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Framing the Involvement of Men in Gender Equality in Europe: Between Institutionalised and Non-Institutionalised Politics

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Framing the Involvement of Men in Gender Equality in Europe: Between Institutionalised and Non-Institutionalised Politics

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Abstract

In order to reach the main goal of the paper, the identification of the impact and effectiveness of strategies and measures which promote gender equality not only in connection to women but also men, an overview of institutionalised practices, men's involvement in gender equality strategies like gender mainstreaming, as well as men's participation in international and national networks, organisations and groups are presented. The identification of specific forms of institutionalised and non-institutionalised practices and politics is based on the theoretical model proposed by Michael Messner (2000) and concerns the situation in the European Union.

Keywords: men and masculinities, gender equality, politics, Europe

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Enmarcando la Participación de los Hombres en la Igualdad de Género en Europa: Entre Política Institucionalizada y No Institucionalizada

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Resumen

Con el propósito de alcanzar el objetivo principal de este artículo, se presenta el análisis de cómo se han identificado los efectos y la eficacia de las estrategias y medidas que promuevan la igualdad de género, no sólo en relación a las mujeres sino también con los hombres. A la vez también se presenta una visión general de las prácticas institucionalizadas relacionadas con la participación de los hombres en la igualdad de género, como por ejemplo la integración de la perspectiva transveral de género, la participación de los hombres en redes nacionales e internacionales. Dicha identificación de formas específicas de política institucionalizada y no institucionalizada tienen su fundamento en el modelo teórico propuesto por Michael Messner (2000), el cual se refiere a la situación en la Unión Europea.

Palabras clave: hombres y masculinidades, igualdad de género, política, Europa

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or many years, the commitment to promoting gender equality in society has focused on women's issues and has been driven largely by women. This is connected to the fact that women are still the ones mainly disadvantaged by the patterns of gender inequality and thus, the relevance of focusing on this particular social category is undisputed. Nevertheless, this situation has resulted in the assumption that gender issues are only about women and do not concern men. Fortunately, these beliefs have begun to change, and there is a growing interest in the role of men in relation to gender equality. Over the last 50 years the role of men in reconstructing gender relations has been changing, and recently men have been increasingly addressed and named in the process of gender equality policy development. Therefore, an overview of institutionalised practices and men's involvement in gender equality strategies should be analysed as they are important in the process of engaging men in gender equality. This type of analysis is crucial in order to reach the main aim of the paper which is the identification of the impact and effectiveness of strategies and measures promoting gender equality not only in connection to women but also men. Consequently, we place special attention on men's involvement in gender equality policies and the political representation of men, as men are not only more theoretically interested in gender equality but are also increasingly addressed and named as subjects and active actors of the gender equality policy development process. Therefore, the involvement of men in gender equality across Europe will be discussed with a special focus on institutionalised men's politics (such as governmental committees, special (sub-)departments in ministries, boards appointed by governments, informal counselling structures, etc.), non-institutionalised men's networks and groups as well as gender mainstreaming strategies and quota systems which have been implemented in some European countries in order to foster an equal representation of women and men in politics¹.

Privileges, Costs and Differences of Masculinities: The Three Sides of a Coin²

In order to identify specific forms of institutionalised and non-institutionalised practices and politics regarding men's role in gender equality, choosing an appropriate theoretical framework seems to be

crucial. An appropriate framing of facts, figures and policy is necessary in order to address gender related disparities in an adequate way, to include men in gender equality policies and to find good ways of public communication regarding men and gender equality. A model that can be used for these purposes is outlined below. (Hearn & Holmgren, 2009)

American sociologist Michael Messner, one of the founders of critical studies on men and masculinities, has developed a model to classify and assess men's groups and initiatives in the United States (2000). This model consists of a triangle with the corner points 'negative sides/costs of masculinity', 'tackling men's privileges' and 'differences among men' (2000). Institutionalised men's policy, men's movements and men's organisations, their positions and arguments, their orientation, mission statements and activities can be related to this model. Messner points out that progressive men's politics has to relate to all three aspects in order to develop constructive arguments and to foster coalition building with other political forces.

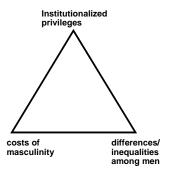


Figure 1. Triangle model: Terrain of the politics of masculinities (Messner 2000, p.12).

