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Enhancement of Participatory Democracy in Turkey:
Monitoring Gender Equality Project Phase II

Men, Masculinities and Gender Equality

Mapping and Monitoring Study

Extended Summary

Prof. Dr. Serpil Sancar

Doç. Dr. Murat Göç-Bilgin

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Yıldızevler District 721. St, Apt:4/9 Çankaya, 06550
Ankara, Turkey
Phone: +90 312 440 04 84

www.ceid.org.tr
www.ceidizler.ceid.org.tr

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PROF. DR. SERPİL SANCAR: is a Professor at Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences, Department of Political Sciences and Public Administration. After completing her Ph.D. in political sciences, she has taught courses in political theory, political sociology, global political dynamics, religion-politics relations, and research methodology in social sciences. Having studied women and gender, Prof. Sancar played an active role in the conduct of Ankara University post-graduate programmes in women studies by delivering courses in “Feminist Theory”, “Gender and Politics”, “Women’s Rights Movements”, “Gender of Turkish Modernization” and “Methodology in Women Studies”. As one of the founders of Ankara University Women’s Problems Research and Application Centre (KASAUM), Prof. Sancar also served as the director of the centre for many years. Professor Sancar was in George Washington University, US, as a visiting researcher in 2011-2012 where she studied “Religion and Gender” and lectured. Prof. Sancar is the founding president of the Gender Equality Monitoring Association (CEİD) and has been actively working in the management of the association.

Professor Sancar has many publications and studies in areas where women’s studies and political science intersect. The following are some recent works by Prof. Sancar: Religion, Politics and Women: Iranian Revolution, 1990, Belge Yayınları (Second edition: 2016, Nika Yayınevi); Gender of Turkish Modernization: Men Make the State, Women Make Families, 2012, İletişim Yayınları (Second edition: 2014, İletişim Yayınları); Feminist Critique in Turkey on the Verge of the 21th Century (Collection, Parts I and II, 2011, Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları); Masculinity: Impossible Power/ Men in Family, Market and Street, 2009, Metis Yayınları, (Fourth edition: 2020, Metis Yayınları); Adventure of the Ideology: From False Consciousness and Hegemony to Discourse, 1997, İmge Yayınevi (Third edition: 2016, İmge Yayınevi).

DOÇ. DR. MURAT GÖÇ-BİLGİN: He received his PhD from Ege University, Department of American Culture and Literature. He is currently working as a lecturer at Celal Bayar University, Department of English Language and Literature. He is a founding member of “Initiative for Critical Studies of Masculinities” (ICSM) and founding editor of Masculinities Journal. He took part as a speaker in many panels on men and masculinities and organized many workshops. He strives to improve himself on critical masculinity studies.

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I. Introduction

The idea of modernism has always embodied two contradicting thoughts within. On the one hand it is asserted that all human beings are born equal and free. On the other hand, there was the assertion that violence under a central authority, as disciplined by the state is inevitable to maintain social order. It is said that the privilege of resorting to violence to maintain social order must be under the monopoly of state apparatus while civil persons and institutions must have no right to use violence to protect themselves. Hence, individuals' relinquishment of their freedoms would be inevitable in return for the establishment of order by the state.

While saying women and men are equal and the same, the modern thinking also asserted that they are different and dissimilar, that one gender must lead the other to ensure order in family and society. Then men became the party that would manage life within family and in society with their reasoning, risk-taking skills, and protective mission whereas women had the mission of raising generations and caring for their families. This distinction, as different from archaic societies, created gender-based division of labour as one of the building blocks of modern life which in turn led to inequality between women and men.

Despite ideas that are discriminative towards human beings, in fact the thinking that persisted was that human beings must be equal and free whatever their differences may be in terms of gender, class, race, region or age. The realization of this human dream started as women claimed their fundamental rights while men began to see human values and realities that they used to give up, endure or ignore for the sake of "being a man".

Addressing relevant issues from this angle, the present study seeks to conceive how man contribute or can contribute to the realization of gender equality. In this vein, the report first addresses masculine violence where men are perpetrators or victims and related issues such as military service and militarism. We also tried to address the responsibilities of men in family, as a domain where women experience violations of their rights, and what men experience as fathers and spouses. While drawing this framework we inevitably excluded two important issues: Employment conditions of men and their problems of manhood related to health and sexuality. We can summarize, within this framework, the conceptual and theoretical background of the report as follows:

Male-dominated societies create positions of dominant masculinity.

Modern societies are male-dominated societies where important economic, financial, political, and military positions, statuses and posts are mostly occupied by men and thus have men's problems, experiences and expectations are in focus. In male-dominated societies it is a common idea that men and women have opposite,

mutually exclusive characteristics. On the one hand these gender characteristics are assumed by birth as unchangeable biological features and, on the other, it is accepted that gender characteristics of women and men are learned through socialization in life and at every stage there are efforts to teach and ensure the internalization of these characteristics. According to this understanding men are rational, interest-seeking, and strong given their biology while women are emotional, soft and weak. Additionally, these gender characteristics gain meanings that one is superior, stronger or more important than the other. Social values dissociate as *masculine* and *feminine* as the former are valued; social phenomena gain *masculine-feminine* meanings. Being strong, rational, risk-taking, and avoiding any emotional behaviour bring along superiority. Gender inequalities are articulated with other social inequalities; different forms of social inequality such as class, gender, race and ethnicity coexist in a power structure while feeding each other.

