recommendations included: to remove men's advantages in paid work and work organisations, as with the persistence of the gender wage, non-equal opportunities practices in appointment and promotion, and domination of top level jobs; policies on men in transnational organisations and their development of equality policies; to encourage men's positive contribution to gender equality; to remove discriminations against men, such as compulsory conscription of men into the armed forces, and discriminations against gay men.

7.2. Social Exclusion

Our recommendations included reducing the social exclusion of men, especially young marginalised men, men suffering racism, and men suffering multiple social exclusions; reducing the effects of the social exclusion of men upon women and children; ameliorating the effects of rapid socio-economic change that increase the social exclusion of men; specifically addressing the transnational aspects of social exclusion of men, in, for example, transnational migration, and homosexual sexual relations; to change men's actions in creating and reproducing social exclusions. With regard to the latter point, two issues should be emphasised. First, it is clear that the relationship between the dynamics of racism and some dominant forms of masculinity has been both massively under-researched and largely ignored in terms of social policy initiatives. One early model for the kind of analysis which is required can be found in Michael Kimmel's recent work on right-wing militias in the United States (Kimmel, 2001). Secondly, we need to recognise that gendered violence to women and sexual violence to children are massive global (including European) problems which should be regarded as profound forms of social exclusion – and treated as such in terms of social policy initiatives.

7.3. Violences

Our recommendations include: stopping men's violence to women, children and other men, assisting victims and survivors; enforcing the criminal law on clear physical violence, that has historically often not been enforced in relation to men's violence to known women and children; making non-violence and anti-violence central public

policy of all relevant institutions – including a focus on schools within extensive public education campaigns; assisting men who have been violent to stop their violence, such as men’s programmes, should be subject to accountability, high professional standards, close evaluation, and not be funded from women’s services; and recognising the part played by men in forms of other violence, including racist violence.

We also want to make a more general point about social policy and men’s violences to women and/or children. If we look at various welfare systems in Western Europe in terms of the extent to which they demonstrate an awareness of the problem and a willingness to respond to it, then the transnational patterns that emerge in Europe are almost a reversal of the standard Esping-Andersen-type classifications. The criteria which can be used to look at each country would include: the levels of research carried out on the topic in different countries; the extent to which the prevalence of men’s violences has been researched and/or acknowledged publically; the extent to which legal frameworks are focused on men’s violences; the extent to which there are welfare initiatives aimed at dealing with the outcomes of men’s violences; the extent to which welfare professionals are trained to address men’s violences.

If such criteria are used, then arguably United Kingdom emerges as perhaps the most advanced welfare system in this case whilst some of the Nordic countries do rather badly or would only rate in the middle rank. In other words, on this important dimension of men’s violences to women and to children, one of the relatively “Neo-liberal” welfare systems in Europe performs much better than many of the “Scandinavian” welfare systems. This is significant for a number of reasons at various levels of policy: first, it suggests that much needs to be done in the Nordic states to make their welfare responses in this field as relatively comprehensive as they certainly are in other fields of welfare; second it suggests that using Nordic welfare systems as models in social policy (which often occurs in a number of welfare areas) may be more hazardous than has generally been assumed: one has to choose which aspects of welfare to use as models; finally, it suggests that social policy-makers should be wary of relatively global “welfare typologies”.

7.4. Health

Our recommendations include: to improve men’s health; to facilitate men’s improved health practices, including use of health services; and to connect men’s health to forms of masculinity, such as risk-taking behaviour. As regards the latter point, the outcomes from the Network suggest that to fully understand, and deal with, the dynamics around the health problems of at least some men we may need to connect those problems to dominant, or even in some cases oppressive, ways of “being a man”: for instance, risk-taking behaviour relevant to some injuries and addictions; or an almost “macho” unwillingness to take one’s health problems seriously and seek medical help; or the marked violence which enters into the methods which a number of men seem to use to commit suicide. This point is also a good example of a more general conclusion arising from the Network outcomes which is highly relevant for policy-makers: in designing policy interventions one must seek to bridge the central divide which has previously existed in much research on men i.e the splitting of studies which focus on “problems which some experience” from those which explore “the problems which some create”.

Our other recommendations in the field of men's health were: to focus on the negative effects of men's health problems upon women and children; to ensure that focusing on men's health does not reduce resources for women's and children's health. Once again, this final point is one which we would wish to emphasise and to apply broadly across all the policy areas above: the creation of effective policy interventions in the field of men's practices are vital. However, they must never be made at the expense of funding for services to women and/or children.

7.5. Inter-relations Between Themes

As will already be clear from the above, there were many inter-relations, inter-connections and overlaps between the four themes. Let us give two further examples.

First, let us consider the inter-relations between the topic of fatherhood and men's violences. In most parts of Western Europe, it seems there is a striking tendency to treat these two topics as separate policy issues. Indeed, one can find countries which both enthusiastically promote fatherhood and, quite separately, address men's violences: but they do not join up the two. The outcomes from the Network suggest that they should in fact be joined up. In other words, there is no contradiction between positively promoting the role of men as carers and to emphasise at the same time the prime requirement of protecting children from men's violences. One is striking, in terms of European research and in terms of policy-making across Europe, is how rarely such an integrated dual approach is adopted: the question as to why it seems to be so hard to do it is one which researchers and policy-makers should ponder deeply.

Our second example of inter-connections between the policy themes is between social exclusion and men's health. There is considerable research across many countries illustrating a correlation between poor health, including the poor health of men, and various forms of social disadvantage associated with factors such as class or ethnicity. In fact, more generally the theme of social exclusion/social inclusion can be seen as an important element entering in to the dynamics of all the other three themes regarding men's practices – which again emphasises the requirement for particular policy attention to be given to social inclusion and the need for far more research on men's practices and social exclusion/inclusion to be carried out.

8. Dissemination

Dissemination is a major part of the Network's activity, and this is now discussed.

8.1. The European Data Base and Documentation Centre on Men's Practices

The Network has also established the European Database and European Documentation Centre on Men's Practices which can now be found at CROMENet (<http://www.cromenet.org>). The documents are created using a word processing application or some other third party software and are stored as attachments in the data base. These documents are made available to users through the medium of hyperlinks through which the documents can be retrieved. Additional information about the stored documents can be included, such as the author, and date of publication.

The site also provides information about CROME (Critical Research on Men in Europe) itself through pages that can equally be updated. The CROME-website consists of two main parts, one is open to public and the Intranet is reserved for CROME members and is accessible with passwords.

