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an and gender relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina

results of "images" research

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prepared by **Srđan Dušanić**
in collaboration with **Promundo**

Banja Luka, 2012.

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Centre for youth and community development



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PREFACE

This scientific monograph represents the results of research dealing with key subjects in gender relations in BiH. We strived to explore different aspects of men's life from the aspect of both men and women. The idea was to contribute to the understanding of socialisation of men in BiH and the way the construct of manhood reflects on life and behaviour of men as well as the family as a whole. The research was carried out as a part of the international 'IMAGES' (International Man and Gender Equality Survey) project.

The research report consists of several parts. The first, theoretical part introduces key terms in gender equality and relations. The second part presents the methodological basis of the conducted quantitative research. It should be noted that this was a very demanding research, which was conducted on a representative and random sample of population from 56 BiH municipalities and towns. The third part presents the most significant results through tables and graphs. For clarity of the research, some results are presented only in the textual form without any visual aid. The final part analyses the basic findings of the research as well as its conclusions. Given that the subject of research is, for the most part, of a pioneer character on the BiH level, the obtained results should be seen as a solid basis for further critical analysis and discussion rather than an unchangeable dogma.

The complete research was conducted by the organisation 'Perpetuum Mobile', Centre for Youth and Community Development in cooperation with

CARE for the North-Eastern Balkans and Promundo Institute. Praise for the successful management of all project phases is to be offered to Bojana Trninic. We thank our partners for their unqualified support during all stages of the research, especially John Crownover and Gary Barker.

Author

Banja Luka, 2012

SUMMARY

The Men and Gender Equality Policy Project (MGEPP) is a multi-year, multi-country effort to gather evidence and raise awareness among policymakers and program planners of the need to involve men in gendered ways as part of health and development agendas. A key component of the project has been the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), one of the most comprehensive efforts of its kind to gather household survey data on men's attitudes and practices – along with women's opinions about and experiences of men's practices – on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. Topics in the IMAGES research included: gender-based violence; health and health related practices; household division of labor; men's participation in care giving and as fathers; men's and women's attitudes about gender and gender related policies; transactional sex; men's reports of criminal behavior; quality of life; war experiences and ethnic attitudes. Whole research was implemented by NGO "Perpetuum mobile- centre for youth and community development" in cooperation with Care (for North-West Balkan) and Instituto "Promundo".

The research was conducted on a representative and random sample in BiH. The sample included 1684 men and 687 women aged 18-59, from 56 municipalities. Field research was coordinated by marketing and research agency "Partner".

Key findings of the research are:

- | The social status of the respondents is generally difficult. 26% of men and 38% of women able to work are unemployed. Certain indicators point out that the position of women is somewhat more difficult; there are more unemployed and uneducated women, as well as those with very low incomes. A consequence of the poor social status of women is that 33% and 39% of men are depressive due to (un)employment and lack of money respectively.
- | The difficult social status is additionally burdened with the consequences of the war. About 74% of the people lived in war zones, half of them left their residence temporarily, and one quarter of them did so permanently. Almost 44% experienced the death of someone close to them.
- | It is noticed that men in households are more involved in works involving allocation of money as well as those requiring certain craftsmen's skills. Works related to laundering, cleaning and food preparation are mostly done by women. About 95% of men and 78% of women are satisfied with the division of work.
- | About 53% of men and slightly less percentage of women point out that men take care of children on a daily basis. The majority of men (69%) are involved in playing with their children; however, a considerably smaller percentage of them are involved in feeding their children (21%) and changing their clothes (31%).

- | Over 80% of men and women are satisfied with their sexual life, men being slightly more satisfied.
- | Men are partially involved in the process of taking care of their partners' pregnancy and giving birth.
- | The attitudes to gender equality are generally full of stereotypes and convictions about the dominant role of men and a partial tolerance to violence against women. Thus, about 52% of men believe that the most important role of the women is that related to housework and taking care of children, while 49% of them think that the man should have a dominant role in making important decisions. Regarding the attitude to violence, around 23% of the respondents think that there are certain situations when the woman deserves the beating. Based on GEM scale scores, about 23% of men fall into the group with pronouncedly unequal gender attitudes, 41% of them are moderately equal, while 36% of them fall into the group of gender equality. More gender-equal attitudes are greater for university- educated men and they are also connected to higher level of marriage satisfaction. They are in negative correlation with the use of alcohol and violence against women.
- | About half of men support the existence of quotas which guarantee the share of women in power, education and managerial positions.
- | Most respondents express a degree of homophobia. About 75% of men point out that they feel unpleasant in the company of homosexuals.

Attitudes of women toward homosexuals are similar to the attitudes of men, although generally somewhat more positive than men's attitudes.

| About 58% of men and 18.5% of women consume alcohol. Within the sub-sample of those who consume alcohol, 33.7 % get drunk once a month or more, while 24.8% of alcohol-consuming women do the same. Around 16 % of men and 7% of women have smoked marijuana on the last 12 months.

| A lot of woman has been exposed to a kind of physical violence. Violence is most often manifested through pushing (m: 20%; w: 38%), slapping (m: 17.5%; w: 36%) and hitting with a fist or an object (m: 17%; w: 32%). Approximately 26.5% of men and 45% of women confirmed at least one form of violence against women.

| About 6% of men have had non-consensual or forced sex i.e. perpetrated the most serious form of sexual violence.

| Almost 60% of the respondents point out that they are familiar with the policies and strategies on violence against women. The same percentage of men believes that the law does not protect the victims of violence enough; they also think that the law is too mild.

| Around 4/5 of men say that they are satisfied with their body and sexual life and that they generally proud of themselves. 26% of them admit they feel depressive sometimes or often, while 7.3% confesses to having suicidal thoughts.

- | About 20% of men have done criminal acts (thefts, fights with use of weapons), while 10% of them have been accused in the police or a court of law.
- | The majority of respondents (68%) show attitudes of ethno-centrism or prejudice towards those of other ethnicities. Almost 40% of them feel most pleasant in the company of people of the same ethnicity. About 48% claim they would not marry a person of ethnicity different from theirs. The views of women are similar to men's attitudes. Women are more open than men only about marriage with a person of the other nation.

1 INTRODUCTION

The world faces the fact that women's emancipation processes and movements have been empowering for the last couple of decades. Nevertheless, men are still superior when it comes to the high educational level, employment, income rates, distribution of leading positions of power and responsibility within society, etc. The Balkans is well known for these phenomena, especially given that, among other stereotypes, there is one Balkan-specific stereotype named "the Balkanian" (a man from the Balkans), who is mostly characterized as being dominating, rigid, non-flexible and stubborn, occasionally violent, etc. These kinds of patterns and gender perception are frequently transferred throughout generations. This was confirmed in the survey which was carried out with the boys in several Balkan countries (Eckman et al., 2007). Almost all of us have witnessed situations when both mothers and fathers are sending these kind of messages to male child: *"you are a man...you should be strong and brave...don't cry like a girl...your girlfriend or wife should pay attention on what you want...if someone hits you, give him back immediately, etc."* This kind of masculinity perception and the aforementioned messages transferred to boys might burden them, which leads to negative consequences. Namely, if a boy or young man grows up with those kinds of messages and parents' expectations, he will certainly internalize them in order to test them in practice. He will try to be unbreakable, brave and, in relations with the opposite sex, dominant.

However, it is foreseen that future life will create some situations in which he would be less capable, sometimes expressing powerlessness and inferiority in relation with women. What will happen then? There is a great possibility that the same male human being will then start to consider himself unworthy, inadequate and a “looser”! However, this is not the end of the cycle; it is very common that, if someone perceives that his authority has been lost, he will try to turn this back, but in the most primitive way, that is, by force! And that is the end of the cycle – from the parents’ expectations from their child to be “a real man” to becoming a violent man afterwards. Unfortunately, these cycles repeat very often, forcing a violent man to practice violence repeatedly and transferring the same pattern to their children, and so on – from generation to generation, making a culture an increasing hegemony of masculinity.

Due to the aforementioned reasons and actuality of the topic, this research concerns the attitudes and behaviors of the young and adult men. This research is the part of the project implemented by “Perpetuum mobile – Center for Youth and Community Development” and “CARE International North-West Balkan”. Both of these organizations have conducted several important pieces of research on gender norms and relations mostly related to life, needs and problems of both young and adult men. During the research implementation, professionals from the Promundo Institute and ICRW – The International Center for Research on Women gave their support. Besides a quantitative research, qualitative research and analysis are planned as well as policies and strategies related to gender norms and relations. It should be noted that research with the identical questionnaire has been implemented in

countries worldwide: Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, Rwanda, etc. The working title of the implemented research was IMAGES, which was named after the name of questionnaire. The word IMAGES represents the acronym of the English words “International men and gender equality survey” (Barker et al., 2011). The basic theoretical terms as well as relevant research will be presented before the results of specific problem, method and research are disclosed.

1.1 Theoretical background

1.1.1 Concept of gender

Globally, the prevailing gender norms have great influence upon boys' and girls' health and growth – probably even greater concerning boys. Patriarchal attitudes and rigid forms of masculinity were often promoted through different social spheres, including families, media, schools and other public and private sectors. Gender equality and violence prevention are in correlation with these norms which idealize different behavior patterns by which boys and girls are getting more exposed to risk. In order to establish that correlation, which lays the foundation for equality and protection of human rights, leads toward people's development, it is of crucial importance to motivate boys and girls to have a critical opinion on the aforementioned issues.

In the 1980s, *gender* and *sex* were analyzed as the social category for the first time. The main assumption of this approach is that the human thoughts, emotions and behaviors are socially influenced (Ashmore, 1991). This approach has its roots in feminist movements from the late 1960s which have directed the society's attention toward women position. Feminists differentiate the terms *gender* and *sex*, emphasizing the role of society in gender-based formation of behaviors. It is now generally accepted that *gender* and *sex* are different categories. The following are the basic terms relating to this issue: sex, gender, gender norms, gender identity and masculinity.