As Holmgren and Hearn have shown, the triangle model can be used "for locating men's diverse gender-conscious positioning in gender debates" (2009, p.404). It will be outlined that men's organisations, networks, initiatives and men's groups put a differing emphasis on each of the three aspects. Therefore Messner has differentiated men's groups in the US in relation to their positions within the triangle model. In the same way,

the corner points of classification can serve as a structure for systematisation of men's groups and movements in Europe.

A balanced politics of masculinities is located in the middle of the triangle. This means that a special approach, a discourse, or institutionalised work tackling men's issues would take all three aspects into consideration. Balanced approaches focus on gender disparities and men's privileges and try to minimise costs and disadvantages for men (e.g. concerning health) at the same time. Consequently, communication becomes more complex because so many pros and cons, arguments and aspects come into play; however, links, connections and alliances to other political actors (or discourses) are enabled. The differences between men become clear by specifying subgroups according to other social categories (e.g. men's health is strongly influenced by education and social class). In this view, it may be in the interest of not all, but of many men to change the existing gender regimes and the dominating masculinity concepts. Alliances of these subgroups of men with other political forces that are interested in changes are meaningful, but the idea of a general men's movement has been discussed controversially, as such a movement:

(...) Is shot through with danger, contradiction, and paradox. White-identified people who want to oppose racism do not form a 'white peoples' movement. Heterosexually identified people who want to oppose heterosexism and homophobia do not form a 'straight peoples' movement'. However, to end racism and heterosexism, white people and heterosexuals will have to stand up, speak out, and act...Similarly, Connell asserts, profeminist men do need to educate, counsel, and work with other men to bring about an end to institutionalized sexism. (Messner, 2000, p.101)

On the other hand, Kimmel has argued that there is a positive impact and a political statement if there are organisations of men "who do support feminism as men, who support gays and lesbians as straight people, who support people of color as white people" (Messner, 2000, p.102).

The fathers' rights movements in various countries are interesting examples of how difficult it is to find appropriate positions in order to improve the lives of all people involved in divorce cases: children, women and men. In many European countries (Scambor, Wojnicka, & Bergmann, 2013), child custody is a terrain of conflict, political struggle and public

debate. Sometimes the situation seems quite polarised, and fathers' initiatives have emerged that oscillate between arguments about children's rights, gender equality and anti-feminism. Political actors are called to solve problems by legal regulations that are often strongly related to personal conflict and escalation. Some of the fathers' rights groups generalise personally difficult situations and argue that feminism had gone too far, resulting in structural disadvantages for men in general (Wojnicka, 2011).

In Messner's terms, such arguments emphasise costs/disadvantages for men in an isolated way. In this kind of public discourse, various actual problems are combined to prove that men are discriminated against in general and that women are over-privileged. The arguments are unbalanced, as neither men's privileges on a structural level nor differences among men are taken into consideration (but men in general are seen as victims of discrimination in society). According to Bob Pease (2006) an "overwhelming evidence of men's resistance to gender equality" is to be noticed "reflected in men's rights and fathers' rights movements and backlash responses by men worldwide" (2006, p.4).

The reason for men's resistance seems clear: the material benefits provided by the patriarchal dividend, the ideological belief in male supremacy, the deeply embedded psychological fear of change and the resentment by those men who seem not to have benefited from the patriarchal dividend. (Connell, 2003, p.10)

Thus, there are times when the potential for men and women to work in partnership does seem small (White, 1994) and many feminists are sceptical about the possibility for real alliances. However, the point is often made that men are not only representatives of fixed and monolithic structures of power (Hearn, 2001), and that some men do respond positively to feminism. "We need to remind ourselves of situations where men have acted in solidarity with women" (Pease, 2006, p.4).

In fact, the topics and problems that appear in these examples must be framed by adequate theoretical positions of how the genders are organised in a society before adequate measures can be developed. These positions must enter public discourses as well. With reference to men's groups, Messner states:

The closer a group's worldview is to the center of the triad, the more complex – even contradictory – its internal debates about the social structure of power, inequality, and oppression are likely to be. As a result, these groups have a far more difficult task developing coherent and focused strategies for action. (2000, p.100)

Institutional Privileges: Political Representation

In connection to Messner's model, the most visible example of men's privileges is the case of political representation. Across Europe (and any other region of the world), institutionalised policy is predominantly managed by men. In regard to data, privileges of men can be seen in many areas throughout many countries. One example of these privileges, data on political participation, is given below: throughout all countries, men's participation is higher than women's. Although slight changes can be noted in most of the countries, political participation is still far from being gender equal. In 2013 on average still nearly three-quarters (74%) of EU members of parliament are men (see Figure 1). Only the Nordic region, as well as France, Spain, Belgium and Iceland, are examples of a more gender-balanced distribution of parliament seats. Despite the relatively high male participation rate of around 70%, Germany and Austria as well as Switzerland show a more 'favourable' position than the EU-average.

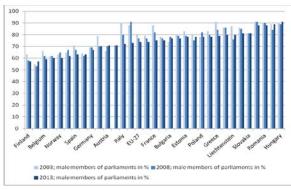


Figure 2. Male members (%) of parliament single/lower house and upper house, 2003*, 2008 and 2013

Source: European Commission, DG Justice, Database on women and decisionmaking

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Not only national data, but also regional data, reflects institutionalised privileges of men in the field of political representation. Figure 2 combines the proportion of male members of national assemblies with those of regional assemblies. It becomes quite evident that in European countries male representatives dominate at different levels of the political system. Additionally, the variety between European countries becomes evident: Again northern European countries as well as Belgium, Spain and France are situated amongst those with more gender parity, Germany, Austria and Switzerland are situated slightly below average and southern and eastern European countries tend to be amongst those with the most unequal distribution of women and men in the political system.

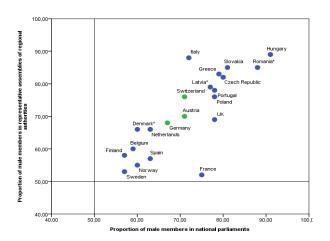


Figure 3. Male members (%) of parliaments and representative assemblies of regional authorities 2012

Source: European Commission, DG Justice, Database on women and decisionmaking

Many countries which hold a more favourable position concerning gender parity have established different quota systems to support a more equal representation of women and men: France, Finland, Spain, Belgium and also Poland have to be mentioned in this regard, as well as Norway where almost all political parties practice gender quotas on a voluntary basis (Scambor, Wojnicka, & Bergmann, 2013).

How to Engage Men in Gender Equality?

The main issue regarding the role of men in gender equality is connected to finding the answer to the question How to engage men? According to Michael Meuser (2000) one of the serious barriers to men's engagement in the gender equality process is the possibility of losing male privileges. This 'danger' may lead to high pressure towards conformity and passivity among men and against men's involvement in gender equality issues. (Scambor, Wojnicka, & Bergmann, 2013). Therefore, the task is not only to indicate male benefits of gender equality which can minimise the costs of traditional masculinity, but also to convince men that resignation of gender privileges is in fact a win-win situation and the risk is worth it. This might be achieved through 'men sensitive' gender mainstreaming strategy as well as through conducting institutionalised and non-institutionalised male politics.

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming, the current, main European strategy towards gender equality, was introduced and implemented to change gender disparities like the unequal distribution of privileges. In contrast to former equality politics with the focus on the promotion of women, gender mainstreaming explicitly includes women and men. Additionally, all kinds of policy fields should be embraced. (Bergmann & Pimminger, 2004)

Although gender mainstreaming – or an integrated gender equality approach – should be implemented in European countries, the actual implementation varies between countries. A recent report (European Commission, 2012) has identified four country groups in this respect:

- The most advanced group is characterised by a strong and lengthy history in approaching gender equality and in introducing gender mainstreaming supported by strong institutionalisation and dedicated commitment. This group consists of the Nordic/Scandinavian countries.
- A second group of central European countries, consisting of Austria, Germany and France for example and, to some extent, the UK, is

characterised by a rather early approach to gender mainstreaming in an institutionalised way and the diffusion of several tools and practical instruments³. However, gender mainstreaming seems now to need further implementation and a new impetus to capitalise on efforts made in the past.

- In a third group EU Structural Funds constituted the driving force to start implementing gender mainstreaming. Equality legislation was started in a limited number of policy areas and is mainly confined to labour market issues. This group is composed of mostly southern countries like Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain but also Ireland.
- Countries which are in the first phase of gender mainstreaming implementation, which are mainly 'new member' states including the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Malta and Cyprus, are in another group. They have started to implement gender mainstreaming in strict relation to EU equal treatment directives and have little infrastructure for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The integration of gender equality issues within national policies is mainly associated with membership in the EU.