The main function of the Documentation Centre is to hold documents and make them easily accessible to users by a search function. In the main page "Resources" includes all relevant references on studies on men and electronic versions if available. It also includes CROME-related material. "Publications" includes only CROME-related material. This heading has been created in order to facilitate finding the project's material. A matrix of types of document and categories of searching has been constructed: by author; by title; by country; by main topic; by keywords; by document type; by workpackage; by year/date. There are at present about 350 such document items in the Data Base and Documentation Centre, and this number is gradually being added to. There are also links with other relevant useful websites, both international links and national links from project countries. Links consist mostly of sites on studies on men, gender equality politics and gender issues, other relevant EU projects and relevant organisations.

Some of the types of data, held as paper and/or virtually, are as follows:

1. 'Primary' and 'Secondary' data – for example, summary tables, but not necessarily published works.
2. Published works – articles, reports etc.
3. Required Formal Outputs from the Network – workpackages, reports etc.
4. Other Non-required Outputs from the Network - publications, articles etc.
5. User-friendly summaries of research.
6. Bibliographies and bibliographic resources – so that someone wanting to know about x or y can find out where to find out! Annotated bibliographic resources are particularly useful.
7. Active projects (practical, policy, research) on men in each country.
8. Links to other sites and data sources.

8.2. Publications

In addition, dissemination activity has been carried in terms of publications and conference papers:

- 40 national reports;
- 4 ten-nation summary reports;

- 8 academic articles jointly-authored by all Network partners, including in *Journal of European Social Policy*, *European Information*, and a 4-part series of articles in *Men and Masculinities* (Hearn et al. 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d);
- at least 6 jointly-authored conference/seminar papers;
- two books completed and at least four other books in process;
- numerous other individual and co-authored publications by Network partners at the national, regional and international levels, for example, co-editing of a special issue of *NORA: the Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, and a forthcoming first collection on men and masculinities in eight post-communist countries (see Appendix 13).

8.3. Links with Other Research Networks

8.3.1. Clustering with EU-funded Research Projects

Contact and cooperation has been initiated with three Framework 5 RTD projects:

HPSE-CT-1999-00031

Improving Policy Responses and Outcomes to Socio-Economic Challenges: changing family structures, policy and practice
Linda Hantrais (UK)

HPSE-CT-1999-00010

New Kinds of Families, New Kinds of Social Care: Shaping Multi-dimensional European Policies for Informal and Formal Care
Jorma Sipilä (Finland)

HPSE-CT-1999-000030

Households, Work and Flexibility
Claire Wallace (Austria)

The Network Co-ordinator has met, and been in discussion with, the Co-ordinator of RTD Project HPSE-CT-1999-00031. The outcome was a set of initiatives so that the two projects (a) will maintain ongoing and general links (b) will, as appropriate, develop specific synergies regarding one another's inputs and outputs. For instance, this Network submitted questions for inclusion in the RTD project's qualitative schedules for their "Step 2" research program (which occurred in 2001). That Step 2 program identifies, in each country, national similarities and differences in the relationship between family policies and family behaviour. The outputs from the research will then be available for our Network to use and disseminate in relation to our Documentation Centre. More broadly, discussions are also in progress about how to link the Network's web-based Documentation Centre with the RTD Project's own web-based site.

As regards HPSE-CT-1999-00010, the Network Co-ordinator and the Network Principal Contractor responsible for the Data collection/analysis held a meeting with the RTD's Co-ordinator. This was followed up by attendance of the Network Co-ordinator (with the Co-ordinator of HPSE-CT-1999-00031) at a Project Meeting of HPSE-CT-1999-00010 in Canterbury, UK in December 2001. The work of the Project

was reviewed by the Network Co-ordinator at that meeting and possibilities for future synergies were broached.

In relation to HPSE-CT-1999-000030, the Network Co-ordinator has agreed with the RTD Co-ordinator that the latter will explore the possibility of the RTD releasing some its outputs to this Network in due course. The Network Co-ordinator is discussing with Network partners the possibility of the network incorporating portions of this data and its analysis in the Documentation Centre at some point.

Furthermore, the Network co-ordinator attended the Dialogue Workshop organised by the EC Research Directorate in Brussels, 14-15 June 2001 and gave a paper there concerning the Network. One of the many valuable outcomes from that Workshop has been a recognition of the increased possibilities for clustering with other projects. Such clustering of course offers opportunities in terms of both gathering data and of dissemination.

Finally, Øystein Gullvåg Holter is a member of the EU Framework 5 Network 'Work Changes Gender'.

8.3.2. Links with Other International Networks outside Framework 5

These are many and various, but include the following:

- (i) European Network on Conflict, Gender and Violence (Jeff Hearn, Øystein Gullvåg Holter, Ursula Müller and Keith Pringle)
- (ii) The Nordic-UK Network on Violences, Agency Practices and Social Change funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers (Jeff Hearn and Keith Pringle).
- (iii) Jeff Hearn is currently co-editing the international volume *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, Ca.
- (iv) Irina Novikova is co-editing a volume on *Men and Masculinities in the Former Soviet Countries*.
- (v) Keith Pringle has co-edited the international volume *A Man's World: Changing Masculinities in a Globalized World*, Zed Books, London.
- (vi) UNICEF/SIDA (Swedish Development Agency)/Swedish Government 'Making a New World' Project against Men's Violence to Women (Harry Ferguson, Jeff Hearn and Øystein Gullvåg Holter).
- (vii) Jeff Hearn and Emmi Lattu have edited a special issue of *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* on 'Men, Masculinities and Gender Relations' Volume 10(1), 2002.
- (viii) Extensive Nordic links through Nordic Institute for Women's Studies and Gender Research (NIKK), Oslo. It has been agreed that NIKK's website, our e-mail lists and other contacts can be used to spread information about the EU project to those in the Nordic countries (researchers, co-ordinating bodies for women's studies and gender research, journalists, relevant departments, NGOs etc.).

8.4. Book Projects

- (i) *A Man's World: Changing Masculinities in a Globalized World*, edited by Keith Pringle with Bob Pease, Zed Books, London, 2001.
- (ii) *Men, Masculinities and Gender Relations*, special issue of *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* Volume 10(1), 2002, edited by Jeff Hearn and Emmi Lattu.
- (iii) *Men and Masculinities in the Former Soviet Countries*, edited by Irina Novikova and Dimitar Kambourov. Kikumora Publishers, The Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, 2003.
- (iv) *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, Ca., 2004, co-edited by Jeff Hearn with Michael Kimmel and Bob Connell.
- (v) *Encyclopaedia of Men and Masculinities*, Routledge, London, 2004/5, co-edited by Keith Pringle with Bob Pease and Michael Flood.
- (vi) *Men and Masculinities in Europe*, Palgrave, London, authored by the Network (Critical Research on Men in Europe), 2004.
- (vii) *The Social Problem of Men: European Perspectives*, in negotiation with Whiting & Birch, London, authored by the Network (Critical Research on Men in Europe).