Sex relates to biological and psychological characteristics that determine men (boys) and women (girls). It includes reproductive organs, hormones, the endocrine system, the secondary sexual characteristics, chromosomes, etc.

In contrast with sex, *gender* is socially determined construction of biological sex: it refers to socially constructed roles and expectations which society finds appropriate for men and women. Gender roles can simply be described as the totality of expectations of how men and women should behave (Myers, 1993). Gender roles refer to specific attitudes and behaviours which are characteristic for certain gender, often being manifested through psychological components of the femininity and masculinity (Deaux and LaFrance, 1998).

In gender norms and analyses of gender-typical behaviors, it is important to explore the origin of gender-based differences in behaviors. We will provide some vivid examples of gender identity development.

In most countries, there are certain criteria for boys to be considered as men. These criteria might refer to physical appearance and physical strength, sexual experience, the accomplishment of military service, etc. Thus, for example, in our region (southeast Europe), while regular military service existed, young men were used to be considered mature after their conscription and the subsequent joining the military. The act of joining the military was usually followed by a celebration in the organization of the proud parents. It was shame for the family if a boy, for any reasons, could not serve or if the military service was postponed. These criteria are not as drastic as the aforementioned ones, but express the same social purpose of establishing and empowering gender roles and norms, which emphasize the importance of masculinity.

1.1.2 Masculinities and what does it mean to be a man

Masculinities and femininities refer to numerous ways of socially constructed manhood and womanhood within historical as well as cultural context (Connell, 1994). These terms were “forged” in order to cover as many platitudes “of what it means to be a man or woman” as possible. Masculinities and femininities are the result of socially determined behaviors and are formed under complex social influences during lifetime period. Thereby, boys/young men and girls/young women are not only passive receivers of cultural norms and it depends on each individual to what extent they will adopt certain social standards and keep them up and behave in line with them (Barker, Nascimento, Segundo, Pulerwitz, 2003).

Masculinities and femininities should be comprehended through collective but also individual experiences. The way of thinking and behavior of young men/men and young girls/women are dependent on the group and institution they belong to – neighborhood they live in, school, café, football club, etc. Their behavior and the way they communicate partly depend on the social context, whether they are in school, café, attending a match, participating in protests, etc. Thus, behavior (often violent) of young men is usually correlated with “the code of honor” of the peer group they belong to, for example, fan group or institution (school).

Sometimes masculinity or femininity are formed slowly and gradually, while in some situations this process can be intensive and organized such as within a

sport team, during military service, etc. (Connell, 2007). In comparison with the past, men spend more time with their children and show willingness to participate more in their upbringing. This progress questions the existence of the universal form of “masculinity” (or “femininity”), but there are still dominating forms which influence other men’s attitudes and behaviors. Young men are forced to behave under strict patriarchal limitations or to confront numerous social penalizations. They are expected to suppress each behavior treated as womanish or dispute traditional male stereotypes.

Gender equality is the precondition of possible step forward in relations between young men and adult men not only with women and girls – but with other young men and adult men as well. The higher the level of gender equality, the lower the pressure for men to indulge in harmful and rigid forms of masculinity. This will probably result in prevention of men violence, development of community’s security and non-violent conflict resolutions as well as better family interaction. The involvement of men could ensure a greater support in changes regarding family, violence and sexual and reproductive health – the issues that have been marginalized as “womanish”.

The following text deals in more how young men from the Balkans perceive manhood. During 2007, a long-term regional project on gender-based violence started under the sponsorship of Care International. Within qualitative research (Eckman et al., 2007), young men from BiH, Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro expressed their attitudes of what men should be. Young men from the Balkans found that men should have the following characteristics:

- | To be physically strong, muscular, etc.
- | To be able to protect themselves as well as others
- | To have strong character and attitude
- | To be successful at everything
- | To do or play sports
- | To drink alcohol
- | To be sexually mature and “well-endowed”
- | Not to be effeminate, soft (not to cry) or homosexual.

Problem with expression of masculinity can appear due to a conflict between personal desires and social expectations. Men can strive for certain pro-social way of life but, at the same time, their surroundings can put pressure on them in the opposite direction, for example, to join street gangs, become an extreme sport fan or an alcoholic, smoke, use drugs, etc. As a consequence, our identity is often “partly owned” and influenced by socially desirable projection of a man. It is significant for young and adult men to have a supportive family and community which offer the alternative in the form of “healthy islands to a hegemonic variance of masculinity imposed by society”.

1.1.3 Gender and antisocial behaviors

The relation between gender and asocial behaviors are discussed in this part. Asocial behaviors are those which are in opposition to legal or other widespread social norms and which can result in negative consequences for both an individual and the community. Some of asocial behaviors are:

alcoholism, drug abuse, different types of violence, vagrancy, prostitution, gambling, etc.

In our paper we consider determinants of asocial behavior from the perspective of gender identity and gender norms. We will mention some considerations and results from international studies (according to Barker, 2005).

Globally, young men between 15 and 24 years of age die a lot more often than their female peers. The main causes of death are car accidents and murders, both samples being related directly to the socialization of young men. In about 90% of cases of violence in the world, the main perpetrators are men, mostly of young age. According to WHO, about 155,000 of young men were murdered in the world in 2000. Even in Western Europe, 60% of young men's death is caused by accidents and violence. Other forms of violence such as fights, vandalism and insults are far more frequent. Cincotta et al. (2003) explain such a big portion of violence and conflicts among young men by the following causes: young men do not know what to do; they strive to find and empower their identity in any possible way; they want to become independent; they try to impress girls etc. The conclusion of ILO study conducted in Brazil is that the main causes of violence of young men and their participation in gangs are: money, women and the wish to be respected (Barker, 2005).

The negative consequences are also reflected on young men's health. It is the fact that practically in all countries in the world young and adult men are those who use drugs and alcohol more. Besides, the socialization of young men often promotes and encourages their sexually unrestrained behavior and the fact

idea that it is positive to have as much sexual partners as possible or to have unprotected sex etc. The consequences of the aforementioned are that the prevalence of HIV and AIDS is more frequent with men and men are considered to be the main causes of the spreading of AIDS. For these reasons, a UN program for suppression of AIDS initiated a campaign in 2000-2001, dealing with behaviors of men and spreading of HIV. In some countries, there is a tendency to put blame for spreading HIV exclusively on men.

1.2 About IMAGES

The world increasingly affirms that men must be part of achieving gender equality. Indeed, changing men's practices and the structures and factors that enable, encourage and shape those practices – in terms of violence, health, overall treatment of women and girls and participation in family life – is a key part of the global gender equality agenda. The United Nations has called for engaging men and boys in gender equality for at least 15 years. The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, Cairo) affirmed the importance of involving men in improving sexual and reproductive health, and emphasized the need to increase men's involvement in the care of children (WHO, 2007). The ICPD Programme of Action calls for leaders to “promote the full involvement of men in family life and the full integration of women in community life,” ensuring that “men and women are equal partners.”

Many of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which are time-bound targets for achieving key health and development indicators, focus on

achieving gender equality and improving women's lives (in terms of maternal health, educational disparities, poverty eradication, HIV/AIDS prevention and care, and reducing violence against women). An analysis using 12 indicators to measure progress on the MDG priorities (ICRW, 2008) shows that clear advances have been made in empowering women but progress in other areas that require engaging men (reducing violence against women, increasing women's income relative to men's, and reducing inequalities related to the care burden) has lagged. The question is: are men on board with the gender equality agenda? Are they changing their attitudes and practices related to perception of masculinity, greater gender equality, own health and interpersonal relationships, care of children, violence against intimate partners etc. While many of these questions have been asked in separate numerous individual studies, they have seldom been asked together as part of a multi-country initiative.

The Men and Gender Equality Policy Project (MGEPP) is a multi-year, multi-country effort to gather evidence and raise awareness among policymakers and program planners of the need to involve men in gendered ways as part of health and development agendas. A key component of the project has been the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), one of the most comprehensive efforts of its kind to gather household survey data on men's attitudes and practices – along with women's opinions about and experiences of men's practices – on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. Topics in the IMAGES questionnaire included: gender-based violence; health and health related practices; household division of labor; men's participation

in care giving and as fathers; men's and women's attitudes about gender and gender related policies; transactional sex; men's reports of criminal behavior; and quality of life.

From 2009 to 2010, household surveys were administered to more than 8,000 men and 3,500 women ages 18-59 in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico and Rwanda. Some of the main results are (Barker et al., 2011):

- | *Work-related stress* is commonplace in all survey sites. Between 34 percent and 88 percent of men in the survey sites reported feeling stress or depression because of not having enough income or enough work.
- | Men showed tremendous variation in their *gender related attitudes*, with India and Rwanda showing the most inequitable attitudes. Men in all the countries, (with the exception of India) generally supporting gender equality *policies*.
- | Nearly half of men in all the sites (with exception of India) say they play an equal or greater role in one or more *household duties*.
- | Men report higher levels of *sexual* and relationship *satisfaction* than women. Women who say their partners do more domestic work are more sexually satisfied.
- | The majority of men were neither in the delivery room nor the hospital for the *birth* of their last child.
- | Close to half of men with children say they are involved in some daily *caregiving*.
- | Men's rates of regular abuse of *alcohol* – defined as having five or more drinks in one night on a once monthly or greater basis – vary from 23

percent in India to 69 percent in Brazil and are significantly higher than women's reported alcohol abuse in all survey sites.

- | High proportions of women who reported having sought an abortion affirmed that a male partner was involved in the decision to seek an abortion (ranging from 39 percent to 92 percent).
- | Men report high self-esteem, with the exceptions of Croatia and India; at the same time, men show relatively high levels of depression and suicide ideation.
- | Men reported lifetime rates of physical intimate partner violence ranging from 25 percent to 40 percent with women reporting slightly higher rates.
- | Relatively high percentages of men reported ever having participated in criminal or *delinquent acts*.
- | Between 16 percent and 56 percent of men in the sites surveyed say they have *paid for sex* at least once.

