



PERPETUUM MOBILE
Center for growth and community development



CARE



PROMUNDO



M en and gender relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina

(“images” – International Men and Gender Equality Survey)

M

en and gender relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina

("images" – International Men and Gender Equality Survey)

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

Banja Luka, 2012.

perpetuum mobile – centar for
youth and community development banja luka

care north west balkan bih

instituto promundo brazil



PERPETUUM MOBILE
Centre for youth and community development



CARE



PROMUNDO

Organisation of research | NGO "Perpetuum Mobile - Centre for Youth and Community Development" Banja Luka

Author of research | Srdjan Dušanić, PhD Psychologist

Project coordinator | Bojana Trninić

Reviewers | Dr. Gary Barker, Promundo, USA
Professor PhD Branko Milosavljevic, Banjaluka Faculty of Philosophy

Publisher | NGO "Perpeutum Mobile - Centre for Youth and Community Development" Banja Luka

On behalf of the publisher | Ilija Trninić

Translation | Duško Popović

Cover design | Maja Ilić

Computer editing | Maja Ilić

Printed by | Avatar digital studio, Laktaši

Circulation | 100

This research was carried out with financial and professional assistance by CARE NWB and Promundo. We extend our special thanks to our colleague John Crownower, without whom this project would not exist. We also thank Gary Barker for his patience and input during the creation of this monograph.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	5
SUMMARY	7
1 INTRODUCTION	12
1.1 Theoretical background.....	15
1.1.1 Concept of gender.....	15
1.1.2 Masculinities and what it means to be a man	17
1.1.3 Gender and antisocial behaviours	19
1.2 About IMAGES	21
1.3 Research goals and topics	25
2 METHODOLOGY.....	28
2.1 Sample characteristics.....	28
2.2 Instruments	30
2.3 Course of research.....	31
3 RESULTS	33
3.1 Social status and socialization of respondents.....	33
3.2 The role of men in family and household.....	40
3.3 Parenthood and involvement in childbirth	43
3.4 Gender attitudes	49

3.5	Sexuality	55
3.6	Health practices and vulnerabilities	56
3.7	Violence, criminal activity and other risky practices	63
3.8	Knowledge and attitudes about policies and laws related to gender equality	71
4	FINAL DISCUSSION	75
4.1	Social status and socialization of men	75
4.2	Household, care of children	76
4.3	Gender equality and violence against women	78
4.4	Health, sexuality, risky behaviours	80
5	REFERENCE	83

PREFACE

This scientific monograph represents the results of research conducted on key topics in gender relations in BiH. Through this research, we aimed to explore different aspects of men's lives from the perspectives of both men and women in order to contribute to the understanding of the socialisation of men in BiH and the way that the construct of manhood impacts the lives and behaviour of men as well as the family unit. The research was carried out as part of the international 'IMAGES' (International Men and Gender Equality Survey) project.

This report consists of several sections. The first, theoretical section introduces key terms in gender equality and relations. The second section presents the methodological basis for the quantitative research conducted. It should be noted that this was very demanding research, which was conducted with a representative and random sample of the population from 56 BiH municipalities and towns. The third section 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 section analyses the basic findings of the research as well as its conclusions. Given that the subject of this research is, for the most part, the first of its kind on the BiH level, the obtained results should be seen as a solid basis for further critical analysis and discussion rather than as 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. 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 from the IMAGES research include: gender-based violence; health and health related practices; household division of labour; men's participation in caregiving and as fathers; men's and women's attitudes about gender and gender related policies; transactional sex; men's reports of criminal behaviour; 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 Promundo.

The research was conducted with 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 the marketing and research agency "Partner".

Key findings of the research are:

- | The social situation of the respondents is generally challenging. 26% of men and 38% of women, who are able to work, are unemployed. Certain indicators point out that the position of women is somewhat more difficult than that of men; there are more unemployed and uneducated women, as well as those having 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 difficulties associated with low social status are compounded by the consequences of the war. About 74% of the people lived in war zones, half of them left their residences temporarily, and one quarter of them did so permanently. Almost 44% experienced the death of someone close to them.
- | In households, men participate more in work involving the allocation of money as well as that requiring certain craftsmen's skills, while work related to laundering, cleaning and food preparation is mostly done by women. About 95% of men and 78% of women are satisfied with this division of work.
- | About 53% of men and a slightly lower 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 lives: men being slightly more satisfied.
- | Men are partially involved in the process of their partners' pregnancy and giving birth.
- | Attitudes toward 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 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 toward violence, around 23% of the respondents think that there are certain situations when women deserve to be beat. 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 supporting gender equality. Gender-equitable attitudes are more common for university-educated men, and they are also connected to higher levels of marital satisfaction. They are negatively correlated with the use of alcohol and violence against women.
- | About half of men support the existence of quotas that guarantee the presence of women in power, educational and managerial positions.
- | Most respondents express a degree of homophobia. About 75% of men feel unpleasant in the company of homosexuals. Women's attitudes

toward homosexuals are similar to men's attitudes, although generally somewhat more positive.

| About 58% of men and 18.5% of women consume alcohol. Within the sub-sample of those who consume alcohol, 33.7 % of men 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 in the last 12 months.

| A lot of women have been exposed to some 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 are familiar with the policies and strategies on violence against women. The same percentage of men believes that the law does not sufficiently protect the victims of violence; this group also thinks that the law is too lenient.

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

- | About 20% of men have committed criminal acts (theft, fights with the use of weapons), while only 10% of them have been accused by the police or in 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 an 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 a different ethnicity.

1 INTRODUCTION

Efforts and movements for women's empowerment have been active and effective in recent decades. Nevertheless, men are still ahead when it comes to their educational levels, 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 by a survey carried out with the boys in several Balkan countries (Eckman et al., 2007). Often, 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 and brave and, in relations with the opposite sex, dominant. However, it is likely that at some point, his life will present situations in which he will be less capable, sometimes expressing powerlessness and inferiority in

relation to women. What will happen then? There is a great possibility that the same male will then start to consider himself unworthy, inadequate and a “loser!” 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 regain it, but in the most primitive way, that is, by force. And the cycle is completed – from the onset of parents’ expectations for their boys to become “real men” to their sons’ eventual use of violence. Unfortunately, these cycles repeat themselves often, forcing men to practice violence repeatedly and to transfer the same pattern of behaviour to their children, and so on – from generation to generation, making a culture an increasing hegemony of masculinity.

Due to the aforementioned reasons and relevance of the topic, this research concerns the attitudes and behaviours 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 organisations 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 Promundo and ICRW – The International Center for Research on Women gave their support. Besides 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, Mali, and the

Democratic Republic of Congo (as of January 2013, with more countries underway in 2013). The working title of the implemented research was IMAGES, which 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, prevailing gender norms have a large influence on girls' health and growth – and probably an even greater influence on boys'. Patriarchal attitudes and rigid forms of masculinity are often promoted through different social spheres, including families, media, schools and other public and private sectors. Gender equality and violence prevention correlate with these norms, which idealize different behaviour 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, and leads toward individuals' 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 analysed as social categories for the first time. The main assumption of this approach is that human thoughts, emotions and behaviours 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's positions. Feminists differentiate the terms *gender* and *sex*, emphasizing the role of society in gender-based formation of behaviours. 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 a 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 that 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 behaviours, it is important to explore the origin of gender-based differences in behaviours. 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 the region of southeast Europe, when regular military service existed, young men were considered mature after their conscriptions and subsequent joining of 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 reason, could not serve or if military service was postponed. These criteria are not as drastic as the aforementioned ones, but express the same social purpose of establishing and enforcing gender roles and norms, which emphasize the importance of masculinity.

1.1.2 Masculinities and what it means to be a man

Masculinities and femininities refer to numerous social constructions of manhood and womanhood within historical as well as cultural contexts (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 behaviours and are formed under complex social influences during lifetime period. Thereby, boys/young men and girls/young women are not just passive receivers of cultural norms, but it is up to each individual to what extent he/she will adopt certain social standards, keep them up and behave in line with them (Barker, Nascimento, Segundo, Pulerwitz, 2003).

Masculinities and femininities should be understood through collective but also individual experiences. The way of thinking and behaviour of young boys/men and young girls/women are dependent on the group and institution they belong to – neighbourhood they live in, school, café, football club, etc. Their behaviour 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, behaviour (often violent) of young men is usually correlated with “the code of honour” of the peer group they belong to, for example, a fan group or institution (school).

Sometimes masculinity and femininity are formed slowly and gradually, while in other 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 a universal form of “masculinity” (or “femininity”), but there are still dominating forms that influence other men’s attitudes and behaviours. Young men are forced to behave under strict patriarchal limitations or to confront numerous social penalizations. They are expected to suppress any behaviour considered womanish and not to dispute traditional male stereotypes.