Although the concept of gender mainstreaming actively emphasises the involvement of 'both genders' and various relational gender concepts, men were often left out and the strategies were contextualised mainly as 'women's issues'. (Holter, 2003; Scambor & Scambor, 2008) However, at least an initial awareness of the issue of men in gender equality can be seen as a result of discussing and implementing strategies like gender mainstreaming. Some countries additionally support the integration of institutionalised practices of men's active involvement in gender equality structures in strategies.

Institutionalisation of Men's Politics

The most evidence for institutionalised men's involvement can again be found in the Nordic countries and some central European countries – countries with a longer tradition of gender equality approaches and/or a stronger institutionalisation of gender equality machinery (countries within the above-mentioned more 'advanced' country groups regarding gender equality). As a consequence, different practices of how institutionalised

men's politics are structured throughout Europe on national levels can be elaborated.

Governmental committees or subcommittees as part of the national governmental gender equality machinery

The most prominent example of this kind of institutionalised practice can be found in Finland, which has a long tradition of men's involvement in state and governmental gender policy development. The European-wide first "Subcommittee on Men" under the Council for Gender Equality was established in 1988. The role of the subcommittee is to act as a specialist group and to serve the Council. (Varanka, Närhinen, & Siukola, 2006) Other important examples are the Men's Committee as a part of the Council for Gender Equality in Iceland (1994-2000 and started again in 2011) and the Working Group on Men's Equality as a part of the Government Council for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the Czech Republic which started its work in 2010.

$(Sub\mbox{-})$ departments for men's politics situated in units other tan equal opportunity units

One example is the *Department for Men's Politics* in Austria, which is, in contrast to the former examples, not part of the overall national equal opportunity structure but is rather situated in another ministry (the Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, and Consumer Protection). In 2000 it was formed under a conservative/right-wing government and was very controversial. (Brem, 2012) Although its policy is now orientated to a gender equality approach it is not part of the overall national equality strategy also due to its location in another ministry.

Boards appointed by governments

The *Panel of Men* in Denmark is one important example in this regard. It is a kind of governmental advisory board which was established in 2011 by the Danish Minister of Equality Opportunities. The panel consists of 19

men from top Danish businesses and universities. Their goal is to add new perspectives and solutions to the gender equality debate.

(Informal) counselling structures on the national level

This includes examples like the *Gender Dialogue* in Switzerland as a regular but informal meeting of women's and men's organisations with the Federal Gender Equality Office (Theunert, 2012) and the Federal Forum of Men in Germany (Schölper, 2012) which was established as an official contact of the federal government to illustrate that men's politics can be integrated into gender equality strategies in very different settings.

In addition to the examples of institutionalising men's involvement in gender equality at national levels, strategies can be also found at regional levels. In some European regions, cities and communities different approaches have emerged, such as the reporting on gender equality from the male perspective (e.g. the report 'Gleichstellungsanliegen aus Männersicht' in Bern) or the establishment of counselling structures at the community level such as the 'Männerbeauftragten' in Zürich. (Theunert, 2012) All in all however, the inclusion of male perspectives in gender equality discourses and structures seems, up until now, to be quite limited in the European context. Those countries with longer traditions of this provide indications of the importance of an active governmental policy in this respect but also an active civil society (bottom-up). Additionally, men's institutionalised involvement in gender equality strategies – in a pro-active and profeminist sense - seems to be linked to a specific stage of gender equality development. A certain belief in the necessity of gender equality in society seems to be an important prerequisite, as is the case in Nordic countries. Or, as Holmgren and Hearn put it, "a qualified consensus on the value of gender equality as a political goal and general norm, which tends to generate a broadly positive place for men in and around feminism" (2009, p.404).

Non-Institutional Politics

Although institutional politics and formalised structures such as committees, boards and governmental departments play a highly important

role in creating a gendered social change, phenomena like social movements, grass-roots groups and other non-formalised social activities seem to be equally important agents of the gender equality development process.