Overall, IMAGES results (from 6 countries) affirm that gender equality should be promoted as a gain for women and men. Change seems to be happening as younger men and men with higher levels of education show more gender-equitable attitudes and practices. Men who report more gender-equitable attitudes are more likely to be happy, to talk to their partners and to have better sex lives. Women who report that their partners participate in daily care work report higher levels of relationship and sexual satisfaction. Findings suggest that most men in most of the survey sites accept gender equality in the abstract even if they are not yet living it in their daily practices.

IMAGES results from 6 countries inspired us to do similar research in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are several reasons that make sense to implement IMAGES research in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). One is that B & H as it is well known, traditional society in which mainly dominate patriarchal norms. In addition, some other factors complicating gender relations. In B&H is 17 years ago finished war that has left behind a number of consequences such as broken families, a large number of wounded and displaced, war traumas, destroyed cities, poverty, etc. Many effects are present even now. For example, in Bosnia is still about 30% of the unemployed persons. Such environment can contribute that man's can not fully realize their traditional and expected role. The reaction of men's in this situation are often impractical and rash, accompanied by violence and risky behaviors.

1.3 Research goals and topics

The overall goal of IMAGES is to build understanding of men's practices and attitudes related to gender equality in order to inform, drive and monitor policy development to promote gender equality by engaging men and women in such policies.

The research covers key topics in gender equality, including intimate relationships, family dynamics, and, key health and social vulnerabilities for men. Specific topics in the research include:

1. *Employment.* Employment experience; unemployment and underemployment; stress and reactions associated with unemployment; reaction by spouse/partner when unemployed; income differentials

between men and women; perceived gender dynamics in the workplace; work-life balance; and job satisfaction.

2. *Education*. Educational attainment; perceived gender norms and patterns in school.
3. *Childhood experiences*. Victimization by violence as children; witnessing of gender-based violence; gender-related attitudes perceived in family of origin; changes perceived from previous generation to the present; gender balance in work/child care in family of origin; gender-patterns of childhood friendships.
4. *Relations at home (in current household)*. Marital/ cohabitation status; division/participation in household chores; perceived satisfaction in family life; household decision-making; time use in specific domestic chores and family care, including child care.
5. *Parenting and men's relationship with his children (and with non-related children who may live in the household)*. Number of children; living situation of each child; time/money spent in care of each child; use of paternity/maternity leave; perceptions/ attitudes toward existing parental leave in country; and child care arrangements.
6. *Attitudes toward women and masculinity*. Attitudes toward gender equality (using the GEM
7. Scale and other measures); attitudes toward various gender equality policies that may have been implemented in each country.

8. *Health and quality of life.* Lifestyle questions (substance use, exercise, etc.); use of health
9. services, sexual and reproductive behavior (contraceptive use, condom use); sexually
10. transmitted infections including HIV (past history, HIV testing); satisfaction with sexual relations; mental health issues (depression, suicide ideation); social support; use of/victimization of violence in other contexts; morbidity.
11. *Partner relations and spousal relations.* Current relationship status/satisfaction; use of services/help-seeking in times of violence or relationship stress; relationship history.
12. *Relationship, gender-based violence and transactional sex.* Use of violence (physical, sexual, psychological) against partner (using WHO protocol); victimization of violence by partner (using WHO protocol); men's use of sexual violence against non-partners; men's self-reported purchasing of sex or paying for sex, including with underage individuals.
13. *Sexual behavior.* Sexual experience; sexual orientation; behaviors related to sexual and reproductive health, HIV/AIDS; use of health services related to sexual and reproductive health.
14. *Ethnic relations.* Attitudes toward other ethnic groups.
15. War experiences.

2 METHODOLOGY

The aim of the research on men and gender equality (IMAGES) was to collect information on different aspects of men's life and their attitudes and behaviours with respect to gender equality. The research was of the quantitative nature (a questionnaire was used) and was also conducted on a sample of women as we were interested in how women experienced and view men. Therefore, women's attitudes and opinions of men and gender equality were also investigated. In this report, we focus mostly on men's results.

2.1 Sample characteristics

The research was conducted on a representative and random sample in BiH. A multi-phase sampling was used in the choice of sample. The facts were taken into account that there were three administrative units (two entities – Federation BiH and Republic of Srpska and Brcko District), three constitutive nations (Bosniaks- Muslims, Serbs- Orthodox Christians and Croats- Catholics.) as well as urban and rural areas. Having these principles in mind, the municipalities and local communities in which the research took place were selected by the random sample method. Then, starting points of the research were determined in each settlement as well as clear rules of pollsters' movement and random choice of households. If there were two potential respondents in one household, the respondent whose birthday was closer was chosen. Detailed information on the sample is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Characteristics of the sample

Data sample details	Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%
Age				
till 24	376	22,5	160	23,3
25-34	578	34,5	190	27,7
35-49	393	23,5	203	29,5
50-63	327	19,5	134	19,5
Religion				
Islam	685	46,0	86	44,1
Orthodox Christians	606	40,7	247	41,0
Chatolic Christians	183	12,3	266	14,3
Other	15	1,0	4	,7
Territory				
Federation B&H	978	58,1	406	59,1
Republic of Srpska	661	39,3	263	38,3
Brcko district	45	2,7	18	2,6
Type of place of leaving				
Village	381	22,6	161	23,4
Smaller city (less than 30 000 of people)	585	34,7	235	34,2
Bigger city (30 000 and more)	718	42,6	291	42,4

The research was carried on in Bosnia and Herzegovina among 1864 males and 687 females aged 18-59. The average age of men and women was 34 and 36.5 years respectively. There were some more examinees in Federation of BiH (58.1% of men and 59.1% of women) compared to Republic of Srpska (39.3% of

men and 38.3% of women) and Brcko District (2.7% of men and 2.6% of women). Approximately 77% of the examinees belonged to urban areas while 23% to rural areas. The most person polled were Muslims (46% of men and 44.1% of women), than Orthodox (41% of both men and women) and Catholics (12.3% of men and 14.3% of women) while 1% were from other religions. The research was conducted in 56 municipalities and cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2.2 Instruments

The questionnaire was partly based on the questionnaire on gender equality and quality of life created by the Norwegian Royal Ministry of Children and Equality. Also, the questionnaire used certain claims having been used in an international study on violence against women conducted by World Health Organisation as well as GEM scale (Gender Equitable Men Scale), developed by the Population Council and the Promundo Institute. For BiH research, the questionnaire was adjusted to the context and slightly modified. Questions regarding war experiences and ethnic relationships were added.

Two types of the questionnaire were applied – one for men and another for women. The 'male' questionnaire consisted of about 300 questions and was filled for about 90 minutes. The male questionnaire strived to explore different aspects of men's life such as childhood and adolescence, schooling, parenthood and family life, employment, relationships with the partner in the household, gender equality, sexuality and reproductive health, general health and quality of life, violence against women, use of sexual services and risky

behaviours (alcohol and light drugs abuse, possession of fire arms, imprisonment and taking part in fights and thefts). Depending on their experience, a part of men responded only to certain parts of the questionnaire. Thus some parts of the questionnaire were dedicated only to unemployed men, men who lived with their wives, men who were parents, men who had had sexual experiences etc.

The 'female' questionnaire included the identical items: gender equality, relationship with the partner in the household, parenthood, general health and quality of life, sexuality and exposure to violence by men. The female questionnaire was slightly less extensive than the male one and therefore the time for filling it was shorter – 40 minutes.

Both questionnaires were divided into parts. Not all respondents were answering all the questions since some parts of the questionnaire referred only to respondents with a specific experience e.g. as to their marriage, employment, life with persons of the opposite sex etc.

2.3 Course of research

A field research was conducted in the period June - August 2011. Prior to the research, a pilot research was done based on which the questionnaires were additionally adjusted to the languages of respondents. Prior to the polling, the male and female respondents were informed on the objectives and content of the research; they also provided their written agreement on participation in the research. On the other hand, they could give up filling the questionnaire at any moment. It is pointed out to them that the poll is on the voluntary and

anonymous basis, and that the obtained results would be used only for scientific and investigative purposes. The respondents were also given leaflets with the addresses of institutions dealing with support and assistance with respect to problems explored in the research. The respondents were filling the questionnaire alone (pencil and paper method), while the pollster was at their disposal if necessary. The research was very strenuous. The female respondents were more motivated and interested than the male ones. A large number of male respondents protested and filled the questionnaire reluctantly. Practically every second potential respondent refused to take part in the research in the very beginning or during answering, which prolonged the field research. Most complaints by the respondents referred to the length of the questionnaire and too intimate questions as well. The most negative reactions were to the questions about violence, sexual orientations, number of sexual partners, paying for sexual services etc. Some of them gave comments such as 'it is not polite to ask such questions'. Such complaints can reflect on results, which makes them one of the restraints on the research. Therefore, it is possible that answers to some 'difficult questions' were spruced up i.e. hidden. One of suggestions was that the questionnaire should be shorter and certain too intimate questions omitted in future research.

3 RESULTS

3.1 Social status and socialization of respondents

Table 2: Characteristics of family, employment, education

Characteristics	Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%
Number of children				
No children	1006	59,7	339	49,3
1-2	569	33,8	283	41,2
3-5	100	5,9	62	9,0
6 or more	9	,5	3	0,3
Marital status				
Married	740	43,9	298	43,4
Unmarried	944	56,1	389	56,6
Education				
No formal education	14	,8	18	2,6
Finished primary school	87	5,2	50	7,3
Finished high school	1088	64,6	413	60,2
More than high school	495	29,5	206	30,0
Status				
Still in school	328	19,5	144	21,0
Employed	872	51,8	304	44,3
Unemployed	310	18,4	183	26,6
Pension	171	10,2	49	7,1

Other	3	,2	7	1,0
Monthly income (1USD=1,5 BAM)				
Less than 500 BAM	439	26,1	259	37,7
500 - 1 000 BAM	546	32,4	226	32,9
1 000 do 1500 BAM	242	14,4	104	15,1
1500-2000 BAM	66	3,9	28	4,1
More than 2000 BAM	35	2,1	12	1,7
No answer	356	21,1	58	8,4

The average number of children per family (for those families with children) is two. Around 44% of the respondents are married and 56% not. Around 6% of men and 10% of women have the primary education or less than that. 64% of men and 60% of women have the secondary education. Around 20% polled are in process of education. Around 52% of men and 44% of women are employed and 18% of men and 27% of women are unemployed. Additional data analysis would show that, among working-age population, there are 26% of men and 38% of women unemployed. Around 10% of men and 7% of women are retired. Men's and women's income are equal (arithmetic mean value for men: M=2 and for women M=1.9) meaning that personal income of the largest part of the polled (33%) vary from 500, 00 to 1,000.00 BAM which is in accordance with the state data on BiH average salary (800,00 to 900,00 BAM. Around 20% of men and women have above average income, while 26% of men and 37.7% of women have under average income. From these data it can be concluded that the social status of the examinees is generally unsatisfactory. Some results

indicate that women's position is slightly more difficult: more women are unemployed, less-educated and with distinctively lower incomes.