8.5. Interface Workshops

As scheduled in the original plan for the Network, two Interface Workshops (IW) have been held: one in Cologne on 5th – 7th October 2001; the second at Lodz on 26th – 28th April 2002.

The Cologne IW was attended by 20 persons including a range of guests, primarily key research and policy personnel drawn from various national contexts. Guests and Network partners engaged in a creative and productive dialogue with valuable feedback in the specified areas of (a) the potential content of the Draft Interim Final Report (b) potential dissemination strategies.

The Lodz IW was attended by 21 persons, again including guests who are prominent figures within the European research and policy communities. Using the Draft Interim Final Report as a basis for discussion, this Workshop focused more closely on helping the Network develop a Dissemination Strategy and some its key components including: the Draft Final Report; the Policy Option Papers which will be drawn up for both national and supra-national governments; the already-existing web-based Network Documentation Centre/Database (see <http://www.cromenet.org>); and the final Network Conference. Perhaps partly because the personnel at the second IW overlapped considerably with the membership at the first IW, the dialogue in Lodz was generally felt to be especially fruitful and positive.

We gratefully acknowledge all the very constructive comments and suggestions on the work and interim reporting documents of the Network made by all the participants at the Interface Workshops.

8.6. Conference

A final conference on the activities of the Network was held at the Swedish School of Economics, Helsinki, on 31st January – 2nd February 2003. Funding support for the conference was also received from the Academy of Finland. It was attended by 55 persons from 16 countries (Appendix 14), with extensive dissemination and intensive discussion on the Network's activities. Nine presentations were given and there were three sets of working groups by random allocation, theme, and by region (see Appendix 15).

The conference was kept quite small in terms of numbers of participants and this assured a very intimate and fruitful working environment in the work groups and in general. Even the events where all the participants were present such as the presentations, were thus small enough to assure that there was a good opportunity for conversation and questions. All the workgroups also presented their thoughts on the topic discussed in the last gathering of the workgroups (see Appendix 16) for the whole group and this was followed with some general discussions. The general atmosphere was very good and this created a good working environment but the conference also had a very warm feel to it socially. The conference was the final Deliverable of the Network (Appendix 17)

9. Conclusion

This Conclusion is organised in four sections:

Section A General Summary

Section B Key Empirical, Theoretical and Research Outcomes

Section C Key Policy Recommendations and

Section D Final Remarks.

Section A General Summary

1. The Research Network and the Research Task

The topic of men is now on political, policy and media agendas. This report brings together the work of the European Thematic Network “The Social Problem and Societal Problematisation of Men and Masculinities” that has been operating since March 2000, within the EU Framework 5 Programme. The overall aim of the Thematic Network is to develop empirical, theoretical and policy outcomes on the gendering of men and masculinities in Europe. The central focus of the Research Network’s effort is, as its name implies, the investigation of the social problem and societal problematisation of men and masculinities. The reference to ‘social problem’ refers to *both* the problems created by men, and the problems experienced by men. The notion of societal problematisation refers to the various ways in which the ‘topic’ of men and masculinities has become and is becoming noticed and problematised in society – in the media, in politics, in policy debates, and so on. This focus is set within a general problematic: that changing and improving gender relations and reducing gender inequality involves changing men as well as changing the position of women.

The Network comprises women and men researchers who are researching on men and masculinities in *an explicitly gendered way*. The bringing together of both women and men researchers is extremely important in the development of good quality European research on men in Europe. Research on men that draws only on the work of men is likely to neglect the very important research contribution that has been and is being made by women to research on men. Research and networking based on only men researchers is likely to reproduce some of the existing gender inequalities of research and policy development. Gender-collaborative research is necessary in the pursuit of gender equality, in the combating of gender discrimination, and in the achievement of equality and in the fight against discrimination more generally. The Network consists of women and men researchers from ten countries: Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Russian Federation and the UK.

The initial work of the Network has been organised through four main phases or ‘workpackages’, on - academic and analytical literature, statistical information, law and policy, and newspaper representations - followed by three further workpackages of analysis and dissemination. For each of the first four workpackages there are national reports for each of the 10 participating countries, making a total of 40 national reports, along with four summary reports, one on each workpackage.

The main focus is on four main aspects of men, masculinities and men’s practices: *men’s relations to home and work; men’s relations to social exclusion; men’s*

violences; and *men's health*. The 40 national reports address these four main themes, according to the different sources of information: research, statistics, law and policy, media. These themes engage with problems both created by men and experienced by men. Violence can be understood largely as a theme through which men create problems, for women, children, each other, even themselves. Health and social exclusion are themes around which some men experience particular problems, as well as sometimes creating problems for women and children. Home and work, and their interrelations, are fundamental themes, in relation to which men both create and experience problems. These themes may be unevenly invoked in the differential societal problematisations of men and masculinities. The research task of the Network has been to map these patterns; the research, statistical, policy and media information that is available; and – just as important - the gaps that exist in that material.

This report also provides information on the other Network outputs, including the European Data Base and Documentation Centre on Men's Practices (www.cromenet.org) and relevant publications of Network members, arising from the Network's activities.

2. The Research Context and Changing Forms of Masculinities

The overall project is contextualised by previous scholarship on two areas of study: critical studies on men and masculinities; and studies of comparative welfare systems and welfare responses to associated social problems and inequalities. The project also has direct relevance to policy outcomes in relation to changing family structures; work configurations within the labour market and the home; and other changes in the wider European society.

For a long time, men, masculinity and men's powers and practices were generally taken-for-granted. Gender was largely seen as a matter of and for women; men were generally seen as ungendered, natural or naturalised. In many countries and until relatively recently, established forms of masculinity and men's practices could be distinguished on two major dimensions - urban and rural; bourgeois and working class. In these different ways men have both created huge problems, most obviously in violence, and have also been constructive and creative actors, as, for example, in the building industries, albeit within patriarchies. The exact ways these four forms were practiced clearly varied between societies and cultures. In addition, many other cross-cutting dimensions have been and are important, such as variations by age, ethnicity, sexuality. In recent years, urban bourgeois, rural bourgeois, urban working class, and rural working class forms of masculinity and men's practices have all been subject to major social change.

The taken-for-granted nature of men and masculinities is now changing. Recent years have seen the *naming of men as men*. Men have become the subject of growing academic, policy and media debates. In some respects this is *not* totally new; there have been previous periods of debate on men, and then, in a different sense, much of politics, research and policy has always been about men, often dominantly so. What is new, however, is that these debates, particularly academic and policy debates, are now more explicit, more gendered, more varied and sometimes more critical.