Critical masculinity studies

Critical masculinity studies tell us values of male dominance that are widely adopted in modern societies have emerged in relatively near past, with the development of industrial societies. We also learn from critical masculinity studies that there are different kinds of manhood and associated values that do not adopt male dominance values, but they remain in minority, silent or excluded.

How do we speak about the presence of male dominance values while in modern societies there are quite different men and their different modes of life? We can define dominant masculinity as values held by those enjoying worldwide power, institutions that they lead and mechanisms and policies that they develop. Being strong, accomplish, solving problems not only by convincing but also using violence when regarded as necessary, behaving not by emotions but by interests, placing competition and hierarchy-based relations at the centre, attaching importance to independent acting, knowing how to manage others, etc. are considered as values of male dominance and social phenomena shaped by these modes of behaviour are called as *masculine*.

Values of male dominance are institutionalized as family headship, honour protection, male heterogamy, buying sex/prostitution that are regarded as legitimate privileges that men are entitled to. These are, in many cases, are protected or tolerated by traditions and religious beliefs. These behaviours are integrated with *masculine* power structures: family law, compulsory heterosexuality, legally privileged status of paternity rights, prestige of armies composed of men, powers that politicians and businessmen enjoy as bosses of political parties and companies managing the market...

Modern masculinity is based on male labour that ensures industrialization.

The “factory system” of industrial capitalism had emerged upon a fundamental separation: working/production and home/household became two separate social domains. In economic, institutional, ideological and political terms, this brought along the separation of market and household, social and family life from each other not only spatially but also with respect to prevailing values, norms, legal rights and freedoms. The household and society assumed their positions through a hierarchy of priorities and superiorities; as different from pre-industrial societies all took a new shape within social power relations. This was also distinction in gender roles; as there was separation of society and family or, more correctly, public and private domains, the former had priority and determining role.

Modern family is based on the role of man providing livelihood and woman as unpaid housewife.

Male wage labour has its universal character in industrial capitalist societies: Male labour that “learns” while working, work full-time and enjoys the right to retirement, and woman/wife/mother as unpaid domestic labourer in charge of reproduction accompanying him. Looking from this angle we see that the separation *masculine public, feminine private domain (family-household)* is the founding element of modern industrial capitalist society. The distinction between production and reproduction that exist parallel to private-public distinction is also gender-based besides being class-based and class distinctions are interwoven with gender distinctions.

The sex of human body is based on the superiority of masculine values.

According to some opinions that pioneered modern medicine male sex is genetically coded; *aggressiveness and desire to be superior is the biogramme of men*. These views may be adopted widely in modern societies today as the “nature of man”. It is the invention of modern medical science that woman’s body is different, weaker and essentially created for fertility. All kinds of cultural fiction on male body points out to its right to free mobility in time and space. Male dominance and superiority manifest itself in men’s relations with their bodies as well: in their gestures, posture, way of covering the space, forms of action, physical relations, etc. The male body is free to become aware of its limits through infinitive bodily acts that also develops the perception that the male has an active body that covers a space in the universe.

Relationship between masculinity and masculine violence is a socially learned behaviour and it must be changed.

As a biological capacity and within the framework of reflex to survive any living entity has the tendency and capacity to resort to violence when it needs to protect itself. However, for the most part violence experienced in human societies is not for self-protection but for making some others obey. Also, either organized or individually committed, the perpetrator in cases of violence is mostly the male. This strengthens the claim that violence is an inevitable outcome of “male nature”. There are also some “hormone scientists” maintaining, in a way to consolidate this opinion, that testosterone as male hormone leads to “instinct to kill” for survival and put forth the claim of *aggressive testosterone*. Serious scientific studies, however, do not support these views. While accepting that aggressiveness is a species behaviour that is universally seen in men, these studies say the behaviour can be explained not merely by hormones but by social expectations, moral impositions and socialization through male culture that encourage hormones to activism.

Masculine violence is not to the benefit of all men.

According to approaches seeking to explain the relationship between masculinity and violence, the idea that use of violence is offered to men as a privilege lies at the basis of male-dominated societies; each man, though he may not be using violence, reaps the returns of masculine violence that is in use. These returns may not be distributed equally to men from different nations, classes and ethnic groups or those with different male *habitus*; but still masculine violence makes it possible to enjoy total obedience by intimidating, subordinating, excluding and discriminating against women. Each man can get his patriarchal share from this masculine violence if he wishes. Oppression of women in the name of virginity or honour, seizing domestic labour without return in the name of motherhood and marriage and trafficking in women are not practices that can go on without masculine violence.

Masculine violence does not reach a systematic state as a result of personal desires and wishes of individuals or their psychological disorders. Instead, there are social institutions that deem violence necessary, inevitable and legitimate, just condone and watch it in the name of security, education, sports or just for pleasure. Violence is presented as inevitable and justified within a complex set of institutions, structures and relations that include state’s assertion for hegemony, market drives for profit, disciplining of women, homosexuals and children for the sustenance of family and heterosexual marriage, trafficking in women and prostitution to make men happy. Further, the “protection of honour” that is assigned to men as a social duty and social and political practices like family and marriage with a head figure,

the *warlike-heroic male myth* cherished by militarism show violence as a normal and necessary tool in the life of men. Yet, among those harmed the most by masculine violence there are of course men too.

A common form of masculine violence: Domestic violence...