Table 3 : Employment and stress

Statements	Men % (N=912)
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work.	32,8
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough income.	39,1

The results from the table present the social status, exposure to stress or depression due to unemployment or low income. The result confirms the previous ones. Nearly 40 % of men admitted to feeling distressed and depressed for the aforementioned reasons. Apart from specific problems related to lack of income for families, this is also caused by the fact that stress and depression with men can be increased due to social pressure and rooted traditional expectations that the man is the breadwinner of the family. Stress caused by unemployment or lack of money can also has negative effects on various other attitudes and behaviors such as violence, suicidal thoughts, alcoholism as we saw in the results.

In our research, work stress is also related to depression ($h^2 = 21.1$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.002$), which means that those who are more disturbed due to work are also generally more depressive. Also, those who are more exposed to economic stress have got more experience with thefts ($h^2 = 18.2$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.006$), fights involving weapons ($h^2 = 13.5$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.035$), and those who have also

been arrested more often ($hi^2 = 11.2$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.004$). Higher work stress is in relation with more rigid views about gender ($hi^2=10,1$; $df=4$; $p=0,037$). Statistically significant correlations to violence against women have not been determined.

If we compare these results with other countries (Brazil, Croatia, India, Chile, Rwanda, Mexico), we find out that economically-based stress is even bigger in other countries.

A very important factor in the socialization of people in Bosnia was a ethnic war that happened in the period 1992-1995. The following table present the results related to war experiences and attitudes related to prejudice toward persons of other ethnicities. This is important because, as we will see later, the war may end but its effects and consequences stay much long.

Table 4: War experiences

War experiences	Men (N=1623)	Women (N=665)
Lived in war-affected areas	74,2	75,5
Left the family home due to war	49	46,6
Permanent migration from home because war	25,3	26,3
Lost my job because my ethnicity	11	8,4
Direct participation in war fighting	24,2	5,3
Wounding or capturing of persons close to me	34,6	30,5
Was a witness of sexual violence during war	3,5	2,3
The death of a loved person	43,7	40,8
I was injured / trapped	10,3	4,4

A great number of men and women from BiH have faced numerous horrors and stressful experiences during and after the war. The majority of stressful events were suffered equally by men and women. Near 74-75% of them lived in areas affected by war, half of them left their homes temporarily, while one fourth left their residence for good. More than 40% of men and women experienced the lost of a close person. There are differences between men and women regarding direct participation in combat and being wounded or taken prisoner during the war – men were more exposed to such experiences. More than 24% of men and 5% of women took a direct part in combat. Around 10.3% of men and 4.4% of women were wounded or taken prisoner during the war. These facts might facilitate the understanding of numerous problems as well as behaviours of men presented earlier in the paper. War experiences usually permanently affect the human mind. The mechanisms they usually use to overcome the problems are most often not appropriate. They often resort to alcohol, opiates, violence, prejudices or even hatred.

If we compare all war experiences together with some other phenomena, we can find statistically significant connections. With men, the overall war experiences are in positive correlation to violence against women ($r=0.162$; $p=0.001$), depression ($r=0.114$; $p=0.001$) and suicidal thoughts ($r=0.095$; $p=0.001$).

Table 5: Attitudes towards other ethnic groups

Attitudes	Women's total (N=659)	Men's total (N=1651)
My ethnicity is very important to me	63,5	67,7
I am most comfortable with people who are all members of my ethnic group	37,7	39,7
I would not like to work together with people of other nations from BiH	12,1	12,9
I would not accept to marry someone from another ethnic group found in BiH.	39	48,3

In this table the compiled percentage of partial and full compliance with the statements relating to ethnic relations is presented. For most respondents (68%), ethnicity is important. Near 40% feel most comfortable in the company of people who are of the same ethnicity. About 48% say they would not marry someone of a different nation. Somewhat more tolerant are the attitude towards working with people of different ethnicities (13% were against it). We see that the ethnic distance is evident and the higher rate of closeness (marriage, etc) is offered, the greater the distance. It should be noted that the results presented here are a compilation of both partial and full compliance with the statements. If we take into account the percentages of those who are unsure of their position, quite a few of those who are open to some form of cooperation with other nations or ethnicities is left.

The views of women are similar to men's attitudes . Women are more open than men only about marriage with a person of the other nation.

We also compared the attitudes in accordance with the ethnicity. We determined that in Republic of Srpska the ethnic distances and ethnic prejudices are somewhat stronger than in Federation BiH. This is in accordance with hypotheses that the inter-group cohesiveness and distance are usually stronger in small groups due to the fear from blending into the majority, the consequence of which is the strengthening of ethnic cohesiveness and glorification of ethnic identity.

There are significant differences in ethnocentrism according to age and education. Less educated men were more ethnocentric than those with higher education ($F = 13.37, p = 0.001$). In addition, older men's show greater ethnocentrism than young men's ($F = 3.92, p = 0.008$).

It was also determined that the increased ethno-centrism is in correlation with violence against women ($r=0.057; p= 0.03$) and inverse correlation with gender equality ($r= - 0.200; p=0.001$). No correlation was determined with war experiences. In other words, men who show ethno-centric views or prejudice toward other ethnic groups are also more likely to have used violence against female partners and to have inequitable views related to gender. We are not suggesting here that ethno-centric attitudes cause violence against women or cause gender inequitable attitudes, rather that they seem to part of similar constellation of prejudice and stereotypes.

3.2 The role of man in family and household

Generally speaking, there are expectations that the man should be the breadwinner, while the woman is more expected to take care of the children, home etc. Some research show that the woman spends 2-10 times more time doing unpaid jobs. In reality and practice, a paid job is often more valued than an unpaid one; as a consequence, the role of woman in the family is often minimized. The following table shows the role of BiH men's attitudes in housework and satisfaction with the division of labor at home.

Table 6: The role of man in domestic duties

Men and women's report	Men's report of equal or greater participation in domestic duties , in order from most to least common overall (N=672)	Women's report about men's equal or greater participation in domestic duties (N=304)
Wash clothes (%)	21,6	11,5
Repair house (%)	94,6	92,3
Buy food (%)	72,8	66,1
Clean bathroom (%)	35,7	21,4
Prepare food (%)	31	27,9
Pay bills (%)	83	78,8

This table shows the attitudes of men and women to the men's share in housework. Regarding all housework, men value their participation more than women value men's participation (that is, men say they do more than women in the same setting say they do). The biggest differences in estimations are in

regard to laundering and house cleaning. By estimates of men (m) and women (w), men are most involved in doing repairs at home (m: 94.6%; w: 92.3%), paying bills (m:83%; w: 78.8%), and doing the shopping (m:72.8%; w: 66.1%) Men are slightly less involved in house cleaning (m: 35,7%; w: 21.4%), and food preparation (m:72.8%; w: 31%; w: 27.9%) and the least in laundering (m:21.6%; w: 11.5%). It is noticed that men are more involved in works involving money and those requiring certain craftsmen skills. Works related to laundering, cleaning and food preparation are mostly done by women.

Table 7 : Attitudes toward men's involvement and satisfaction of men and women

Attitudes	Men (N=674)	Women (N=302)
Men working equally or more	60,8	46,5
Satisfied with division of household duties	95,2	78,1

This table shows that men and women have different attitudes to the man's role in the division of work and the degree of satisfaction with work. About 61% of men think that they do an equal part or more housework than women, while 46.5% of women think the same. This difference is normal as people are usually biased in terms of their role and significance in doing any work. Additional analyses show that those men whose fathers used to do more housework also do this more (66% vs. 55%). This points to the importance of participation of fathers in housework as an important indicator of the change

of men's behaviour in the future. No statistically significant differences have been noticed regarding the age, education and employment status.

More or less the both sexes are satisfied with the division of work; however, men are significantly more satisfied than women. 95.2% of men and 78.1% of women are satisfied. It is possible that a bigger percentage of women are dissatisfied, but this is not expressed overtly since women considerably internalise what they do and see that as their normal role they are satisfied with. This shows that women accept a limited man's role in the division of work and are grateful for whatever the contribution. No statistically significant differences have been noticed regarding the age, education and employment status.

If division of work is compared to the results from other countries, BiH has the result similar to Croatia and, in comparison to other countries, BiH men are more involved in housework. As for work satisfaction, BiH men and women are more satisfied than the respondents from all other investigated countries. Thus, for instance, 61% of men and 47% of women in Croatia are satisfied with work division.

There is no difference in the participation of men in housework given the educational level of respondents ($H_2 = 1.528$; $df = 4$; $p = 0.945$).

3.3 Parenthood and involvement in childbirth

Within this chapter, men answered questions about prenatal involvement, whether they were present their child's birth, how much they were involved in child care etc.

Table 8: Men's presence during birth of last child

Where were you during the delivery of your child?	Men (N= 547)
In delivery room	7,1
In waiting room of hospital	51,3
Elsewhere in hospital	4,6
Not present	36,9

Within a sub-sample of men with children, an analysis was carried out of the presence of the men during the delivery of his child. It should be noted that it is not usual in BiH that man are present at the delivery room during the birth; they often wait in the waiting room or corridor. Until recently, the presence of men in the delivery room was prohibited. This procedure has been recently changed so that men are allowed to be present during the birth, for which they must submit a written request. More than a half of them, which makes about 58.4% of the men, were present during the delivery. The rest of them (41.5%) were not in the hospital. This shows that a substantial part of the male population still do not show a devoted relationship and support during the birth of their children.

When the age and presence at the births of their children are compared, we can see that young men (especially from the age group of 25-34) were more

present at the birth in hospital than older men ($hi^2 = 9.3$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.025$). Educated men were also more present at the birth of their children, however, this difference is not statistically significant.

The data in other countries are different. For example, in Chile there is a smaller number of men who were not present during the birth of their children, while the situation is even worse in other countries than in BiH.

Table 9 : Men's and women's report about men's accompaniment during prenatal visits (for at least one)

	Men (N=547)	Women (N=348)
Man accompanied	79,8	61

This table shows attitudes of men and women to list one mutual visits of men and women to the gynaecologist. There is a certain difference in attitudes. It can be seen that nearly 80% of men says they have visited the gynaecologist together with their wives, which is confirmed by 61% of women. We can conclude that a substantial number of men supported their wives during visits to the gynaecologist.

This also suggests that engaging men with educational messages or in interventions during prenatal visits represents an overlooked opportunity for promoting greater involvement by men maternal and child health and as fathers.

There are significant differences with regard to education and age. Greater support provide younger men, especially aged 25-34 years ($hi^2 = 21,1$; $df=6$; $p=0,002$), and more educated men's ($hi^2 = 20,2$; $df=6$; $p=0,003$).

Nevertheless, these percentages are slightly smaller than in majority of other countries compared, except for Brazil, where the results are similar to BiH. For example, 92% of men and 75% of women in Croatia confirmed that the husbands visited the gynaecologist together with their wives.

Table 10: Did the man take parental leave during birth of his last child

	M (N=547)
No leave	76,4
Unpaid leave	4,0
Paid leave	19,6

This table shows if men took any kind of parental leave. BiH regulations allow men to take the parental leave provided their wives are getting back to work before their child is one year old. Near 24% of them did so, while over 76% did not. It must be mentioned that these results can be connected to the lack of knowledge of legal norms on possibility of taking a parental leave. Besides, it is very common that men are absent on that occasion for a few days without formally asking for a leave.

There are no differences in taking parental leave in regard to the level of education, age and GEM scale attitudes. However, the difference has been determined with respect to the economic-work stress. Those who are not exposed to stress at work used to take parental leave more often than those

who confirmed being depressive and stressed due to the employment ($hi^2 = 10.7$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.030$). This points out the fact that work conditions and general situation regarding employment can determine the care of the partner and family.

In other countries, a far bigger number of men took paid or unpaid parental leave (for example, 40% of men in Croatia). It must be mentioned that, in almost all countries, the man has the legal right to take a few days' parental leave. Such policies additionally encourage the current situation in which men are mostly secondary helpers in terms of child care. If we want to achieve a more efficient role of fathers in parenthood, it is necessary to revise the relevant policies.

Table 11: Men's and women's reports about men's daily care of the children

	Men (N=469)	Women (N=243)
Men participate in daily care of a child	53,5	44,8

This table shows how men and women perceive men's role in everyday care of the children. Near 53.5% of men and less than 44.8% of women find that men take care of their children on a daily basis. This is one of the statements where men's and women's perceptions are different. In any case, the fact that near half of men do not take care of their children on a daily basis is not favourable. Formal employment of men is not an excuse because, nowadays, there are no much difference between men's and women's employment. It is more

expected that this was caused by traditional and ingrained norms which impose that children should be women's care and men are obliged to deal with the issues "outside home".

It has been determined that the care of children is related to some other variables as well. Men who are more gender-equal on GEM scale show statistically significant better care of children ($hi^2 = 28.6$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.001$). There is no difference in regard to the age, education, employment and work stress.

If we compare these results in BiH with the research results from other countries, we can see that percentage of men taking care of their children on a daily basis is higher in BiH than in most of the other countries studied, with the exception of Croatia where it was also high (m:63%; w:17%). Women from BiH valued men's role in child care significantly higher than female representatives from other countries. It is up to you to conclude whether women in BiH are truly satisfied with men's involvement or whether even "small things" can make them happy.....

Table 12: Men's and women's reports about men's care of children under 5

Activities	Men (N=252)	Women's report about men's involvement (N=90)
Play with child age 0-5	68,6	77,5
Cook for child age 0-5	21,4	30,0
Change diapers for child age 0-5	31,0	35,5

The results presented in this table show how often men play with their children during, cook for them or change their diapers the week. It is interesting for this particular research sample that women find men's role in domestic duties more represented than men themselves. However, this is not an exception. Similar to these are the assessments of the people polled in India and Chile. Men are involved in playing with children most (m: 66.67%; f:77.5%), significantly less in changing diapers (m:31%; f: 35.5%) and even less in cooking (m:21.4%; f: 30%). These results are in accordance with the results about men's general participation in domestic duties such as cooking and cleaning.

The participation of men has been compared in connection to children and in regard to several variables. Men who are more educated are more involved in the mentioned activities related to children ($F = 3.9, p = 0.02$) as well as younger (up to 34 years of age) men ($F = 5.2, p = 0.02$). Children are more taken care of by men with more equal gender attitudes on GEM scale ($F = 7.3, p = 0.01$).

The results about men's role in domestic duties are rather different from country to country. It seems that BiH is somewhere in between. In comparison with Croatia, men in BiH are less active in all domestic duties.

Table 13: Men's employment status and daily care of children

	Employed men (N=359)	Unemployed men (N=75)
Participate in daily care of a child	52,6	56%

There are differences in child care between employed and unemployed parents. Those who are unemployed take care of their children a bit more than the employed ones, which is logical given that they have more free time. It should be emphasized that this difference is not significant and could not be considered as a relevant determinant ($hi^2 = .280$; $df=1$; $p=.597$).

3.4 Gender attitudes

One of the crucial things in improving gender equality is the changing of social norms. A number of previous studies have shown that young and adult men are rigid in respect to the perception of men's and women's roles in society, division of housework, roles in parenthood, attitude to homosexuality, expression of masculinity through risky behaviours such as violence, drug or alcohol abuse etc. For studying gender attitudes, GEM scale was used with 15 statements regarding gender relationships, perception of masculinity, sexuality, and reproductive health.

Table 14: Attitudes toward gender relations, masculinity, sexuality, reproductive health

Attitudes	Men % partially or totally agree
<i>Gender relations</i>	
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.	51,9
Changing diapers, giving kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibility.	53,1

A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.	49,0
<i>Violence</i>	
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.	23,1
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.	13,3
<i>Masculinity</i>	
If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.	68,2
To be a man, you need to be tough	72,8
Men should be embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex.	44,1
<i>Sexuality and reproductive health</i>	
Men need sex more than women do.	44,5
Men don't talk about sex, you just do it.	42,6
Men are always ready to have sex.	50,4
I would never have a gay friend.	57,1

This table shows the attitudes of men to gender relationships, roles, sexuality and reproductive health. The attitudes of men to gender relationships are saturated with traditional beliefs and stereotypes about gender roles and distribution of power among the sexes. Over 52% of men agree with the claims that the most important role of the woman is connected to housework and taking care of children. Besides, about 49% of them believe that the man should play the dominant role in making the most important decisions. We can

conclude that over a half of the population included into the research has attitudes which point to gender inequality.

Regarding the attitude to violence, around 23% of the respondents think that there are certain situations when a woman deserves the beating. This points to the fact that one fifth of the respondents believes that violence is a legitimate means of solving certain problems. Such beliefs are worrying because they have the potential to turn into violent behaviours if triggered in an adequate way. About 13% of the respondents agree that women should put up with violence in the family for the sake of the family's cohesion. This percentage is lower because the respondents might associate the statement with situations in which close female persons (mother, sister etc.) could find themselves, which creates additional empathy and a negative attitude to family violence.

A great majority of men manifest hegemonic masculinity. About 73% of the respondents believe that the man must be 'tough', while 68% believe that the reputation must be defended by force if necessary. That is to say that violence can be determined by the perception of masculinity and wish to preserve and defend the man's honour and image of a 'strong' man.

The results on sexuality show that sexuality and potency are an important element in men's lives and can be an important factor in the structure of the man's self-perception. This is confirmed by the fact that 45% think that sex is more important to men than women, while 50% think that men are always willing to have sex. About 57% show signs of homophobia. Over 20% of men think that contraception is an exclusive obligation of the woman.

We have compared GEM scale to some other variables. It has been determined that there are differences regarding the age ($F = 5.76$; $p = 0.001$). The most unequal attitudes have the oldest (aged 50-59) and the youngest (aged 18-24) men polled. More Gender-equal attitudes are greater for university- educated men ($h^2=37,4$; $df=6$; $p=0,001$). More gender equitable attitudes are also connected to higher level of marriage satisfaction ($r = 0.14$; $p = 0.001$), and are in negative correlation with the use of alcohol ($r = - 0.19$; $p = 0.001$) and violence against women ($r = -0.30$; $p = 0.001$). There are no significant relations in regard to marital status, size of the place of residence, employment, war experience or religiousness.

When the results are compared to IMAGES studies in other countries, it can be seen that BiH men are quite equal to others regarding certain issues, while in regard to some other issues they show a higher level of gender- equality, especially in comparison to men in India. However, in comparison to the neighboring Croatia, men in BiH are more gender-conservative in all aspects; they are less gender equal, more inclined to hegemonic masculinity and to the view of the world in the light of gender stereotypes. Based on all data, we can see that, in attitudes and beliefs of the male respondents, there are traditional and patriarchal convictions about a dominant role of the man, which are manifested through gender inequality, homophobia and, to a certain extent, inclination towards gender-based violence and unprotected sex. These, however, co-exist with men's increasing participation in the care of their children.