The making of men more gendered, in both theory and practice, has meant that previously taken-for-granted powers and authority of men, social actions of men, and ways of being men can now be considered to be much more problematic. They may not

yet be much more negotiable, but they are at least now recognised as more open to debate. A number of social changes now seem to be in place whereby men and masculinities can at least be talked about as problematic. It is now at least possible to ask such questions as: What is a man? How do men maintain power? Is there a crisis of masculinity? Or is there a crisis of *men* in a more fundamental way? Do we know what the future of men looks like or should be? What policy and practice implications follow both in relation to men and boys, and for men and boys?

Among the several influences that have brought this focus on men and masculinities, first and foremost is impact on men of Second, and now Third, Wave Feminisms. Questions have been asked by feminists and feminisms about all aspects of men and men's actions. Different feminist initiatives have focused on different aspects of men, and have suggested different analyses of men and different ways forward for men. Feminism has also demonstrated various theoretical and practical lessons for men. One is that the understanding of gender relations, women and men has to involve attention to questions of power. There have also been a wide range of men's responses to gender (in)equality and feminism – some positive, some antagonistic, some unengaged and apparently disinterested.

Something similar has happened and very unevenly continues to happen in academia. In some senses there are as many ways of studying men and masculinities as there are approaches to the social sciences, ranging from examinations of 'masculine psychology' to broad societal, structural and collective analyses of men. An important development has been the shift from the analysis of masculinity in the singular to masculinities in the plural. This pluralised approach understands 'masculinities' as configurations, often collective configurations, of embodied gender practices, rather than traits, attitudes or psychologies of individual men (or women). Studies have thus interrogated the operation of different masculinities – hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, marginalised, resistant – and the interrelations of unities and differences between men and between masculinities. 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.

However, more recently, from the mid 90s there has also been a growing lively debate on the limitations of the very idea of 'masculinities', including around the confusions of different current usages in the term. For this reason some scholars prefer to talk of 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'. Moreover, part of the recognition of the gendering of men also, somewhat paradoxically, involves understanding men as not only gendered but also aged, classed, ethnicised, racialised, and so on. The notion of the pure gendering of the purely gendered man is a myth. Gendering exists in multiple reciprocities with other forms of social division, social relations, social categorisation and social identification.

Not only are men now increasingly recognised as gendered, but they, or rather some men, are increasingly recognised as a gendered social problem to which welfare systems may, or for a variety of reasons may not, respond. This can apply in terms of violence, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, buying of sex, accidents, driving, and so on, and indeed the denial of such problems as sexual violence. These are all activities that

are social in nature, and can have both immediate and long-term negative effects on others, friends, family and strangers. Some men suffer from adversity, such as from ill-health, violence, poverty, and the vulnerabilities of men are perhaps best illustrated by the trend of increasing numbers of men across Europe taking their own lives. The association of the gendered problematisation of men and masculinities, and the gendered social problem of men and masculinities is complex, as indeed are the differential responses of welfare systems. But at the very least it is necessary to acknowledge the various ways in which the more general gendered problematisations of men and masculinities both facilitate and derive from more particular recognitions of certain men and masculinities as social problems.

These processes of problematisation of men and construction of men as gendered social problems apply in academic and political analysis, and in men's own lives and experiences; they also exist more generally at the societal level, and very importantly in quite different ways in different societies. Thus while it may be expected that some kind of problematisation of men and masculinities may now be observable in many, perhaps most, European societies, the form that it takes is likely to be very different indeed from society to society. In some, it may appear in public concern around young men, crime, relatively low educational attainments in schools; in others, it may take the form of anxieties around the family, fatherhood, and relations with children; elsewhere, the specific links between boyhood, fathering and men may be emphasised; or the question of men's ill-health, alcohol use, depression, loneliness, and low life expectancy; or the problem of reconciling home and work, with the pressure towards long working hours; or men's violence to and control of women and children; or men's participation in and continued domination of many political and economic institutions; or changing forms of men's sexuality.

These and other forms of gendered problematisation of men and masculinities and constructions of men and masculinities as gendered social problems have been examined in a range of European national welfare contexts by the Network. There is great national, societal variation in how men and masculinities interact with issues not merely of culture but also other major social divisions and inequalities, in particular, class, "race" xenophobia and racism, ethnicity, nationalism and religion. The intersections of "race", ethnicity, nationalism and nationality appear to be especially and increasingly important for the construction of both dominant and subordinated forms of men and masculinities. Examining this entails investigation of the complex interrelations between these varying genderings and problematisations and the socio-economic, political, state structures and processes within and between countries. Fuller understanding of these issues is likely to assist the formulation of social policy responses to them in both existing and potential member states, and the EU.

Recently, attempts have been made to push forward the boundaries in the comparative field using feminist and pro-feminist perspectives to consider men's practices throughout the world. These attempts seek to locate such considerations within recent debates about globalisation and men's practices, throwing some doubt in the process on the more ambitious claims of globalisation theses. Despite such recent developments, there remains a massive deficit in critical transnational studies of men's practices and in the sources available for such study.

In the next four sub-sections we summarise the outcomes from the four main fields of data we surveyed: academic research; statistical information; law and policy; media and newspaper representations.

3. Academic Research

The general state of studies on men. The state of studies on men in the 10 national contexts varies in terms of volume and detail of research, the ways in which research has been framed, as well as substantive differences in men's societal position and social practices. The framing of research refers to the extent to which research on men has been conducted directly and in an explicitly gendered way, the relation of these studies to feminist scholarship, Women's Studies and Gender Research more generally, and the extent to which research on men is focused on and presents 'voices' of men or those affected by men. Other differences include different theoretical, methodological and disciplinary emphases, assumptions and decisions. In all the countries reviewed the state of research on men is uneven and far from well developed. In most countries research on men is still relatively new and in the process of uneven development. The extent of national research resources seems to be a factor affecting the extent of research on men. In some countries there is now some form of relatively established tradition of research on men, albeit of different orientations. In most countries, though there may not be a very large body of focused research on men, a sizeable amount of analysis of men is possible.

Interconnections between the four focus areas. The academic research has pointed clearly to strong interconnections between the four focus areas – especially between unemployment, social exclusion and ill health. Patterns of men's violence interconnect with these issues to some extent but also cut across these social divisions.

Similarities and differences. There are both clear similarities between the ten nations and clear differences, in terms of the extent of egalitarianism, in relation to gender and more generally; the form of rapid economic growth or downturn; the experience of post-socialist transformation; the development of a strong women's movement and gender politics. There are also differences between men in the same country, for example, former West German men tend to be more traditional than former East German men, and also within one man or groups of men.

Men in power. There is a particular neglect of attention to men in powerful positions and to analyses of men's broad relations to power, both in themselves and as contexts to the four themes.