Gender equality is the precondition of a 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. A move towards more gender equitable attitudes will likely result in the prevention of men’s violence, development of community security and non-violent conflict resolutions as well as improved interactions within the family. The involvement of men in family life could ensure greater support for changes regarding family, violence and sexual and reproductive health – the issues that have been marginalized as “female.”

The following text deals in more detail, with 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. Through the course of 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 expressed 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.

Problems with expressions of masculinity can appear due to a conflict between personal desires and social expectations. Men can strive for certain pro-social ways 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 sports fan or an alcoholic, smoke, use drugs, etc. As a consequence, identities are often “partly owned” and influenced by socially desirable projections of a man. It is significant for young and adult men to have supportive families and communities that offer an alternative in the form of “healthy islands to a hegemonic variance of masculinity imposed by society.”

1.1.3 Gender and antisocial behaviours

The relation between gender and asocial behaviours are discussed in this section. Asocial behaviours 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 behaviours are:

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

In this paper determinants of asocial behaviour are considered from the perspective of gender identity and gender norms, and using considerations and results from international studies (according to Barker, 2005).

Globally, young men between 15 and 24 years of age die much 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 a young age. According to WHO, about 155,000 young men were murdered in the world in 2000. Even in Western Europe, 60% of young men's deaths are caused by accidents and violence. Other forms of violence such as fights, vandalism and insults are far more frequent. Cincotta et al. (2003) explains that a large portion of violence and conflicts among young men is due to the following causes: young men do not know what to do; they strive to find and empower their identities in any possible way; they want to become independent; they try to impress girls etc. The findings of the ILO study conducted in Brazil is that the main causes of young men's violence and participation in gangs are: money, women and the wish to be respected (Barker, 2005).

The negative consequences are also reflected in young men's health. Practically in all countries of the world, young and adult men use drugs and alcohol more than women do. Besides, the socialization of young men often promotes and encourages their sexually unrestrained behaviour and the idea

that it is positive to have as many sexual partners as possible or to have unprotected sex, etc. The consequences of the aforementioned are that the prevalence of HIV and AIDS is higher with men than women, and men are considered to be the main cause of the spreading of AIDS. For these reasons, a UN program for suppression of AIDS initiated a campaign from 2000-2001, dealing with men's behaviours and the 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 their perception of masculinity, greater gender equality, personal health and interpersonal relationships, care of children, violence against intimate partners etc.? While many of these questions have been asked in 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 include: gender-based violence; health and health related practices; household division of labour; 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 behaviour; 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 six 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 six countries inspired us to do similar research in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are several reasons why it makes 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 patriarchal norms mainly dominate. In addition, some other factors complicate gender relations. 17 years ago, B&H ended a war that has left behind broken families, a large number of wounded and displaced individuals, war traumas, destroyed cities, poverty, etc. Many effects are present even now. For example, in Bosnia, about 30% of the population is unemployed. Such an environment can prevent a man from fully realizing his traditional and expected role. The reactions of men in this situation are often impractical and rash, accompanied by violence and risky behaviours.

1.3 Research goals and topics

The overall goal of IMAGES is to build an 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/childcare 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 childcare.
5. *Parenting and men's relationship with their 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 Scale and other measures); attitudes toward various gender equality policies that may have been implemented in each country.

7. *Health and quality of life.* Lifestyle questions (substance use, exercise, etc.); use of health services, sexual and reproductive behaviour (contraceptive use, condom use); sexually transmitted infections including HIV (past history, HIV testing); satisfaction with sexual relations; mental health issues (depression, suicidal ideation); social support; use of/victimization of violence in other contexts; morbidity.
8. *Partner relations and spousal relations.* Current relationship status/satisfaction; use of services/help-seeking in times of violence or relationship stress; relationship history.
9. *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.
10. *Sexual behaviour.* Sexual experience; sexual orientation; behaviours related to sexual and reproductive health, HIV/AIDS; use of health services related to sexual and reproductive health.
11. *Ethnic relations.* Attitudes toward other ethnic groups.
12. 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 lives 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 with 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 for the research were determined in each settlement and clear rules were defined for the interviewers and for household sampling. 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
Catholic 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 out 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 more respondents in the 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 interviewees belonged to urban areas while 23% to rural areas. More respondents were Muslim (46% of men and 44.1% of women), than Orthodox (41% of both men and women) or Catholic (12.3% of men and 14.3% of women), and 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 items from an international study on violence against women conducted by the World Health Organization as well as from the GEM scale (Gender Equitable Men Scale), developed by the Population Council and Promundo. 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 took about 90 minutes to complete. The male questionnaire strived to explore different aspects of men's lives such as childhood and adolescence, schooling, parenthood and family life, employment, relationships with their partners 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 experiences, some men only responded to certain parts of the questionnaire. Some parts of the questionnaire were dedicated only to unemployed men, men who lived with their wives, men who were parents, men who have had sexual experiences, etc.

