



Methodological Framework Report SN 2

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PART A:
Key Aims and Process

I. Introduction

The work of Sub-network 2 builds on the work of the European Thematic Network on Research on Men in Europe, “The Social Problem and Societal Problematisation of Men and Masculinities”, that operated 2000-2003, within the EU Framework 5 Programme. The overall aim of the Thematic Network was to develop empirical, theoretical and policy outcomes on the gendering of men and masculinities in Europe. It comprised women and men researchers researching on men and masculinities in an explicitly gendered way. The central focus of the Research Network’s effort was, 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 women¹.

Within the Coordination Action on Human Rights Violations (CAHRV), Sub-network 2 focuses on “the roots of interpersonal violence: gendered practices, social exclusion and violation”. As such, this work raises many key questions for us, and for other researchers and policy makers. They include:

1. How broadly are men’s violences to be drawn and defined? What types of violence should be included? Some types are readily measurable (e.g. homicide); other types are less straightforward or perhaps less easily measurable (e.g. prostitution).
2. Are they to be limited to physical violence and sexual violence (or more precisely ‘sexual sexual violence’)? Are they to include emotional, verbal, linguistic, cognitive, representational, visual and cultural violences? Are men’s violences to include violences to women, children, other men, the self, animals?
3. Are men’s violences to include both institutionalised violences, as in the case of the military or legitimated violence as in, say, some forms of sport?
4. Should both violence and dominance be addressed? Should ‘dominance’ be omitted? Can dominance be more specifically defined?
5. What is the advantage of including violation rather than violence? How to combine focus on violence of perpetrators, violation of victims, and social relations?
6. What should be the main elements of methodological frameworks in future European comparative, transnational research on men’s violences?

¹ The final report of the Network has been re-published in two volumes by the European Commission and is also available at the European Commission website (http://improving-ser.jrc.it/default/show.gx?Object.object_id=TSER---00000000000121D&_app.page=show-TSR.html). The country reports, policy option papers, and Europe-wide summary reports are available at the European Documentation Centre on Men: <http://www.cromenet.org>

The Sub-network's work began by updating and expanding the existing database of the European Documentation Centre on Men (Workpackage 8). From this research baseline the Sub-network aims to design a shared methodological framework for comparative research, including common concepts, definitions and standards for European level research on the roots of violent behaviour, social inclusion/social exclusion, and violation. The CAHRV Sub-network 2 includes women and men researchers from the Framework 5 project, from Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Poland, and the UK, along with new partners or members from Finland, Germany, Israel, Latvia, Poland, Spain, and Sweden.

Workpackage 9 had three main objectives, as specified in the CAHRV Annex I:

- A. Develop a shared methodological framework for transnational comparative research on men's violences and men's gendered practices of social exclusion and inclusion, taking account of cultural and social differences.
- B. Consider and assess the possibilities for common concepts, definitions and standards for European level research on the roots of violent behaviour, social inclusion/social exclusion and violation.
- C. Document the process of developing a methodological framework, identifying the obstacles and solutions.

These three objectives provide the basis for this Methodological Framework Report (Workpackages 10). The three objectives above (A, B and C) are now considered in more detail.

A. Develop a shared methodological framework for transnational comparative research on men's violences and men's gendered practices of social exclusion and inclusion, taking account of cultural and social differences.

1.1 Men's violences

Men's violence is one of the most massive global social problems. The range and amount of men's violences need to be recognised, including violence to women, children, men (other men, each other, themselves), transgender people, older people, and their interconnections. Violence takes many forms and all are gendered, including the abuse of children. It includes physical and sexual violence from and to those known and unknown, emotional and sexual degradation, rape and sexual assault, sexual trafficking, homicide and, in some cases, suicide. The extent of violence can be relatively minimal or extensive and life threatening, one-off or persistent, emotionally more or less damaging, explicit or implicitly sexual or sexualised. Attacks by men on women and children can be random or highly organised.

There is a need to go beyond quantitative measures that are primarily descriptive and lack in-depth analysis. There is a need to build foundations for culturally-sensitive studies that gather new comparable cross-national data and address issues of patterns, trends and differences in many areas.

There is a high degree of transnational commonality around some aspects of such practices. At the same time, there is the importance of understanding men's violence in its specific social, cultural and political contexts - its concrete nature, dynamic

development and wider social and societal context. This entails attention to interpersonal, ideological and structural questions. There is a need to recognise the multi-level, multi-layered nature of explanation; this includes combinations of individual, family and structural explanations. There is also a need to gender explanation: to examine how gender and sexuality operate at interconnected levels of individuals, families, and social structures and cultural patterns.

Issues of difference and diversity, by age, ethnicity, race, religion, sexuality, and other social divisions, need to be highlighted, thus interlinking men's violences with economic and material circumstances, in terms of work, family, health, education, and so on, and the complex intersections of forms of social inclusion and social exclusion. This relates to the broad questions of gender power relations and societal constructions of masculinity, as well as the impact of poverty and other inequalities upon men's violences.

1.2 Men's gendered practices of social exclusion/inclusion in a comparative perspective

Social inclusion, social exclusion and marginalisation take many forms; these forms are differentially distributed across the countries of Europe and the EU. Social inclusion of men and by men is often an unspoken element of social organisation. Social exclusion and marginalisation are often based on unemployment, lower education level and poverty, but also discrimination, for instance, on the bases of ethnicity. Within these broad categories, we include all types of discrimination as addressed by the Amsterdam Treaty of 1999 (gender, race or ethnic origin, nationality, religion or beliefs, disability, age or sexual orientation). However, one of the activated forms of exclusion is political exclusion and/or marginalisation in many EU countries.

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. 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, for example, some young men become marginalised from work and family life.

Three particular aspects regarding social exclusion are under-researched:

- (i) There appears to be 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.
- (ii) 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 – especially in the area of social exclusion.

(iii) There is a major lack of attention paid to men engaged in creating and reproducing social exclusion, such as around racism. Migration, and planned and potential migration, creates or is linked to exclusions, and often leads to differences between legal and illegal migrants, with the latter having a very limited access to citizenship. These differentiations are in turn gendered, often with different situations and experiences for women, men and child migrants, for example, in terms of access to safety and full citizenship rights.

The impact of men's actions on gender equality and on the granting of full citizenship rights to women is especially important. The relations of marginalised men to women are more complex in some ways. There are the experiences of women-in-contact, as colleagues, partners, family members and others, which are likely to be adversely affected by the marginalisation of those men with whom they are in contact. The actions of marginalised men may also have implications for women-not-in-contact, such as in competition for funds, when marginalised men stake their claims in ways that negatively impact on marginalised women, or in terms of violence and abuse against women, such as racism of white 'underclass' men or the social violence of ethnic minority men.

These impacts upon women are further complicated by important transnational considerations. In the case of men in power these may include the association of men in decisions that are transnational in their effects on women. In the case of marginalised men they may include the separation of migrant men from women partners and other family members, including from other men who are significant others. Furthermore, marginalisations and exclusions of migrant men and women are different in different European countries because of, for instance, variations in historical, social and political processes which impact on current migration and the policies of integration, social inclusion or exclusion of different ethnic groups.

B. Consider and assess the possibilities for common concepts, definitions and standards for European level research on the roots of violent behaviour, social inclusion/social exclusion and violation.

1.3 "Roots" and outcomes/prevalence

Prevalence studies, that are the focus of Sub-network 1, seek to document the nature and extent of interpersonal violence perpetrated against different categories of victims: women; immigrant, migrant and ethnic minority women; men; children and youth, older people; people with disabilities; lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people; prostitutes. Types of violence can include: physical, sexual, psychological, sexual harassment, stalking and bullying. Contexts of the violence can include the domestic setting (families and intimate partner relationships), the school, the workplace, and the public sphere. This body of research also attempts to assess the impact of interpersonal violence on victims' health (physical and mental) and on human rights/quality of life (education, employment, social integration over the life course), with the latter having received far less attention (Müller and Schröttele 2004; Martinez et al. 2005, 2006; Humphreys et al. 2006; Hagemann-White et al. 2006).

The Sub-network has focused on the process of understanding the "roots" of men's violence. This must be informed by legal, historical, sociological, psychological,

policy and practical research and knowledge. An interdisciplinary approach is important since no one discipline can define how or why violence is perpetrated or experienced. It is not self-evident what violence is or why violence occurs. Practices, ideas and explanations about the nature and definition of violence change over time, not least through policy, political and media constructions. Though men's violence (to women) is very widespread, men are not 'naturally' violent; their violence is created, reproduced and sustained within and by the social fabric.

It is also necessary to critically address use of this term "roots", and its pros and cons. The notions of "roots" may be misleading in suggesting a clear, even single and fundamental root to the problem of men's violence. The notion of "roots", as in the "roots of men's violence", is a metaphor. The root metaphor refers to the root of a plant. The notion of root can suggest a number of interpretations: (i) that foundation which holds up the edifice; (ii) cause or explanation; (iii) historical origins; (iv) the essence, kernel or characteristic element.

While these are all different, and the word "roots" is used in the plural, it can also suggest a singularity. Many plants have one main root, but not all. Some have rhizomic roots. So in using the notion of roots, it is important to be aware of the possibility of multiple roots. Applying the metaphor of roots, like that of origins, thus raises a number of methodological difficulties. Such complexities tend to be addressed more directly in approaches emphasising the multiplicity of oppressions and intersectionalities, and some poststructuralist and postcolonial approaches. But even such approaches to multiplicity are to be critiqued, if in using the metaphor, violence is taken to be similar to a plant.

But what if violence is not like a static plant in the first place? What if the violence is not to be explained in such a static "causal" way? What if violence is more shifting a process over time, a process of accumulating (or perhaps reducing?) violation, with a trajectory, power dynamics, a process of escalation, and dialectics of power and resistance? If so, the metaphor of roots does not seem to apply very easily, at least not in any direct way.

This kind of critical thinking can be applied to:

1. Individuals – there is a danger of seeing the root of violence *within* the individual and their psychology. This approach can also be reconstructed as excuses and justifications.
2. Family, Group, Subculture, Culture – there is a danger of seeing the root of violence *within* the family, group, subculture, culture. What is it in the local collective that is being sought to explain violence? There are dangers here of moving back to culturalist explanations or roots.
3. Societies – there is a danger of seeing the root of violence as historically pre-determined *within* "society". This view may make more sense with societies that are more isolated or more stable or perhaps sites of extensive traumatisation.
4. International, Comparative, and Transsocietal analysis – how does the metaphor of roots translate in explaining violence and violent movements across societies, for example, the sex trade or transnational abductions? Do these have roots?

Thus, overall, the notion of roots needs to be used with caution, and with attention to methodological assumptions, rather than as a simplified model of cause or explanation that can produce a quick fix for policy. Furthermore, there is no one explanation of men's violence; different explanations do not necessarily compete with each other. Insights from two or more approaches can be combined. For example, structural processes operate through particular individuals with their own biographies. Multi-level, multi-layered explanations include combinations of individual, family, and structural explanations.

Men's violence (to women and children) though a structural phenomenon is enacted by individual men; the responsibility for violence lies with individual men. This is not to say that the individual man is necessarily or naturally violent; however, the dominant social constructions of the male psyche or subjectivity are themselves often intimately bound up with violence and associations of violence. Violence is at least a reference point for the social construction of dominant male subjectivities and sexualities. This "male self" is produced and reproduced in various social arenas: the family, men being with other men, the school, and so on. In family relations constituted in patriarchal attitudes and practices the problem of men's violence is intimately connected to men's social power and status as husbands and fathers.

Much of men's information about how to be a man comes from being with other men in groups. Boys, young men and men to some extent choose peer groups, and these vary in their relation to violence. Indeed 'male peer support' can reproduce men's violence, through providing attachments and resources in the form of social integration, information support and esteem support, as in some sporting groups, where high figures of violence to women have sometimes been reported, especially after sporting events. Some of these contexts can also constrict and reconstruct homophobic and trans(gender)phobic violence.

However, peer groups are not only the result of or matters of socialisation, but they are also involve degrees of agency and selection, that is: to some extent, young men choose their peer-group, and peer-groups have very different rituals and regulations of accepted or expected violence (or non-violence). In this sense, young men, and men more generally, really make a choice. Secondly, peer groups have important social meanings for male youth: they are a part of the social organisation of transition into adult masculinity; they can be an important part of the process of social initiation to adulthood. Young men do not yet have the symbolic status of adult masculinity, so they are in this sense vulnerable to degradation by their male peers, but even also by girl(friend)s and young women too. The collective actions and practices – including separation from and dehumiliation of 'the female/feminine' – are ways to proceed with this contradiction in male youth. This perhaps explains why violence in male youth is often regarded as transitory or temporary and accepted (if not supported), especially by adult men. And indeed, much of the overtly and physically violent behaviour appears to reduce when young men start to have girlfriends or even having a family. Such transformation of young men's masculinity, and indeed their peers through reciprocal actions between young men, need to understood through this lifecourse and biographical dimension.

The social production and reproduction of boys and young men in and around schools is a major part of the production and reproduction of adult men and masculinities, including men's violence to women, and part of the transition to adult masculinity/ies. There is also the problem of bullying in schools, and connections may be made between bullying and sexual harassment, as well as homophobia, trans(gender)phobia and their related violences. Various forms of boyhood bullying can go on to encourage or discourage violence in adulthood. Norwegian research has found men's experience of being bullied, as boys, correlated with men's use of violence to women, as adults (Holter 1989; see Råkil 2002). This thus includes attention to links between past violations (for example, bullying at school) and later perpetration of violence, without falling into a cycle of abuse argument.

The societal conditions that produce and sustain men's violence (to women, men, children and gender variant people) include broad questions of gender power relations, men's social power, privileges and domination, and societal constructions of masculinity, as well as the impact of poverty, economic inequalities and other inequalities upon men's violence. Despite social and economic changes of many kinds, these have continued to be maintained through gendered processes across generations.

C. Document the process of developing a methodological framework, identifying the obstacles and solutions.

1.4 A transparent collaborative process and an abductive approach

In order to illustrate how this methodological development have proceeded, we outline in the following the process in a transparent way. This is also intended to show explicitly how this has been done and how further development work can be done.

The process of this work on a methodological basis for further research on men's violence to women can be summarised as an *abductive research approach*. This highlights the importance of the constant movement between the data, ideas and theories. An abductive research approach enables the 'transcending' of data, and it encourages the use of multiple theoretical sources in order to make discoveries and achieve new insights (Coffey and Atkinson 1996; Holmlund 1996; Hiillos 2004; Jyrkinen 2005). Thereby, 'theory, data generation and data analysis are developed simultaneously in a dialectical process' (Mason 2002, 180).

According to Amanda Coffey and Paul Atkinson (1996), abductive reasoning is a process which aims at to generating new ideas, and which can be understood as a contrast to the polar opposites of deductive and inductive logic. In deductive reasoning 'theory comes first' and theoretical propositions or hypotheses are generated in advance and tested during the research. In inductive reasoning 'theory comes last', and the researcher develops theoretical propositions and explanations out of the data, from the particular to the general. (Mason 2002, 180-181.)

In abductive reasoning, ideas can be derived from multiple sources, previous research, reading of the literature in the field or other fields, personal experiences and other knowledge. Thus '[n]o amount of reading can provide the qualitative researcher with off-the-peg ideas. Similarly, the data alone will not generate analytic ideas of their

own accord. Understanding proceeds through a constant movement between data and ideas' (Coffey and Atkinson 1996, 153).

Therefore, the abductive approach in this process has been crucial. It has enabled constant discussion on the content of the documents, in particular on the definitions of (men's) violence (to women), and methodologies on that. In such a process which includes many researchers from several countries, it is important to be sensitive to the different approaches on violence and its research in different cultural contexts. Because of these, sometimes different and even contested views, it has been important that the process is as interactive and as transparent as possible.

The process of developing a methodological framework has been *interactive* in many ways, including many rounds of commenting on the draft texts and bringing in new ideas on future research methodologies on men's violence to women (see section 1.5 which explains the main phases of the process). It cannot be emphasised too strongly that this collective, collaborative process has been important in producing a (draft of a) research strategy on men's violence in Europe in a way that includes contributions from as many countries, researchers and disciplines as possible. The contributions from all partners and members have been crucial in this collectively authored document, and documentation on this will be appended in the Final Report. Current appendix material is available at the European Documentation Centre on Men.

1.5 Structure of the process

At the first Sub-network meeting (Osnabrück) it was agreed that the Sub-network 2 would need to develop methodological tools rather than a single tool. This was partly to be sensitive to the variability of cultural/social contexts both in time and space when researching men's practices. It was also necessary conceptually to sub-divide the idea of a "methodology" into six components interlinking one another.

These six components were defined as follows:

- (i) Procedural frames focused on the process of how to find knowledge.
- (ii) Epistemological frames.
- (iii) Critical methodological re-reading of existing materials on the CROME website: to analyse and reflect upon the methodologies used in selected studies in each existing national report with a view to methodological development.
- (iv) Consideration of a series of theoretical/analytical issues in relation to men's practices summarised under the heading of "Cultural Variations, Convergences and Divergences in Time and Space". Among these issues are: understanding the data in terms of the "intersectionality" of various forms of power relations associated with, for instance, gender, ethnicity, age, disability, sexuality and class; analysing the dynamics of men's practices in the context, and deep critique, of mainstream comparative welfare theoretical frames such as that of Esping-Andersen.
- (v) Towards the development of adequate quality assurance of research methods.

- (vi) The implications of (i) to (v) for development of a Research Strategy for future trans-European research on men's violence in the context of Human Rights Violations.

The development of a methodological framework for a research strategy on violence and dominance associated with men's practices is understood in terms of intersecting forms of power relations as they relate to the social location of both those who commit violence/dominance and those who are subjected to it, and the methodological and epistemological assumptions that are made. Critical methodological re-readings of existing materials on the Framework 5 (Hearn et al. 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b) and Framework 6 materials on the CROME website have been conducted to analyse and reflect upon methodologies used in selected existing studies with a view to methodological development. We include brief extracts from these re-readings of substantive knowledge/data, methodologies and epistemologies from the various countries (see Appendix).

The second Sub-network 2 meeting (Paris) focused on developing guidance on a methodological research strategy for future researchers, policy-makers and practitioners about the best means for transnational researching of men's violence allowing for the dynamics of time, space and culture was discussed. Based on the CROME website data (national reports, and their recent updates), all Sub-network 2 members were asked to complete country reports on relevant forms of data from within their own country, that related to the main focus (a) on violence and dominance associated with men's practices (b) understood in terms of intersecting forms of power relations as they relate to the social location of both those who commit violence/dominance and those who are subjected to it. Nine country reports were subsequently conducted and some key points are summarised in the Appendix.

This work fed into the third Sub-network meeting (Riga), which included invited CAHRV experts to increase interchange between sub-networks². In addition to discussion and comments given during this meeting, comments were sought on the preliminary draft of this document (Hearn et al. 2006a) after the meeting. Thereafter several further iterative processes took place to produce the Workpackage 9 Deliverable 25 (Hearn et al. 2006b). Following this, several further rounds of consultations and revisions have been undertaken within the Sub-network, with updatings and refinements. This process has also involved further attention to and elaboration of key issues, including some issues highlighted by the Coordinator, which have been worked on in particular by members of the Steering Group. Many other inputs have been made from throughout the Sub-network and CAHRV. At each stage of redrafting the text has been circulated to all Sub-network members to seek to produce a documentary report and record that reflects the state of knowledge throughout the countries and disciplines represented. As such, the methodological report is interdisciplinary, transnational and comparative in its process of production.

² The meeting was attended by Dag Balkmar (Sweden), Gunilla Bjerén (Sweden), Carol Hagemann-White (part) (Germany), Jeff Hearn (Finland), Cornelia Helfferich (Germany), Marjut Jyrkinen (Finland), Liz Kelly (UK), Lucyna Kirwil (Poland), Ilse Lenz (Germany), Ursula Müller (Germany), Irina Novikova (Latvia), Elizabete Pičukāne (Latvia), Minna Piispa (part) (Finland), Ralf Puchert (Germany), Iva Šmídová (Czech Republic), Olga Tóth (Hungary), and Marek M. Wojtaszek (Poland).

This kind of process, and its documentation, is an important part of developing the methodological framework in a collaborative and cooperative way³.

³ The draft document upon which this Workpackage 10 is based on, was circulated to all members and partners of Sub-network 2 (version 1) prior to the Riga meeting, seeking any immediate comments or corrections. The document was then modified and sent in advance of the third meeting (version 2). Many constructive suggestions on the document and for the future work of the Sub-network were made. Some of these were immediately incorporated into the document, along with immediate comments sent shortly after the Riga meeting (version 3). This revised document was made available on the BCSW Web Forum and the CROME website, as part of the dissemination strategy. After this a further round of comments by the Sub-network members and partners were received, and incorporated in this text. This document (version 4) was the basis for the D25 document (version 5), which was then revised following feedback from the Coordinator (version 6) and circulation again to the Sub-network members and partners as the D25 (version 7). Thereafter, following comments from the Coordinator, the document was revised and recirculated to all Sub-network members and partners for comment and improvement (version 8); in addition, specific key areas identified by the Coordinator were specified and addressed by members of the Sub-network Steering Committee (version 9); the document was then rewritten and recirculated (version 10), and then revised following comments, feedback and inputs (version 11), to be submitted as D32 (version 12), and the finalised D32 with some further modifications (version 13).

Part B:

A Methodological Framework for a Research Strategy

I. Planning the shared methodological framework for a research strategy

This second part sets out a shared methodological framework for a research strategy by addressing principles and issues. It begins with a discussion of key terms such as men's violences and domination, reports on the examination of some of the relevant data from the various countries in terms of methodological and epistemological assumptions, and then sets some key methodological principles for a research strategy. Three of these are addressed in some more detail: roots and explanations of men's violences, the contributions of critical studies on men, and further issues in comparative and transnational research, cultural variations and intersectionality.

These elements underlie the planning of a structure of a shared methodological framework, understood as guidance for future researchers, policymakers, and practitioners on researching men's violences, taking account of the dynamics of time, space and culture. The issues raised need to contribute towards the development of adequate quality assurance of research methods in a research strategy for studying men's violences.

II. The examination and clarification of key terms

This section discusses issues related to key terms including men's violences, abuse, violation and dominance. Violence is an especially complex and contested term. This is clear from an historical analysis of the changing recognition of what counts as (forms of) violence. The use of the term 'violence' also usually implies recognition that a problem exists: that something is seen as unacceptable or threatening, and that the actions and practices labelled as 'violent' have at least some characteristics in common with others similarly labelled. In this sense, it is a concept with shifting moral referents. Indeed contestations over the definitions (in particular what is included and excluded) are especially intense in the case of violence, and are central in the social construction, social experience and social reproduction of violence. Debates and dilemmas around the definition of violence include those on: intention to harm; extent of physical contact; harmful effects and damage; differential perceptions, for example, of violator and violated; and interpersonal and structural violence.

Contestation over the definition of violence is itself part of the process of enactment of reproduction of and indeed opposition to violence. This process occurs differentially and unevenly in different cultural and historical contexts. It has both short term and local dimensions and historical and global dimensions. Accordingly, in addressing the definition of violence, a broad view of violence is necessary. Violence can thus mean many different things to different people; it can refer to or involve many different kinds of social actions and social relations. 'Violence' is sometimes used to include or exclude 'abuse', or to mean 'physical violence' or only certain forms of physical violence, rather than, say, 'sexual violence' or more accurately 'sexual sexual violence'. The term 'violence' can be used precisely or vaguely.

Furthermore, violence is not something that is separated off from the rest of life; violence can be mixed up with all sorts of everyday experiences — work and housework, sex and sexuality, marriage, leisure, care and carework, "relaxing", watching television, and so on. Indeed some men specifically separate violence off from other parts of life and their life, and treat violence as some kind of separate

activity. This in turn can become part of the problem of the continuation of the violence.

Perhaps most importantly, violence is not one thing; indeed, it is not a thing at all. Violence is simply a word, a shorthand, that refers to a mass of different experiences in people's lives. And as a word, 'violence', like other words, can itself be used and abused — it can fall prey to the problems of nominalisation and reification. In the first case, 'violence' as a word can obscure power relations (by hiding them) within the practical use of the word; in the second case, social relations in the case of violence are reduced to things without human agency, or even social structure.

For these reasons, what 'violence' is and what 'violence' means is both material and discursive, both a matter of the experience of change in bodily matter, and a matter of change in discursive constructions. Violence is simultaneously material and discursive, simultaneously painful, full of pain, and textual, full of text. This suggests that it is very difficult to find a definition of violence that works for all situations and all times. Violence, and what is meant by violence, is historically, socially and culturally constructed.

Moreover, historical and cultural constructions of violence are not just matters of local or relative variations; they specifically shape the personal circumstances and future courses of action available to women and men in relation to violence. To put this more concretely, historical constructions of violence affect the way in which state organisations, the law and other institutions define violence. These in turn are important in the development of actual and potential policies on men's violence and these have the effect of structuring the lives of women and men. State and other organisations and institutions, themselves dominated by men, thus structure the meaning of violence through both inclusion and exclusion of actual or possible actions.

Definitions of violence thus vary greatly. Let us consider three possibilities. First violence is often equated with physical violence, or certain kinds of violence socially defined as 'serious' or that constitute crimes. Sometimes this is taken to include sexual (sexual) violence. This can apply in everyday definitions, especially of those being violent, and in official definitions. In criminal law this generally means the 'unjustified' use of physical force.

A second alternative is to expand 'violence' to include further forms of control, harassment and bullying more generally. This brings together debates on different forms of violence that are usually kept separate. Violence then includes sexual, racial and other harassments (unwanted, persistent physical or verbal behaviour of a sexual/racial nature); and bullying (exposure repeatedly and over time to negative actions from one or more persons such that the victim has difficulties defending themselves, as well as physical violence). Harassment can be seen as 'repeated and persistent attempts by one person to torment, wear down, frustrate or get a reaction from another' (Bast-Petterson et al. 1995, 50). Bullying includes, for example, isolation (people refusing to listen to you, people refusing to talk to you), slander (gossip behind your back, spreading false and groundless information), negative glances and gestures, sneering (Björkqvist et al. 1994; Vartia 1995).

A third way is to adopt a broad, socially contextualised understanding of violence as violation. Accordingly, violence can be defined as those structures, actions, events and experiences that violate or cause violation or are considered as violating. They are usually, but not necessarily, performed by a violator or violators upon the violated. Violence can thus be seen as much more than physical violence, harassment and bullying. It can also include intimidation, interrogation, surveillance, persecution, subjugation, discrimination and exclusion that lead to experiences of violation. This is close to what Judith Bessant (1998) calls ‘opaque violence’. As she comments, ‘In relationships where significant long-term power disparities exist, then inequality can easily slip into violence.’ (p. 9). This raises the question of how violence and violation relate to broad questions of oppression, inequality and (gender and other forms of) equity. For example, Iris Marion Young (1990) has explicated a plural categorisation of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. In contrast, Nancy Fraser (1997, 44-49) has outlined a concept of gender equity that encompasses a plurality of seven distinct normative principles: antipoverity, antiexploitation, income equality, leisure-time equality, equality of respect, antimarginalisation, and antiandrocentrism.

Violence and violation are thus *social* phenomena. Violation usually, though not always, includes some kind of *force* or *potential force*: force by the violator; forced violation of the violated. Violence as violation includes structured oppression; harassment, bullying and violences; and mundane, everyday violations. Dominant forms of violence as violation are by men to women, children or other men. They range across verbal, emotional, psychological, cognitive, representational and visual attacks, threats and degradation; enactment of psychological harm; physical assaults; use of weapons and other objects; destruction of property; rape; and murder. These distinctions may in practice break down, as in the understanding of all forms of violence from men to women as sexual violence (Kelly 1987).

There are also several standpoints from which to define violence as violation: the violator; the violated; those of other social actors involved in dealing with violence; for example, lawmakers or enforcers; and those of analysts, who may or may not be involved in such intervention. In some situations the position, observation and sometimes relatively passive participation of audiences is especially important. These perspectives are, however, not always distinct; someone may occupy more than one location simultaneously. All are mediated through representations and perceptions, usually differently for violators and violated, men and women. Violence involves violation; but violation is a broader, more useful concept for our purposes. Even though the term, violation, does not exist in exact translation in a number of European languages, we have chosen it because of its breadth and transferability across locations. This focus on violation has important methodological significance. Just as sexuality is not a fixed thing or even simply a set of acts, but a process of desiring, so similarly, a focus on violation refers to a process of damaging. These processes involve the desiring or damaging event, and responses to desire/damage, and are, moreover, embodied, material and discursive.

Violence and violation can be more or less institutionalised in particular contexts, institutions and organisations, even whole societies. Violation may also include the creation of the conditions of violence, whether social structurally or when someone’s presence is violating. Violation can be dramatic or subtle, occasional or continuous,

chronic and endemic (as in slave workplaces), generally invisible and ‘unnecessary’ (as inequalities are *so* entrenched), normalised and naturalised (as in the acceptance of abuse in some relationships or of sexual harassment as part of some jobs), an indication of changing power relations (perhaps through challenging previous power relations) or a reassertion of power by dominant groups (as in men’s responses to women’s power). Violence and violations can be ways of reinforcing relations of domination and subordination; of developing resistance; of refining gradations of status and power; and facilitating alliances, coalitions, inclusions, exclusions and scapegoating.

Definition can be thus approached from number different perspectives and interests. These perspectives and interests are differently implicated in the *recognition* of violence. Thus it is axiomatic yet highly significant that a necessary part of the definition of violence is the *recognition* of violence or the threat or potentiality of violence or the possibility of violence. *Recognition* is both an individual and a group or collective process. Recognition may often, though not always, move from the individual to the group or collectivity, especially when individuals begin to share their experiences of violence — or more precisely their experiences of the possibility of violence, their suspicions of a recognition of violence.

It may be useful to consider the following perspectives on violence:

- (i) that which is or involves the use of force, physical or otherwise, by a violator or violators;
- (ii) that which is intended to cause harm;
- (iii) that which is experienced, by the violated, as damaging and/or violation;
- (iv) the designation of certain acts, activities or events as ‘violent’ by a third party, for example, a legal authority.

All these perspectives are themselves historically and culturally specific. In particular, what is not named as violence in one situation or time may become named as violent elsewhere or subsequently. This, for example, may make possible the naming of certain kinds of sexual-social relations as ‘sexual harassment’. This is even clearer still when, what are at one time named as ‘consensual’ sexual-social relations, are renamed as power relations, exploitation, abuse or harassment. Thus, seen in this kind of way, violence is an open-ended category, and especially so if the experience of violation is emphasised as part of definition.

Violence is both interpersonal and structural. While the concept of interpersonal violence refers to *direct* violence from one person to another in an identifiable situation, what is meant by structural violence needs some attention. There are several different, though related, meanings of the term structural violence, including:

- (i) structural violence as the structural pattern of individual and interpersonal violence, such as the societal patterns of men’s violence to women in the home;
- (ii) structural violence as the acts and effects of social institutions such as the state. This might be more accurately referred to as institutional violence;
- (iii) structural violence as the violent effects of inequalities, including those on a world scale, such as the distribution of famine;

- (iv) structural violence as the violent effects of warfare and inter-nation and inter-community violence;
- (v) structural violence as the social structural relations of institutions when and where those social relations have historically been violent or have underwritten violence, for example, the social relations of fatherhood or capitalism.

Men's violences are those violences that are done by men or are attributed to men. The term 'men's violences' is preferred to 'male violence' for several reasons. First, it is more precise: it attributes the violence to men. Second, it makes it clear that there is not any assumption of biological inevitability to the violence or a biological cause of the violence. Third, it removes the ambiguity that there might be a special form of violence that is 'male' that is only one part of the totality of violence of men. Fourth, it acknowledges the plurality of men's violences. Fifth, it recognises that all 'men' might not be unequivocally 'male'. Indeed there is growing attention to the social construction of biology and biological and sexual difference, from both biologists and cultural theorists.

The range of men's violences is immense. It spans the very particular and the global; the interpersonal and the institutional; the agentic and the structural. It includes violence to strangers and to known others, violence to women, children, each other, animals, and men's own selves. It varies in form and in process. It includes physical, sexual, verbal, psychological, emotional, linguistic, social, spatial, financial, representational and visual violences. It includes violence done, threatened violence and potential violence. It includes enacted violence in the present and accumulated or consolidated violence in the past and present. It also includes the interrelation and overlap between all these kinds of violences.

There is thus a range of terminological and definitional issues that need addressing. Men's violences can be taken as a broad term to include controls and abuses, as well as direct physical and sexual violences. They can be seen to include prostitution, pornography and the sex trade more generally. Violation is a concept referring the experience of that person(s) that is experienced as violating.

Dominance is also a general broad term, referring in this context to (i) men's dominating practices; (ii) men's structural dominance. This latter can be taken to mean men's dominance of certain occupations, business management and board membership, the public sector, and government and politics in general. While there are a growing number of studies on men's violence and abuse, there is still a lack of detailed studies on men's dominance more generally and men in positions of power. The connections of this structural domination and more direct violence are rather rarely addressed.

III. Methodological principles

The following methodological perspectives are fundamental in developing a research strategy:

- (i) *gendered analysis and gendered power relations*
- (ii) *gender collaboration*

- (iii) *use of multiple methods, methodologies and epistemological frames*
- (iv) *interconnections between social arenas*
- (v) *ethical and political sensitivities*
- (vi) *examining and problematising roots and explanations of men's violences*
- (vii) *building on and reviewing the contribution of Critical Studies on Men*
- (viii) *developing a comparative and transnational orientation, by attending to cultural variations, convergences and divergences in time and space, and intersecting forms of power relations*
- (ix) *principle of intersectionality*

(i) *Gendered analysis and gendered power relations*: Research strategy needs to attend to the centrality of gender and gendered power relations. This is not only in terms of the substantive focus of the research, but also in terms of the gender composition of the research networks. Issues of gendered content and process need to be addressed throughout research, including the production of data and the interpretation of data and gaps in data. While it is now clearly recognised that violence is gendered, the gendering of research on violence is discussed less often.

One crucial issue that distinguishes different approaches to gender is whether gender is seen as one of several fundamental social divisions underpinning social life, individual experiences, and the operation of other social divisions (such as age, class, 'race', ethnicity, religion), on the one hand, or as just one of a string of social factors defining an individual's response to a situation, on the other. Studies that refer to women or women's experiences do not necessarily constitute a fully gendered approach. They may, for example, treat women (or gender) simply as a variable, rather than as constitutive of, or located in, some social structural formation. And moreover they may not analyse men as just as gendered as women. A fully gendered, that is gender-present, approach needs to attend to these questions.

An adequately gendered approach would include at least the following features:

- attention to the variety of feminist approaches and literatures; these provide the methodology and theory to develop a gendered account;
- recognition of gender differences as both an analytic category and experiential reality;
- attention to sexualities and sexual dynamics in research and the research process; this includes the deconstruction of taken-for-granted heterosexuality, particularly in the study of families, communities, agencies and organisations;
- attention to the social construction of men and masculinities, as well as women and femininities, and including understanding masculinities in terms of relations between men, as well as relations with women and children;
- understanding of gender through its interrelations with other oppressions and other identities, including those of age, class, disability, 'race', ethnicity and religion;
- acceptance of gender conflict as permanent, and as equally as normal as its opposite, as well as examining resistance to this view;

- understanding that gender and sexuality and their relationship are historically and culturally acquired and defined; and
- understanding that the close monitoring of gender and sexuality by the state (the official biography of individuals) is not accidental, but fulfils the purposes of particular social groupings.

Research on men's violence has to be gender-present. To scientifically present violence as gender-absent or gender-neutral would require that it be random in its doing and receiving in relation to women and men, and require it to play no role in the maintenance of gendered and other social boundaries and social divisions. This does not apply to any form of violence, including same-sex violence where, for example, violence between men is far greater than violence between women (Hanmer and Hearn 1999).

(ii) *Gender collaboration*: Research on men's violence needs to bring together women and men researchers who research men and masculinities in an explicitly gendered way. Such a meeting point for women researchers and men researchers is necessary and timely in the development of good quality European research on men in Europe. Such work offers many opportunities for collaboration and learning across countries and between colleagues.

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 only on men researchers is likely to reproduce some of the existing gender inequalities of research and policy development. This is not a comment of gender essentialism but rather a commentary on the need to draw on the full knowledge and expertise available. Gender-collaborative research is necessary in the pursuit of gender equality, the combating of gender discrimination, achievement of equality, and anti-discrimination work more generally. This is not to suggest that all research teams should comprise women and men researchers.

(iii) *Use of multiple methods, methodologies and epistemological frames*: It is assumed that no one method is able to answer the spread of research questions. A range of methods needs to be employed, including: national representative surveys, survivor accounts, perpetrator accounts, individual biographies (Critical Discourse Analysis), agency data interviews, analysis of case files. Various international databases have been used, and these can be supplemented. Data prevalence, along various databases, such as, ESF database, International Studies Association, Eurostat, INED, UNDP, needs to be used. While attending to the existing statistical and other information, qualitative and grounded methods and analyses need to be emphasised and developed. It is also necessary to critically reflect on the methods in use as research proceeds.

Methodological contributions need to be from across social sciences, demography, anthropology, family sociology, and so on. All forms of approaches and epistemological frames to understanding knowledge should be utilised including positivist social science, feminist standpoint theory, post-structuralist, postcolonial,

critical social postmodernism approaches, but all should be reviewed critically. Methodology needs to attend to both material inequalities and discursive constructions.

(iv) *Interconnections, and separations, between social arenas*: A key principle is to see the interconnections between men's violences and other social arenas: home, work, social exclusion/inclusion, health, care, and so on. For example, varieties of violence connect with the health and welfare of those involved — both those violated and the construction of bodies of violators and others. Violence involves the use of the body and the affecting of the bodies of others. Many such interlinks co-exist at once both in the gendered structure of society – in the symbolic realm, in the division of labour and in individual gender life trajectories. Social institutions, such as the family, education, law, politics, labour markets, are not polarised – as either/or - when violence is concerned. The institution of the family or household can both be a place where care is practised and a place where various types of violence occur.

Violence does not operate as a separate sphere of practice. There are impacts of work/employment on violence (including gender differences regarding work), and vice versa; impacts of domestic and family relations on violence, and vice versa; impacts of social inclusion/exclusion on violence, and vice versa; and impacts of men's health and women's health on violence, and vice versa.

Home and work – violences

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 (and the co-occurrence of men's violences to women and children). 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.

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.

Two further significant but frequently overlooked points are: first, that men's violences to women, children and to some extent other men represent a massive forms of social exclusion themselves; and, second, men's violences, together with dominant and dominating ways of being a man, are intimately connected with the dynamics of racism – another profound form of social exclusion. It is also important to note that the very way violence is conceptualised is mediated by class. In cases when middle or upper class men (rather than working class men) are violent to women, they have more resources that may enable them to hide the acts in question (more than working class men), thereby rendering it invisible.

Violences – health

Men's violences and health connect in many ways. Violence is a graphic form of non-caring for others. 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.

(v) *Ethical and political sensitivities in collaborative work*: Studying sensitive but also powerful topics, such as gendered violence, calls for addressing specific ethical issues on the research process and method(s) used. Ethical issues concern especially professional integrity and relations with and responsibilities towards research participants, sponsors and/or funders. Possible problems, such as methodological, technical, ethical, political and legal problems, need to be taken into consideration at every stage of the research on a sensitive topic.

The importance of good collaboration and work process, and appropriate ethical practices cannot be emphasised too strongly in the development of high quality comparative, transnational research. This question operates in several respects and at several different levels, and is an important ethical issue in its own right. This applies all the more so when the attempt is made to act against violence, violation and abuse, in this case men's violences and abuses.

This is also a practical question in terms of getting tasks done with the benefit of the greatest input and contribution from all concerned, from different ethnic(ised), gendered, sexual, linguistic, national and other differenced socio-political contexts. Without this, there is a great danger of some participants dominating the research process, leading to a limited understanding of men's violence. Indeed the ability to work collaboratively is a *sine qua non* of successful transnational research work, and especially so on such difficult and sensitive topics as gender power relations, violence, violation and human rights.

Furthermore, it is also a matter of the content of research knowledge and of epistemology, for without good collaborative practices the epistemology of dominant one(s) may dominant the epistemologies of others. These points apply for all participants, and particularly for those in leadership positions. In particular, it is vitally important to develop facilitative and supportive research working, research practices, and research leadership.

Our experience of working on European, EU and other comparative, transnational research on men and masculinities suggests a number of pointers for developing such research practice. These matters of research process cannot be separated from the content of research, in this context, comparative, transnational research on men, masculinities and men's interpersonal violences.

Thus we suggest these positive guidelines:

- Strong attention needs to be given to ethical questions in the gathering, storage and distribution of data and other information;
- Be respectful of all researchers and what they bring to the research; this extends to understanding of difference, and for other's research and national and regional locations;
- Be aware that the major regional differences within Europe (and beyond) mean that assumptions that single models should be applied in all parts of Europe should be treated critically and with great caution. While there may have been more research and more research resources in Western Europe, researchers there have much to learn from Central and Eastern Europe, including about the latter's historical situations. As is often the case within structural and uneven power relations, those with less resources often know more about those with more resources, than vice versa.
- Be aware of major national, legal and cultural differences within Europe, around openness/secretcy, financial accounting and many other matters.
- Value self-reflective approaches to the development of multiple methods, and in the conduct of researchers, meetings and other activities.
- Be aware that much research is done by goodwill and indeed overwork, and with few or no additional resources; thus excessive demands can mean that time and resources are taken from other academic and related activities, and other research projects; this is issue of ethical allocation of time and resources between different activities, which is especially important in working on questions of violence and violation
- Express positive support and gratitude, not excessive criticism;
- Be aware that most people are working in their second, third or fourth language, and that extra attention may need to be given to clarity in the working language;
- Take care in writing emails and other communications; where possible, write clear short emails and other communications; do not use obscure phrases or make ungrounded suggestions in email and other communications;
- In collective research discussions give feedback in good time, and not late in the process of research production;
- Develop an appropriate and fair collective publishing policy, so texts and information are not used inappropriately by others as their own;
- Be aware of internal differences within research projects, especially between those who are more funded and those who are less (or not) funded, and between universities and similar institutions that are better resourced (especially in Western Europe) and universities and similar institutions that are less well resourced (especially in Central and Eastern Europe). This involves a thorough grounded understanding of the conditions under which different

researchers are working: some are working on permanent contracts, some temporary contracts; some are well paid, others are not; some are in supportive working environments, others are in environments lacking support. Researchers are subject to other social divisions and differences, such as by age, class, disability, ethnicity and racialisation, gender, sexuality.

- Develop projects that are fair in terms the distribution of resources, including between those with greater coordinating functions and other research functions, between those who are more funded and those who are less funded, and between universities and similar institutions that are better resourced (especially in Western Europe) and universities and similar institutions that are less well resourced (especially in Central and Eastern Europe); This is especially so with the under-resourcing of research and the overwork of many researchers doing much work unpaid or in “overtime”.
- Develop a violation-free mode of organisation and working;
- Aim to produce a working environment that people are satisfied with, that they look to working with and are pleased to be in.

(vi) *Examining and problematising roots and explanations of men’s violences*: The examination of causes, explanations and ‘roots’ needs to be considered, both in broad and multiple ways, without seeing them in over-simple and deterministic interpretations. Debates on why men do violence – the ‘roots’ of men’s violences - has been long and varied. It has moved through shifts in disciplinary and discursive constructions, and in the placing of men’s violence in relation to ‘men’ and ‘violence’. Explanations of men’s violence may be developed from a wide range of academic and disciplinary traditions. These include biological and sociological, psychological and psychoanalytic, sociological, anthropological, political and economic. Within such different traditions, there are different conceptual, analytical and empirical building blocks. Within human rights frameworks, instead of ‘roots’ of violence, the terminology is often much based on ‘causes’ of violence that can sometimes, but not in all cases, be interpreted as obliging states that have signed the relevant UN conventions to address such violations through prevention and intervention (Kelly 2006, 10).

Forms of explanations, and thus possible ‘roots’, are listed below. These all should be considered critically.

1. Nature and Biology: these include: the focus on instinct and territoriality, including competition for food, resources and sexual partners; chromosomal explanation of violence, hormonal levels, socio-psychoendocrinology, in which reciprocal links are recognised between testosterone, aggression, dominance, social structure, and indeed sexual behaviour; human intervention in the biochemical, as in debates about the effects of steroids.

2. Moves towards Various Social Explanations: Many theories and analyses of violence have at their centre debates about the nature of the social — the relationship of individual and society; of social order and social conflict; of mind and body; of the internal and the external; and above all the place of violence in the social. There are a number of difficult dilemmas to be engaged with, including:

- Violence can be constructed as part of the inherent 'badness' of people or an exception to the inherent 'goodness' of people.
- Violence can be something taken on by individuals from the social or something placed upon individuals by the social.
- Violence can be expressive of internal needs or instrumental to achieve external ends.
- Violence of one party, in this context particularly men's violence, can be considered separate from or in relation to the violence or potential violence of others.
- Violence can be a means of maintaining social structure or of disrupting social structures.

Furthermore, each of these elements may be gendered and each is problematic. Accordingly violence can be understood as gender-neutral or gendered, or even as inherently gendered.

A simple framework for the analysis of explanations of men's violence to women is that outlined by Gondolf (1985), drawing on the work of Bagarozzi and Giddings (1983) and Gelles (1983). Gondolf's framework is drawn up in relation to 'wife abuse', but it is useful for considering the broad terms of debate around men's violence more generally. He presents three major theoretical explanations as follows:

Psychoanalytic themes [that] focus on stress, anxiety instilled during child rearing ...; social learning theories [that] consider the abuse to an outgrowth of learned patterns of aggressive communication to which both husband and wife contribute ...; socio-political theories [that] hold the patriarchal power plays of men oppressing women to be at the heart of wife abuse (Gondolf 1985, 27).

3. Psychological and Psychodynamic Explanations: This applies to both men's/male/masculine psychology in general, and the identification of different specific psychologies of different groups of men, for example, men who have severe or multiple psychological problems, who have experienced sexual and other violence as children, and who are experiencing depression. There is strong interest in increasing understanding of men repeat offenders of violence against women and children. One aspect of this research is the identification of 'abusive personalities' and 'anti-social personality disorder/trait' among violent men.

4. Role Theory and the Social Environment, and Cognitive and Cognitive-Behavioural Approaches: A well-developed framework is to explain men's violence as learned behaviour. This involves the focus on violence as external sense data that are observable and reproduced, replicated or imitated over time. Cognitive-behavioural analysis focuses on the particular forms of learning that have taken place for particular individuals, which in turn is assumed to constitute the longer term process of reproduction of violence through intergenerational learning and socialisation. This kind of analysis attempts to describe the detail of either social learning or socialisation. These are, however, relatively simple formulations of how violence works and is reproduced.

Bandura (1973, 1977) has analysed the origins, instigators and maintaining conditions and regulators of aggression. Goldstein (1989) follows this view in arguing that there

are three main arenas where aggression is to be learned, namely the home, the school and the mass media. Learning may be direct following the reinforced practice of aggression, or vicarious by the observation of others behaving aggressively and being rewarded for doing so.

Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) suggest that most of the men whom they studied had been violent to wives had been traumatised as children either by being abused or by observing the abuse of their mother. The idea of trauma reproducing violence allows for an intrapsychic model of violence or a composite model containing social learning and psychodynamic insights. Attention is paid to inter-generational processes in the reproduction of violence, enabling a wide range of subsidiary concepts, such as 'inter-generational transmission', 'the cycle of violence', and cultures of violence'.

5. Reactive Theories: Frustration, Stress and the Blocking of Social Roles: Reactive theories of violence can be psychological or sociological in their focus. Aggression and violence are explained as a response to psychological frustration, 'emotional illiteracy, individual or social stress, or economic and political deprivation. The argument that are used to 'explain' the violence is that men use violence when their goals are blocked and other means of proceed are unavailable or ineffective. The main genre of reactive theories on men's violence to women is stress theory (Gelles 1974; Straus et al. 1980). In this approach, factors such as unemployment or part-time employment, low income and the greater number of children are related to violence towards children and 'between spouses'. A rather similar interpretation is sometimes of men's violence to women to see it as a reaction to men's alcohol use/abuse. Whilst acknowledging that there is an association between the two, Horsfall (1991, 85-86) also notes some of the difficulties in seeing alcohol as a direct cause of violence. These kinds of approaches leave open why it is that in particular men, or some men, might respond to such situations with violence.

6. Environment, Cultures and Systems: Family Culture, Subcultures and Cultural Theories: Violence is understood as produced and reproduced through learning, socialisation, modelling and imitation, which in turn can be conceptualised as producing an environment of violence that operates over time, for instance, across across generation, and also above and beyond individuals through social relationships. Thus these temporal and social continuities 'produce' the environment of violence that transcends the individual and the particular violence of the individual. The advantage of these kinds of approaches is that they provide a way of moving beyond a focus on the individual towards the consideration of social relations. They also raise important questions of continuities across time and space, social or physical. On the other hand, systemic theory, especially in the form of marital and family systems theory, focuses on the interactive dynamics *between* the violator and the violated. Therefore, there is a danger of reducing the people, the man and the women, to parts of degenerated system.

7. Hybrid Theories: Stress, Inequality and Subculture: This kind of theories bring together elements of learning, reactive stress and environmental cultural theories. According to Lees and Lloyd (1994, 9), '[s]ocial structural stress is another theory, often used in collaboration with social learning theory, to explain the beating of women. Integrated into this approach is the notion that social stress is associated with unequal access to resources, especially for the poor. In this view, individuals who are

under stress resort to violence as an outlet for frustration, which may result from one incident or a slow build-up of incidents. (...) However, stress and poverty by themselves are not sufficient to explain the violence, as many poor families are not affected. Also, women battering and stress occur right across social spectrum, although it is thought that stress and violence is greatest amongst lower classes'.

8. Multicausal Explanations: Lees and Lloyd (1994, 10-11) summarise the multicausal approach as follows:

Some theorists have recently attempted to combine some or all of the theories so far discussed in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of woman beating. Edleson, Eisikovits and Guttman (1985) argue that terror is the major feature of the battered woman's life, rather than beatings which might only occur spasmodically. They looked at the many empirical studies undertaken of woman battering and suggested they fell into five areas: 1) violence in the man's family of origin; 2) chemical abuse and violence; 3) personal characteristics; 4) demographic and relationship variables; 5) information on specific violent events. Some approaches emphasise the assessment of multiple risks.

9. Violence as Structured Oppression: The Socio-political Critique of Patriarchy/ies: In the above mentioned 'explanations' of (men's) violence (against women), women and men remain conceptualised as relatively autonomous individuals within the liberal society or as bearers of sex roles, and thus a relatively simple understanding of gender is in use. However, feminist studies have emphasised how men's violence to women can be understood as a part of the system of structured power and oppression that constitutes patriarchy/patriarchies, and social relations within these. (See, for instance, Brownmiller 1975; Dworkin 1982; Sheffield 1987; Hanmer et al. 1989; Hester et al. 1996).

10. Cross-cultural Societal Studies: There is also the question of how violence, men's violence, and knowledge thereof is formed and organised in different societies: in other words, the comparative and transactional dimensions once again. In the book, *Societies at Peace*, Howell and Willis (1990) posed the question: what can we learn from peaceful societies? They found that the definition of masculinity had a significant impact on the propensity towards violence. In those societies in which men were permitted to acknowledge fear, levels of violence were low. In those societies, however, where masculine bravado, the repression and denial of fear, was a defining feature of masculinity, violence was likely to be high. Those societies in which such bravado is prescribed for men are those in which the definitions of masculinity and femininity are very highly differentiated.

11. Difference and Diversity, including influences from Poststructuralism and Postmodernism: The question of difference and diversity is important in relation to men's violence to (known) women in terms of age, disability, economic class, gender, race and ethnicity, and sexuality. For instance, black feminists have highlighted the neglect of experiences of black women in much of the research on men's violence (for instance, Bhatti-Sinclair 1994) Thus earlier research on (men's) violence in 'white' contexts and communities would need further emphasis and focus on and through the aspects of research and researchers of/from 'non-white' communities. The cultural

settings in Europe concerning ethnicity are very diverse, and increasingly so. Therefore, emphasis on these aspects is very much needed in the current and future Europe. This arises also the question that 'who' ('white' or 'non-white', 'originally European' or immigrants/ethnic minorities, and so on) are involved in the research processes, and what does it mean for the outcome of the research settings, their contextualisations and outcomes.

At the same time, there is a danger that when following the cultural/ethnic/race 'path', research becomes essentialist, and starts to 'explain' the violence in a 'cultural' and non-gendered way. This is an aspect that needs to be emphasised in the process of developing of a 'European' strategy to research on violence.

According to Hearn (1998, 33): 'structuration theory, in emphasising the intersection of social structures and agency/actions, also raises the theme of difference and diversity (Messerschmidt 1993). These issues of difference and diversity between forms of violence, between kinds of men's violence, and experiences of different social groups defined by other divisions and oppressions are a major theme of current research (see, for example, Rice 1990, Kirkwood 1993; Tift 1993; Pringle 1995).'

Until recently, there has been a relatively limited development of feminist work on men's violence to known women that is inspired or influenced by post-structuralism, postmodernism, and feminist poststructuralisms and postmodernisms. As such and according to many of these approaches, violence, including men's violence, is not a discrete area of study not is it a separate object cause or 'explained' by some other subject or cause. Instead, violence is multiple, diverse and context-specific; it is also formed in relation to and in association with other social forms, such as sexuality, family, marriage and authority. Violence is not a separate thing, but is constructed in diverse social relations and discourses (Hearn 1998).

However, violence is never 'only a discourse' when thinking about its object and its effects: violence is very much a physical, mental and emotional experience(s) to its victim and in a different way for its perpetrators. Thus research that builds on or is limited to very strong postmodernist ideology may reduce the acts of violence to discursive elements or processes.

12. Hegemonic and Dominant Masculinities, and their Empirical and Theoretical Critique: There is now a major debate on the critique and limitations of hegemonic masculinity in general and in relation to men's violence.

(vii) *Building on and reviewing the contribution of Critical Studies on Men:* There is now a substantial international body of critical, feminist and profeminist work on men, masculinities and men's practices. Some of this is on men's violences. Some of the implications of this general research can be extended men's violences. The approach here argues for Critical Studies on Men that are:

- comparative, international and transnational
- interdisciplinary
- historical
- cultural
- relational

- materialist
- deconstructive

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

There are tensions between approaches that stress gender dichotomy and inevitability to gender adversities, as against those that emphasise change, processuality, flexibility and self-reflection for different genders. There are also variations in the extent to which these studies take a critical stance towards men and masculinities, between the development of feminist/profeminist Critical Studies on Men (Hearn 1997, 2004a; Connell et al. 2005), as opposed to the much more ambiguous and sometimes even anti-feminist activities of 'men's studies', which can become defined in a much less critical way as 'by men, on men, for men'. CSM examine men as part of historical gender relations, through a wide variety of analytical and methodological tools and approaches. The notion of men is social and not to be essentialised and reified, as in some versions of the equivocal term 'men's studies'. Men are understood as historical, cultural and changeable, both as a social category and in particular constructions. In this sense CSM are part of the broader project of Women's Studies and Gender Research, rather than competitive with them.

Critical Studies on Men have brought the theorising of men and masculinities into sharper relief, making men and masculinities explicit objects of theory and critique. Among the many areas of current debate, we would draw attention to three particular sets of questions that have preoccupied researchers: the concept of patriarchy; similarities and differences between men and between masculinities; and men's, or male, sexualities and subjectivities. In each case, there are tensions between generalisations about men and masculinity and specificities of men and masculinities, including the notion of hegemonic masculinity.

The notion of hegemonic masculinity was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as part of the critique of sex role theory (Eichler 1980). In a key 1985 article Carrigan, Connell and Lee wrote:

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

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

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

Masculinities operate in the context of patriarchy or patriarchal relations. The notion of patriarchy is understood in this context not in its literal sense of rule of the father(s), but as men's structural dominance in society. The development of a dynamic conception of masculinities can itself be understood as part of the feminist and gendered critique of any monolithic conception of patriarchy, that was developing around the same time in the mid 70s and early 80s (for example, Rowbotham 1979). Thus the notion of masculinities fits with a more complex and diversified understanding of patriarchy (Walby 1986, 1990; Hearn 1987; Holter 1997) or patriarchies (Hearn 1992). In reviewing the field, Connell (1998) summarised the major themes in contemporary studies on men as: plural masculinities; hierarchy and hegemony; collective masculinities; bodies as arenas; active construction; contradiction; dynamics.

There is 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 (for example, Donaldson 1993; Nordberg 2000; Whitehead 2002). The very concept of 'masculinity/masculinities' has been critiqued for its ethnocentrism, historical specificity, false causality, possible psychologism and conceptual vagueness (McMahon 1993; Hearn 1996b, 2004a). Whilst Connell (1993, 1995) has emphasized the cultural specificity of masculinities, and even of the concept itself, it has been pointed out that there has been a widespread application of the term in many and various ways, and this can be a conceptual and empirical weakness. Connell has also described hegemonic masculinity as a "configuration of gender practice" rather than a type of masculinity, yet the use of the term has sometimes been as if it is a type. Cross-cultural research has used the concept of 'manhood' (Gilmore 1990) and historical research the notions of 'manliness' and 'unmanliness', in the UK (Mangan and Walvin 1987) and Sweden (Andersson 2003; Tjeder 2003).

Generally we prefer to talk rather more precisely of men's individual and collective practices – or men's identities or discourses on or of men – rather than the gloss 'masculinities'. However, the latter term is still used at some points in this report, as it remains the shortest way to refer to how men act, think, believe and appear, or are made apparent. The concept has been very important, even though commentators use the terms very differently, in serving several definite academic and political purposes. Perhaps above all, more recent studies have foregrounded questions of power.

There is some development of critical studies on men addressing men's violences. In such critical approaches the focus on men's power and domination is central. Violence is located as one element of that power and domination, even though there are major discussions and debates about the explanation of those violences. In order to understand men's violences, it is necessary to understand the social construction of men and masculinities, not just the abstracted nature of violence. The perspectives noted can be seen as possible modes of explanation of both men and men's violences. Different perspectives on violence give different accounts of men and masculinities. An explicit focus on men may engage with the variety of ways in which men, masculinities and violences interrelate with each other, for men in general, particular groups of men, and individual men.

There is an increasing literature that places the analysis of men's violence to women, especially known women, within the context of the analysis of men and masculinities more generally, rather than within the context of violence or 'domestic violence'. In order to understand such men's violence, it is necessary to understand the social construction of men and dominant forms of masculinity, not just the nature of violence itself. The explicit focus on men is emphasised by Pringle (1995) in his review of men's violence to women. He notes first that 'men tend to have a need to dominate and control', and, second, that 'structural factors play a part in the generation of men's physical and emotional violences' (p.100). He stresses that such violence is behaviour *chosen* by men, it is the product of choice within a *structural* context of hierarchical power arrangements. As Tift (1993) has explained, the prevalence of battering is directly related to the ideological and institutionalised strength of such structural gender arrangements.

The application of masculinities theory to men's violence to women has been developed to some extent. One of the broadest analyses of the relation of crime and masculinity within a framework of masculinities theory is James Messerschmidt's (1993) *Masculinities and Crime*. He has argued that crime, including violence, is available as a resource for the making of masculinity, or at least specific forms of masculinity. He sees various forms of criminal behaviour, crime and violence as structured action and differentially available resources for "doing masculinity" (West and Zimmerman 1987), when other resources are not available (according to class, ethnicity/"race" and sexuality). His theoretical stance is more explicitly tied to structuration theory than much of the earlier work of Connell and colleagues. He also implicitly posits a compensation model of masculinity, so that violence is seen as a resource when, for example, marriage, steady employment with reliable pay, having and providing for children and other dependents, or educational success are not available as "masculine-validating resources".

Various subsequent, mainly qualitative, studies have explored these possible "compensatory" dynamics, for example, in interviews and observations of unemployed and marginalised men and young men. Less attention has been given to quantitative studies of these processes. An exception is Krienert's (2003) study of 704 newly incarcerated prison inmates, which seeks to operationalise Messerschmidt's relational logic on masculinity and violence. This found that "traditional masculinity and acceptable ['traditional'] outlets [of masculinity] alone are not significant indicators of a violent event." (p. 18). On the other hand, some support was found the

hypothesis that the effects of masculinity on violence depend upon the level of “appropriate outlets” – with less outlets meaning that the effect of masculinity on the escalation of violence is greater than if there are more such outlets.

The production and reproduction of masculinities is detailed by Miedzian (1992) in her description of the significance of violence in the rearing of boys and sons. She does not simply chart the socialisation of boys but also sees the construction of masculinity of boys and young men within wider society as intimately interconnected with violence. Stanko (1994) has also spoken of the need to look simultaneously at masculinity/violence in analysing the power of violence in negotiating masculinities. While this may appear to be clearer in considering men’s violence to each other, such a ‘simultaneous yet negotiated’ analysis needs to be extended to man’s reproduction of violence/masculinity in relation to women.

Violence seems sometimes, indeed often, to be directly linked to *masculinity* with only the difference whether this relation is constitutive or subtle. This might support the idea of *homogenous or hegemonic masculinity* and a relatively non-differentiated understanding of violence. However, the relation between masculinity, or rather, masculinities, and violence is more complex.

First, there are many men who condemn or despise violence against women and children. This, however, does not necessarily (or even perhaps probably) imply an fully egalitarian view of gender relations. Rather this may possibly involve a viewpoint such as ‘a man has to make his wife obey without using physical strength’, that is, through his (male) authority.

Second, the construction of masculinity is contradictory: there are complex connections between “responsibility” and “violence”, between “honour/respect” and “violence”, between “autonomy” and violence”; in each case, both elements might contradict each other or go together (violence in the name of honour, responsibility, education, or even respect), and the specific combination contributes to the construction of masculinities and defines what kind of violations against whom are acceptable and what kind are not. At the same time, this also raises important questions of how to address other men’s, or male, “non-violent” practices that are still tightly bound to (legal or non-criminalised) violent practices, such as in military and war, or as clientele in the sex trade.

Third, attitudes concerning men’s, or ‘male’, violence in different forms and the practice of non-(physical) violence can constitute distinctions between masculinities. The superiority of (non-violent) masculinity can be (re)constructed by understanding that this form of masculinity does not need to use of physical strength or direct interpersonal power over others. In this sense, the condemnation of violence might, in some contexts, also be men’s, or male, practices to reassure or revalorise other or dominant forms of masculinity. There are indeed power relations between men and masculinities, which regulate what kinds of violence are accepted and who has the power to condemn violence for which kinds of men and in what contexts⁴. Thus, there

⁴ This is an important historical point for analysis of the situation in many European countries. The police, which is still very largely a male-defined and ‘male-attributed’ organisation, on both the symbolic and material levels, is now involved in arresting men and thus contributing to their conviction in some cases, because of their (alleged) violence against wives and other known women.

are various power relations between men (and not only between offender and victim) and different ways of handling of violence (accepting, expecting, convicting) as part of the regulation of power relations between men more generally.

In a recent article Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have critically reviewed the concept of hegemonic masculinity, at least in part in relation to violence. They suggest that what should be rejected includes the continued use of psychological trait theory, and too simple a model of global gender dominance. Both of these elements (and their rejection) are relevant to the analysis of men's violence to women. Several reformulations were presented, including more holistic understanding of gender hierarchy; the importance of the geography/ies of masculinities; the return to the emphasis on social embodiment; and the dynamics of masculinities, including contestation and democratisation.

A further promising development is to understand men's violence to known women at least in part through relations between men, as men. Helping men to understand his relationship with other men may be a means to unlocking the emotional dynamics of his abuse of women, as a compensatory and regulatory mechanism in his relations with other men. The processes by which men construct women through relations with each other, as men, and use those constructions to regulate relations between men, may be at the core of the persistence of such violence (Hearn and Whitehead 2006). Such violence appears on the surface to be a paradox, since it is inconsistent with the heroic role of provider to and protector of women. Yet it appears to be a paradox, however, only for as long as masculinity is understood in terms of '...the study of men conceptualised solely as the study of personal identity, of masculinities.' (Hanmer 1990, 34) When models emerge which are rooted in what men have in common, as men, across social divisions (Whitehead 2005), or models which are concerned with the actuality of men's practices (Hearn 2004b), men's violence to known women may be seen as functional in maintaining masculine identity, while appearing on the surface to undermine it.

(viii) *Developing a comparative and transnational orientation, by attending to cultural variations, convergences and divergences in time and space, and intersecting forms of power relations:* a shared methodological framework for a research strategy needs to adopt comparative and transnational orientation in examining men's practices, gender relations and social policy responses to them in their specific social and cultural contexts. Consequently, it seeks to understand them as both socially and culturally constructed and with real material forms, effects and outcomes for people's lives. This involves taking into account the complex intersection of gendered inequalities with other forms of social disadvantage.

While all of these principles are very important, this last principle is especially so, and is now examined in more detail.

IV. Developing a comparative and transnational orientation, by attending to cultural variations, convergences and divergences in time and space, and intersecting forms of power relations

4.1 Studying men and men's violences comparatively and transnationally

In recent years comparative perspectives have been applied to many fields of study. Comparative research can be pursued for many reasons, to: gather basic empirical data; test theories developed in one context to another; develop more comprehensive models; examine influences of cultural conditions; feed into transnational policy development, such as EU policy (Pringle 1998). Much comparative research on social welfare has been macro in focus, such as comparing welfare states or social security systems (Esping-Andersen 1990; Duncan 1994; Sainsbury 1994). Some has focused on social services or social care services (Anttonen and Sipilä 1996; Sipilä 1997). Studies need to be made grounded in and with a full awareness of both historical context and comparative statistical data, not only on violence, but also on other aspects of gendered societal structures.

One of the most convincing reasons for adopting a comparative approach is the potential offered for deconstructing the assumptions that 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 a growing 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.

There are well-known methodological difficulties in comparative research around the cultural equivalence of concepts/frames that are problems primarily for quantitative research. Of course the same issues occur with qualitative research. However, provided it is carried out with both cultural sensitivity and a critical perspective, qualitative research can thrive on the lack of cultural equivalences or at least differences/variations in cultural equivalences: because qualitative research can allow one to explore those differences and variations in detail – as well as the cultural continuities and the connections between continuities and variations across cultures, which of course enriches our understanding of the social, cultural and political dynamics within those varying cultural contexts. That is also why such qualitative exploration of culturally differing concepts/frames can be a vital pre-cursor to broader quantitative exploration. All this applies as much to the topic of men's violences as any other. Thus cultural variations in concepts and conceptual frames are both a big problem and massive opportunity for transnational comparative research – including that on men's violences.

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 opinion) be more sexist than those in Northern and Western Europe. Esping-Andersen-type models do not seem appropriate for addressing patterns of men's violences, and state and other interventions against them.

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, 2001; 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, along with 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. This can 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. Gendering men is 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 earlier expectations and earlier generations of men. Critical study of men's practices has, until very recently, largely escaped specific comparative scrutiny, although it has received 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.

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 inquiries regarding the global transactions that occur in processes of masculinity formation have opened up many possibilities for exploration and contestation (Connell 1993, 1995, 1998; Hearn 1996a; Woodward 1996). Such studies have conceptualised broad transnational categories of men and masculinities, such as 'global business masculinity' (Connell 1998) and 'men of the world' (Hearn 1996a).

Attempts have been made to push forward the boundaries in the comparative field using profeminist perspectives to consider men's practices in Asia, Southern Africa, the South, Central and North Americas, Australasia and Europe (Breines et al. 2000; Pease and Pringle 2001; Kimmel et al., 2005). These are attempts that seek to locate such considerations within recent debates about globalisation and men's practices, throwing some doubt in the process on more ambitious claims of globalisation theses. There is a growing academic and policy literature on men in development, which 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.

To undertake comparative study, specific attention to the challenges and difficulties of comparative perspectives in European contexts is necessary. Comparative study facilitates several avenues for research:

- Representatives of different major welfare regimes allow testing of general welfare typologies in relation to men's practices. This includes the exploration of the extent to which differential social patterns and welfare responses between countries often grouped together based on alleged historical, social and/or cultural proximity are similar or different.
- These and other considerations can be framed within developing notions of what 'being European' constitutes. However, this is much contested with the enlarging of the EU. There are and will be several contested ideas of 'Europe' and being 'European', which strongly highlights the analysis of violence and diversity/difference to be a focus and subject to problematisation.
- Inclusion of countries from Central and Eastern Europe allows exploration of how recent massive economic, social, cultural and political changes impact upon attitudes and practices relating to men across Europe. It seems that the most powerful nations in the EU are also powerful in the context of defining of what and how things are to be researched. Thus, for example, the aspects of 'transit countries' might be too easily overcome, even though these transitions and their roots embed very difficult problematics also concerning violence to women and their gender relations. For instance, the shift from communist rule can be 'liberating' in many senses, but the socio-economic circumstances of many men and women have actually deteriorated. For many men, this has meant losing of working places and at the same time, the position in society. In planning research that covers the enlarged Europe, it is crucial countries in Central and Eastern Europe are included, and that the circumstances of women and men in the post-socialist countries are taken into account when planning research in the future.
- There are both clear similarities among the countries studied thus far as well as 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.

In addition, distinctions need to be made between: transnational research on men's violences; comparative research, comparing different countries, societies, cultures and systems; and research on men's transnational violence in terms of cross-border violences, such as in trafficking, pornographisations, militarism, abduction, "paedophile" rings, "honour" killings, and so on. These include actions by men, as individuals and as collectivities, both directly as in their practice of violence and less directly in their management, monitoring, sponsorship and facilitation.

4.2 Studying men transnationally

There has been a strong emphasis within recent Critical Studies on Men (CSM) on the interconnections of gender with other social divisions, such as age, class, disability, ethnicity, racialisation and sexuality. The idea that gender of men is derived from any kind of fixed, inner trait or core is especially antagonistic to CSM. There are also well-established arguments that men's gendered relations of and to power are complex, even contradictory (for example, Brod and Kaufman, 1994). For example, the collective, historical power of men may be understood as maintained by the dispensability of some men, for example, as soldiers in war, even with the violence to and killing of women and children, usually as non-combatants.

There is growing concern with more precise specifications of men's individual and collective practices within gendered globalisations, or glocalisations. Indeed one of the most important trends of recent critical research on men has been towards more international, transnational and global perspectives. This is to be seen in many publications that move attention away from the Western world and individual nations as the focus, and towards the South and transnational and postcolonial studies on men (for example, Connell 1998; Ouzgane and Coleman 1998; Morrell 2001; Pease and Pringle 2001; Cleaver 2002; Morrell and Swart 2005; Ouzgane and Morrell 2005). There is increasing focus on global transactions in processes of masculinity formation and transnational categories of men and masculinities, as in 'global business masculinity' (Connell 1998), 'men of the world' (Hearn 1996a) or the central place of men and masculinity in the collective violence of war (Enloe 1990; Higate 2002), with the apparent increased use of rape and sexual violence in war. This seeks to locate such considerations within recent debates about globalisation and men's practices, throwing some doubt on the more ambitious claims of globalisation theses. Despite these recent developments, there remains a massive deficit in critical transnational studies of men's practices and in the sources available for such study.

Men's relation to social power is closely interlinked with men's relations to social problems, that is, in both the creation and experiencing of problems, and the broader issue of the societal problematisation of men and masculinities (see, for example, Holter and Aarseth 1993; Popay et al. 1998). 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. 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 exist 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 most, perhaps all, European societies, the form that it takes is different from society to society. Social problems exist in terms of men's 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 with immediate and long-term negative effects on others, friends, family and strangers. Some men suffer from adversity, as with ill-health, violence, poverty, suicide.

In the gendered problematisation of men and masculinities and constructions of men and masculinities as gendered social problems have been examined in their European national contexts. There is great national and societal variation in how men and masculinities interact with other major social divisions and inequalities, in particular, class, “race” xenophobia and racism, ethnicity, nationalism and religion. 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.

In terms of the “actuality” of men’s violences, we are already aware from existing transnational studies (see, for instance, Pringle and Pease 2001) that in general there are massive continuities and massive variations in the forms of such violences and their underlying dynamics across broadly differing cultures. Therefore, *any research strategy for exploring the dynamics of men’s violences transnationally must give a primary role (not necessarily the only primary role) to qualitative approaches*. For, in seeking to explore in more detail such shifting patterns of continuity and variation – as well as the complex dynamics underpinning those patterns – qualitative research is clearly of crucial importance. Partly because, in itself, it can provide the sensitivity for exploring such comparative subtleties; partly because it is an essential pre-cursor to any quantitative comparative research if the latter is to minimise as far as it can the massive methodological problems it will inevitably face.

Processes of cultural variation impinge directly not only on any research topic (including men’s violences) but also on the research process itself. Of course this occurs in a whole range of ways – not least the fact that different research traditions in different countries value various forms of research differently. For instance, thinking about Denmark, Sweden and the UK, it seems clear that qualitative research is valued more highly within “mainstream” social sciences in the UK than it is in Denmark or Sweden. Moreover, where qualitative research is carried out, one can find considerable cultural variations in how it is done, especially as of course there is no clear dividing line between qualitative and quantitative research. So, for example, in a cultural context where quantitative research is seen very much as the “norm“, it may well be that much qualitative research is carried out there along more quantitative principles than is the case in a context where qualitative research is more broadly accepted. These kinds of variability have important implications for what is researched and how it tends to be researched in different countries and contexts. The picture is even more complex when one takes in to account variability between research approaches across disciplines as well as across countries. Thus it can be concluded that *a research strategy to explore the dynamics of men’s violences in a transnational and trans-disciplinary fashion must allow, as a central requirement, considerable “spaces”/fora - both initially and throughout the project – to ongoing discussions and consultations between the researchers involved about the methodologies/methods they adopt and about developing frames for accommodating/dealing with/taking advantage of variations in such methodologies/methods. This cannot be emphasised too much.*

The same considerations apply to theoretical and analytical understandings of men’s violences – and indeed of men’s gendered practices more generally. As we know,

there are massive potential variations in the way in which men's practices can be understood analytically and theoretically – not least the highly political and emotive issue of men's violences. *When and where a collection of researchers are drawn together to explore such issues, it is vital that any research strategy for this purpose creates clear "spaces"/fora – again initially but also throughout the process – whereby analytical and theoretical variations can be discussed and clarified, and frames developed to accommodate and deal with and harness such variations. This is especially the case, again, where research will be transdisciplinary. Most of all, this is essential where research is to be transnational and transcultural.* This is because there are indications (for instance, from Framework 5 project; see Hearn and Pringle 2006; Pringle 2006) that different theoretical and analytical approaches vary partly according to country and cultural context. This may partly (but only partly) explain the fact that the emphasis of gender research on men in the Nordic countries has historically been placed on topics such as employment, work in the home, health rather than on men's violences to women and children; whilst a different balance has tended to occur in countries such as Germany and the UK (Pringle 2005).

4.3 Ethnicity and gender

Situations where issues of ethnicity and gender intersect in various ways to increase the likelihood of violence occurring and/or to increase the likelihood of violence not being prevented or halted. There are a number of types of situations that can be envisaged under this heading. Some of these include: (i) militant racism; (ii) projects of State and non-state nationalism and pan-nationalism (e.g. in the Baltic States, in the Balkans, in US and UK foreign policy, the "Alliance of the Willing"); state and non-state terrorism; (iii) The unwillingness sometimes of state and non-state agencies to intervene in gendered violence in minority ethnic group families; (iv) over-eagerness sometimes of state/non-state agencies to intervene in gendered violence in minority ethnic group families (at other times avoidance); (v) relative lack of attention sometimes paid to gendered violence in majority ethnic group families compared to that in minority ethnic group families.

4.4 Multiple dimensions of power/disadvantage

Situations where multiple dimensions of power/disadvantage (for instance including age, gender, ethnicity/"race", religion, sexuality, disability, kinship, class) intersect may often be ones where violence is most likely to occur, even if not all the dimensions of power flow constantly in the same direction. For example, the "commercial sexual exploitation of children", in one perspective, can be seen as the outcome of a complex interaction of various dimensions of oppression and violence: at least gender, age, class, ethnicity/"race", sexuality. We are thinking here primarily of dominant, even taken-for-granted, ways of being men, rather than the concept of so-called "paedophilia". It is indeed heterosexuality that most often - though not always - enters problematically into processes of violence and oppression.

This involves examining the specificity of intersectionalities, in such a way that:

- the likely vulnerability of both women and men in less powerful social locations
- the less resources of both women and men in less powerful social locations

- the greater likelihood of the prosecution of men in less powerful social locations
- gender power relations are not neglected.

Violence and violations are not simply means for or structurings of *other* forms of power, domination and oppression. They are forms of power, domination and oppression in themselves that structure organisations. While such a perspective can mean that violence as violation may blur into power relations, a key distinction is that power relations are not necessarily violating.

4.5 Challenges in comparative and transnational research

There are many challenges around methodology in research on gender violence and in particular how to plan and accomplish such research transnationally. Kelly (2006) discusses some methodological questions and points out challenges to combine human rights framework and social research, for example, in studying gender violence transnationally. The premises of these frameworks and their embedded positions and ideologies differ in many ways. According to Kelly, the human rights framework is based on universality, commonalities and setting boundaries, whereas in current social research much attention is increasingly paid to diversity, differentiation and cultural contexts (p. 2). This creates tensions, even though such tensions could be overcome by (re)constructing of methodologies as well as procedures in doing research.

Major possible difficulties in such comparative research include practical and empirical problems, such as obtaining comparable empirical data. Cultural and linguistic problems include how descriptions depend on national and cultural writing styles and linguistic understandings, so that comparisons are of not only systems but also linguistic, cultural practices. Administrative and statistical systems usually do not correspond with each other. 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 (e.g. 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 Sub-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 future initiatives in research development.

In reviewing previous research, considerable differences have been identified between the ways in which academic research and statistical sources in different countries have conceptualised social exclusion, and indeed social inclusion. Moreover, these differences varied to some extent depending upon which forms of national and international data or evidence were examined, as in the contrasts between academic

research and statistical sources. The forms of social exclusion addressed within one institutional sphere differed to a certain extent from the forms addressed in another sphere within the same country. Typically this difference occurred between academic research, on the one hand, and government law and policy, on the other hand. The reasons for such a partial mismatch can be various and each mismatch has to be understood within its own specific cultural context.

Theoretical issues include how different theoretical models and assumptions may be more or less consciously used by researchers in different societal contexts. There are dangers in reifying nation or society at the expense of, say, the region. Researchers' familiarity with each others' systems varies greatly. While much comparative research has been focused on macro comparisons and the pursuit of an objectivist notion of truth, our approach is informed more by a critical realist approach in which everyday meanings are taken seriously, located within the context of historical material change. The micro-level of individual life strategies and settings of "doing gender" must be analysed in the context of supranational institutions and organisations that powerfully influence (such as the EU, transnational economic corporations).

The importance of attention to different historical and political contexts of different regions, countries and parts of Europe cannot be overstated. There are dangers in transplanting ideas and theories from one part of Europe to others, in seeing comparison as an 'even surface'. For example, in conducting comparative research between England and Finland, the former group of researchers found it at times difficult to understand that there is no equivalent linguistically and institutionally for certain practices and concepts (Hearn et al. 2004). Caution needs to be exercised in terms of developing a single methodological measure across all Europe. Cultural differences in Europe, as elsewhere, need to be taken into consideration when researching gender violence transnationally. Major differences are related to history, forms of organising societies and their welfare models, and power relations between different groups of people, such as ethnic majorities and minorities. Diversity among citizenships often impact on how violence is understood societally: culturalised and ethnisised citizenship can lead to essentialism in interpreting violence by certain groups. For instance 'honour killings' or forced marriages are sometimes explained, even excused, on cultural grounds.

In the light of these considerations, we provide some examples of possible comparative and transnational research approaches to men's violence, before identifying some final research priorities. Three examples are given here.

- *Comparative surveys on gendered violence:* Accomplishing such surveys can often meet various problems based on differences in cultural and social situations in different areas. In spite of such problems, comparative survey studies of men and masculinities in the context of gender power relations may be developed. One example is the approach developed by Connell and colleagues (Connell 2004, 2005a), initially in an Australian context. This combines diverse quantitative measures with more qualitative assessments of situational context and embodied dimensions, informed by poststructuralist approaches. Men's violence is considered in the broad context of conflict and peacemaking and other aspects of gender relations.

- *Comparable cases of men's violences:* The study of parallel cases on forms or locales of men's violences simultaneously across several or many countries, for example, men in prison (short-term, long-term, lifers), men arrested for 'domestic violence', men in men's anti-violence programmes, young men and violence in and around sport. This can draw on quantitative, qualitative and ethnographic approaches, and build on matched cases. Similarities in some parts of the procedures or basis for the organisations can offer an important common ground for comparative research, which still leaves space for embedded cultural and social differences to be taken into account in comparing the cases. Another possibility for comparative research on gender violence is key incident analysis (Kroon and Sturm 2000).
- *Studies of men's transnational violences:* Studies of men's transnational violences can include the sex trade, use of information and communication technologies, 'paedophile rings', violence in transnational interpersonal relations, abductions, 'honour killings', human trafficking, militarism, and related violences. These involve both transnational violent phenomena and demand transnational collaboration in doing research. This links with contemporary developments in transnational feminist and profeminist scholarship, including critical research on men and masculinities (Connell 1993, 1998, 2005b; Hearn 1996a, 2006; Pease and Pringle 2001; Novikova and Kambourov 2003; Jyrkinen 2005; Desai 2006; Kelly 2006).

V. Research priorities

1. Focus on men's violences to women, men, children, transgender people, by full attention to men's relations with men.
2. Develop quality assurance in research on men's violences in terms of it being conducted in the full knowledge of international, critical gender scholarship and research on what is already known.
3. Link research on men's violences to social inclusion/exclusion, and intersectional approaches to cultural and other differences.
4. Link research on men's violences to human rights agenda, its potentials and its limitations, including its feminist critiques.
5. Link research on men's violences to current critical debates on masculinities and men's practices.
6. Include physical, sexual and other forms of violences, including the relations of men's violences and men's sexualities.
7. Develop transnational, as well as comparative and international, research, including research on men's transnational violences.
8. Develop policy-driven research on what reduces and stops men's violences.
9. Attend to both questions of research content on men's violences and questions of research process in researching men's violences, and also to their interrelations.
10. Increase investment and build support for investment in research in Central and Eastern Europe, which remains the most under-funded area for research into men's violences.
11. Focus on ethical issues during and throughout the whole research process, and develop collaborative, facilitative and supportive research environment from the beginning of the process.

12. Develop relational approaches between: forms of men's violences; men's interpersonal violences and men's institutional violences; social divisions/exclusions/inclusions; violence and other social arenas.
13. Develop research that explores the dynamics of men's violences transnationally by giving a primary role (not necessarily the only primary role) to qualitative approaches.
14. In developing research strategy to explore the dynamics of men's violences in a transnational, transdisciplinary fashion, create and maintain considerable "spaces"/fora - both initially and throughout the project - to ongoing discussions and consultations between the researchers involved about the methodologies/methods they adopt and about developing frames for accommodating/dealing with/taking advantage of variations in such methodologies/methods. This cannot be emphasised too much.
15. When and where researchers are brought together to explore such issues, it is vital that research strategy creates clear "spaces" or fora - both initially and throughout the process - whereby analytical and theoretical variations can be discussed and clarified, and frames developed to accommodate, deal with and harness such variations. This is especially so with transdisciplinary research, and is essential where research is to be transnational and transcultural.

Appendix: Building on existing substantive knowledge, methodologies and epistemologies

The following two sub-sections summarise findings from the member countries, regarding men's violences and social exclusion, noting gaps and suggestions; the third sub-section provides summaries of the overviews of research on men's violences.

A.1 Violences – Academic research and statistical sources

The recurring theme in academic research on men's violence and men's practices more generally is the widespread nature of the problem of men's violences to women, children, other men, and transgender people, and in particular the growing public awareness of men's violence against women. There is a great deal of substantive knowledge from these and other countries. This provides the basis for developing a research strategy on men's violences. This is in terms of the forms and level of men's violence, some of the explanations, many of the processes of its practice and reproduction, and the responses (or lack of responses) from men, other men, agencies, and so on.

There is also clear knowledge that men tend to understate, underestimate, deny, excuse, rationalise, justify violence, and may well blame the other (woman) for their own violence. Men who are violent often also tend to see themselves as "not violent", "not wife batterers", "not criminals", or "not sex offenders". The social form of masculinity seems to be recognised as playing a significant role when violence against women is the explicit topic, but rather less so clearly recognised in men's violence to men. Violence against women by known men is becoming recognised as a major social problem in most European countries. The range of abusive behaviours includes direct physical violence, isolation and control of movements, and abuse through the control of money.

There are numerous gaps in research knowledge. A very important, if still relatively unexplored, area of research is the relationship between men's violence to women and men's violence to children. There are both direct connections and connections through children witnessing violence to their mothers or other close women relatives or friends. Child abuse, including physical abuse and child neglect, is being more recognised as a prominent social problem in many countries, but child sexual abuse is still widely under-recognised. Both the gendered nature of these problems and an appreciation of how service responses are themselves gendered have received some critical attention, both in terms of perpetrators and victims/survivors, but there is still a major pressure towards non-gendered studies and services.

There has been some concern with the intersection of sexuality and violence, and this is likely to be an area of growing concern. There is some research on men's sexual abuse of women and 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, lesbians and gay men, and older people are gradually being highlighted more, but still very unexplored. Especially unexplored are men's violences towards transgender and other gender variant people.

There is a striking lack of gender awareness in studies that seem to understand themselves as dealing with so-called “general” issues around violence, for instance, racist violence. Aspects of men’s violences rarely addressed in a gendered way include ‘civil disorder’ or ‘anti-social behaviour’, and ethnic and community conflict. In addition, in many countries relatively little explicit *gendered* academic literature exists on elder abuse and violence against men. This is so even though criminology has much researched men’s violence to men, but often in a non-gendered ways. Studies on the reasons for non-violent behaviour in men are lacking. Similarly, there is a lack of studies on connections between violence between men and men’s violence against women.

Key research questions that need more attention include:

- 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 and experiencing ‘hate crime’;
- How different forms of men’s violences interconnect, for instance, men who are abusive to partners and men who are abusive to children;
- How programmes against men’s violences can be developed, particularly research that aims at the promotion of successful initiatives at school, community and societal levels;
- Men’s sexual violences to women and adult men;
- Men’s violences to lesbians, gay men, and bisexual and transgender people;
- Men’s violences to ethnic minorities, migrants, people of colour, and older people;
- Intersections of men’s violences, men’s sexualities and men’s sexual violences;
- ‘Non-violence’ as a vision, practice and reality, and its relation with egalitarian gender and other social relations.

The general organising principle of official statistics on men’s violence tends to be crime rather than violences; knowledge on the prevalence men’s violence to women is more likely to come from self-report surveys of women. Child abuse, including physical abuse, sexual abuse and child neglect, is being more recognised as a social problem in the statistical sources in many countries, but child sexual abuse is still widely under-recognised. Markedly ‘male’ offences are sexual abuse of children and heavier physical violence to children. Following the growing recognition of child abuse of boys, there is increasing interest in surveying men’s experiences of violence, predominantly, but not only from other men.

For both academic and statistical sources of information, though perhaps to a slightly lesser extent for the latter, there is a considerable variation across European countries regarding the levels attention paid to both men’s violences to women and to children.

A.2 Social exclusion – Academic research and statistical sources

In reviewing previous research, considerable differences have been identified between the ways in which academic research and statistical sources in different countries have conceptualised social exclusion, and by implication social inclusion.

Key forms of social exclusion that have been identified within academic research on men, masculinities and men's practices:

Czech Rep: unemployment, poverty, homosexual subcultures, prison, educational inequality, life chances post-1989

Denmark: unemployment, ethnicity, youth/ethnicity, homelessness, social isolation/older men, male prostitution

Estonia: homelessness, social isolation, poor education, poverty

Finland: unemployment, homelessness and alcohol, links between social exclusion and health, criminal subculture, car subculture, youth subculture, gay men, HIV/AIDS, ethnicity/ ethnic minorities

Germany: unemployment of youth, juvenile delinquency, loosening social connections in old age, migrants, homosexuality

Ireland: unemployed, prisoners, excluded fathers (after divorce and unmarried fathers).

Latvia: homosexuality, citizenship, ethnicity, rural unemployment, language, unequal access to higher education and further professionalisation

Norway: Sámi, new forms of marginalisation due to globalisation leading to exclusion from labour market, men in non-traditional occupations

Poland: homosexuality

Spain: poverty, unemployment, ethnicity, education, immigration, disability, suicide

Sweden: unemployment, ethnicity, homelessness, homosexuality

UK: intersection of gender, sexuality and cultural identities; older men

Key forms of social exclusion identified within the statistical sources:

Czech Rep: homelessness (men), poverty, unemployment, age (ageing society)

Denmark: poverty, unemployment, ethnicity, educational disadvantage

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, under 40s age groups), immigrants

Ireland: educational disadvantage, disability, racism, long-term unemployment, prisoners, ethnicity

Latvia: poverty, unemployment, suicide, ethnicity and political citizenship (status of alien)

Norway: unemployment of certain groups, exclusion of non-Western immigrants, asylum applicants.

Poland: homeless, ethnic minorities, homosexuality

Sweden: poverty, ethnicity, homelessness, disability, health, political participation

UK: poverty (care system, unemployment, skills, age), ethnicity (criminal justice system, education, unemployment, health), disability

These differences varied to some extent depending upon which forms of national and international data or evidence were examined, as in the contrasts between academic research and statistical sources. The forms of social exclusion addressed within one institutional sphere differed to a certain extent from the forms addressed in another sphere within the same country. Typically this difference occurred between academic research, on the one hand, and government law and policy, on the other hand. The reasons for such a partial mismatch can be various and each mismatch has to be understood within its own specific cultural context.

In order to effectively analyse and challenge forms of social exclusion associated with men and men's practices across Europe, it is necessary for these processes of social construction – operating differentially in various national milieux and in various institutional sectors (academia, government) – to be recognised and de-constructed. Because, otherwise, many marginalised groups in many countries will go unrecognised and their needs un-addressed in social policy.

Various interconnections need to be considered: there is a need to understand the intersectionality or the mutual constitution of various forms of power relations in a triadic analysis of poverty, gender and ethnicity. There is a need to take into account thematic overlaps such as social exclusion and violence, and social exclusion, violence and health. However, intersectionality in gendered violence research can be also problematic, because without careful specification it can lead to be interpreted as the 'culturalisation of violence': for instance, in the cases of ethnic minorities, 'domestic violence' can become interpreted as more 'understandable' because of assumptions that particular religious or cultural traditions and meanings should be considered as legitimising factors for violence within certain groups of people. In addition, to connect marginalisation and social exclusion too tightly with violence can lead to, and often has led to, too simplistic and misleading interpretations and implicit understanding of 'problems emerging from (social) problems', the impeding of which and actions against which could automatically prevent violence.

A.3 Overviews of existing data in the member countries

The following texts are summaries of much longer reviews conducted by Sub-network members and partners.

Czech Republic – Two sources that would be valuable on the level of international research studies (on the European level): the International Violence Against Women Survey – Czech Republic/2003: Sociological Research on Domestic Violence – but again men's practices are only latent in this study; a large international study (to be finished soon, known as the PISA study) on educational systems and structure (including chapters on gender, and on anticipating gender chances in the societal structures). Most data available are statistical surveys based in positivist research approaches. The Czech Statistical Office is good in collecting various and numerous data (census and microcensus, representative studies) and categorises them by basic socio-demographic criteria (including sex). The trouble with using these data for a valid sociological analysis is in the fact of the lack of higher level categorisations (for instance, sex, education, position on the labour market or age). But recently (2002,

2004 and 2005) topical publications offering more “gender” detailed statistics are available – but information on violences on men and by men is still very limited to criminal statistics and health statistics. Dominance can be judged on the face value of general data (income, representation etc.); no representative research study has been conducted with the aim to explore dominance, power relations in any gendered way (nor in any other).

On the other hand, critical analysis using (de)constructivism is widespread in small scale, mostly qualitative (interpretative) sociological research studies reflecting and exploring issues of gender dominance. Here again, the issue of violence (perpetrators, victims and intermingling of these, structural conditioning) has not been a primary research goal of any study on men or masculinities. The field of studies on violence (mostly on women) lacks gender perspective in the Czech Republic. Most of the studies conducted by NGOs (even women’s NGOs) dealing with battered wives etc. use essentialist (sociobiological) explanations due to (a) strong influence of “sexologists” (well established discipline considered very scientific in the CZ, or at least dominating the public discourse) (b) overwhelming (and still not fading) essentialist discourse in medicine, law and relevant disciplines dealing with violence, and (c) lack of feminist or gender sensitive knowledge (or at least sociologically informed in social constructionism). If these small-scale nonrepresentative research studies do include ‘women perspective’ they use it in a very differentialist way (women as victims, men as perpetrators).

Denmark – In terms of the victimisation experiences of adults, gender disaggregated crime victimisation statistics have been published by the police in Denmark since 2001 based on official police statistics. Information on violent victimisation is also available from surveys which either incorporate gender as an analytic category or focus exclusively on women’s experience of men’s violence. The former type of survey makes note of the relationship between gender and the intimate versus stranger context but lacks critical analysis.

These victimisation surveys are: (1) A survey by the Danish National Institute for Social Research and the Ministry of Justice of women and men that asks about violence after age 15 and in the previous year, location of violence, relationship to perpetrator (unknown vs. known, current vs. previous partner), one time versus repeated violence, minor vs. serious violence, perceived reason for violence; questions about the experience of rape are also included. (2) *The Danish Health and Morbidity Survey 2000 (SUSY 2000)* by the National Institute of Public Health which included questions about exposure to interpersonal violence. (3) Gender differences and violent victimisation were also examined in a 1998 survey (being updated in 2005-2006) conducted by the National Police Commissioner. This report was not designed to specifically measure partner violence but rather violent victimisation in general. The survey examined factors such as gender differences, the victim-perpetrator relationship, and location of the violence. (4) Women’s violent victimisation was examined in Denmark’s participation in the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS).

With the exception of 1992 survey (Christensen and Koch-Nielsen 1992), Denmark has until recently lacked a national prevalence survey on women’s experiences of violence comparable to other countries. However, such a national study on violence

against women was conducted in Denmark as part of the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) sponsored by the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control affiliated with the United Nations (Balvig and Kyvsgaard 2006). Interviews with 3,552 women ages 18 to 70 years revealed that fifty percent of the respondents had been exposed to at least one of twelve types of violence (threat, physical violence or sexual violence) by any man since age 16 and five percent had experienced at least one of these in the last year.

Statistical and descriptive knowledge produced by the National Organization of Shelters for Battered Women and their Children (LOKK) focuses primarily on the situation of ethnic minority women who are disproportionately represented in the shelter population compared to Danish women. In addition to its annual statistics, LOKK publishes special topical reports, some of which are based on data from running surveys of women in the shelters. LOKK and the Danish Centre for Research on Social Vulnerability (VFC) jointly produced a study of the situation of victimised immigrant women married to ethnic Danish men. Separate reports produced by LOKK (LOKK 2003) and by the Danish Research Center on Gender Equality at Roskilde University (Madsen 2005) elucidate the legal bind for ethnic minority women escaping violence in the context of stringent Danish integration laws, residence permits, etc. Their point of departure is a gendered power perspective on the violence.

A key source of knowledge on the victimisation experiences of children is the National Institute of Public Health survey of youth at age 15 about experiences of sexual abuse, carried out via computer assisted self-interview. The study provides information on prevalence, type of assault, victim-perpetrator relationship; physical violence in the home against self and against mother; gender differences; it also reports on ethnic differences.

Men's use of prostitution was examined in a recent study by sociologist Claus Laurrup (Laurrup 2005) of the Videns- & Formidlingscenter for Socialt Udsatte [Danish Centre for Research on Social Vulnerability] consisting of a quantitative Internet survey of men both with and without experience paying for sex plus twenty qualitative telephone interviews of men the majority of whom use prostitution services regularly. The quantitative data covers prevalence, frequency, motivations; the qualitative data examines moral dilemmas, societal disapproval, perceptions of women as businesswomen, men's sense of powerlessness, and perceptions of ethnic minority women as victims of trafficking. The study aims to shed light on the social and cultural factors influencing men's purchase of sexual services but lacks a critical perspective on men and gender.

In a positivist approach, the Danish National Institute of Social Research (Christoffersen 2000) used longitudinal, population based, register data to examine differences between Danish males convicted and not convicted of rape on a range of factors, with an unstable relation to the labor market emerged as the most important factor in rape conviction. The author explicitly argues against a patriarchal culture explanation of rape, interpreting his finding in terms of the poor marriage potential of men with poor employment potential, as well as the degradation and humiliation associated with poor education and employment which "put an extra stress on frail boys, which may provide a basis for an elevated risk for sexual coercion."

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

Research on men's violence is virtually absent from Danish academia; knowledge comes primarily from crime statistics (with a significant focus on ethnicity), large scale surveys conducted by government agencies or from reports produced by knowledge centers. The national organisation representing the women's crisis shelters is a leading voice and produces various statistics, surveys and reports with a focus on ethnic minority women. This means that most of the information produced in Denmark lacks sociological analysis or critical discussion of gender and power.

Finland – Non-gendered traditions have dominated the field, at least until recently (see Ronkainen 1998; Jyrkinen and Ruusuvoori 2002). The main traditions on violence research in Finland have been criminological, historical and psychological. Their methodological and epistemological assumptions tend to be individualist, positivist, and gender-neutral (or at least not gender-critical). The gender-neutral term, 'family violence' has been much used. The main statistical sources on violence are police data, court statistics, Statistics Finland's interview and postal surveys on violence, National Research Institute of Legal Policy publications, which are often based on police and court statistics, and causes of death statistics.

The most important national survey of women's experiences of men's violence is the 1998 *Faith, Hope, Battering. A Survey of Men's Violence against Women in Finland* (Heiskanen and Piispa 1998). The study gives statistical information, such as prevalence of violence and threats, violence in partner relationships, violence perpetrated by others than partners, childhood experience of violence, and fear of violence. Men's violence is approached here through women's experiences of that violence. A new national survey on women victims was conducted in 2005: This offers information on the frequency and forms of gendered violence in Finland (Piispa, Heiskanen, Käriäinen and Sirén 2006). The data offers the possibility of comparing the situation with the 1997 survey, and accordingly, there have been some changes concerning violence against women in Finland during the intervening eight years. For instance, there seems to be an increase in frequency of violence or threatening by violence from 40 per cent (1997) to 43.5 per cent (2005) of women experienced at least once in their lifetime (Heiskanen 2006, 20-21). Reports in the surveys of sexual violence and threatening behaviour against women outside a relationship have also increased from 16.7 per cent to 21.2 per cent over the period (Heiskanen 2006, 22).

Smaller scale surveys and interview studies include: focused studies on the intersection of sexuality and violence, from the experience of women; focused studies on men and sexualised violence (for example, prostitution and pornography, see Näre 1994, 1995; Laukkanen 1998, 2000); experiences of girls and young women regarding

sexual violence (Honkatukia et al. 2000); experiences of boys and young men regarding violence; workplace surveys and studies (especially sexual harassment, bullying); studies of agencies and their users; age and generation. These have all been influenced by feminist research methodologies and debates around them (Ronkainen 1999, 2001), including on feminist empiricism (Husso 2003; Nikunen 2005), and the uses of multiple methods (for instance, Piispa 2005).

The Academy of Finland “Targeted Call”: Gender, Power and Violence (2000-2004) has been an important research initiative in relation to men’s violence. The ten (groups of) projects include those on global sexualised violence, men who batter their partners, sexualised violence in intimate relationships, violence in schools, gender in legal discourses, incest, political violence, prostitution and the sex trade.

Overall, such recent research has emphasised the gendered nature of violence, especially men’s violence to women, with an increase in approaches that bring together feminist materialist and feminist discursive approaches (Jyrkinen 2005), and more structuralist and more poststructuralist (pro)feminist analyses of these violences (Keskinen 2005). The importance of multiple methods is emphasised, as is the interrelation of theory, policy and practice.

Germany – For a long time, reliable survey data on gendered violence were lacking. The first example of a study with a broader representative sample was that by Metz-Göckel and Müller (1986). Almost one-fifth of the men knew a man who was a batterer. Both, the seriousness of the problem in men’s eyes, as well as the demand for understanding the perpetrator as a victim himself, were important results. Zulehner and Volz (1998) measured male propensity towards violence with a factor analysis combining racist, projective and sexist attitudes and considered 4% of German men as being very ready to act violently, 37% in a medium level of propensity for violence, and 59% at a weak level of propensity.

More recently, the Ministry for Family, Youth, Women and Senior Citizens commissioned the first German survey on violence against women. That national study of violence to women has now been completed amongst 10,000 German women. The survey concluded that 37% of all interviewees had experienced at least one form of physical attack or violence since 16; 13% of them had experienced some form of sexual violence, as defined narrowly as criminally forced sexual acts; and 25% of all women resident in Germany have experienced physical or sexual abuse from their current or previous partners (Müller and Schröttle, 2004, p. 9). Studies on the societal costs of this violence are estimated as about 15 million Euros a year.

Not much information was available on violence against women in the former GDR. In a multi-method study on violence in East German couples before and after unification, Schröttle (1999) analysed data from social science and criminology and came to the conclusion that in the 1970s and 1980s one in five to one in seven women had been suffering from battering and/or sexual violence from their intimate partner. It seems that very heavy violence, based on weapons, has been less widespread in the former GDR.

Men as victims of violence are a rather new field of debate. Hans-Joachim Lenz (1996) has been pioneering here, together with some others (cf. Bange 2002, on

sexually abused boys), thus spreading the idea that men can be victims of violence too. The dominant pattern of masculinity is said to be structurally intertwined with the hitherto invisibility of male victimisation; this understanding is especially widespread amongst practitioners in institutions like the helping professions, justice, and youth research. He has differentiated the specific violent experiences of boys, such as emotional exploitation, mental maltreatment, physical violence, neglect, and sexual exploitation (including child sexual abuse, incest, prostitution, child pornography), and for men, such as going to war, same-sex assaults, rapes inside institutions, and violence against homosexuals.

A pilot study on violence against men in Germany was commissioned by the Ministry of for Family, Youth, Women and Senior Citizens. This study, now completed (Jungnitz et al. 2004), with the research group, <http://www.dissens.de>, and a mixed gender advisory board, consisted of a survey of 266 men in Germany by way of 'largely standardised interviews that included some qualitative components', supplemented by some 32 guided interviews and 190 written questionnaires (Jungnitz et al. 2004). It found that up to two-thirds of physical violence reported in adult life took place in the public sphere or during leisure time, and that one in ten of the men studied had stated that he had had '... within the last five years at least once had the experience of someone seriously threatening to physically attack or injure him.' (p. 7). Other research literatures draw on experiences with therapeutic work with violent men, such as Brandes and Bullinger (1996) and Lempert and Oelemann (1995/1998). Further developments make clear the necessity of networking, drawing on a long history of experience with battered women (Brückner 1998).

Another debate in Germany has also been focusing on men as victims of female violence (Gemünden 1996). The subtext of his Ph.D. thesis is that "male violence against women" has been exaggerated in public debate, and has ignored the alleged "fact" that female violence against men is almost as frequent. This thesis is fed by the much disputed Conflict Tactics Scale of concept of Strauss (1979), measuring any verbal and non-verbal aggressive incident and weighting it in the same way for women and men. Gemünden concentrated on the level of frequencies, seeking to prove a more or less equality between women and men; but, like Strauss et al. (1980) he has to admit that the injuries of female victims of male violence are much more serious than vice versa, and that the serious injuries of female victims occur much more often. The peak of this debate, though not supported by serious scholarly evidence, but rather fed by a small, but very active group of anti-feminist activists and scholars, seems to be over. It has, however, been nurtured by parts of the media, and has had some influence in the debate on gender justice. A review of a broad range of literature on the subject (Minssen and Müller 1998) revealed much latent, and sometimes overt, misogyny and "blaming the mother" in explanations of male propensity for violence, accompanied by simplistic gender concepts.

Another thematisation of violence is juvenile violence against foreigners. Here, Heitmeyer (1996, 1997a, 1997b) has become very popular with the thesis of the costs of individualisation. The loss of reliable family contexts, changing values, people being forced back to their own individual rather than collective resources, and the decline of collective social contexts, are regarded as an important, if not the decisive, cause for violence as such, and specially so violence against foreigners. Inability of individuals or groups to obtain respect is also an important concept for explaining

propensity for violence. Unfortunately, the Heitmeyer research group has until now not done gender-differentiated or gender-comparative work; but this may well change in the future (<http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/>). This research is actively transforming research on violence into a topic of social exclusion.

Ireland – 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 programmes 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.

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

In 2005, the National Crime Council in association with the Economic and Social Research Institute produced the national survey of *Domestic Abuse of Women and Men in Ireland* (Watson and Parsons 2005). This study examined the nature, extent and impact of domestic abuse against women and men in intimate partner relationships. It was based on a survey with a nationally representative statistical sample of over 3,000 adult women and men, as well as focus group interviews with Traveller and immigrant women. The survey found that 15 per cent of women and six per cent of men have experienced severely abusive behaviour of a physical, sexual or emotional nature from an intimate partner at some time in their lives. Apart from the higher risk faced by women, the risk of having experienced abuse was also higher in couples where one partner (rather than both jointly) controls decisions about money, for those whose parents were abusive to each other, for young adults, and for those with children. A number of indicators from the survey suggest an increased risk of abuse where the partners are isolated from close family and neighbourhood supports.

A second strand of research into the nature of domestic violence in Ireland has focused on ‘official populations’ of cases that present to statutory agencies. Ferguson (2001a) studied 319 referrals made to three Health Board child and family social work teams in the Mid-West region in 1996 and tracked them for 12 months into mid-1997. Domestic violence featured in 27% of cases referred. Ninety-four per cent of cases involved men’s violence against women. In the majority of cases domestic violence was treated as a secondary problem as it invariably presented along with other child care problems which tended to be given prominence.

Latvia – The reports on domestic violence persist. The Human Rights Committee recommends that the country adopt a policy and legal framework to counter domestic violence, establish advice and victim support centres and raise more awareness about the issues through the media. However, men's violences against children and women are not analysed in terms of dominances associated with men's practices. The methodological frameworks on men's violences and men's gendered practices as forms of power relations are not used in the reports and in the related research practices.

Another important theme is violence in places of detention and imprisonment due to the alleged police ill-treatment. Data on violence comes primarily from criminal statistics. "Violence as a gender statistical area is still the prerogative of separate efforts made by professional NGOs or policy-interested governmental institutions. A separate category "Premeditated homicides by men" appears in the UNDP Human Development Report in the category "Violence and Crime" (1999).

Gender statistics are contained in the Statistical yearbook "Crime and Social Deviance in Latvia. A Collection of Statistical Data", Riga (1993-1999) – number of prisoners, suicide deaths by sex and age – 1999; sexually transmitted diseases: patients by sex and age – 1999; victims by sex (1998); deaths from drug overdosing by sex and age (1996); deaths caused by alcohol poisoning (1995); patients by sex and age (syphilis/gonorrhoea)(1994). Crime is explicitly combined with sexually transmitted diseases"

Another important theme is racially motivated violence in the streets of the capital of Latvia over the last couple of years. One more theme is societal and occasional governmental discrimination against homosexuals.

Poland – Police statistics provide general victimisation data (with gender and age). A victim orientation is more apparent in other data sources: a recent report by the Public Opinion Research Center addresses home conflict (spouse-to-spouse, parent-to-child) in terms of physical violence and other forms of conflict; data and reports from the *Blue Line* (emergency for home violence victims) provide demographic data, information on alcohol use, and other social survey data (attitudes, convictions) regarding home violence; the *Blue Line* also reports on victims' experiences with social workers and interviews with specific work groups (teachers, police, medical service, psychologists and pedagogues); quantitative data is also available in annual listings of phone calls to the *Blue Line* service grouped into general clusters (legal advice or assistance, psychological aid, developmental problems, educational problems, and addictions). Further recently available national data on violence to women published in 2006 will be examined in future work.

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

System) accompanied with descriptions and commentaries. This programme ignores gender and introduces two categories of victims: underage and adults (here, also foreigners). Special attention in the report is dedicated to the women trafficking issue considered as a phenomenon uneasily subject to quantitative estimation. Here, the statistics display the percentage of social consciousness of the problem.

Spain – The major shortcoming of databases in Spain, as in other European countries, is that the data is not specific, as it has been developed with other aims in mind. Most of it is also not scientifically reliable. Some reasons for this are the lack of unified criteria for data acquisition and production, as there is not a unified legal or social definition for the problem at hand. The definitions are very restrictive or the categories too exclusive. The application of protocols for data production is also most often done by non-experts, or the criteria are not clearly fixed in advance. Also, the fact that studies are carried out at a regional level (as most policy decisions in this are taken at that level) has led to a lack of unified criteria. In addition, there is a strong political use of research, which has, on the one hand, increased the range of differing criteria and, on the other hand, improved policies in some aspects of gender violence.

The Gender Equality law that will be passed in late 2006 explicitly states in its Article 19 that public statistics relating to physical persons (i.e. as opposed to juridical persons such as companies) must have their data available by sex, considering whenever convenient other variables related to sex, so as to enable the evaluation of gender impact and improve the efficacy of the principle of gender equality.

Sweden – A key source of information on violence against women (physical and sexual violence, threats, controlling behaviors and sexual harassment) is the prevalence study by Lundgren et al. (2001) *Captured queen: Men's violence to women in equal Sweden*. Otherwise, information on violence appears to be found mainly in official sources, can be gender-disaggregated and is often in the context of crime: the National Council for Crime Prevention reports on deadly violence directed at women, based on official data, with information on the circumstances of the event; information on child sexual abuse is mainly available through official statistics and includes the victim-perpetrator relationship; the Statistics Sweden's crime victim survey is part of an overall "Investigation in Living Conditions" and includes violence experiences; Statistics Sweden has also charted victims of violence with interviews that include consequences of violence and victim-perpetrator relationship; Statistics Sweden provides data on a large package of social indicators, including victimisation. The *National study of rapes reported to the police* (Brottsförebyggande Rådet 2005) builds on information from victims and proceeds from the perceptions, experiences and reality experienced by these women. It is based on information from approximately 90 per cent of all cases of consummated rape reported to the police in the years 1995 and 2000. The National Board of Health and Welfare, gives an overview over the statistics on child sexual abuse in Sweden (Socialstyrelsen 2002). There have been a few victim surveys carried out in Sweden, however rather a long time ago (see Edgardh 2001).

UK – There has been more critical research and scholarly enquiry regarding men's violence to women, children and, to some extent, men in the UK than anywhere else in Europe. One important issue thrown up by the extent of research on men's violence in Britain are the complex linkages between those forms of violence:

violences to adult partners and violences to children (Hester and Pearson 1998); child sexual abuse and pornography (Itzin 1996, 1997, 2000); pornography and men's violences (Itzin 1992; Cowburn and Pringle 2001); prostitution and pornography (Itzin 1992; Swirsky and Jenkins 2000); prostitution and men's violences (O'Neill 1996). A vital policy implication of this ongoing research connecting men's violences together is that an effective challenge to those violences needs to be broadly based.

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

In terms of official statistical sources focused on violences, there are interesting and striking continuities and discontinuities between the emphases in the academic literature and the emphases in that statistical material. On the one hand, government statistics in the UK now pay considerable attention to men's violences to women within heterosexual relationships (or “domestic violence” as it is termed in official publications) and to racist crime (or “racially motivated” crime as it is termed in official publications). This must be seen as a considerable achievement (Walby and Allen 2004). On the other hand, there remains little official statistical attention directed towards men's violences, including sexual violence, to children or to men's violences against gay men and lesbian women.

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

In terms of the official statistical material available in the UK, as with the academic data, it is striking how clearly the statistical picture confirms the importance of understanding the complex intersections of disadvantage associated with gender, ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, and disability. Similarly, the statistical data confirms that issues of home and work, social exclusion, violences and health overlap and intersect in complex ways – and that these complex intersections have not been adequately addressed. At the same time, there are imbalances in terms of what issues have been focused upon by official statistics and which have not. In the UK, there is an immense quantity of official data on gender in relation to the labour market: it dwarfs the amount of data on other topics, even those relatively well covered, such as crime. There is an urgent need for much broader official statistical data-gathering in relation to issues of social disadvantage and gender – in particular on disability, sexuality, age, and men's violences to children.

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- V. Kolga 'Estonia: Societal context and transitions'
- J. Hearn, E. Lattu, T. Tallberg and H. Niemi 'Finland: Gender dominance, gender equality and gender-neutrality'
- U. Müller 'Germany: Traditionalism and difference, unification and diversification'
- H. Ferguson 'Ireland: Men and masculinities in a late-modern society'
- I. Novikova 'Latvia and the (re)creation of nationhood'
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