4. Statistical Information

The explicit gendering of statistics on men's practices. In Workpackage 1 it was noted that an interesting and paradoxical issue is that the more that research, especially focused gendered research on men, is done the more that there is a realisation of the gaps that exist, both in specific fields and at a general methodological level. Clearly a lack of data on/from men hinders research development. This conclusion cannot be said to have been reinforced in any clear way from the Workpackage 2 national reports. On first reading it might seem that relatively few specific gaps have been identified in the statistical sources. In some senses there is indeed a wealth of information, especially on work and employment, as well as demography, family arrangements, health, illness and mortality. On the other hand, a closer reading shows

that while the national statistical systems provide a broad range of relevant information, they usually have significant shortcomings. Explicit gendering of statistics is still not usual. Moreover, there is an absence of focused statistical studies of men, especially differences amongst men. Many statistical studies are relatively cautious in their critical commentary. Many provide data for further analysis, interrogation, comparison with other data, critical comment, and theory development. This is partly a reflection of traditions around the rules of statistical inference, and partly as many studies are produced within a governmental context where such further analysis and critique is not seen as appropriate.

The source and methodology of statistics. There is a need to attend with great care to the source and methodology of statistics on men's practices. For example, focused surveys of women's experience of sexual violence (in the broad sense of the term) tend to produce higher reports than general crime victim surveys. In turn, the latter tend to produce higher figures than police and criminal justice statistics. Thus the use of statistics on men's practices is a matter for both technical improvement and policy and political judgement.

Unities and differences. There are both clear similarities between the ten nations and clear differences, in terms of the extent of egalitarianism, in relation to gender and more generally; the form of rapid economic growth or downturn; the experience of post-socialist transformation; the development of a strong women's movement and gender politics. However, these data on men's practices also reveal the pervasive and massive negative impact of patriarchal relations of power across all sectors of society. The importance of the ongoing challenge to these gendered power relations cannot be over-emphasised. There is a neglect of attention to men in powerful positions and to analyses of men's broad relations to power, both in themselves and as contexts to the four themes. Unities and differences between men need to be highlighted – both *between countries* and amongst men *within each country*. There are, for example, differences between men in the same country, such as between men in the former West German and the former East Germany, and also within one man or groups of men.

Recent structural changes and constructions of men. Analyses of the social problem of men should take into account that many of the countries have experienced recent major socio-economic changes. This applies especially to the transitional nations, though one should not underestimate the scale of change elsewhere, such as economic boom (Ireland) and recovery from recession (Finland). There is also the impact of more general restructurings of economy and society throughout all the countries reviewed. In the case of the transitional nations the political and economic changes were often viewed as positive compared with the Soviet experience. They also often brought social and human problems. While there is no 100% concordance between economic and social change, there is often a clear relation, for instance, a weakening of the primary sector leading to social and geographical mobility. In the transitional nations people never expected economic freedom would be associated with a decrease in population and birthrate, high criminality, drugs, and diseases such as tuberculosis. During the transition period there is often a negative relation between economy and welfare. These changes have implications for the social construction of men. In the Russian Federation there has been the recent appearance of "victimisation theory" to explain men's behaviour, according to which men are passive victims of their biological nature and structural (cultural) circumstances. Men are portrayed as victims

rather than “actively functioning” social agents, with the policy implications that follow from this. The various national and transnational restructurings throughout all the countries raise complex empirical and theoretical issues around the analysis and reconceptualisation of patriarchy and patriarchal social relations. These include their reconstitution, both as reinforcements of existing social relations and as new forms of social relations. New forms of gendering and gendered contradictions may thus be developing, with, through and for men’s practices.

Interconnections, power and social exclusion. There are strong interconnections between the four focus areas. This applies to both men’s power and domination in each theme area, and between some men’s unemployment, social exclusion and ill health. Social exclusion applies to and intersects with all three other themes: home and work, violences, health. Patterns of men’s violence also interconnect with all the themes to some extent but also cut across social divisions. Statistics are mainly focused on ‘dyadic’ analysis, for example, poverty and men/women, or poverty and ethnicity. Developing ‘triadic’ statistical surveys and analyses of, say, poverty, gender and ethnicity is much rarer, and an altogether more complex task.

5. Law and Policy

Gender-neutral language. Gender-neutral language is generally used in law and policy, though for different reasons within different legal-political traditions. The national constitutions embody equality for citizens under the law; non-discrimination on grounds of sex/gender. Despite these features, major structural gender inequalities persist.

Gendered welfare state policy regimes. The different traditions of gendered welfare state policy regimes have definite implications for men’s practices; this is clearest in men’s relations to home and work, including different constructions of men as breadwinners. The implications for men’s social exclusion, violences and health need further explication.

Gender equality provisions. The implications of gender equality provisions for men are underexplored. Different men can have complex, even contradictory, relations to gender equality and other forms of equality. Men’s developing relations to gender equality can include: men assisting in the promotion of women’s greater equality; attention to the gendered disadvantage of certain men, as might include gay men, men with caring responsibilities, men in non-traditional work; men’s rights, fathers’ rights, and anti-women/anti-feminist politics.

Gender mainstreaming. Efforts towards gender mainstreaming in law and policy are often, quite understandably, women-oriented; the implications for such policies for men need to be more fully explored, whilst at the same time avoiding anti-women/anti-feminist “men only” tendencies that can sometimes thus be promoted.

Intersections of men, gender relations and other forms of social division and inequality. The intersection of men, gender relations and other forms of social division and inequality, such as ethnicity, remains an important and undeveloped field in law and policy. Both the substantive form and the recognition of these intersections in law, policy and politics vary considerably between the nations. These intersections are likely to be a major arena of political debate and policy development in the future.

6. Media and Newspaper Representations

Research. While in recent years there has been an increasing amount of research on representations of men in the media, there has been relatively little concern with the mundane, everyday media representations of men in newspapers. This workpackage is thus founded on a less firm research base than the previous three workpackages. This opens up many questions for future research on men in newspapers, and men's relations to newspapers.

Methodology. The workpackage on media and newspaper representations involved new qualitative and quantitative research that has raised very complex issues of measurement and analysis. In particular, there are major methodological and even epistemological issues in assessing forms of representation to 'men', 'men's practices' and 'masculinities'. This is especially so when a large amount of newspaper reporting is presented in supposedly or apparently 'gender-neutral' terms. Men are routinely taken-for-granted and not problematised in the press. Additionally, there are significant sections and genres of reporting, especially around politics, business and sport, that are often 'all about men', but without explicitly addressing men in a gendered way. Furthermore, the framework of the four main themes has been to a large extent imposed on the newspaper material surveyed.

Extent of Newspaper Coverage. While the overall extent of coverage of men, particularly explicit coverage, is relatively small, there is noticeably more coverage in the attention to men in families and, to an extent, gender equality debates are more present in Western European countries, especially Norway and Finland, than in the transitional nations.