Table 15: Categories of men's, related to gender equality on GEM scale

Categories	f	%
Category of men's with least gender equitable attitudes	345	23,2
Category of men's with average gender equitable attitudes	614	41,3
Category of men's with greater gender equitable attitudes	528	35,5
Total	1487	100,0

This table divides the respondents into three categories: men with the least gender-equality attitudes, men with moderate gender-equality attitudes and men with pronounced gender-equality attitudes. The groups are formed based on the results from GEM scale. The results show that most men (41.3%) falls into the group of moderately equal ones, 35.5% are into the group of pronouncedly gender equal ones, while about 23.2 % of men fall into the category of gender-unequal ones. If these results are compared to Croatia, it is noticeable that the gender-equal category there is far more numerous (77% of gender-equals and 3% of moderates).

Table 16: Attitudes to homosexuals

Attitudes	% Men	% Women
Being in presence of homosexual men makes me uncomfortable	75.2	59.4
Homosexuality is natural and normal	31.2	36.7
Homosexual men should not be allowed to adopt children	82.8	83.3
Homosexual couples should be allowed to legally marry just like heterosexual couples	43.8	46.1

This table shows the attitudes toward homosexual persons. The agreement of men with different claims varies depending on the right and degree of closeness to which a respondent is hypothetically put in relation to a homosexual person. Over 80% of the respondents do not support adoption of children by homosexual persons and would be ashamed to have a homosexual son. Around 71-75% of them think that homosexuality is not natural and say they feel uncomfortable in the company of homosexual men. The attitude to homosexual marriages is somewhat more positive; almost 44% of the respondents approve them.

Regarding women, attitudes to homosexual persons and their rights are mostly negative. Their attitudes are similar to the attitudes of men, although generally somewhat more positive than men's attitudes. A smaller percentage of women feel uncomfortable in the presence of homosexual men. Women are slightly more open than men towards homosexual marriages and would be less ashamed if their son was a homosexual.

We also compared the attitudes to homosexual persons (based on the summation variable) to the age, education, size of place of residence and economic stress. We determined no significant statistical differences and correlations given the mentioned phenomena and characteristics.

We can conclude that a great majority of the respondents are distanced from homosexuals, but this distance is smaller in regard to homosexual persons' rights which do not threaten and concern the respondents directly.

If BiH data are compared to other countries, it can be seen that BiH men have more negative attitudes or more homophobic attitudes than men in all other countries (Brazil, Croatia, Chile), except India.

3.5 Sexuality

Table 17: Satisfaction with sexual relationship with the partner

	Men (N=960)	Women (N=391)
Sexual satisfaction with current partner	87,6	81,1%

This table shows that a great majority of men and women (similar to other countries) are satisfied with their sex life, men being slightly more satisfied than women. In any case, we are glad if they all were honest... The fact that men are more satisfied with sex is in accordance with the results of research conducted in most other countries such as Brazil, Chile, Mexico and India (Barker et l., 2011).

Table 18: Satisfaction with sexual relationship in regard to communication about problems

Report about sexual satisfaction	Men	Women
Has talked to partner about problems in last month	88,3	87,8
Has NOT talked to partner about problems in last month	79,3	75%

This table contains a comparison of the satisfaction with sexual relationship in regard to the communication between partners about the problems they have. It can be seen that men and women who communicate more about existing problems are also more satisfied with their sexual life. This points out the communication which often permeates and reflects on other aspects of life.

It has also been determined that sexual satisfaction is statistically significantly related to gender-equal attitudes on GEM scale ($r = 0.167$, $p = 0.001$) and general satisfaction of life with the female partner ($r = 0.193$, $p = 0.001$). No correlation was determined between work division and sexual satisfaction with men. There is low but significant correlation between sexual satisfaction and a more equal division of housework with young and adult women ($r = 0.145$; $p = 0.016$).

3.6 Health practices and vulnerabilities

It has usually been emphasized in researches that health, self-respect and health-service accessibility have been determined by social constructions of masculinity, femininity as well as the distribution of power between men and women. Hegemonic forms of masculinity usually support the concept of “a

strong man who does not need a doctor” which certainly can lead towards medical negligence. This is supported by worldwide research results confirming that men consume alcohol, cigarettes and drugs more than women (WHO, 2004). That kind of men’s attitude to health is usually a threat to the child’s and partner’s life.

Table 19: Marijuana and alcohol abuse

	Men	Women
Alcohol –once monthly or more	57,6 (N=1457)	18,5 (N=671)
Alcohol - 5 drinks or more, once monthly or more (inside of percentage those who ever drink)	33,7 (N=1539)	24,8 (N=295)
Marihuana in last 12 month	16,4 (N=1519)	7,0 (N=609)

This table show to which extent men and women consume alcohol and marihuana. If someone uses alcohol more than once per month, it has been taken as criteria for drinking on a regular base. The results show that 57.6% of men and 18.5% of women use alcohol. The result considering men’s’ abuse is higher than in other countries with the exception of Brazil (in Croatia, for example, 42% of men regularly drink alcohol). Out of sub-sample of those who drink alcohol, 33.7% of men get drunk once or more per month, while 24.8% of women do the same. These data – especially those regarding men – are disturbing. Simply, one third of male respondents get drunk once or more per month. Young men aged 18-24 consume alcohol more ($hi^2 = 121.0$, $df = 12$, $p = 0.001$), as well as those who confirm economic stress ($hi^2 = 23.2$, $df = 8$, $p =$

0.003), and those with gender-unequal attitudes ($hi^2= 51.8$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.001$). The number of women is not negligible as well. Even each fourth one of those who drink alcohol gets drunk once a month, which represents 10% of the total sample.

Near 16.4% of men and 7% of women admitted to marihuana usage in the last 12 months. However, men are preceding the women again. The general hypothesis has been affirmed by the results that men are more exposed to risky and antisocial behaviours.

Table 20: The percentage of men over 40 years old who have had their prostate examined

	Men (N=555)
percentage of men over 40 years old who have gone for prostate exam	26,3

There are 26% of men over 40 who have had a prostate examination. This percentage is lower compared to Croatians (42%) and Brazilians, while higher compared to people in India and Mexico.

Table 21: HIV testing of men and women

	Men (N=1684)	Women (N=670)
Hiv testing of men and women	7,4	6,1

Here we can see which percentage of men and women have done HIV testing. The percentage is low as it was expected considering that there are not so many registered people infected by HIV in BiH yet. Test has been done by 7.4% of men and 6.1% of women. The percentage is lower than in other countries where IMAGES have been carried out. For example, in Croatia 11% of men and 9% of women have done HIV testing. In most countries there is a higher percentage of tested women than men, except in BIH and Croatia. In other countries, the tested ones are mostly people with higher education and positive attitudes to gender.

Table 22: Men's and women's reports about women abortion

	Men (N=1684)	Women (N=608)
Reports of induced abortion (for women: ever sought; for men: knows of a partner who ever sought)	6,7	18,9

Near 6.7% of men was in the relationship with a woman who have had an abortion. Near 19% of women confirmed the experience of abortion. The fact that each fifth female examinee has sometimes aborted disturbs and confirms that it has become the part of everyday life nowadays.

These results are generally the same in all countries, except that in some countries the percentage of men who have been in a relationship with a woman who has had an abortion is higher (Croatia 20% of men and Brazil 18% of men).

Table 23: Involvement of men in decision making about having an abortion

	Men (N=109)	Women (N=113)
Men's and women's reports about men's involvement in abortion decision making	78,9	72,6

Both men's and women's claims about men's involvement in decision making regarding abortion are congruent. Near 79% of men out of the ones who had an experience regarding abortion confirmed having a role in decision making, while 72.6% of women said the same. The majority of men are involved in making the decision about this issue. The percentages are much higher in comparison with those from other countries, especially Brazil and Mexico.

Table 24: Men's self-esteem

Statements about self esteem	Men (N=1639)
I am happy with my body	82,9
I have a lot to be proud of on the whole	80,4
I have a good sex life	75,6
I feel that my life is of no use to anyone	13,6
I feel inferior sometimes when I am together with friends	13,5

This table presents level of agreements with statements regarding self-esteem. First three statements are formulated in the way to present positive directions, i.e. higher score indicate higher level of self-esteem, while the two last

statements have the opposite direction. 75-83% of men are agreeable with the first three statements, i.e. 4/5 of men claim to be satisfied with their bodies, sexual life and, generally, proud of themselves. The results are more positive than in the other countries. Although the results are positive, it should be taken into account that respondents sometimes give socially acceptable answers as it is not easy to admit dissatisfaction, failure, etc.

Near 14% find their life useless, and that they feel inferior in the company of other people. Although the percentage of 14% is a small one, it should not be neglected by the relevant society institutions which are obliged to help people who are depressed, dissatisfied and who do not feel helpful to anybody or anything.

Table 25: Depression and suicidal thoughts

	Men
Depression	26,3
Suicidal thoughts	7,3

We asked the respondents about the scope of their depressiveness and suicidal thoughts. The significant percentage of respondents (26%) sometimes or usually feels depressed; around 7.3% of them have had suicidal ideas. Considering the severity of the problem, these results are not negligible. The data on depression worldwide are between 15 and 20%, which means that we are over the world average regarding depression. It is as well similar with the suicidal ideas. We have investigated the connection between depression and

suicidal thoughts with war experiences. A positive relation has been obtained of both phenomena with war experiences (correlation with depression: $r = 0.114$, $p = 0.001$; correlation with suicidal thoughts: $r = 0.09$, $p = 0.001$).

The two countries facing higher level of depression are Croatia (35%) and India. These issues can be caused by war consequences and stress as well as social situation and poverty.

Table 26: Depression and stress related to economic stress

	Not stressed about not having enough income	Yes, stressed about not having enough income
Depression	17,0 (N=382)	29,1 (N=413)
Suicidal thoughts	3,9 (N=381)	6,3 (N=412)

The results presented in this table show the correlation between depression and suicidal ideas and economic stress. The more men concern about money, the higher the level of depression (29.1% to 17%). This difference is statistically significant on the $p = 0.01$ level.

There are certain differences concerning suicidal ideas (6.3% to 3.9%). The results present the correlation between economic crises and mental health of men. The results from other countries are similar.