International networks

Men's groups and organisations with a focus on gender equality and men and masculinities issues have developed within the last decades in Europe, especially international networks and initiatives characterised by balanced and profeminist approaches. According to Hearn and Pringle, since "the early 1970s there have been in various Western countries anti-sexist men and profeminist men followed in the 1980s, by the media creation of 'new men" (2006, p.4). These men, organised in national groups, are part of global alliances and international networks such as the European Men Profeminist Network⁴ and MenEngage. MenEngage, a global network of NGOs and UN agencies founded in 2004, promotes gender equality and activism connected to the issue among men and boys. In the context of MenEngage, an international meeting of more than 40 delegates from 25 European countries was organised in 2009, aiming "(...) to take forward the initial development and formal formation process of MenEngage Europe". (http://www.menengage.org). Simultaneously, organisations and initiatives in Europe have increasingly engaged in the White Ribbon Campaign, a global initiative of men and women combating violence against women founded in Canada in 1991. Members of the network educate young men and boys and try to raise public awareness about the problem. The campaign is conducted in cooperation with the women's movement, the corporate sector, the media and other social partners who are interested in ending violence against women. Last but not least, in research and academic institutions, scholars have organised themselves in research networks focused on men and masculinities issues in Europe. CROME, an international research network for Critical Research on Men in Europe, was founded in 2002. The idea of this network was to provide data resources and other information about critical research on men and masculinities as well as to develop theoretical and empirical outcomes on men.

National networks and men's groups - 'balanced' approach

The international networks on men and masculinities – mentioned above mainly consist of national groups and organisations with an integrated and balanced perspective on privileges, costs and differences among men towards gender equality. Initiatives on men and masculinities on the European member state level can be outlined and divided into a balanced/profeminist-approach or a distorted/antifeminist-approach. Some of the initiatives are cooperating with each other on the international level while some act mainly in their local or regional surroundings. Among them one can find foundations, associations and informal groups, as well as networks and umbrella alliances dedicated to widely understood men's issues. It should not go unmentioned that groups and networks with a balanced approach to gender equality that are very often connected to the profeminist perspective and cooperate with the women's movement, are mostly visible in countries which can be called 'old EU member states'. For example, in Austria some of the relevant actors in the field of men and gender equality can be found in counselling centres and men's initiatives that emerged in the mid 80s. AMOE, a working platform of men's counselling centres and men's centres in Austria is a non-formal umbrella organisation and a country-wide network of centres that offer counselling, personal development/education and contact/communication. AMOE rejects any form of violence and gives special attention to men taking responsibility for their behaviour and sharing power with women. Their mission statement is focused on mutual respect for men and women and aims for gender justice and gender democracy in all fields of life. In Germany, a Federal Association of Men (Bundesforum Männer) has recently been founded in close relation to the new Department on Gender Equality Policy for Boys and Men in the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. Bundesforum Männer concentrates on issues of boys, men and fathers based on gender equality as a basic principle of work. This means it pays attention to discrimination based on gender and supports the development of diversity according to gender and other social belongings. In the new EU member states, another pattern of men's initiatives appears. Men interested in activism for gender equality in countries like Bulgaria, Romania or Poland are often engaged in women's

movement activity due to a lack of profeminist men's organisations. (Scambor, Wojnicka, & Bergmann, 2013)

National networks and men's groups - between balanced and unbalanced approaches

While a profeminist, balanced approach characterises many men's groups and initiatives in old EU member countries, fathers' rights movements seem to be more meaningful in new member states. This statement does not mean that in old EU member countries fathers' rights movements do not exist. They do appear as part of a rather complex mosaic of men's movements and can be placed among many profeminist, religious or therapeutic groups of/for men, while in the new member states (e.g. Poland, Estonia, Malta), fathers' rights movements seem to dominate. In many post-socialist European countries that suffer from a lack of profeminist movements, two types of fathers' rights initiatives can be found:

- progressive fathers movements strengthen a balanced approach to gender equality policy by promoting men's engagement in family life, fighting against gender stereotypes and promoting the idea of shared parenthood;
- unbalanced and antifeminist approaches focus on divorced, single fathers and portray them as victims of women and policy based on gender equality ideology (Wojnicka & Struzik, 2011).

It is important to underline that some of the initiatives undertaken by national fathers' rights groups have influenced policy and legislation in their countries. In Slovakia, where traditionally custody after divorce was mostly granted to mothers, recent changes in family law, initiated by actors of fathers movements, allow for ordering joint custody (Scambor, Wojnicka & Bergmann, 2013). A current study about the involvement of men in gender equality in the European Union (Ruxton & Van der Gaag, 2012) shows that higher numbers of balanced organisations exist mainly in Northern and Central European countries, while new member states have fewer organisations active in the field of men and gender equality. However it must be mentioned that the number of balanced organisations and initiatives in a country is only a rough indicator of the national situation concerning men and gender equality. Full-time-equivalents in such

organisations per million inhabitants in each country or similar indicators would be more meaningful indicators for comparative analysis across European countries. However firstly, these numbers do not exist, and secondly, the existence/non-existence of balanced types of initiatives does not allow any conclusion towards a more or less gender equal society. The difference is how men who are promoting gender equality are organised – either affiliated with women's groups or within balanced organisations.

Conclusions

Is an impact of men's movements on institutionalised policy on men and gender equality to be expected? Or do gender equality strategies on international or national levels meet the issue of men and gender equality? And how are these issues addressed? In many countries, gender mainstreaming seems to have created an opening for the issue of men in gender equality, an opening in the discussion and some pathways towards institutional practices. But can we automatically expect a balanced equality approach as soon as the role of men in gender equality policy is addressed? How is gender framed and understood in the political context?

While we should not lose sight of the potential of engaging men in gender equality, we have to be very careful in how we frame the strategies and the ends to ensure that the feminist vision of gender democracy is not compromised or co-opted. (Pease 2006, p.45)

Men's involvement in gender equality strategies, especially in gender mainstreaming, has also been discussed quite critically. Focusing on men within gender equality strategies might include the danger that resources actually designated for promoting women's interests are re-allocated to promote men's interests. (Scambor & Scambor, 2008; Pease, 2006) Some authors also suggest that the feminist orientation of gender equality might be weakened and that it might be distinguished into separate male-female-issues and not be within a gender equality framework. (Pease, 2006) Therefore it is very important that the topic men and gender equality is embedded in gender equality strategies and developed with close exchange between feminist theory, gender equality and critical men's studies in order to avoid simplifications. Progressive men's policies may tackle 'men's

privileges', 'costs of masculinity' and 'differences among men' (Messner, 2000) at the same time, in order to develop a balanced approach on men and gender equality. Therefore, unmasking men's privileges, focussing on relations in the gender system instead of focussing solely on men, recognising social divisions among men, developing alliances between women and men, maintaining affirmative actions and connecting the issue of men with social justice are relevant principles on the way to men and gender equality policies. (Pease, 2006) In addition, involving men via institutionalised policies in gender equality strategies and the incorporation of gender equality into a broader framework can be discussed as possibilities for strengthening men's involvement.

In Europe a shifting to a broader equality framework can be observed, which focuses not on single aspects of discrimination, but rather combines different aspects (for example gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation etc.). The ongoing discussion about establishing a single anti-discrimination directive, as proposed by the European Commission 2008, which includes protection against all forms of discrimination can be interpreted as one step in this direction. The new directive would come on top of four other directives: one on discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, one on discrimination in the labour market, one on equal treatment of men and women regarding access to employment and one on equal treatment of men and women regarding access to and supply of goods and services⁵.

Another indicator can be observed in a European-wide trend where previous different equality bodies (dealing with different forms of discrimination) merged into a single institution which covers different forms of discrimination like gender, disability, age, ethnic origin, sexual orientation etcetera. (Equinet, 2009, 2011) While this development has also been criticised because it includes the risk of diluting gender equality in other priorities, there are also many arguments in favour of this shift; broadening the concept includes a stronger alliance against discrimination and the possibility to incorporate a gender perspective regarding the other above-mentioned inequalities.

Working on several grounds also makes it easier to argue from a position of equal rights for all in society and makes it more difficult to frame equality body in terms of only working for the benefit of a specific group in society" (Equinet, 2009, p.52).

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It is still an open question that has not yet been researched whether a broader equality framework has the potential to engage more men in gender equality issues. At least the possibility exists.

Notes

- ¹It must be mentioned that the paper's findings are based on the analysis conducted during the realisation of the project "Study on the role of men in gender equality". The project has been prepared for the European Commission, DG Justice Unit D2 Gender equality (contract ref. no. VC/2010/0592) and supported by the European Union Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity PROGRESS (2007-2013).
- ² See Scambor & Scambor (2012).
- ³ As Switzerland is not a member of the European Union it is not covered in the report, but taking into account Switzerland's focus on an "integrated gender equality strategy" (Durrer, 2013) it would have been classified in this group together with Austria and Germany.
- ⁴ The project was founded in 1998 by the European Union and for several years was one of the most active networks for promoting gender equality among men. After some years of activity EuroPRO-Fem was extinguished (http://www.europrofem.org).

See

 $http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fdad/cms/stop discrimination/fighting_discrimination/Rights_and_Responsibilities\\$

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