Distribution. The most reported themes were generally Violences, usually followed by Home and Work. Social Exclusion was reported to a variable extent, and it was the most reported theme in Germany and Ireland. Health was generally the least reported theme; this was especially so in the transitional nations, with, for example, no articles in Latvia and only one in Poland. This contrasts with the higher number of articles in, for example, Finland and the UK.

Representations of Violence. This theme needs special mention as it figured so strongly in some countries. There is often a relatively large amount of reporting of short articles on men's violence, much of it reported on an individual basis. There are, however, some exceptions to this pattern with limited attention to group, cultural, social, societal, historical and international perspectives.

The Cultural Dimension. More generally, this Workpackage points to the possibilities for greater attention to the cultural dimension in comparative studies of men and gender relations. Literatures, where attention is given to, for example, cultural repertoires and national discourses could be useful here. The primary research

completed by the Network on newspaper articles provides an initial analysis of what could be a much larger project.

In the next four sub-sections we summarise the outcomes in terms of the four main themes concerning men's practices we have surveyed: home and work; social exclusion; violence and health.

7. Home and Work

Recurring themes include men's occupational, working and wage advantages over women, gender segregation at work, many men's close associations with paid work, men in nontraditional occupations. There has been a general lack of attention to men as managers, policy-makers, owners and other power holders. In many countries there are twin problems of the unemployment of some or many men in certain social categories, and yet work-overload and long working hours for other men. These can especially be a problem for young men and young fathers; they can affect both working class and middle class men as, for example, during economic recession. Work organisations are becoming more time-hungry and less secure and predictable. While, it is necessary not to overstate the uniformity of this trend which is relevant to certain groups only and not all countries, time utilisation emerges as a fundamental issue of creating difference in everyday negotiations between men and women.

Another recurring theme is men's benefit from avoidance of domestic responsibilities, and the absence of fathers. In some cases, this tradition of men's avoidance of childcare and domestic responsibilities is very recent indeed and still continues for the majority of men. In some cases it is being reinforced through new family ideologies within transformation processes. In many countries there is a general continuation of traditional 'solutions' in domestic arrangements, but growing recognition of the micro-politics of fatherhood, domestic responsibilities, and home-work reconciliation at least for some men. In many countries there are also counter and conflictual tendencies. On the one hand, there is an increasing emphasis on home, caring, relations. This may be connected to "family values", a political right wing or a gender equal status perspective. It is not surprising if there may be a degree of cultural uncertainty on men's place in the home and as fathers and a growing recognition of ambivalence, even when there is a strong familism. There is also in some countries a growing interest in the reconciliation of work and home; and growing variety of ways of approaching this.

Given the considerable difference that still exists between men's and women's earnings, it is not surprising that it is the woman who usually 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 traditional domestic ideology to opt for the traditional solution. On the other hand, this labour market difference is not in itself enough to explain the persistence of such patterns. Other factors include the impact of power relations between women and men in marriage and similar couple relationships. Moreover, this pattern of women's tendency to leave the labour force for childrearing, for varying amounts of time, has to be understood in terms of the diverse patterns across Europe. Evidence from Nordic countries shows that parental leave which is left to negotiations between men and women, are mostly taken up by women, although most people, men especially, say they want a more balanced situation. Men and indeed fathers are clearly not an

homogeneous group. Men's unemployment can have clear and diverse effects on men's lives in families.

Among men there has long been a contradiction between the ideas they profess and the way they actually live. 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. The paradoxical ways in which gender conflicts on the distribution of housework may be negotiated may be illustrated from German research: 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 1990s have shown the opposite.

8. Social Exclusion

This has proved to be the most difficult area to pre-define, but in some ways one of the most interesting. Social exclusion often figures in the research literature in different ways, such as, unemployment, ethnicity, homosexuality, homelessness, social isolation, poor education, poverty. The social exclusion of certain men links with unemployment of certain categories of men (such as less educated, rural, ethnic minority, young, older), men's isolation within and separation from families, and associated social and health problems. These are clear issues throughout all countries. They are especially important in the Baltic, Central and East European countries with post-socialist transformations of work and welfare with dire consequences for many men. Even in Nordic countries, which are relatively egalitarian and have a relatively good social security system, new forms of problems have emerged. In the last decade, new forms of marginalisation have developed, with shifts from traditional industry to more postindustrialised society. Globalising processes may create new forms of work and marginalisation. Some men find it difficult to accommodate to these changes in the labour market and changed family structure. Instead of going into the care sector or getting more education, some young men become marginalised from work and family life. Working class men are considered the most vulnerable. There is a lack of attention to men engaged in creating and reproducing social exclusion, for example, around racism, and the intersections of different social divisions and forms of social exclusion.

9. Violences

The recurring theme here is the widespread nature of the problem of men's violences to women, children and other men, and in particular the growing public awareness of men's violence against women. Men are overrepresented among those who use violence, especially heavy violence. This violence is also age-related. The life course variation in violence with a more violence-prone youth phase has been connected to increasing exposure to commercial violence and to other social phenomena, but these connections have not been well mapped.

Violence against women by known men is becoming recognised as a major social problem in most of the countries. The range of abusive behaviours perpetrated on victims include direct physical violence, isolation and control of movements, and abuse through the control of money. There has been a large amount of feminist research on women's experiences of violence from men, and the policy and practical consequences of that violence, including that by state and welfare agencies, as well as some national representative surveys of women's experiences of violence, as in

Finland. There has for some years been a considerable research literature on prison and clinical populations of violent men. There is now the recent development of some research in the UK and elsewhere on the accounts and understandings of such violence to women by men living in the community, men's engagement with criminal justice and welfare agencies, and the evaluation of men's programmes intervening with such men. The gendered study of men's violence to women is thus a growing focus of funded research, as is professional intervention.

Child abuse, including physical abuse, sexual abuse and child neglect, is now also being recognised as a prominent social problem in many countries. Both the gendered nature of these problems and an appreciation of how service responses are themselves gendered are beginning to receive more critical attention, both in terms of perpetrators and victims/survivors. There has been a strong concern with the intersection of sexuality and violence in Italy and the UK: This is likely to be an area of growing concern elsewhere. There is some research on men's sexual abuse of children but this is still an underdeveloped research focus in most countries – as is the undoubted overlap between men who are violent to their partners and men who are violent to their children. In some countries sexual abuse cases remain largely hidden, as is men's sexual violence to men. There has also been some highlighting of those men who have received violence from women. Men's violences to ethnic minorities, migrants, people of colour, gay men and older people are being highlighted more, but still very unexplored.