The 'female' questionnaire included mostly identical topics: gender equality, relationships with their partners 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 completion time was shorter – 40 minutes.

Both questionnaires were divided into parts. Not all respondents answered all of 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 someone of the opposite sex, etc.

2.3 Course of research

Field research was conducted in the period of June - August 2011. Prior to the field research, pilot research was completed. After which, the questionnaires were adjusted to the languages of respondents. Prior to administering the survey, the male and female respondents were informed on the objectives and content of the research; they also provided their written consent to participate in the research. However, they were permitted to stop filling the questionnaire at any moment. It is explained to them that the survey is voluntary and anonymous, 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 filled out the questionnaire by themselves (pencil and paper method), and the interviewer 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 out 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 to the intimacy of the questions as well. The most negative reactions were to the questions about violence, sexual orientation, 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 be reflected in the results, which makes them one of the complications of the research. Therefore, it is possible that answers to some 'difficult questions' may not reflect their true attitudes or practices. One suggestion was that the questionnaire should be shorter and intimate questions or questions of an intimate nature could be pre-tested more in the future to help respondents feel more comfortable in responding.

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 - 1000 BAM	546	32,4	226	32,9
1000 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% are not. Around 6% of men and 10% of women have completed primary education or less than that. 64% of men and 60% of women have completed secondary education. Around 20% surveyed are currently pursuing their educations. 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 the working-age population, 26% of men and 38% of women are unemployed. Around 10% of men and 7% of women are retired. Men's and women's incomes are equal (arithmetic mean value for men: M=2 and for women M=1.9) meaning that personal income for the largest portion of the respondents (33%) varies 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 have distinctively lower incomes than men do.

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. These results confirm 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 have negative effects on various other attitudes and behaviours such as violence, suicidal thoughts, or alcoholism, as presented in the results.

In the research, work stress is also shown to be related to depression ($hi^2 = 21.1$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.002$), 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 more experience with theft ($hi^2 = 18.2$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.006$), fights involving weapons ($h2 = 13.5$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.035$), and have also

been arrested more often ($hi^2 = 11.2$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.004$). Greater work stress is related to 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 those from other countries (Brazil, Croatia, India, Chile, Rwanda, Mexico), we find out that economically based stress is even higher in other countries.

A very important factor in the socialization of people in Bosnia was a war based in part on ethnic tensions that happened in the period 1992-1995. The following table presents 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, even though the war ended, its effects and consequences still linger.

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 of war	25,3	26,3
Lost my job because of 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. Nearly 74-75% of them lived in areas affected by war, half of them left their homes temporarily, while one fourth left their residences permanently. More than 40% of men and women experienced the lost of someone close to them. 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.

If we compare all war experiences together with some other phenomena, we can find statistically significant connections. With men, overall experiences of war are in positive correlation with 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 percentages of partial and full compliance with the statements relating to ethnic relations are 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 ethnic group. Somewhat more tolerant is the attitude towards working with people of different ethnicities (13% were against it). We see that as higher rates of closeness (marriage, etc.) are proposed, the ethnic distance is greater. 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 positions, quite a few participants remain open to some form of cooperation with other nations or ethnicities.

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

We also compared attitudes in accordance with ethnicities. 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 of blending into the majority, the consequence of which is the strengthening of ethnic cohesiveness and glorification of ethnic identities.

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

It was also determined that the increased ethno-centrism is correlated with violence against women ($r=0.057$; $p= 0.03$), inversely correlated with gender equality ($r= - 0.200$; $p=0.001$), and no correlation was found 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 be part of a similar constellation of prejudice and stereotypes.

3.2 The role of men 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 shows that women spend 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 women in the family is often minimized. The following table shows the role of BiH men's attitudes about housework and satisfaction with the division of labour at home.

Table 6: The role of men in domestic duties

Men and women's report	Men's reports of equal or greater participation in domestic duties in order from most to least common overall (N=672)	Women's reports 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 about 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 notable that men are more involved in tasks involving money and those requiring certain craftsmen skills. Work 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 toward 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 amount 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 roles and significance in doing work. Additional analyses show that those men whose fathers used to do more housework also do 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 future behaviour. No statistically significant differences have been found regarding age, education or employment status.

More or less, 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 larger percentage of women are dissatisfied, but this is not expressed overtly since women may be more likely than men to internalize what they do and see that as their normal role, and the contribution they are satisfied with. This shows that women accept a limited role for men in the work and are grateful for whatever the contribution. No statistically significant differences were noted regarding age, education or employment status.

If the division of work is compared to the results from other countries, BiH has results 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 countries surveyed. Thus, for instance, 61% of men and 47% of women in Croatia are satisfied with the 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 on the presence of the men during the delivery of their children. It should be noted that it is not usual in BiH that men are present in 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, but they must submit a written request. More than a half of them, which makes about 58.4% of 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 significant 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

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

The data in other countries are different. For example, in Chile there are fewer men who were not present during the births of their children, while the situation is even worse in other countries.

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 men's and women's reports of how often men accompany women to prenatal visits. There is a difference in opinion. Nearly 80% of men say they have attended a prenatal visit together with their wives, which is confirmed by 61% of women. We can conclude that a substantial number of men supported their wives during prenatal visits.

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 in maternal and child health and as fathers.

There are significant differences with regard to education and age. Young men, especially aged 25-34 years ($hi^2 = 21,1$; $df=6$; $p=0,002$), and men with more

education ($hi^2 = 20,2$; $df=6$; $p=0,003$) are more likely to have participated in a prenatal visit with their partners.

Nevertheless, these percentages are slightly smaller than those 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 husbands attended prenatal visits 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 displays if men took any kind of parental leave. BiH regulations allow men to take the parental leave provided their wives return 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 the possibility of taking a parental leave. Besides, it is very common that men take a leave of absence for few days without formally asking for a leave.

There are no differences in taking parental leave with regard to the level of education, age or GEM scale attitudes. However, a difference has been determined with respect to economic-work stress. Those who are not exposed to stress at work 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 the general situation regarding employment can determine men's level of caregiving in their families.

In other countries, a far larger 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, men have the legal right to take a few days' parental leave. Such limited policies encourage the status quo 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. Nearly 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 differ. In any case, the fact that nearly 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 is not much difference between men's and women's employment. It is more expected that this outcome is caused by traditional and hegemonic norms,

which dictate that children should be women's duty and men are obliged to deal with the issues "outside the home."

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

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, cook for them or change their diapers the week. Women are

more likely to report men's participation in the lives of children than were men themselves (in talking about their own participation). However, this is not an exception. The assessments of those surveyed in India and Chile were similar to these. Men are involved most in playing with children (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 concerning 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 elements 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, the GEM scale¹ was used with 15 statements regarding gender relationships, perception of masculinity, sexuality, and reproductive health.

¹ To measure men's and women's gender-related attitudes, we used, as part of the questionnaire, the Gender Equitable Men (or GEM) Scale, a collection of attitude questions that has now been widely used in diverse settings and has consistently shown high rates of internal reliability. The GEM Scale was originally developed by the Population Council and Promundo with young men aged 15-24 years (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). The original scale included 17 attitudinal statements about different dimensions of men's gender attitudes. The scale has since been validated in household research in more than 20 countries, with both men and women. For IMAGES, the GEM Scale was slightly adapted with additional questions appropriate for adult men and adult women. However, care is taken that each country where IMAGES is carried out should have at least 15 common GEM Scale items covering the same range of issues from the original scale: sexuality, violence, household tasks, homophobia and male/female roles.

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 cooking 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 on 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 affirmation that the most important role of women 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 that point toward gender inequality.

Regarding the attitude toward 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 respondents believe 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. 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 toward 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 a reputation must be defended by force if necessary. That is to say that violence can be influenced by the perception of masculinity and the wish to preserve and defend a man's honour and image as 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 men's self-perceptions. 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 exclusively women's obligation.

We have compared GEM scale to some other variables. It has been determined that there are differences regarding age ($F = 5.76$; $p = 0.001$). The most unequal attitudes lie with the oldest (aged 50-59) and the youngest (aged 18-24) men polled. More gender-equitable attitudes are greater for university-educated men ($hi^2=37,4$; $df=6$; $p=0,001$). More gender equitable attitudes are also connected to higher levels of marital 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 is no significant relationship to marital status, size of place of residence, employment, war experience or religiosity.

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-equity, especially in comparison to men in India. However, in comparison to neighbouring Croatia, men in BiH are more gender-traditional in all aspects; they are less gender equal, more inclined to hegemonic masculinity and to view the world in 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 the 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 attitudes related to gender equality on GEM scale

Categories	f	%
Category of men with least gender equitable attitudes	345	23,2
Category of men with average gender equitable attitudes	614	41,3
Category of men 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-equitable attitudes, men with moderately gender-equitable attitudes, and men with pronounced gender-equitable 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 equitable attitudes, 35.5% are into the group of pronouncedly gender-equitable attitudes, while about 23.2% of men fall into the category of gender-inequitable attitudes. If these results are compared to Croatia's, it is noticeable that there are far more men in the gender-equitable category (77% gender-equitable and 3% moderate).

Table 16: Attitudes toward 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 individuals. The agreement of men with each affirmation 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 toward 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 sons were homosexual.

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

We can conclude that a great majority of the respondents is distanced from homosexuals, but that disapproval is smaller in regard to a homosexual person's rights that do not threaten or involve 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 lives, men being slightly more satisfied than women. 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 al., 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 satisfaction in sexual relationships with regard to the communication between partners about their problems. Men and women who communicate more about existing problems are also more satisfied with their sexual lives. This reflects a level of communication that often permeates other aspects of life.

It has also been determined that sexual satisfaction is statistically significant in relation to gender-equitable attitudes on the GEM scale ($r = 0.167$, $p = 0.001$) and general life satisfaction with the female partner ($r = 0.193$, $p = 0.001$). No correlation was determined between work division and sexual satisfaction with men. There is a 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 research 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 limited health-seeking behaviour. 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 children’s and partners’ lives.

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)
Marijuana in last 12 months	16,4 (N=1519)	7,0 (N=609)

This table shows to what extent men and women consume alcohol and marijuana. If someone uses alcohol more than once per month, it has been taken as criteria for drinking on a regular basis. The results show that 57.6% of men and 18.5% of women drink 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 a 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 report economic stress ($hi^2 = 23.2$, $df = 8$, $p =$

0.003), and those with gender-inequitable attitudes ($hi^2= 51.8$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.001$). The number of women is not negligible either. Even one out of every four women 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 marijuana usage in the last 12 months. However, men outnumber 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 a 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 what percentage of men and women have had HIV testing. The percentage is low as it was expected considering that there are not many registered people infected by HIV in BiH yet. The test has been given to 7.4% of men and 6.1% of women. The percentage is lower than in other countries where IMAGES has 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 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 were in relationships with women who have had abortions. Near 19% of women confirmed having had an abortion. The fact that each fifth female interviewee has aborted disturbs and confirms that it has become a part of everyday life.

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. Nearly 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 to present positive directions, i.e. a higher score indicates a higher level of self-esteem, while the two last

statements have the opposite orientation. 75-83% of men are agree 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.

Nearly 14% find their lives useless, and 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 social 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 in the last month

	Men
Depression	26,3
Suicidal thoughts	7,3

We asked the respondents about the scope of their depressiveness and suicidal thoughts. A significant percentage of respondents (26%) sometimes or usually feel 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 BiH results are higher than the world average regarding depression as well as suicidal ideas. We have investigated the connection between depression and

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

The two countries with the highest levels of depression among men are Croatia (35%) and India. These issues can be caused by consequences of war and stress as well as social situations 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 concerned men are about money, the higher their levels of depression (29.1% to 17%). This difference is statistically significant at 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 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 help when they feel sad or disappointed. Persons they seek help from are their female partners (near 35%) and family or friends (17%). Near 89% of women said they sought help when they felt sad or disappointed. Most of them asked their male partner for help (near 35%), and 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, criminal activity and other risky practices

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 (reports about their experiences of violence from male partner) N=581
Have you ever slapped a partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her?	17,5	35,9
Have you ever pushed or shoved a partner?	19,9	38,1
Have you ever hit a partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her?	6,7	31,8
Have you ever kicked, dragged, beaten, choked or burned a partner?	2,6	28,5
Have you ever 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 self-reported behaviours of gender-based violence from the both men's and women's perspectives. Women, as it can be seen, report higher rates of violence than do men. Based on these 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 firearms 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 the percentage 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 a 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 with 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 that older men (50-59 years) had the highest reports of violence against women. Unlike many of the other IMAGES countries, we did not find a significant relationship with economic

stress. All these results and relationships describe the complexity of gender-based violence. Violence against women can be influenced by different lifestyles and experiences, entrenched attitudes about gender relations, environments in which we live, educational attainment, and certain personal 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's report fairly high levels of sexual violence. Approximately 3.5% of men reported having sexual relations with the partner against her will. In addition, 2% said that they forced a female person who was not their girlfriend or wife to have sex with them. Connecting the information, we find 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-equitable attitudes are more inclined to use sexual violence ($hi^2 = 42.3$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.001$), as well as those who often consume alcohol and get drunk ($hi^2 = 57,7$; $df=16$; $p=0,001$). No significant relationship has 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 having participated in theft, while 19% admit 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. Additionally, 20% of them have perpetrated criminal acts, while 10% were legally processed. This is another reflection on the socialization of men, which is full of negative consequences.

The participation in thefts and fights has been compared to a number of other variables. Low positive and statistically significant correlations have been determined for 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 religiosity. All correlations are mostly up to $r=0,2$, $p=0,01$. Also, the results show that men belonging to the young age category (up to 30 years of age) are more inclined toward antisocial behaviours.

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

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 a percent has paid for sex with a man or transvestite. These results show lower percentages than those in other countries. Further analysis showed that within the sample of men who have had 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 who have experienced sex with a prostitute have been investigated. Statistically significant correlations have been determined with the GEM scale, age and satisfaction with sexual relationships. Consequently, such experiences are more frequent with men with less gender-equitable 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 their sexual relationships

with their regular partners or spouses ($hi^2=14,6$; $df=4$; $p=0,01$). There are no significant differences with regard to education levels or economic stress.

Table 32: Men's attitudes about 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 the prostitution of adult women are divided. More than half believe that it is morally wrong but that it is the choice of the sex worker. About 43% consider it a 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 a 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 the 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 a 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)
Rights for women mean that men lose out their rights	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% consider women to have infringed on 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 large number of men have nothing against women's rights, but 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ of men have heard or seen a campaign on the prevention of violence against women. About 18% said they have participated in some of these campaigns as well. The men from BiH have seen and heard of more campaigns than respondents have 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

Nearly 60% of respondents said they are familiar with policies and strategies on violence against women. This percentage is generally 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 Croatian 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. Nearly 31% believe that the law is too women-friendly, while 16% find it too harsh. The results support the polarization of opinions seen 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 exposure to campaigns on parenthood and the role of fathers in it are quite poor, especially in relation to recognition of efforts to prevent violence against women. Approximately 21% have heard of such campaigns but only 10% have participated in them. A similar result is obtained with respect to campaigns 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 socialization of men

The results have shown that the socialization of men in BiH is accompanied by numerous problems and negative factors. The war caused countless traumatic experiences affecting the majority of men. No one can remain indifferent to the effects of war: half of the respondents left their places of residence temporarily, 44% of them experienced the death of a person close to them, 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 behaviour 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 experienced by both men and women.

Furthermore, the majority of BiH families have low incomes or unemployed members. Certain indicators show that women's positions are slightly more difficult; there are a larger number of unemployed women than men, and many are 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 a lack of finances. 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-inequitable attitudes, violence and asocial behaviours like theft and fighting. These results show how the social characteristics of a population can be even more accurate 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 is possible to make a psychological step forward in such circumstances. However, it is necessary and inevitable to make an attempt!

4.2 Household, care of children

As for household duties, both sexes are involved in housework with certain stereotypical divisions of duties. Men are more active in work involving dealing with money and certain home repairs, while women are considerably more involved in the work 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 internalization of the social role, which blurs the criterion of equality. No statistically significant differences have been noticed regarding the age, education or employment status.

The participation of men in terms of childbirth and care of children is not satisfactory. All data integrated, the conclusion is that half of men are actively involved, which cannot be said for the other half. More than half, about 58.4% of the men (younger men considerably more than the older ones), were present during the births of their children. These data are disappointing. Namely, it is odd and somewhat sad that almost half of men were not present in the hospital during the births of their children, either for the sake of the newborn child or for support to their partners. Men were slightly more supportive (80% of men according to their claims) during prenatal visits. Younger and more educated men were more supportive than those who are older and with less education. As for everyday care of children, again about half of men take care of their children everyday. 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 their children, and have more gender-equitable attitudes on GEM scale. The fact that younger and more educated men are more actively involved in taking care of their children and partners 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 categorization of the respondents according to GEM scores has shown that the largest group of men have gender-equitable attitudes; 35.5% fall into the pronouncedly gender-equitable group, while about 23.2% of men are pronouncedly gender-inequitable. Despite the fact there are the largest number of 'moderates', there are traditional and patriarchal convictions about a dominant role of the man reflected 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 toward 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. Half of the male respondents point out the importance of male sexual power and 'readiness' to have sex. The fact is in accordance with such a 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 through negative attitudes to other forms of masculinity, especially to homosexual men. Thus, over 75% of men surveyed show certain elements of homophobia.

Most respondents are 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-equitable attitudes are more satisfied with their marriages. Opposite to that, increased alcohol use is connected to gender-inequitable attitudes. More gender-equitable attitudes are more pronounced in men with university degrees. Contrary to some expectations, no relation has been determined to the size of the place of residence, employment, war experiences or religiosity. This might be due to the fact that patriarchal norms are widely and deeply rooted across BiH, thus overriding the effect of specific factors that 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 socialization rather than some more specific factors (education excluded).

The data obtained 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. Keeping 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 social context we live in, education and certain personality traits. Thus, in our research, violence against women has a

significant positive correlation with war experiences, alcohol abuse, depression, low levels of education and is also pronounced with men of elderly age. It is in inverse correlation with gender equality, marriage satisfaction and religiosity. 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 that causes the most adverse physical consequences.

The research offers the respondents suggestions on 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 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 bodies and sexual lives 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 work stress. These data point out the complexity of measuring internal psychological states. Sometimes, it is possible to obtain 'a better picture' than the reality of the situation since respondents are sometimes reluctant 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 lives, men being slightly more satisfied. The results show that 12% of men have had sex with a prostitute. The attitudes of men towards 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 partners are pregnant or have had abortions. This points out a 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-inequitable 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.

About 20% of men have committed criminal acts, while only 10% of them have been accused in the police or a court of law. This is yet another reflection on the socialization of men, which is full of negative consequences. 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 religiosity.

5 REFERENCE

- Ashmore, R. D. (1991). Sex, gender and the individual. In Pervin, L. (Ed.), *Handbook of personality*. New York: Guilford Press
- Barker,G., Nascimento, M., Segundo, M., Pulerwitz, J. (2003). How do we now if man have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men', In S. Ruxton (ed.), *Lessons from Program H in Latin America, Gender Equality and Men*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Barker, G.(2005). *Dying to be men. Youth, masculinity and social exclusion*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Barker, G., Contreras, J.M., Heilma, B., Singh, A.K., Verma, R.K., Nascimento, M. (2011). *Evolving men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington DC: ICRW and Rio de Jeneiro: Instituto Promundo.
- Cincotta, R., Engelman, R., Anastasion, D. (2003). *The security demographic: Population and Civil Conflict after the Cold War*. Washington DC: Population action International.
- Connell,R.W.(1994). *Masculinities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. (2007). *Masculinities, Power, Epidemic: Messages of social research*. Available at: http://siyanda.org/docs/connell_epidemic.doc

Deaux, K., LaFrance, M. (1998). Gender. In Gilber, D. T., Fiske, S. T. & Gardner, L.: *The handbook of social psychology*, Vol 1, New York: McGraw-Hill, 788-818

Eckman, A., Jain, A., Kambou, S.D., Crownover, J., Prvulović, M., Dušanić, S., Matkovic, V., Husić, A. (2007). Exploring dimensions of masculinity and violence. Banjaluka: Care International, ICRW.

International Center for Research on Woman - ICRW. (2008). *Seven priorities, Seven years to go: Progress on achieving Gender Equality*. Washington DC: ICRW.

Myers, D.G. (1993). *Social psychology*, McGraw-Hill

WHO.(2007). *Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions*. Geneva. Available at:

http:/

www.who.int/gender/documents/engaging_men_boys.pdf.