Table 27: Seeking for help in a period of sadness and disappointment

	Men (N=1684)	Women N=(687)
% who report seeking help	72,3	88,9

Near 72% of men confirmed seeking for help when they feel sad and disappointed. Persons they seek help from are their female partners (near 35%) and family or friends (17%). Near 89% of women said they sought for help when they felt sad or disappointed. Most of them asked their male partner for help (near 35%), than family or friends as well (near 23%). These results are positive. They show that, despite the hegemonic masculinity, most men do not hesitate to seek help when sad or disappointed.

3.7 Violence and criminal and other risky practices

Violence represents the maximal manifestation of labour inequality and inequality of power in a household. Following are the tables which show the results regarding state of violence in heterosexual relationships.

Table 28: Violence against women

Questions	Men (self reports of violence against female partner) N=1474	Women (report's about their experiences of violence from male partner) N=581
Have you ever had slapped a partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her?	17,5	35,9
Have you ever had pushed or shoved a partner?	19,9	38,1
Have you ever had hit a partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her?	6,7	31,8
Have you ever had kicked, dragged, beaten, choked or burned a partner?	2,6	28,5
Have you ever had threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against a partner?	3,4	26,6
Yes to one or more of these	26,5	44,9

This table presents the attitudes about gender-based violence from the both men and women perspective. Women, as it can be seen, report the higher rate of violence than men. Based on this research results, the violence against women is mostly manifested through pushing (m:20%; w:38%), slapping (m:17.5%; w:36%) and beating with a fist or something else (m:17%; w:32%).

According to men, the most drastic examples of violence such as kicking, choking, threatening with fire arms are rare (up to 3.5%). However, about 28% of women confirmed their exposure to the most brutal forms of violence. The data obtained on violence against women are rather worrying. If we calculate percent of women who experienced at least one (or more) forms of violence, the results are even worse. Approximately 26.5% of men and 45% of women confirmed at least one form of violence against women. Bearing in mind the intimate nature of this issue, this rate is probably even higher. According to the data obtained by men in BiH on violence against women, the rate of violence against women is lower, while the data obtained by women are similar to those in the other countries.

Violence against women is significantly positively correlated with war experiences ($r = 0.162$, $p = 0.001$), alcohol consumption ($r = 0.214$, $p = 0.001$) and depression ($r = 0.144$, $p = 0.001$). We found negative correlation with gender equality (referring to attitudes about gender measured using the GEM Scale; $r = -0.300$, $p = 0.001$), marriage satisfaction ($r = -0.213$, $p = 0.001$) and religiosity ($r = -0.115$, $p = 0.001$). We also found significant differences related to the level of education. Violence against women is more related to men's with primary education ($F = 2.90$, $p = 0, 034$). Comparing age and violence against women we found significant differences between subcategories of the sample ($F = 5.60$, $p = 0, 01$).). The results show's that oldest men's (50-59 years) had the highest reports of violence against women. Unlike many of the other IMAGES countries, we did not found significant relationship with economic stress. We did not found significant relationship with economic

stress. All this results and relationships describing complexity of gender based violence. Violence against women can be determined by different lifestyles and experiences, entrenched attitudes about gender relations, environment in which we live, education, and certain personality characteristics.

Table 29: Sexual violence

Forms of sexual violence	Men (N=1663)
Sex with a woman or girl during last year when she didn't consent to sex or after she was forced	3,5

Men report on sexual violence. Approximately 3.5% of them reported having sexual relations with the partner against her will, and 3.8% ever. In addition, 2% said that forced a female person who was not their girlfriend or wife to have sex with them. When you connect the information we get about 6% of men having sex with women without their consent or by force. This percentage is not small, especially considering the gravity of the consequences of the criminal act and the fact that there are probably more of these offenders who have not openly confessed the act of violence.

Additional analyses show that those with the poorest gender-equal attitudes are more inclined to sexual violence ($hi^2 = 42.3$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.001$), as well as those who often consume alcohol and get drunk ($hi^2 = 57,7$; $df=16$; $p=0,001$). These data show again that gender attitudes and alcohol use can be an indicator of socially desirable and undesirable behaviours since they almost

regularly occur in significant correlations with these phenomena. No significant relations have been determined between sexual violence and economic stress.

Table 30: Participation in criminal and risky activities

Criminal and risky activities	% Men (N=1566)
Have you ever robbed someone?	21,3
Have you ever been involved in a fight with a knife, gun or other weapon?	19,1
Do you own a firearm?	18,5
Have you ever been arrested?	9,4
Have you ever been in prison?	4,5

This table shows the participation of men in some criminal and risky activities. About 21% of them confess to have participated in theft, while 19% admits to having taken part in fighting with a knife or another kind of weapon. Over 9% of them were arrested and 4.5% were in prison. Almost every fifth man possesses a fire weapon. Therefore, 20% of them have perpetrated criminal acts, while 10% were legally processed. This is another fact on the socialization of men, which is full of negative experiences.

The participation in thefts and fights has been compared to a number of other variables. Low positive and statistically significant correlations have been determined of participation in thefts and fights with war experience, depression, alcohol and violence against women. Also, inverse as well as low correlations have been determined with gender equality and religiousness. All

correlations are mostly up to $r=0,2$, $p=0,01$. Also, the results show that men belonging to young categories (up to 30 years of age) are more inclined to antisocial behaviours.

The comparison between BiH and other countries shows both better and worse cases. Thus, in comparison to Croatia, BiH respondents less participated in theft, less number of them were arrested or imprisoned but, on the other hand, they possess more weapon and took bigger part in fights with weapon.

Table 31: Transactional sex

Have you ever had sex with a prostitute or sex worker:	M (N=1663)
with a female sex worker or prostitute	12
with a male sex worker or prostitute	0,5
with a transvestite	0,2

The results show that 12% of men say that they have paid for sex with a prostitute. Less than half percent has paid for sex with a man or transvestite. These results show lower percentage than in other countries. Further analysis showed that within the sample of men who have sex with prostitutes, 17.8% had it with girls under 18 years old, and 13.5% with women who were forced into prostitution.

The characteristics of men have been investigated who have had the experience of sex with a prostitute. Statistically significant correlations have been determined with GEM scale, age and satisfaction with sexual relationship. Consequently, such experiences are more frequent with men with

less gender-equal attitudes ($hi^2=54,9$; $df=2$; $p=0,001$), aged 25-49 ($hi^2=9,8$; $df=3$; $p=0,02$) as well as those who are dissatisfied with the sexual relationship with their partner ($hi^2=14,6$; $df=4$; $p=0,01$). There are no significant differences in regard to education and economic stress.

Table 32: Men's attitudes to adult and juvenile female prostitutes

Attitudes	If female prostitute is adult (N=1684)	If female prostitute is younger than 18 (N=1684)
I think it is wrong morally	56,9	66,7
I think it violates her rights	42,6	59
I think it is her own choice	51,2	27
I see nothing wrong with it	18,2	8,8

Attitudes of men toward prostitution of adult women are divided. More than half believe that it is morally wrong but that is their own choice. About 43% consider it the violation of women's rights and 18% do not see prostitution as a problem. Over 80% think that this is a social problem. Attitudes towards prostitution of underage girls were more negative. It is to a large extent seen as a social problem and something morally wrong, and also the violation of women's rights and forced decision.

Table 33: Men's attitudes towards male prostitution

Statements	If male prostitute is adult (N=1684)	If male prostitute is younger than 18 (N=1684)
I think it is wrong morally	52,6	56,9
I think it violates his rights	37,4	48,8
I think it is his own choice	41,1	24,8
I see nothing wrong with it	12,4	9,0

When it comes to men's attitude towards male prostitution they are similar to previous results. So, most of the respondents perceive it as morally wrong and as a social problem (even larger than the female prostitution). In relation to female prostitution, the percentage of those who connect male prostitution with violation of men's rights is slightly smaller. Attitudes were more negative toward prostitution of men under 18.

3.8 Knowledge and attitudes about policies and laws related to gender equality

Table 34: Attitudes toward policies on gender equality

Men's support for gender equality and specific quota based policies	Men (N=1581)
Supports women's right: Rights for women mean that men lose out	9,9
Supports quota: Fixed proportion of places in govt.	51,8
Supports quota: Fixed proportion of places in universities	51
Supports quota: Fixed proportion of executive positions	49,7

Attitudes toward policies which guarantee more rights for women are divided. Only about 10% of women considered to have infringed the rights of men. However, about half of the respondents support the existence of quotas that guarantee the participation of women in government, education and management positions. Thus, a big number of men have nothing against women's rights but the attitudes are split when it comes to positive discrimination, i.e. that certain positions for women are guaranteed through quotas. The results on this issue are different in different countries. For example, in Croatia, the results show a slightly lower support of the quota system.

Table 35: Participation in campaigns on violence against women

	Men (N=1528)
Have you ever heard of any campaigns or activities that talk about preventing violence against women?	73,6
Have you ever seen an advertisement or public service announcement on television questioning men's use of violence against women?	78,7
Have you ever participated in an activity about men's use of violence against women?	18,1

About ¾ of men have heard or seen the campaigns against violence against women. About 18% said to have participated in some of these campaigns as well. The men from BiH have seen and heard of more campaigns than respondents from other states. This data are positive because they indicate there are certain programs contributing gender sensitization in the community. Since this is a "long-term job" it certainly should be intensified in order to establish a more visible change of the hegemonic attitudes and behaviours.

Tab 36: Knowledge about legislation on violence against women

	Men
Knows of VAW law in country	59,6
Agrees: There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	23,1

Near 60% of respondents said they are familiar with policies and strategies on violence against women. This percentage is usually lower than elsewhere. Unfortunately, the percentage of attitudes towards violence against women is more problematic than elsewhere. About 23% believe there are times when a woman should be beaten (compared to 12% of Croat men who agree with the same opinion). These data are consistent with the data on violence. It seems that there is a cluster of about a quarter of the population in society with hegemonic inclination and prone to violence of all kinds.

Table 37: Attitudes to laws on violence against women

Statements	Men
They make it too easy for a woman to bring a violence charge against a man.	30,7
They do not provide enough protection for the victim of violence.	59,1
They are not harsh enough.	51,8

About 59% of respondents from BiH (85% in Croatia) believe that the law does not sufficiently protect victims of violence and is not strict enough (51.8% in Bosnia and Herzegovina). There are different opinions as well. Near 31% believe that the law is too women-friendly, while 16% find it too harsh. The results support the polarization of opinions we have received in some of the earlier questions.

Table 38: Exposure to other campaigns and participation in them

Statements	Men
Have you ever heard of any campaigns or activities that promote men's involvement as fathers?	21,9
Have you ever participated in an activity about fatherhood or your role in your children's lives?	10,6
Have you ever heard of any campaigns or activities that question homophobia or discrimination against homosexuals?	21

The results of the information on parenthood and the role of fathers in it are quite poor, especially in relation to information about violence against women. Approximately 21% have heard of such type of campaign but only 10% have participated in them. A similar result is obtained with respect to campaign against homophobia. It is obvious that the general public should be further and more intensely informed on these two topics.

4 FINAL DISCUSSION

In this chapter, we will give our comments of the main findings and conclusions drawn from the results.

4.1 Social status and socialisation of men

The results have shown that the socialisation of men in BiH is accompanied by numerous problems and negative factors. The war caused countless traumatic experiences affecting the majority of men. Nobody can remain indifferent to the fact that a half of the respondents left their place of residence temporarily, 44% of them experienced the death of a close person, even 10% of them were wounded or taken prisoner during the war and 3.5% reported witnessing sexual violence.. War experiences affect the mental health and behavior of men. The results have shown that war experiences correlate with a high degree of depression, suicidal thoughts and violence against women. It should be noted that the majority of stressful war situations were gone through by both men and women.

Furthermore, the majority of BiH families have low incomes or unemployed members. Certain indicators show that women's position is slightly more difficult; there is a larger number of unemployed women than men, while a large number of them is uneducated and with pronouncedly low incomes. It is worrying that 33% of men are depressive and distressed due to (un)employment and 39% of them due to the lack of finances. The economic stress is an inherently negative phenomenon but the problem is even bigger

since the results show that the economic stress can be a determinant of numerous negative phenomena such as gender-unequal attitudes, violence and asocial behaviours like theft and fight. These results show how the social characteristics of population can be even bigger indicators of attitudes and behaviours than perhaps certain psychological profiles and personality traits. In a comfortable, cosy social ambience people are simply more focused on positive aspects of life. On the other hand, a negative social ambience acts like an invisible, terrible force which burdens the minds and behaviours of people in terms of inadequate filtration of negative energy and frustration, through intolerance to others and those who are different, through violence, opiates etc. It is certain that such sequence of events complicates the process of mental sobering and recovery as it also implies the material revival of the society, which is obviously a slow process. It is uncertain whether it nevertheless is possible to make a psychological step forward in such circumstances. However, it is at the same time necessary and inevitable to make an attempt!

4.2 Household, care of children

As for household duties, the both sexes are involved in housework with certain stereotypical division of duties. Men are more involved in works involving dealing with money and requiring certain home repairs, while women are considerably more involved in the works related to cleaning, washing or food preparation. The men whose fathers used to be more active in the family are more involved in housework. This division of household duties satisfies the

both sexes, although men are slightly more satisfied than women. As already outlined in the results, women's satisfaction with division of work can be a consequence of internalisation of the social role, which blurs the criterion of equality. No statistically significant differences have been noticed regarding the age, education and employment status.

The participation of men in terms of childbirth and care of children is not satisfactory. All data integrated, the conclusion is that a half of men is actively involved, which cannot be said for the other half. More than a half of them, which makes about 58.4% of the men (younger men considerably more than the older ones), were present during the birth of their children. These data are disappointing. Namely, it is odd and somewhat sad that almost a half of men were not present in the hospital during the birth of their children, either for the sake of the newborn child or for support to their partner. Men were slightly more supportive (80% of men according to their claims) during visits to the gynaecologist. Younger and more educated men were more supportive. As for everyday care of children, it is again about a half of men taking everyday care of their children. Men are mostly involved in playing with children, but substantially less in changing nappies and even less in preparation of food for their children. Men who are younger and more educated are more involved in the activities related to children, as well as those having more gender-equal attitudes on GEM scale. The fact that younger and more educated men are more actively involved in taking care of their children and partner is by all means a positive, promising signal that the future might be better with respect to these issues.

4.3 Gender equality and violence against women

As for gender equality, the categorisation of the respondents according to GEM scores has shown that there is the biggest number of the gender-equal ones; 35.5% falls into the pronouncedly gender-equal group, while about 23.2 % of men are in the category of pronouncedly gender-unequal ones. Despite the fact there are the biggest number of 'moderates', there are traditional and patriarchal convictions about a dominant role of the man in attitudes and beliefs of the male respondents, which are manifested through gender inequality, homophobia and, to a certain extent, inclination towards gender-based violence and unprotected sex. Almost 3/4 of men have stereotypical convictions about men having to be strong, tough etc. Attitudes to women, housework and sexuality also fit into this perception of 'the tough man'. Namely, over a half of the respondents think that the man must have dominance in the family, while housework is mainly the woman's duty. A half of the male respondents point out the importance of the male sexual power and 'readiness' to sex. The fact is in accordance with such trend, so that around a half of men support the existence of certain quotas which would guarantee a greater participation of women in society, while the rest of them do not support this explicitly or implicitly. The dominance of hegemonic forms of masculinity also reflects on negative attitude to other forms of masculinity, especially to homosexual men. Thus, over 75% of the polled men show certain elements of homophobia.

Most respondents is against violence against women; however, it is worrying that almost 1/4 of them think that violence is a legitimate means of solving

certain problems. Such beliefs are solid grounds for violent behaviours towards women. Moreover, gender attitudes also reflect on satisfaction with marriage. Persons with more gender-equal attitudes are more satisfied with their marriage. Opposite to that, an increased alcohol use is connected to gender-unequal attitudes. More gender-equal attitudes are more pronounced with men with university degree. Opposite to some expectations, no relations have been determined to the size of the place of residence, employment, war experiences and religiousness. This might be the consequence of the fact that patriarchal norms are widely and deeply rooted across BiH, thus overriding the effect of specific factors which therefore become less crucial and important. It can be concluded that the effects of gender attitudes and norms are visible through specific practices and behaviours, but determinants of gender attitudes are in the domain of general socialisation rather than some more specific factors (education excluded).

The obtained data on violence against women are perhaps the most alarming in the whole study. According to women's claims, practically every third or fourth woman has been exposed to a kind of physical violence. This refers to the most brutal forms of physical violence such as hitting, kicking etc. Having in mind the intimacy of the question, this number is likely to be larger. Violence against women is a complex phenomenon connected to different factors such as psychological, social and situational ones. Violence against women can be determined by different habits and experiences, traditional attitudes on gender relationships, the ambience we live in, education and certain personality traits. Thus, in our research violence against women is in a

significant positive correlation with war experiences, alcohol abuse, depression, low level of education and is also pronounced with men of elderly age. It is in inverse correlation with gender equality, marriage satisfaction and religiousness. About 6% of men reported they have had non-consensual or forced sex. This percentage may seem low but should not be neglected given the fact that this is the form of violence which causes the most adverse physical consequences.

The research offers the respondents to suggest how to cope with violence. About 60% of the respondents believe that the law does not protect the victims of violence enough; they also think that the law is insufficiently strict. These results are in accordance with the general attitude that the social control in BiH, as a necessary element in preventing antisocial behaviours, has failed. The punishments for different criminal acts are often below the prescribed minimum. Besides, the punishments are inconsistent and are administered only after a long court procedure, all being factors which cause that such punishments have no effect on reduction of violence and other asocial behaviours.

4.4 Health, sexuality, risky behaviours

The results show that a great majority of men in BiH (75-83%) have a positive self-concept and self-respect. Around 4/5 of men say that they are satisfied with their body and sexual life and that they are generally proud of themselves. Such idyllic picture is slightly distorted by the fact that about 1/4 of men sometimes or often feel depressed. Depression is more pronounced

with those who have had hard war experiences and the so-called work stress. These data point out the complexity of measuring internal psychological states. Sometimes, it is possible to obtain 'a better picture' than it really is since the respondents are sometimes hard to admit to dissatisfaction with themselves and their lives.

A great majority of men and women (similar to other countries) are satisfied with their sexual life, men being slightly more satisfied. The results show that 12% of men have had sex with a prostitute. The attitudes of men to prostitution of adult women are shared. More than a half of them think this is morally wrong, but a matter of choice. About 6.7% of men have had partners who had an abortion. Almost 19% of female respondents claim to have had an abortion and the awareness of that has been confirmed by 6.7% of men. Although they are not couples, the impression based on this fact is that some men do not know that their partner is pregnant or has had an abortion. This points out certain distrust and poor communication between partners. In any case, the fact that almost every fifth female respondent has had an abortion is worrying, proving this has become a part of everyday life. These results point to the need for better education of the young about the use of contraception.

Around 16.4% of men and 7% of women have smoked marijuana in the last 12 months. About 58% of men and 19% of women consume alcohol. Within the sub-sample of those who consume alcohol, 33.7 % get drunk once a month or more, while 24.8% of alcohol-consuming women do the same. Alcohol is considerably more consumed by young men, those who confirm economic stress and those with gender-unequal attitudes. The data on marijuana and

alcohol abuse also fall into the group of the most alarming facts. Opiates, primarily alcohol, are obviously a remedy and way of overcoming harsh reality during periods of different deprivations.

About 20% of men have done criminal acts, while 10% of them have been accused in the police or a court of law. This is yet another fact about the socialisation of men, which is full of negative experiences. Low positive and statistically significant correlations have been determined of participation in thefts and fights with war experience, depression, alcohol and violence against women. Also, inverse, as well as low correlations have been found with gender equality and religiousness.

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