10. Health

The major recurring theme here is men's relatively low life expectancy, poor health, accidents, suicide, morbidity. Some studies see traditional masculinity as hazardous to health. Men suffer and die more and at a younger age from cardiovascular diseases, cancer, respiratory diseases, accidents and violence than women. Socio-economic factors, qualifications, social status, life style, diet, smoking and drinking, hereditary factors, as well as occupational hazards, can all be important for morbidity and mortality. Gender differences in health arise from how certain work done by men are hazardous occupations. Evidence suggests that generally men neglect their health and that for some men at least their 'masculinity' is characterised by risk taking, especially for younger men (in terms of smoking, alcohol and drug taking, unsafe sexual practices, road accidents, lack of awareness of risk), an ignorance of their bodies, and a reluctance to seek medical intervention for suspected health problems. There has been relatively little academic work on men's health and men's health practices from a gendered perspective in many countries.

11. Interrelations

There are many important interrelations between the various aspects of men's positions and experiences, and their impacts on women, children and other men. There are strong interconnections between the four main focus areas. This applies to both men's power and domination in each theme area, and between some men's unemployment, social exclusion and ill health. Men dominate key institutions, such as government, politics, management, trade unions, churches, sport; yet some men suffer considerable marginalisation as evidenced in higher rates of suicide, psychiatric illness and alcoholism than women.

The mapping of interrelations is one of the most difficult areas. It is one that deserves much fuller attention in future research and policy development. This applies especially as one moves beyond dyadic connections to triadic and more complex connections.

The main forms of interrelations include:

- (i) the interrelations within the main themes.
- (ii) the interrelations between each of the four main themes.
- (iii) the interrelations between social problems of men and the various constructions of societal problematisations of men and masculinities.
- (iv) the interrelations between the different kinds of data.
- (v) the interrelations induced through societal change.

Section B Key Empirical, Theoretical and Research Outcomes

1. Men in Europe

The conceptualisation of the Network's activity around the notion of 'men in Europe', rather than, say, the 'European man' or 'men', highlights the social construction, and historical mutability, of men, within the contexts of both individual European nations and the EU. As such, this does not mean that we have assumed that there is a specific meaning to "being a European man". Particular consideration needs to be given to the ways in which policy development is being directed by the European Union towards the countries of central and eastern Europe. The concern is not only that such policy imperatives may be enhancing gendered social disadvantages for women in favour of men but that these imperatives (in terms of their outcomes) may be running directly counter to other criteria identified by the Union as being keys for countries seeking membership: for instance, criteria relating to gender mainstreaming.

2. Comparative Issues

There are also many theoretical issues raised by the Network's activities. Much of the main theoretical scholarship on men and masculinities has been conducted within the context of individual countries – Australia, Germany, Norway, UK, US, and so on. By broadening the range of national and cultural context, albeit within the European region, this present work seeks to add a much stronger comparative and contingent approach to these studies, both theoretically and empirically.

3. Men's Power

Recent studies have foregrounded questions of men's power, and men's relations to power. There is a profound and enduring contradiction between men's dominance in politics, state and economy, and the social exclusion of some groupings of men. There is a comparable contradiction between the high responsibility placed upon some men for societal development, and the recognition of some men's irresponsible behaviour in terms of health, violence and care. These can both be seen as cultural expressions of traditional forms of masculinity.

4. Changing Forms of Masculinities and Men's Gender Practices

In many countries and until relatively recently established forms of masculinity and men's practices could be distinguished on two major dimensions - urban and rural; bourgeois and working class. The exact ways these four forms, and their permutations, were practiced clearly varied between societies and cultures. In recent

years, all these forms of masculinity and men's practices have been subject to major social change. Recent pluralised approaches to masculinities, including hegemonic masculinity, as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, and which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.

5. De-patriarchalisation and Re-patriarchalisation

There are also indications of both de-patriarchalisation and re-patriarchalisation; of some growing uncertainty around masculinity, which may itself be connoted as 'not masculine'.

6. Homogenisation, Diversifications and Problematisations

There is a widening set of contradictions between, the one hand, the moves towards homogenisation in men and masculinities through globalisation, and, on the other hand, the moves to diversifications of gender, including the increasing problematisation of traditional and given aspects of men and masculinities.

7. Gaps

As we envisaged at the outset of this Network, the many "gaps" we have discovered in all the materials available concerning men's practices in Europe are just as crucial as those materials which are available. These absences or silences are especially important in terms of: (i) what is researched and what is not researched, and where; (ii) what issues are addressed by policy and which are not, and where. We believe particular attention must be paid to addressing these absences if effective policy-making about a range of critical social and political issues is to be developed. The alternative may be policy which is not only inappropriate but also dangerous to various categories of citizens within Europe.

8. Gender Collaboration in Research

Gender collaboration needs to be established in research and in designing strategies to monitor social problems. There is a clear need to maintain the close and integral relation of research on men and feminist research. Without this, research on men will be unformed of the most developed theoretical and empirical research on gender.

9. Research and Policy

Both between countries and within individual countries there are clearly major mismatches between, on the one hand, those issues which are identified as crucial by research studies and, on the other hand, those issues which do (or do not) attain importance at the policy level. This finding clearly calls into question the policy-making processes which differentially operate across the nations of Europe. Whilst it is clear that relationship between the research and policy-making communities varies considerably from one country to another, there seems to be a more general problem about this mismatch between priorities identified in research and priorities addressed by policy-makers. Whilst it is inevitable that political considerations will enter into decisions about policy-making, if the imbalance between research findings and policy development becomes too wide, then the effectiveness of the latter must be called into question. It should be noted that one of the many ways in which the outcomes from this Network can be used is to map the profile of academic research in any one country against the statistical and policy profiles of that country: thereby revealing the extent of fit (and non-fit) between policy priorities and research findings in that

country. Using the material from this Report, we can say that the imbalance or non-fit between research findings and policy development generally seems sometimes very wide.

Section C Key Policy Recommendations

1. Policy Contexts

Men and masculinities are understood as set within changing policy contexts. There have been huge historical changes in forms of masculinity and men's practices. Yet there are also stubborn persistences in some aspects of men and masculinity. Perhaps the most obvious of these is men's domination of the use of violence.

The historical legacy inherited by the EU includes the attempts to develop broad social democracy and stop fascism happening again. The EU itself can be understood as a project of positive possibilities largely led and negotiated by men politicians after the Second World War in contradiction to short-term nationalistic interests. The EU can be understood as a project devised to reduce men's historical tendency to nationalistic conflict and war, and so achieve relative stability in Europe. There is indeed increasing recognition of the central place of men and masculinity in the collective violence of war.

On the other hand, to understand the national and transnational policy context also involves considering the relevance of 'the social problem of men' within organisational and governmental policy formation, in national, regional and indeed EU institutions. Changing gender relations both constitute governments and provide tasks for governments to deal with. Governments can thus be seen as both part of the problem and part of the solution. It is necessary to analyse and change the place of men within the gender structure of governmental, transgovernmental and other policy-making organisations. This includes the question of the relative lack of attention to men in power, including men in the EU. The social problem of men also relates closely to existing EU social agendas, including EU policies on equality, gender equality, social exclusion, and racism. There is thus a need to develop policy options on men, including 'best practices' and policies on men.

Addressing policy around men and masculinities is an important and urgent matter. There are indeed risks and dangers in non-action, for example, in the intersection of various 'new' and 'old' masculinities, nationalisms, racisms and xenophobias. There are also key issues around the changing policy context in Europe. These include the relation of the EU to eastward expansion, including the conditions of application and accession; questions of migration, especially of young men, and their implications for women and men, in countries of both emigration and immigration; trafficking in women, children and men, especially men's actions as consumers within the EU. The 'social problem' of men is of central and urgent interest to the EU and the applicant countries, along with many other transnational organisations and groupings.

2. Policy-relevant Recommendations

These can be considered under headings which correspond precisely to the key dimensions of men's practices which the Network focused upon in its analysis.

2.1 Policy recommendations on men's relations to home and work

One central recommendation is to encourage men to devote more time and priority to caring, housework, childcare, and the reconciliation of home and paid work. Other recommendations included: to remove men's advantages in paid work and work organisations, as with the persistence of the gender wage, non-equal opportunities practices in appointment and promotion, and domination of top level jobs; policies on men in transnational organisations and their development of equality policies; to encourage men's positive contribution to gender equality; to remove discriminations against men, such as compulsory conscription of men into the armed forces, and discriminations against gay men.

2.2 Policy recommendations on the social exclusion of men

Our recommendations included reducing the social exclusion of men, especially young marginalised men, men suffering racism, and men suffering multiple social exclusions; reducing the effects of the social exclusion of men upon women and children; ameliorating the effects of rapid socio-economic change that increase the social exclusion of men; specifically addressing the transnational aspects of social exclusion of men, in, for example, transnational migration, and homosexual sexual relations; to change men's actions in creating and reproducing social exclusions.

2.3 Policy recommendations on Men's violences

Our recommendations include: stopping men's violence to women, children and other men, assisting victims and survivors; enforcing the criminal law on clear physical violence, that has historically often not been enforced in relation to men's violence to known women and children; making non-violence and anti-violence central public policy of all relevant institutions – including a focus on schools within extensive public education campaigns; assisting men who have been violent to stop their violence, such as men's programmes, should be subject to accountability, high professional standards, close evaluation, and not be funded from women's services; and recognising the part played by men in forms of other violence, including racist violence. We also want to make a more general point about social policy and men's violences to women and/or children. If we look at various welfare systems in Western Europe in terms of the extent to which they demonstrate an awareness of the problem and a willingness to respond to it, then the transnational patterns that emerge in Europe are almost a reversal of the standard Esping-Andersen-type classifications. The criteria which can be used to look at each country would include: the levels of research carried out on the topic in different countries; the extent to which the prevalence of men's violences has been researched and/or acknowledged publically; the extent to which legal frameworks are focused on men's violences; the extent to which there are welfare initiatives aimed at dealing with the outcomes of men's violences; the extent to which welfare professionals are trained to address men's violences.

2.4 Policy recommendations on men's health

Our recommendations include: to improve men's health; to facilitate men's improved health practices, including use of health services; and to connect men's health to forms of masculinity, such as risk-taking behaviour. To fully understand, and deal with, the dynamics around the health problems of at least some men we may need to connect those problems to dominant, or even in some cases oppressive, ways of "being a man": for instance, risk-taking behaviour relevant to some injuries and

addictions; or an almost “macho” unwillingness to take one’s health problems seriously and seek medical help; or the marked violence which enters into the methods which a number of men seem to use to commit suicide. This point is also a good example of a more general conclusion arising from the Network outcomes which is highly relevant for policy-makers: in designing policy interventions one must seek to bridge the central divide which has previously existed in much research on men i.e the splitting of studies which focus on “problems which some experience” from those which explore “the problems which some create”.

Our other recommendations in the field of men’s health were: to focus on the negative effects of men’s health problems upon women and children; to ensure that focusing on men’s health does not reduce resources for women’s and children’s health. Once again, this final point is one which we would wish to emphasise and to apply broadly across all the policy areas above: the creation of effective policy interventions in the field of men’s practices are vital. However, they must never be made at the expense of funding for services to women and/or children.

2.5 Policy recommendations on inter-relations between themes

There were many inter-relations, inter-connections and overlaps between the four themes. Let us give two further examples. First, let us consider the inter-relations between the topic of fatherhood and men’s violences. In most parts of Western Europe, it seems there is a striking tendency to treat these two topics as separate policy issues. Indeed, one can find countries which both enthusiastically promote fatherhood and, quite separately, address men’s violences: but they do not join up the two. The outcomes from the Network suggest that they should in fact be joined up. In other words, there is no contradiction between positively promoting the role of men as carers and to emphasise at the same time the prime requirement of protecting children from men’s violences. One is striking, in terms of European research and in terms of policy-making across Europe, is how rarely such an integrated dual approach is adopted: the question as to why it seems to be so hard to do it is one which researchers and policy-makers should ponder deeply.

Our second example of interconnections between the policy themes is between social exclusion and men’s health. There is considerable research across many countries illustrating a correlation between poor health, including the poor health of men, and various forms of social disadvantage associated with factors such as class or ethnicity. In fact, more generally the theme of social exclusion/social inclusion can be seen as an important element entering in to the dynamics of all the other three themes regarding men’s practices – which again emphasises the requirement for particular policy attention to be given to social inclusion and the need for far more research on men’s practices and social exclusion/inclusion to be carried out.

Section D Final Remarks

By its work over the last three years, the Network has sought to make an important contribution to a greater appreciation of these and many other critical issues associated with men’s practices: issues which, moreover, encompass the broadest possible range of social experiences. The Network has identified numerous areas ripe for important further research. Similarly it has highlighted central policy priorities at

both national and supranational levels. At the same time, in terms of various dissemination strategies, most notably the web-based Documentation Centre and Database, the Network is providing crucial tools with which researchers and policy-makers may respond to these needs.

The Network was never intended to provide, and certainly does not provide, the “last word” on men’s practices in Europe. On the contrary, it has always been regarded as a first, albeit vital, step in moving towards a more coherent understanding of those practices and of ways of responding to them. We believe that it has more than fulfilled this promise. The challenge now is to utilise that first step creatively and positively so as to meet the research, policy and practice challenges which the Network has so graphically revealed.

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