In modern societies the most common and widely known form of masculine violence is domestic violence that targets women - and includes children too. Domestic violence is a form of violence used by fathers, husbands, male brothers or male relatives to make women, children and younger males to obey dominant masculine values in the context of relations of love, marriage and parenthood. Violence is inevitably "legitimized" once it is accepted that men must have the authority to control/put bans to the life of women to sustain the family and protect its honour. Domestic violence is the outcome of an understanding that men have their duty to protect, control and sustain their families and must be free to resort to violence in performing this duty for purposes of banning, forcing and penalizing.

Relationship between masculinity and violence is common and normalized.

Men resort to violence more as they internalize the masculine ideology in society more. As one of the building blocks of masculinity, violence serves men in regaining their otherwise shaken power/strength and status in cases where this is questioned, threatened or weakened. Male violence against women means all forms of gender-based violence, either in public or private domain, that leads or may lead to physical, sexual or psychological damage or pain in women including in ways such as threatening, forcing or arbitrarily depriving of freedom. Masculine violence may also target other males who are considered as not behaving "manly" enough, foreigners, minority groups labelled as "enemy", LGBTI+ or children. Masculine violence is a broad-scope and multi-layered phenomenon that can be grasped by thinking over all groups that are otherized by dominant masculinity.

Compulsory military service and national citizen armies are the constructing elements of dominant masculinity.

There is historical parallelism between the evolution of modern nation states and modern masculinity. With the flourishing of nation states as the basic instrument in managing modernization nation-building processes compulsory military service by all as a requirement of citizenship was experienced as a kind of democratization. Compliance with compulsory military service requirement by all male citizens in modern times was regarded as equalization of rich and poor citizen on the basis of duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The development of the military model that

we call citizen armies became a very important stage in the development of the law of equal citizenship of men from different classes.

The spread of compulsory military service system coincides with the period when ideologies of nationalism and patriotism flourished. These ideologies call on men to defend their countries and men's taking action for national defence is at the same time the basic form of action that makes people both men and citizen. Modern societies based on the model of nation state and national defence asserted that being in military service is only natural and a must for all males. But the realization of this model was not so easy. Towards the end of the 20th century the practice of conscripting middle-class males with profession and career was gradually abandoned. Some alternatives emerged including paid military service, undertaking a public duty in lieu of military service, etc. In countries like the US the model called professional army was adopted earlier.

Another issue of masculinism that is of interest to us in the context of this report is militarism as a social/cultural/political mode. Militarism in this sense is sanctification of violence, creation and exaltation of a culture of arms and war, and affirmation worship to masculine power: The popularization of narratives heroism, young male fetishism, and the hegemony of cultural images that can estheticize and romanticise violence as an art, make a weapon a natural extension of muscles in a man (Rambo, Malkoçoğlu, Battal Gazi, etc.)... Militarism is the hegemony/presentation of military values to the society, the belief that solution of social problems requires violence; it is defining some sacred goals for ordinary people and affirmation that these goals are worth dying/killing for.

Today we see national armies as the main institution of nation states, the model of political administration in modern capitalist societies, that are composed of male citizens are changing with the 21st century and leaving their place to professional armies. This transformation also changes institutions, practices and norms associated with current modes of male dominance and values.

New forms of military service are developing, and professional army model is spreading.

In our days not large citizen armies but others smaller, mobile, endower with high technical skills and composed by permanent professionals and experts are preferred. The spread of such armies in the world means middle- and upper-class men in particular do not have to go for military service anymore. It is, beyond doubt, a very positive development for many males who find it difficult to adopt dominant masculinity values.

At the same time, however, sends a different invitation to males who lack training, occupational and cultural skills needed for self-sustenance. Professional armies offer these men an opportunity to maintain their families as "honoured men"

upon a remuneration that they could not imagine otherwise. This opportunity means, if they stay alive, a guarantee for themselves and their families (retirement, health insurance, etc.). It also means, for many lower-class males, a prestigious life that can be preferred, regular and relatively high income and a social status.

Recognition of the right to conscientious objection is the most sensitive issue in modes of dominant masculinity.

In international conventions, the right to conscientious objection is based upon the freedom of religion, conscience and thought provided by Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which took effect in 1966. The United Nations (UN) Commission on Human Rights resolution no. 1987/46 defines conscientious objection as a “legitimate expression of the freedom of thought, conscience and religion”. The Commission resolutions 1998/77 and 2002/45 lay down the underlying principles of conscientious objection. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has issued 15 reports on the issue of conscientious objection within the last 15 years the last one being in 2019. Article 10/2 in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states “The right to conscientious objection is recognised, in accordance with the national laws governing the exercise of this right.”

Fatherhood is an important indicator of manhood.

An important footing that men use in defining their manhood is fatherhood, that is their reproductive and sexual capacity to keep the lineage going. However, men’s absence in equal sharing of household and parenthood responsibilities, their conception of marital units and family life as an instrument for consolidating their hegemony and power and efforts cover up inequalities by sanctifying the institution of family are almost universal characteristics of masculinity and one of its determinative indicators. Thus, from gender equality perspective, fatherhood is both an opportunity and problem area for men.

Studies conducted in many countries demonstrate traditional gender roles and that responsibilities at home are imposed upon girls in early ages and then upon women through legislative arrangements as well. According to a study, female children devote 40 percent longer time to home-based works relative to male children.¹

The adoption of equalitarian fatherhood models and men’s participation to childcare and household responsibilities not only disseminate positive male representations but also make it possible for children of both sexes grow up in an equalitarian and safe environment. It supports and empowers the girl child,

¹ Promundo ve MenCare. (2019). State of the World’s Fathers. p. 14 <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1611>

transforms the relationship of men and boys with violence, and changes men's perception and practices on gender.² The transformation of fatherhood roles will not only offer women and female children a more equal life free from violence but also open the doors to men and boys a healthier and more balanced life physically, emotionally, and mentally. Studies carried out at global scale suggest that young men, upon being fathers, have significantly lower tendency for criminal behaviour, tobacco and alcohol use, drug abuse and risky behaviour; their chronic health problems diminish and behave more responsible and equalitarian in their social and professional relations.³

Homophobia is one of the most important factors ensuring the sustenance of male-dominated societies.

Homophobia is defined as fear of feminization and loss of masculinity.⁴ Indeed, the fear of losing sexual and social power that is identified with manhood is the major motive that constructs masculine values. In this context, the hatred against and fear of LGBTI+ is almost as old as human history but marked by contradictions as well. Today there are some religious institutions and laws that maintain many discriminatory practices against LGBTI+. It is because the ideology of masculinity and its service to the consolidation of male power is one of the strongest bases of homophobia. The values of dominant masculinity instrumentalize homophobia to establish male dominance practices and political and social power; combines discourses on the sanctity of family, moral order and national unity with homophobia.

Values and institutions of dominant masculinity are changing today.

Towards the end of the 20th century, eminent social scientists including feminist theoreticians observed that male domination was undergoing a qualitative change and it was therefore necessary to talk about a new form of *male dominance* rather than patriarchy. Indeed, it is not as easy as it used to be to point out to any biological, cultural, economic or ideological reason legitimizing men's superiority to women or their being ahead of them. This change is coined as the *crisis of masculinity* by some thinkers and as the *end of patriarchy* by others.

² UNDAW. (2008). Women 2000 and Beyond: The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality. p. 21
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/820>

³American Psychological Association- APA. (2018). APA Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Boys and Men. p. 13
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1585>

⁴ Kimmel, Michael S. (2016). Masculinity as Homophobia. Fear, Shame, Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity. İçinde Women in Culture: An Intersectional Anthology for Gender and Women's Studies. John Wiley & Sons. p. 24-32

One important reason of this change is the passage from family (we can also say household) organized as an institution to a new family model where the aim is living together. The classical patriarchal family model is being replaced by a new family model based on mutual love, affection, desire to live together and sharing privacy. Parallel to this development, transformation is inevitable for the concept of *masculinity based on biological superiority* and the mode of male dominance deriving from it.

Is the ongoing change a crisis in masculinity?

It is clear that in our times the claims of male superiority cannot be sustained on the basis of biological or blood wise superiority of males as it was in early modernity. Today, the sexist division of labour, separation of what can be done by men and by women which led to male superiority is becoming meaningless. Regimes that attribute different rights, powers and authorities to sexes and sustain this on the basis of biological differences are losing their ground and legitimacy. It can be said today that no strategy that automatically makes the man superior can be sustained and guaranteed for. Many studies assert that this is 'masculinity crisis' that derives mostly from economic reasons.

What are the indicators of crisis and change?

If it is true that modern nation states of a modernity based on male dominance, male citizen armies based on compulsory military service, man-centred family, and industrial factory production based on male muscle power are all changing the male-dominated system behind these is bound to change as well. Men's opportunities of full-time and secured employment that used to make them breadwinners in their families are diminishing. More and more families are now composed of couples both working and sharing domestic responsibilities. Meanwhile, changes that accompany men's sharing of livelihood responsibilities with women frighten men and male violence that is becoming more common aims to stop this change. Yet, change is gaining pace as violence becomes more common.

The legitimacy of heterosexual manhood is eroding; the criticism of homophobia and heterosexuality is becoming more visible with as the LGBTI+ movement gets stronger. The dominant fatherhood norm is changing. The model of fatherhood where men sustain the family by earning money but remain emotionally distant to the child as an authoritative figure is losing meaning. A new model of fatherhood keen on emotional relations and living/experiencing with children is becoming more popular.

The struggle of women for their rights is changing norms that back up male privileges with the force of law; laws are changing, and more equalitarian laws are being given effect. For example, equal rights to men and women in family are safeguarded by constitution and other laws. Upon their strenuous efforts feminists succeeded to make male violence against women an item in global agenda. For the last 15-20 years and more recently in particular violence against women and domestic violence became a common target for social criticism and opposition. This critical stance is adopted by the mainstream media and turned out as a demand for equality and democracy that can be owned easily by middle and higher-class males as well.

If there are supporters of values of male dominance it is inevitable that there will also be different masculinities resisting the former, seeking indirect ways of containing it or fighting more directly against. However, we see almost no study on masculinities that remain under the shadow of dominant forms of manhood or standing against it.

Development of post-industrial capitalism brings along changes in household, market and gender relations.

The modes of flexible production created by post-industrial capitalism pushes males' full-time employment and family headship status to secondary positions. In the post-industrial age, it is becoming more and more difficult for a man to find full-time job with retirement guarantee. The proportion of males employed in part-time and temporary jobs is increasing. Consequently, this form of employment is eroding the status and authority of males in family and society. It is for the reason that, for example, the marriage of men in this position becomes uncertain and tedious for having no income guarantee necessary to sustain a family. The model of industrial societies where marriage is based on the duality of full-time working men and women engaged in unpaid family work is now losing its status of being a worldwide and sustained one. The participation of married women to labour force and spread of part-time employment had already made the model of families where both couples work inevitable with the progress in industrialization. Still, the development of post-industrial society speeds up the change in family models and, at the same time, creates different household types.

Do these changes affect the class dimension of masculine violence?

It is commonly thought that males resorting to violence are mostly uneducated, from lower classes and countryside. According to this thinking men in industrial societies are expected to do works that require muscular strength and thus "uncontrolled violence" by muscles is an "undesired outcome" that has to be put up

with. Men who work with their muscles may run wild, fight with their fists, swear and scorn women; the energy of this kind of men lacking “education in civilization” must be disciplined and their “natural aggressiveness” must be transformed into “productive power”. On the other hand, it is accepted that males from the class of capitalists are well educated and alien to practices such as violence. According to this opinion, this “sterile” masculine culture of upper classes does not tolerate violence; instead, it exalts other values such as gentlemanliness, competition-based success, and respect for women. Males from this class may use violence only symbolically or in the form of economic violence. They ensure others’ obedience with their money and power anyway or the violence of “coercive institutions” of the state is already serving their purpose. It is claimed that males in social segments emerging in post-industrial social environments and qualified as “sub-class” or “under-class” are suffering a kind of masculinity loss that leads to a crisis which, in turn, makes them resort to violence more frequently. Football fanaticism, street gangs, “mafiaization”, rising “machoism”, racism and xenophobia are referred to as cases of this new form of masculine violence.

Crisis in masculine hegemony leads to the restoration of male power.

The receding of male superiority in many areas sows in some men the desire to regain their power. We are witnessing the organization of a reaction against the rise of women’s rights and establishment of gender equality as an undeniable norm starting from the 2010s. Criticisms, attacks and intensive reactions emerge, with the support of conservative right-wing governments and fundamentalist religious movements, against leading organizations that protect women’s rights. Funds and state support to women’s empowerment and related budgets are cut down while sexist and homophobic practices standing against women’s rights start to enjoy support from the public. There are steps taken back which are manifested in abortion bans, closure of women’s study centres in universities, and in such issues as divorce and alimony in civil code.

Major dynamic in change is the male movement.

As we mentioned above, corrosion in male-dominated institutions, values and privileged statuses and resulting inevitability of change drives men to action for their gender. In this context we see that change represented by men taking action or resistance to change take different shapes: Pro-feminist and misogynist male movements exist in two opposite directions. We call the first as *critical masculinity movement*. We can define this male movement as siding with equality of sexes and having the common agenda of giving effect to change in male-dominant values,

norms and institutions. Basic propositions of critical masculinity can be listed as follows:

- Males too face the harms of male-dominated order.
- To ensure gender equality, there is need to develop a perspective for transformation where the male is both the subject and object.
- Men have to cooperate to stop violence against women and children.
- LGBTI+ rights are fundamental human rights.
- Paternity cannot merely be role model for authority and subsistence; it must be synthesized with a sense of paternity that embodies interest, compassion and love.
- A common stance is needed against the conscription of lower-class males as mercenaries by neo-militarism.
- Men's liberation movement must develop. For this, men oppressed by patriarchy must come together and men must organize against masculine violence.
- Anti-war, conscientious objector men must be more visible and link with movement against masculine violence.
- Paternity rights and responsibilities of divorced fathers must be arranged in line with the principle of equality and by observing the best interest of the child.
- Men must share equal responsibility in household works and childcare and relevant legislative arrangements must be reviewed in this regard.

We can call the second type of male movement *restoration of male dominance*. This movement comprise those who regard the development of women's rights and liberation of women as a threat and try to protect present male privileges and domains of dominance.

II. International Norms and Standards Envisaging Male Participation to Gender Equality

Ensuring gender equality in all spheres of life and prevention of gender-based violence, sexual assault and harassment is necessary not only for protecting women and LGBTI+. Men too are harmed by gender inequality in a different way; perceptions and expectations concerning traditional gender roles restrict men too in a different way; hinder their physical, emotional and mental development. Given this, men's objectives and methods in the struggle for equality of sexes and their efforts to have a common and equal life with women and LGBTI+ started to find its place in the agenda of international agencies and civil society organizations starting with the 70s. These developments led to the emergence of international norms related to the issue. We can summarize emerging international norms in this area and their contexts as follows.

A. Male Participation to Gender Equality (GE) in United Nations Norms

The United Nations Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994 is the first international convention that recognized the necessity of male participation for the solution of the problem of gender inequality. The Cairo Programme of Action and Outcome Document updated in 1999 resolved that men must be encouraged to undertake childcare and household responsibilities and to transform their attitude towards sexual and reproductive health issues and violence.⁵ The Beijing Summit held during the UN Fourth Conference on Women held in 1995 and the Platform for Action envisaged the participation of men to gender equality work for empowering women. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1980 explicitly stated the necessity of including men in gender equality efforts.

1. Decisions by the UN Commission on the Status of Women

In the same year, the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) identified the participation of men and male children to gender equality as one of the basic duties of the commission. The 48th session of the CSW in 2004 drew the framework of a global policy on the roles and responsibilities of men and male children in the

⁵ MenEngage. (2011). Engaging Men and Boys to Reduce and Prevent Gender-Based Violence. p. 5
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1598>

struggle for gender equality. It suggests men's and male children's active involvement in domestic issues and in preventing violence against women, their adoption and extension of positive models of manhood. The outcome document points out to the need for the rehabilitation of perpetrators of violence and expediting efforts to support the victims of violence.⁶ The outcomes of the CSW meeting constitute a guide for countries that are parties to the CEDAW.⁷ In the 50th session of the CSW (2006) it was suggested that objectives laid down in 2004 should be broadened and further disseminated. The CSW had stressed, in particular, the need for gender equality training and awareness building to cover the police and armed forces as well, inclusion of gender equality in education curricula, and supporting these with training programmes covering the public at large. The Commission identified sexual exploitation and assault, traditional masculine practices harming others, HIV/AIDS and violence as priority themes to work on. Among the topics that the commission draw attention to we see gender discrimination in working life, paternity leaves for fathers and men's undertaking of childcare responsibilities.

In its report *Women and Beyond 2000*⁸ prepared in 2008, the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women of the Department for Economic and Social Affairs 2008 lists as follows the principles related to men's participation to efforts for ensuring gender equality:

- Displaying a determined stance for women's rights and empowerment,
- Need for adopting a wider perspective in issues related to human rights and social justice,
- Targeting structural changes as well besides personal changes,
- Broad perception of gender equality covering women and men both,
- Seeing the relationality and intersectionality of gender formation,
- Males being aware of and undertaking responsibility in regard to power privileges that they benefit,
- Placing emphasis on male contribution and making it visible,
- Taking into account differences among males.⁹

In the 58th session of the CSW in 2014 it is stressed that it is necessary to encourage men and male children to undertake equal responsibilities in relation to sexual health, reproductive health and sexually transmitted diseases while the 60th

⁶ MenEngage. (2018). Briefing Note: Engaging Men And Boys And Transforming Masculinities For The Realization Of CEDAW's Mandates. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1599>

⁷ Promundo. (2014). What Men Have To Do With It Public Policies to Promote Gender Equality p. 45
<https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/What-Men-Have-to-Do-With-It.pdf>

⁸ UNDAW. (2008). *Women 2000 and Beyond: The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality* 30. p. 4.
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/820>

⁹ UNDAW. (2008). *Women 2000 and Beyond: The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality* 30. p. 8-9.
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/820>

session in 2016 underlined the need for men to undertake more responsibility in care and domestic issues.¹⁰

2. United Nations Human Rights Council

In its 33rd session in 2017, the United Nations Human Rights Council took a decision which included the section “Accelerating efforts to eliminate violence against women: engaging men and boys in preventing and responding to violence against all women and girls” (A/HRC/35/L.15).¹¹ The emphasis by the Human Rights Council on structural and historical inequalities in preventing gender-based violence points out to the necessity to focus on root causes of gender inequality rather than its outcomes and underlines the importance of involvement by men and boys as major actors in gender-equality work. At this point the Council also states that it is the responsibility of states parties to develop and implement national-level policies and strategies, introduce necessary legislative arrangements, organize public campaigns and to plan for capacity building.¹²

B. European Union (EU) and European Council (EC) Norms and Male Participation to Gender Equality¹³

The **European Commission**’s 2005 gender equality assessment report addressed men’s participation to gender equality under a separate section headed as “Men and Gender Equality.” In 2006 the Committee identified men’s involvement in gender equality work as one of its targets. Again in 2006, during Finland’s EU Presidency 2006, there was “Men and Gender Equality – Towards Progressive Policies” covering EU member states. In the Council of Europe spring meeting held on 3 March 2006 it was stated that more attention must be paid to the issue of men’s participation to gender equality. The council declaration underlined that men’s support to and undertaking of responsibility in gender equality would bring about positive outcomes in short and longer-terms not only for women but men as well. The statement suggested development of programmes against gender-based discrimination covering males as well. The statement specially underlined the need to encourage men for involvement in gender equality work by including discussions about stereotype male roles in training programmes. In these programmes, penalization of men who are perpetrators in gender-based violence within the

¹⁰ MenEngage. (2018). Briefing Note: Engaging Men And Boys And Transforming Masculinities For The Realization Of CEDAW’s Mandates. p. 10. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1599>

¹¹ United Nations. (2017). General Asssembly. 53. Session. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1305180>

¹² MenEngage. (2018). Briefing Note: Engaging Men And Boys And Transforming Masculinities For The Realization Of CEDAW’s Mandates. p. 8. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1599>

¹³ Burri, S. ve Prechal, S. (European Commission). (2008). EU Gender Equality Law. p. 3 <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1632>

framework of laws in effect, building awareness in gender equality among men and boys, and adoption of measures for the prevention of gender-based violence are essential responsibilities of member states.

1. European Institute for Gender Equality and Male Participation to GE

The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) has focused on men's position and problems in its work on gender equality since its establishment. The EIGE seeks to include men in gender equality work by transforming men's perceptions of masculinity as main agents in inequality while also including in its work inequalities that men face in such areas as violence, literacy, work safety and health and education. In 2013 the EIGE prepared, for the European Commission, the report "Role of Men in Gender Equality Work - Europe's Strategies and Approaches" and made comprehensive suggestions on men's contribution to gender equality.¹⁴

1. Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) and Male Participation to GE

Articles 12 to 17 in the third chapter of Istanbul Convention state ensuring gender equality is the common responsibility of all individuals, and that both governmental and non-governmental organizations are bound to include all individuals, men in particular, in efforts to ensure gender equality. Under the guidance of the GREVIO that is in charge of monitoring the implementation of the convention, many countries made specific arrangements concerning gender equality and men's participation to related efforts.

2. Protection of Rights of LGBTI+ in International Conventions

Though the issues of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and LGBTI+ rights have come up in the UN agenda several time no outcome could be obtained for long years. In its General Comments nos. 14 and 15 in 2000, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights concluded that no discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation can be made in access to healthcare according to Articles 2 and 3 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ECOSOC).¹⁵ The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child too states that

¹⁴ EIGE. (2013). Men and Gender Equality: An Online Discussion Report. p. 6-9
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/803>

¹⁵ United Nations. (2000). General comment no. 14 (2000), The right to the highest attainable standard of health.

discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation must be banned in the context of adult health, HIV/AIDS and child rights.¹⁶ The UN General Assembly convening in New York in 2008 adopted the resolution no. G/RES 2435 (XXXVIII-O/08) which called on all member nations to end discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and to decriminalize homosexuality.¹⁷ In 2011 the Committee on Human Rights required the preparation of a report identifying the dimensions of discrimination based on sexual orientation and documenting discriminatory laws, practices and acts of violence.¹⁸ The report was published in 2011 which included examples on the crimes of discrimination and hatred and criminalization of homosexuality.¹⁹ In 2011, with its resolution A/HRC/RES/17/19, the UN Human Rights Council suggested the establishment of working commission to determine the dimensions of violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender and related cases of violation of rights. The report prepared by the commission,²⁰ exposed the essentials of gender discrimination and gender-based violence also covering discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.²¹ In its resolution A/RES/67/168, the UN General Assembly stated in 2013 that it is the responsibility of member states to protect individuals from all violations threatening the right to life (Article 6b) including acts of homicide based on sexual orientation and gender.²² In 2016 the Commission on Human Rights decided for the appointment of an expert to prepare a report on the causes of discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation.²³

In its Recommendation no. 924 dated 1981, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe addresses the issue of discrimination against homosexuals, Recommendation no. 1470 dated 2000 is about the rights of homosexuals and their partners having refugee status in member countries, and the Recommendation no. 1635 dated 2003 deals with the rights of homosexuals in homosexuals in sports branches and contests, all having clearer and detailed provisions about sexual orientation and gender identity.²⁴

In 1981 the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) resolved that legislation prohibiting or penalizing homosexuality as immoral constituted a violence of privacy provided by article 8 in the European Convention on Human Rights. Decision of the

¹⁵ United Nations. (2000). General comment no. 14 (2000), The right to the highest attainable standard of health. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1612>

¹⁶ ICJ. (2009). Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and International Human Rights Law <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1594>

¹⁷ UN. (2008). Statement on Human Rights, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity. <https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?docid=49997ae312>

¹⁸ <https://news.un.org/en/story/2011/12/398432-un-issues-first-report-human-rights-gay-and-lesbian-people>

¹⁹ United Nations. (2011). General Assembly 19. Session. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1609>

²⁰ UN Human Rights Council. (2011). Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity. Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. A/HRC/19/41. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1613>

²¹ UNFE. (2017). International Human Rights Law and Sexual Orientation & Gender Identity <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1605>

²² United Nations. (2013). General Assembly 67. Session <https://undocs.org/en/a/res/67/168>

²³ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/sexualorientationgender/pages/index.aspx>

²⁴ ICJ. (2009). Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and International Human Rights Law. p. 41 <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1594>

EcHR that were taken later continued to support practices that protect the rights of LGBTI+ individuals.

C. International Civil Organizations Working for Male Participation to Gender Equality

The following are civil organizations that make efforts at international level to ensure male participation to the struggle for gender equality and related information is given in the report: The White Ribbon Campaign, Men Engage Alliance, Maschile Plurale, A Call to Men, Promundo, Men Can Stop Rape (MCSR), National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS), MenCare Promundo, American Men's Studies Association (AMSA), the South Asian Network to Address Masculinities (SANAM), European Men's Health Forum (EMHF), Masculinites et Societe (MS), Advocates for Social Change Kenya (ADSOCK) and UN Women-HeForShe.

III. Male Participation to Gender Equality in Turkey

A. Male Participation to GE as Envisaged in National Action Plans

National action plans as the main official document of GE policies in Turkey are prepared and implemented by the General Directorate for Women's Status (GDWS) under the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS). These action plans also specify which public agencies besides GDWS will take part in the implementation of which specific policies and what kind of missions they will undertake.

Male involvement in GE work was addressed under Target 2 "Enhancing man's awareness and sensitivity in ensuring gender equality" in the Gender Equality Action Plan 2008-2013. The Strategy Document and Action Plan for Women's Empowerment 2018-2023 defines men's participation to GE efforts as an objective crosscutting all policies. In terms of content, activities are designed to ensure "balance between family and work responsibilities", "more participation by men to family training courses", and "analysis of the impact of trainings on men".

The National Action Plan on Combating Violence against Women 2012-2015 repeats the objectives of building awareness in men and ensuring mentality transformation in the context of preventing violence against women. The National Action Plan on Combating Violence against Women 2016-2020 carries policy beyond such indirect interventions as awareness building and training and considers it as a matter of joint responsibility that requires cooperation and coordination of government agencies in the context of "inter-agency cooperation and policy development."

The Coordination Plan for Combating Violence against Women 2020-2021 which is in effect today defines men's participation to GE policies not with reference to women's rights and gender equality but the aim of "protecting the family". The plan specifically brings religious officials to the fore in this regard. It takes as its bases the activities of Family Religious Guidance and Counselling Units managed the Head Office of Religious Affairs (DİB). Religious services offered by the DİB include "Father's School" and "Training in Family Conscience". The Ministry of Interior is supposed to deliver training in "anger management" to those under probation who are identified as in need of such training.

When it comes to objectives set in relation to men's involvement, national action plans for GE carried out by the KSGM (General Directorate on the Status of Women) unfortunately do not include the "rehabilitation of men as perpetrators of violence, organization of public campaigns against male violence, tracing and

prevention of media content supporting violence, calling on men for active support against violence, etc.” which represent more direct interventions to the problem area.

B. Civil Organizations Working for Male Participation to Gender Equality and Good Practices in Turkey

There is limited number of CSOs and local organizations that are working for male participation to gender equality and extending models of egalitarian masculinity. The leading ones are: Initiative for Critical Masculinity (EEİİ), Yanındayız (We are on your side) Association, Erkek Muhabbeti Biz Erkek Değiliz İnisiyatifi (Male Chat We are not Men Initiative - BEDİ), Ataerkiye Karşı Erkekler (Men against Patriarchy), Voltrans, Maternal- and Child Health and Training Foundation (AÇEV) Father Support Programme.

The following can be mentioned as good examples from Turkey in male participation to gender equality:

- ACEV's Father Support Programme,
- UNFPA Office in Turkey incorporating masculinity-related training modules into trainings in gender equality organized jointly with different state institutions,
- The HeforShe support campaign conducted in 2018 by Fenerbahçe Sports Club and UN Women.²⁵

The UN Women Office in Turkey is engaged in efforts, in cooperation with ACEV, UNFPA, ASAM, Fenerbahçe Sports Club and other CSOs, for transforming traditional male roles and ensuring men's participation to gender equality work in the context of various projects. For example, these partners carried out a field survey to determine perceptions and attitudes of masculinity in Turkey under the Project for the Prevention of Child, Early and Forced Marriages (CEFM). They rolled out the Support to Fathers Programme by the AÇEV in regions targeted by the CEFM project in cooperation with UN Women. UN Women, Under HeForShe campaigns, the UN Women in cooperation with international companies including Koç, Vodafone and Unilever is taking steps to ensure men's and boys' participation to gender activities.

²⁵ [https://www.fenerbahce.org/haberler/kulup/2020/5/fenerbahce-miz-bir-ilke-daha-imza-atarak-birlesmis-milletler-kadinin-guclenmesi-prensipleri-\(weps\)%e2%80%9d](https://www.fenerbahce.org/haberler/kulup/2020/5/fenerbahce-miz-bir-ilke-daha-imza-atarak-birlesmis-milletler-kadinin-guclenmesi-prensipleri-(weps)%e2%80%9d)

IV. Sources of Indicators and Data Related to Male Participation to Gender Equality

Indexes developed for gender equality and used globally²⁶ mostly address inequalities in the context of violations of women's rights. Presently there are no indicators for an index or indices that are specially developed and used for assessing male superiority, privileges and risks that males are confronted with. The implicit approval of sexist and discriminatory behaviours and perceptions in the fields of law, politics, economy and education is an important factor preventing the development of these indicators and indices.

The only index developed by international agencies that is important in assessing the prevalence of male superiority by the UNDP (Gender Social Norms Index- GSNI).²⁷ According to 2010 data of this index, globally 90 percent of males are biased against women. Again according to the same index, at least a half of world population, both men and women, think men are better than women in political leadership; over 40 percent believe men are better business manager and men must have priority when employment opportunities are limited; and 28 percent think men have the "right" to beat women. The index also includes data related to Turkey. According to the Gender Social Norms Index, women have slightly lesser gender bias than men in Turkey similar to the case in the world and again in line with the global trend, gender biases are on the rise in Turkey as well.

²⁶ ²⁶ Human Development Index (HDI); Gender Development Index (GDI); Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM); Gender Inequality Index (GII); Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI); Gender Equity Index (GEI); Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Indicators; Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) Indicators; EIGE Gender Equality Index; OECD Gender, Institutions and Development Database (GID).

²⁷ <http://hdr.undp.org/en/gsni>

V. Data on Male Participation to Gender Equality in Turkey

A. Data Related to Turkey by International Organizations

Various international organizations publish reports on gender equality data for Turkey for purposes of monitoring, evaluation and research. There are pitifully very few documents in which we can find direct or indirect data related to men.²⁸ An exception to this is the 2018 report on Turkey by the GREVIO Commission which was set up to see whether the provisions of Istanbul Convention are actually implemented.²⁹ The report focuses on problems of discrimination and violence against women mentions men's participation to gender equality only in the part headed "Prevention." The report underlines the necessity of men's and male children's participation to efforts to ensure gender equality and prevent violence against women in the elimination of gender-based discrimination and violence. The report also suggests the introduction of programmes for perpetrators of violence and awareness building in gender equality. The GREVIO warns that whitewash and justification of male violence by traditional norms and legal arrangements only leads to the perpetuation of violence and what is really needed is to question men's association with violence. The report states that outcomes obtained remain extremely limited and weak in the face of "male resistance" to the implementation of Istanbul Convention. The report also notes that discrimination and violence against the LGBTI+ has assumed even more serious dimensions.

According to "The Pursuit of Gender Equality"³⁰ by OECD (2017) Turkey is one of the OECD countries where men participate the least in domestic division of labour and men in Turkey spend most of their time out of home and in their workplaces.

Turkey is not included in studies on global masculinity values conducted jointly by the MenEngage and UN Women. There is therefore still a serious gap in studies that focus on the transformation of masculinity values and men's participation to gender equality work.

²⁸ Some of the current reports containing data related to the topic are listed in the report.

<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1759>

²⁹ GREVIO (2018) Grevio's (Baseline) Evaluation Report, Turkey <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1135>

³⁰ <https://www.oecd.org/publications/the-pursuit-of-gender-equality-9789264281318-en.htm>

B. