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Editor's Note

This edition of ENUT News focuses on men's studies. The articles were presented at ENUT's seminar "Men and masculinities" in November 2000. The aim of the seminar was to introduce men's studies as a relatively new field of social studies, to examine the historical and cultural aspects of masculinity, and to analyze the social problems facing Estonian men. The discussions looked at the different aspects of being a parent and fathers' situation in contemporary Estonia. The White Ribbon campaign against domestic violence was introduced, also. The seminar was financed by the Norwegian Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Norwegian Embassy, and the Council of Nordic Ministers. Among the speakers were Rein Vöörmann from the International Social Research Institute, Prof. Jüri Uljas and Prof. Voldemar Kolga from Tallinn Pedagogical University, Jouko Huttunen from Jyväskylä University in Finland, Jorgen Lorentzen from Oslo University and Knut Oftung from the Oslo Centre for Gender Equality (Norway).

Men and equality were topics at the international conference, "WoMen & Democracy" in Vilnius. ENUT News brings to you the news release issued by the "Men Promoting Gender Equality" workshop. We hope that in Estonia a men's movement concerned with re-thinking of men's roles and reduction of violence will take root.

What is the relationship between Women's Studies and Men's Studies?

Prof. Suzanne Lie, University of Oslo

The aim of Women's Studies is to raise consciousness of both men and women to such a level that women need no longer be regarded as the "second sex", to question traditional roles, and to value and develop women's abilities and confidence. Other goals are to build a body of research about women, to re-envision the lost culture and history of

women, and to introduce this new knowledge into "mainstream curriculum" of universities.

Briefly Men's Studies can be defined as the study of the images, ideals and expectations tied to being a man in a given society. Men's Studies springs out of the challenge made by the women's movement. The women's movement and women's studies began in the late 60's and 70's in the West, when the roles of men and women were narrowly defined and discriminatory practices resulted in defining women, as "the other". Women's Studies and women's or feminist research questioned these roles and mainstream science's emphasis on "men" as the norm. They aptly termed main stream science as malestream science.

While the women's movement in most western countries fought primarily for equal opportunities in the labour market, the Nordic countries stressed a restructuring of roles in the family. A common policy of equality in the Nordic countries stresses that women and men have equal privileges, rights and duties to participate in the labour market, civil society and the family.

In the West many different men's movements arose as a reaction to the women's movement – some anti-feministic, some emphasising masculinity and some, especially in the academic world, regarded themselves as pro-feminists. They were inspired by the research questions, theoretical reflections and methodological views from feminist research.

In many ways, the Nordic countries have been in the forefront of the development of Men's Studies and men's research. They stand out, like their Nordic sisters, from other Western countries because of their emphasis on increasing gender equality by focusing on themes of co-parenting and sharing of responsibilities in the home.

Men's research in the Nordic countries has focused on three major areas – 1) men's possibilities of supporting gender equality (men and nurturing, men as fathers, men's friendship and sexuality), 2) the reconstruction of masculinity, and 3) men's problem behaviour (men and violence, rape, harassment, aggression, and risk behaviour).

Research has shown that although men are depicted again and again as leaders, most are not leaders. Men take up much space at the bottom of society due to the number of male losers: alcoholics, suicides, criminals and the despondents; and among boys: the reading impaired, those needing special education and child psychiatry. Hans Bonde, Chairman of the Danish Equal Status Council's Think Tank on Men characterises men as "the Gender of Extremes" – they have both leaders and many losers in contrast to female lives which occur in the broader average. Men more so than women do not master survival skills to take care of themselves. This is due, in large part to traditionally rigidly defined roles between the sexes. In other words, men pay a price for adhering to narrow definitions of being a male.

Gender and Culture

Jurgen Lorentzen, University of Oslo

Whenever we speak or read about "Gender and politics" or "Gender and Culture", we rarely find anything about men. There is almost no word written on men and masculinities, not any reflection on the relationship between men and politics or men and culture. In a way this is not surprising, because we know that gender policy and gender research have been and still are policy and research on women. And we know that in the western tradition, all the way back to Aristotle, women are the gendered persona. The problem is of course that this way of thinking keeps up the reproduction of the patriarchal system and ideology, where "women" equals "gender" and "men" equals "human being". As Genevieve Lloyd says in *The Man of Reason: Male and Female in Western Philosophy*: The man of reason does not belong either to "sex" or to "gender", they live in the world of ideas and abstract symbols (1). Or as the French feminist Luce Irigaray said: To gain power men have to sacrifice their gender – they have to be a neutrum.

My good friend, Michael Kimmel, professor of sociology in New York and expert on men and masculinities, often tells this story: At a seminar on racism and sexism, a white woman said that all women are feeling the same oppression. A black woman then asked her: "What do you see when you get up in the morning and look at yourself in the mirror?" "I see a woman", the white woman answered. "You see, that is the problem", the black woman said, "because when I get up in the morning, and look at myself in the mirror, I see a black woman". Race is invisible to you, but not to me". Michael Kimmel thought about this, and had to admit to himself that when he got up and looked at himself in the mirror, he saw a human being. Both race and gender was invisible to him. After that session he started to see that he was a white, middle-aged man. In a way this is the beginning of men's work and men's studies, when men move from being generic persons to being men with specific gender and race.

And I must say the time has come for men to look at themselves in the mirror. I will say that the time has come for men to fight for their right to be gendered. We have to conquer back our gender – this will be a visionary and liberating strategy for men in our time.

Let me give you another story, which can be an entrance story to the world of men and masculinities. A couple of years ago I participated in the first African conference on masculinities in Durban, South Africa. There, one man told what he thought about when we spoke about sexism. "Sexism for me", he said, "is when my mother walks down the road carrying a big bucket on her head, pushing a carriage in front of her and the little child on her back, and my father walks one meter in front of her with a stick in his hand".

I find this a very precise definition of sexism. But my question is then, who do we focus on this story. In the gender and culture chapter the focus is on the woman, but I would say that our attention should be on the man. Why doesn't he take his share of the carrying? Why doesn't he take care of the child? These questions and the picture of the two walking on the road leads directly to several of the central problems within the work on men and masculinities: The lack of responsibility for the other. The lack of care for the children, and the stick as a symbol of domestic violence.

Let me choose six topics out of this story, which I think, are central to the question of men and masculinities. My comments are very sketchy and general.

1. Men and violence: Violence has become a basic part of our society. Everybody fears it, therefore violence is part of the structuring of everyday life. But most of the time violence is talked about in media in terms of gangsters, devils, murderers, bandits, drug addicts, blacks, nazis, rapists or just thieves. They are very seldom talked about as men, and they are almost never understood under the concept of masculinity. Even when the fact undoubtedly is, that they are men in almost every case. One of the most important things is that we need to know more about the relationship between men and violence: the use of violence in government policy, between individual men or groups of men in their fight for power; the connection between being a man and showing violent behaviour, and not at least the enormous amount of domestic violence. What is going on in men's violence against women? If we do not focus on men, the violence against women will never stop.

2. Fathers and sons: In his book *Fatherless America*, David Blankenhorn writes that the absence of fathers is perhaps the most urgent social problem in US today, where 15 million children are growing up without a father (2). A few years ago in the US, a small study was carried out in one of the large prisons. It showed that if there was one thing these men had in common, it was the absence of a father. Probably the same holds true for any prison. We are facing a new deep father wound or a hunger for a father. The men's descriptions of their fathers will be largely the same as emotionally absent, physically absent, and often as violent beings. But this is not the only context in which we will hear such stories. A Norwegian study has shown that many of the quite ordinary men questioned also had problems with an absent father (3). This father, whom the children do not know, is, as someone absent, remote, aggressive, the founder of our masculine culture. In most western countries are now emerging statistics that show the enormous extent of the absence of fathers. In Europe, there are hundreds of thousands of sons who never see their father.

It is through their fathers that the sons are socialised and raised to be men, and if the fathers are not there, the sons' longing for their fathers often proves to take the shape of idealised father-images - where the void is filled by hypermasculinity. The German physician and psychoanalyst Alexander Mitscherlich described the fatherless society as early as 1963 (4). There is nothing to indicate that the situation is very much better today. Divorce rate is increasing, and the result is that thousands of children every year lose day-to-day contact with their fathers. Only one third of divorced fathers manage to maintain regular contact with their children. We have to know more about the consequences of the fatherless society, and we have to build a policy where fathers return to their homes and take part in the responsibility for the children.

3. Socialization of boys: In many schools and in many areas we continually hear stories of the aggressive boys who need too much attention. But are they really aggressive, or are they perhaps longing for care and love? Today we have almost no pedagogical theory of how to take care of boys, and we are almost professionally incompetent in meeting their desires and needs. This problem is of course closely linked to the problem of the fatherless society. Without a close and loving father or other men in their circle, it is very difficult for boys to grow up and be fully responsible and caring men.

4. Men and equality: For twenty years modern women have fought for their rights: for their political rights, for their right to equal pay, for their right to decide over their own body. Some men have passively supported this movement, many men have worked against it and a few men have actively worked in the same direction. Today we have to ask: what are men's vision for a society with gender equality? What does it mean for men to participate in this work? How can men work to build a society based on equality and justice? These questions have to be a part of world policy today, and we have to develop thinking in this area.

5. Sexuality: In last twenty years we have learnt a lot about women's bodies, about their sexuality and their hormones. 100 years ago Freud said that a woman was the Dark Continent on earth. Today we have to say that men are the Dark Continent. We know very little about men's sexuality, about the production and bodily consequences of testosterone during a lifetime. We know very little about the relationship between homosexuality and heterosexuality in different cultures, and the problems of the deeply rooted homophobia especially in the western countries.

6. Men and care: We all know that men have difficulties with taking care of themselves. In too large numbers they are dying of stress, too many are drug addicts, alcoholics, criminals and too many are killed in wars or end their lives by their own hand. With the philosopher Kelly Oliver we may ask: Why does it seem like a man prefers death to a life devoted to the other (5). The answer is, because men have a problem with taking care of others. It is a great chance that these two aspects of men's lives are deeply connected: a lack of ability to take care of others and taking care of your self. This is an immensely important question and needs to be taken seriously within gender politics in the future.

I think the time has come for men – and women – to develop more knowledge and understanding of men and masculinities. As UN secretary general Boutros Boutros Gali's stated in 1994: gender equality can not be attained if men do not change. And it will be an important continuation and renewal of women politics and research on women. Not in competition to the women's movements, but as a necessary supplement – to be able to understand the relationship between men and women better, and better be able to work for gender equality.

(1) Genevieve Lloyd: *The Man of Reason: Male and Female in Western Philosophy*. New York: Routledge 1993.

(2) David Blankenhorn: *Fatherless America: Confronting Our Most Urgent Social Problem*. New York: Basic Books 1995.

(3) Uystein Gullvog Holter og Helene Aarseth: *Menns livssammenheng*. Oslo: Ad Notam forlag 1993.

(4) Alexander Mitscherlich: *Auf dem Weg zur Vaterlosen Gesellschaft*. München: Piper & Co. 1963

(5) Kelly Oliver: *Womanizing Nietzsche*. New York, Routledge. 1995.

What is men's studies?

Jouko Huttunen, University of Jyväskylä

The struggle for equality between men and women has traditionally been more important to women than to men, but in fact, we are just now in the situation, where it is strenuous and troublesome to attempt to promote further the equality issues solely by female and feministic forces. Those who work seriously with equality problems sooner or later realise that in the final analysis equality is more and more a men's issue. Therefore, at present it is of vital importance to become aware of the men's role in the struggle for equality. The crucial question is how to get men to be involved in equality efforts. What are the benefits for men if we continually want to broaden the gender role borders more towards the equality requirements?

It is not realistic to expect that majority of men will become interested in equality questions until they realise the advantages and benefits for themselves. Therefore it is worthwhile to view the traditional man's role, as well as the shortcomings and disadvantages of the traditional masculinity, in order to understand the urgent need for changing men's roles towards more equal sharing of duties in both the domestic and working life.

Therefore, we need men's studies as well as men's liberation movement, in one way or another. At all events, we need growing groups of men who are willing to inquire seriously and without prejudice into the modern masculine way of life. Paradoxically, the emergence of these ideas has been put forward by female activists, as a "by-product" of women's movement. At last, now is the moment when all men should look in the mirror, draw individual conclusions, and - do something.

Of course, there are big differences between men's and women's studies as well as between men's and women's liberation movements. Due to the fact that women have fought from an inferior position, they have been strongly motivated. Men's motivation is decisively weaker, since all men are apparently not suffering from the hegemony of traditional masculinity; or indeed, some men are deriving benefit from carrying out the stereotypical man's role.

It takes guts to renounce obvious advantages and step down from a superior position, in order to win moral self-respect. It means to reawaken the suppressed parts of the personality - to develop more extensive human potential, to be able to meet women as equals, to experience children frankly and tenderly, and to be a positive model for them, especially for the sons.

Prospects of Shared Parenthood and Co-parenting

Jouko Huttunen, University of Jyväskylä

In the second half of the nineteenth century fathers left their small farms and workshops to seek employment away from home in an emerging industrial economy. That was the situation all over the western countries, in Scandinavia as well as in Finland. In so doing, fathers left the responsibility for rearing children largely to

mothers, and not surprisingly, the predominant construction of fatherhood in the twentieth century had gave fathers' the instrumental or breadwinning role in the family.

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, social changes are forcing adjustments in both popular and scholarly conceptualisations of fathers, mothers, parenting and families. We have seen an evolution of father ideals from the distant breadwinner to the modern involved dad, to the father as co-parent within shared parenthood.

These trends demand that we reconceptualise contemporary parenting and address such questions as: How should care and child rearing be shared between mother and father from the very beginning of a baby's life? How could the mothers avoid sinking under the double burden of work and family life? How should fathering be arranged and guaranteed after divorce? And, finally, how will changes in the roles and expectations of mothers and fathers affect children's development in the new millennium?

Will the gap between involved and uninvolved fathers continue to widen? It appears that the answer is yes, at least for the immediate future. It is not clear whether our economy can absorb the least educated and those with less social and human capital. Lack of economic resources will seriously undermine men's roles as providers and might increase marital conflict. These men will have to overcome tremendous hardships to provide for their children. Whether men, who are unable to

provide for their families or who are in conflict with their spouses, can effectively negotiate their roles as fathers will depend on how we (researchers, policymakers, practitioners) integrate our resources to institute policies and programs that aim at helping families help themselves.

Perhaps we appreciate now more than ever the diversity of fathers, including cultural and ethnic variations in the meaning of fatherhood, roles of fathers and their influences on children. No single definition of successful fatherhood and no ideal father's role can claim universal acceptance or empirical support. However, what once seemed a natural pattern - a parenting model in which fathers were viewed as "helpers" to mothers - is now yielding to new cultural ideals, such as shared or co-parenting. Co-parents must share tasks and responsibilities equally, and their roles are gender-free. Consequently, mothers' role as gatekeeper is likely to diminish.

Men and Violence

Jurgen Lorentzen, University of Oslo

The problem of violence has become a central part of European politics and of each human being in the European countries. Most of the time this violence is talked about in media in terms of gangsters, murderers, drug addicts, Nazis, rapists or just thieves. They are very seldom talked about as men, and they are almost never understood under the concept of masculinity. Even when the fact undoubtedly is that in almost every case they are men. One of the most important things is that we need to know more about how masculinity is created. Often the violence in the private sphere is forgotten, while media and the public's attention are concentrated on the violence that occurs in the public sphere. My claim is that the violence, which we see in public, is largely rooted in the

private. In other words, it is the domestic violence, which should claim our attention, and it is against this violence that the efforts to combat violence should be directed. Focusing on the domestic violence will also enable us to bring to bear a clearer gender perspective. Even though we know that women use violence against men and children, domestic violence mainly consists of men's violence against those nearest to them: girlfriends, wives and children.

Interviews with abusive men show a striking lack of insight: they do not remember, they do not know and they do not understand what happened. Men do not describe themselves as the subjects of their own actions. Instead, men reverse their feelings and project them onto their surroundings. These men do not take responsibility for their own actions. First I perceive men's actions as an act of violence without a subject. A man can be afraid and insecure, feel vulnerable and powerless, but there is no place for those feelings in a man's world, where you are supposed to be tough and bear the hardships you are subjected to. It was the woman who was to blame for his acts of violence, because this feels far safer than admitting his own feelings of insecurity, feelings that break with our idea of genuine masculinity. This is what I call men's feeling of powerlessness.

Why does a man get so angry? Somewhere inside he feels that he has a right of ownership over the woman. When she does not come home exactly at the appointed time, she is violating claims he feels he has on her. He feels a righteous anger towards her, and violence breaks out. Here we see how he is linking his violence to structures in society between men and women. In our modern-day Europe the patriarchal idea that men have the power of determination over women, still rules the ground. Many men do not even think they are doing anything wrong when they are beating women. The second perspective about men's feeling of helplessness is in other words not sufficient for understanding men's violence against women. We must add still another perspective that shows how men want women to nourish their egos, to exist to satisfy men's emotional and sexual needs. I call this the structural legitimacy of violence.

If we combine these three perspectives, we see a man who is largely out of touch with his own emotions, without a sense of subjective responsibility, who thinks his use of force is justified and legitimate. When described this way, it is easy to see how the man using private violence resembles all other men in our society. For we find that much of the same logic is applied in relation to general problems, such as divorce cases, domestic conflicts, in the lack of proper relations between fathers and their children - the idea that it is the women who are creating the problems, that it is they who are making unreasonable demands or putting obstacles in the way, that it is their jobs that create the problems, or a host of other things. For this reason it is impossible to separate the violent man from the rest of us as different, as a madman. He is one of us and a carrier of the same social structures that give all men privileges in our society.

There is a great deal of resistance against calling the violence by its true name, namely, men's violence against women. This perspective means first and foremost that it is necessary to apply a gender perspective to the violence. What we are seeing is masculinity gone astray, masculinity with little room for vulnerability, humility and devotion, a masculinity with a great deal of possessiveness and a masculinity with little capacity for shouldering its own pain and taking on responsibility for that.

A Norwegian study of violent men showed that most of them had experienced a violent father. They had experienced fathers who abused the mothers, and unfortunately, the sons have a tendency to repeat the patterns set by their fathers. It is important to stress the fact that it was not they themselves who had been abused, but they had witnessed their fathers violence against their mothers. Another and decisive reason to focus on the fathers is that the sons also bring the private violence with them into society. Socialisation towards violence in the home will often be supported by a tradition in the film- and media industries fixated with violence, which results in the use of violence in conflict situations both at home and in society in general. Violence has a tendency to underscore and emphasise masculinity. An insecure and emotionally crippled young boy may become a tough and feared man by using violence - he becomes a tough guy in his local environment. In this way, men, for a lack of a secure masculinity can "elbow their way" into a masculinity of a kind that is well established in society. We are producing images of men, which are passing on a violent norm of behaviour to those of our sons who are longing for a good father. I will give some strategies that may contribute to changing today's violent situation:

1. Responsibility for the children

Europe today is in need of a revolution of fatherhood, based on the fact that not only women get children, but that men do too. This revolution has started in many countries. Many men today wish to take their responsibility seriously, and they are important in creating new images of men and fathers as caring persons. It is also important for the fathers to develop a language that will bring the sons into a different region than the land of toughness, which rules the ground in today's male culture. Today we are teaching our sons' courage and self-confidence in relation to sports and work, but not in relation to their own emotional lives and their fellow human beings. The sons must learn to be able to take responsibility for their own conflicts and vulnerability - and to be able to take responsibility for the results of their own actions.

2. Taking responsibility for one's own actions.

Men must dare to show new sides of them. If we are to be good guides to our children, we must be able to share our experience, we must be able to talk about our own lives, show our inner lives, create an arena within ourselves which gives room for reflection and listening. It must be possible for us to establish relations to women based on co-operation and communal growth.

It is hard to break with a culture where we have learned to be autonomous and controlling, a culture that has robbed men of a language for intimacy. This language has to be developed. Through new stories of a responsible masculinity we will create that responsible masculinity. We must establish a new male ethic, based on two concepts: responsibility and caring.

3. Responsibility for society

Men must cease to turn their backs on violence. We must acknowledge it, interfere, interrupt and talk about the irresponsible nature of domestic violence. We must create a

movement from self-interest to common interest, from taking to giving, from "I" to "we". The White Ribbon Campaign is an initiative, which is aimed specifically at acknowledging and speaking out loud about the culture of violence - in order to change it.

But the work against a culture of violence also involves political work to change some of the most destructive arenas in our culture. The struggle for reforms in working hours must be basic to creating opportunities for fathers to spend more time with their families. In addition, we are calling on politicians to concentrate their attention on the private instead of the public violence.

The questions and answers related to gender equality have changed. When men and women hold the same positions in working life, then the relation between men and women has to change in other areas, too. This will turn the focus in gender equality issues from a battle between the sexes to a battle between values. The battle concerns first and foremost equal responsibility for the children and a relationship between men and women based on equal respect, devotion, openness and caring.

1. Per Isdal
2. Kristin Skjurtun: Voldsbilder i hverdagen. Oslo: Pax forlag 1994.

The White Ribbon Campaign

Jurgen Lorentzen, University of Oslo

This is a campaign by men, for men and about men. In Norway we started the campaign in 1993, and we organise events every year the day before and on Father's Day. White Ribbon Campaign started originally in Canada in 1991, when a handful of men decided they had a responsibility to urge men to speak out against violence against women. They decided that wearing a white ribbon in the week leading up to the second anniversary of the massacre of 14 women at the University of Montreal engineering school would be a symbol of men's opposition to men's violence against women. The campaign was a big success, where thousands of men across Canada wore a white ribbon. Since that the Canadians have organised white ribbon campaigns every year, and it has spread to Australia, Norway and US. Wearing a white ribbon is a personal pledge never to commit, never to condone nor remain silent about violence against women. Our objective is to stimulate reflections and discussions that lead to personal and collective action among men. Violence against women has been a topic never spoken about among men, we want this to change - and we think that speaking about violence against women is one important step toward ending it. The advantage of the white ribbon is that it is immediately visible, which often raises people's curiosity - and discussion is created.

The campaign is working within schools, unions, workplaces, the military, with politicians in media. The work is done by volunteers only. The Norwegian network has also had very successful co-operation in 1995 with the Norwegian organisers (Norsk Folkehjelp) of the Madrid Declaration: Say no to violence against women, and since 1999 with Red Cross in Norway, the treatment centre Alternative to Violence and The Norwegian Center for Gender Equality. We prepare different events for Father's Day each year, because we want to underline the responsibility of the fathers. Domestic

violence is a family pain with consequences for the whole family. We focus on the necessity for fathers, husbands and lovers to take responsibility and show empathy instead of violence. To focus on Father's Day also gives the advantage of helping create real alternatives. Because we have to help boys learn from birth that to be real men you do not have to be violent and those real men are caregivers.

We do not think that men are naturally violent and we do not think that men are bad. We are not male bashers. At the same time, we do think that many men have learned to express their anger or insecurity through violence. Many men have come to believe that violence against a woman, child or another man is an acceptable way to control another person. By remaining silent about the violence, we allow other men to poison our environments. We also allow the picture of men as dangerous to stay alive. We are working to change this picture, because we care about what happens in the lives of men.

Alternative to Violence.

Twenty years ago the focus of domestic violence was on the battered women. The policy of the women's movement and of the government was to create shelters for battered women. These shelters were and are an important room of their own which creates safety and help. In the last seven years the focus has included men. The problem, which was raised, was: If nothing is done with the men, the violence will never stop! Out of pressure from both men and women, the Norwegian Department for Children and Family Affairs funded the first centre for battering men - Alternative to Violence (ATV). From the beginning, ATV has been a total success, with a long waiting list. The two psychologists working in the centre have developed new methods for working with men and violence - with both individual and group therapy. So far the results have been very good, with reports that more than 80 percent of the men have never used violence after completed therapy.

As a result of ATV's existence, several psychologist (men) around the country have started focusing specifically on men and violence - and offering therapy for men with violent behaviour. This is very new, since the dominant theory within traditional family therapy has a lot of resistance against domestic violence. I think that it is necessary to focus particularly on men and violence within family therapy to be able to deal with it, or even to be able to see it. Centres like this have two specific advantages. Firstly: The only practical solution of the problem is to offer therapy for violent men. Shelters for battered women soften the pain, but they do not fight the cause of it. Secondly: By treating men we are showing that we think men are not all bad. We are working with the causes of violence and show that men can change violent behaviour. This is the ethical dimension of centres like ATV.

Social Problems in Estonia as seen by Women and Men

Rein Vöörmann, International and Social Research Institute

This presentation is based on findings obtained from the research project, "The forming of identity and social problems in Estonia, Ukraine and Uzbekistan". Quantitative research methods - discussions held by focus groups (group interviews) - made it possible to obtain a diverse and broad picture of individuals' opinions and positions on

Estonia's transition to a market economy. Here we will look at one aspect - the different/similar perceptions of women and men.

The group interviews revealed that men's and women's perceptions of the real problems in Estonia did not differ significantly. Both men and women began the analysis of problems by starting with economic difficulties that the market economy has caused to their families. Rise in the cost of living, low wages and the concomitant shortage of money, inflation, increasing unemployment, and the end of social guarantees were the worries expressed by most individuals.

Two items should be emphasized, though. First, men expressed their views in general terms and they talked more about the things they found distressing on the national level (the country's leaders detaching themselves from the people; the absence of a middle class in today's Estonia; social stratification). Women, on the other hand, started talking about concrete problems (the difficulties young people meet starting out on their own, and they thought primarily of their own children; not enough free time, especially for one's own family; social relations have become more complicated; problems with adult education). Secondly, nationality was clearly a factor in the identification of social problems. Russian women were very worried about their children's future (will they be able to get a decent education, will they find work after that, etc.). Every group repeated this concern, and they returned to this problem again and again. Russian men, too, were worried about their children's future as well as their own future, but, again, in a more general way. They talked a lot about Russians' status in Estonia, principally the practice of dividing people into citizens and non-citizens, discrimination against Russians schools, relations with Russia, etc.

Since men's and women's perceptions of difficulties and of positive changes were quite similar, the focus group discussions were steered toward analyzing the specific problems of the opposite sex. The women's group was asked: "What problems would men identify as most pressing and would men's perception differ from women's?" Men were asked the same about women. The first reaction to these questions was that gender does not play a role in problem perception. Further discussion disclosed, however, that differences are present. Principal difference lay in what men and women consider foremost problems in today's Estonia. Men thought that women will immediately identify family and children. They would be concerned about children's education and healthcare, family' home environment, knowing how to manage with little money. Women thought that men will immediately start discussing politics and economics (regional inequalities, country's leaders alienation from the people, employment).

Men and masculinity in contemporary Estonia

Jüri Uljas, Tallinn Pedagogical University

My aim is to outline Estonian men's situation today and to introduce the book, "Man in the Changing World", written by Olev Poolamets, Mait Raun, Margus Punab and myself.

A person's well-being can be measured in many different ways – by economic, social and cultural means. In the developing capitalistic societies, emphasis is placed, generally, on

the economic. Hence, masculinity is associated with competing and battling for the acquisition of wealth. Prevailing opinions define man's self-realization via work and a successful career – happiness is derived from work. Often this is pursued at costs to one's health, family, and free time.

Generally speaking, successful men are those whose strength and health can handle a larger workload. By choosing the traditional gender roles, men can do either of two things: accept less wealth and the stressful feelings caused by it, or drown in work and the concomitant exhaustion and stress. Most men choose the second road, because material possessions give a sense of satisfaction.

However, when a man places his work first, he does not solve his problems, but creates new ones. The decline in men's involvement with cultural life is an indication of their one-dimensional orientation. This orientation affects his relations. Usually, a man has the closest relationship with his wife. Women have close and supportive relationships with other women, which cannot be found among men. If a man is too work focused, he will, very likely, face divorce.

Men's situation is made more problematical after divorce by the fact that, for the most part, women get custody of the children and men are prevented from being with their children. As a result, men lose their closest relations, and these cannot be replaced by other relationships.

Statistics also reflect men's preference for the material over human relations. Men's life expectancy in Estonia is 11-12 years shorter than women's. Half of the reasons lie in their social behavior. Men take more risks with their health than women. In recent years, depression among men has become a topic of conversation. Suicide and violent causes of death are higher among men. Statistics also show that increased stress at work for women causes increased risks to their health. At the moment, though, we are talking about Estonian men in crisis. Everything that is associated with the traditional male model has fallen into conflict with contemporary demands. In the contemporary setting, men with important values outside their occupation are coping better. Only by balancing work and family life, together with free time activities, can a man be rescued from the work and money-chase cycle. A man's spiritual and physical well-being are significantly improved by valuing the different aspects of one's life. Our book, "Man in the Changing World" was written with the aim of examining man's role and seeing man in the egalitarian context.

Other events

The effect of integration policies on women and men

On March 24 2001, Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre organised seminar "The effect of integration policies on women and men" at the Jõhvi Cultural Centre. 75 participants, among them representatives from women's organisations, cultural associations and women's roundtables; governmental and local officials, young politicians and students attended the seminar.

The aim of the seminar was to explain women's and men's roles in the integration process, to introduce the gender equality law and the legal framework of the integration process. Ida-Virumaa's women's problems were discussed from different aspects (work, education and politics). The aim of the seminar was also to support the development of the women's network.

Opening remarks were given by ENUTs Administrative Director Selve Ringmaa, and by Mr. Gerald Wolff, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Speakers were the Minister for Ethnic Affairs Ms. Katrin Saks, Chairman of Ida-Viru county Mr. Rein Aidma, Director of Gender Studies Centre, University of Latvia Ms. Irina Novikova, Head the Bureau of Equality Ms. Ülle-Marike Papp, councillor to the Minister for Ethnic Affairs Mr. Tanel Mätlik etc. Discussions in the working groups were led by Katri Raik, Margarita Ostroumova, Riina Okas, Evi Paasmäe and Külli Volmer. Wrap-up of the seminar and recommendations were given by Ene-Eha Urbala from the Human Rights Institute. The seminar ended with the reception held at the Mäetaguse Manor.

Seminar was funded by the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Women and men want to improve society together

The "WoMen & Democracy" conference on gender equality took place in Vilnius, Lithuania, June 15-17, 2001. All the neighboring countries sent representatives to attend the conference. The importance of the conference was underlined by the speeches given by Lithuania's President Valdas Adamkus and by Latvia's President Vaira Vike-Freiberga, and the messages sent by US President George W. Bush, Finland's President Tarja Halonen, and U.S. Senator Hillary Clinton.

The central themes were equality at the workplace and prevention of trafficking in humans. It is increasingly more difficult to deny these problems, and, therefore, it is not possible to ignore the facts in Estonia, also.

Men stepped forth with their recommendations at the conference, by calling on men to abandon masculine hegemony and to be more caring toward themselves and their families. Men were encouraged to take parental leave, to adopt more flexible work schedules as young fathers, to spend more time with their families, to have their sons pursue so-called "women's work" as educators and teachers.

Teachers should be given training in gender sensitivity, and instructional literature on gender roles should be taught already in elementary schools. Crisis and therapy centers, and hot-lines for men, are becoming a reality, because violence against women causes men to suffer.

Launching of a White Ribbon Campaign to combat violence against women was considered a priority. The men's movement is becoming international. It remains to be seen when Estonian men will take up the cause against domestic violence.

Journal Ariadne's Clew

In November 2001, the second issue of the Women's Studies and Men's Studies journal Ariadne's Clew will be published. Authors included are: Anne Lill, Leena Kurvet-Käosaar, Mirjam Hinrikus, Eve Annuk, Tiina Kirss, Kadri Tüür, Raili Põldsaar, Eda Heinla, Merili Metsvahi, Anne Kull, Iivi Masso, Terje Hallik, Inna Põltsam, Eda Sepp, Katrin Kivimaa, Reet Varblane, Heili Einasti, Linda Hutcheon, Lorraine Code, and Michael Kaufman. Topics covered: women in contemporary Estonia and in the media, women and the reformation, Estonian woman as a political subject, Estonian art history and female artists during the soviet occupation period, female body in art, men and masculinities, feminism and postmodernism, Donna Haraway and cyborgs, etc. Three book reviews: "Man in a Changing World" by Olev Poolamets, Jüri Uljas, Mait Raun and Margus Punab, "Reflections on Gender and Science" by Evelyn Fox Keller, and "Private Views: Space and Gender in Contemporary British and Estonian Art", edited by Mare Tralla, Pam Skeltoni and Angela Dimitrikaki and an overview of the journals "Sign" and "Hypatia". The journal will be available at ENUT and bookstores.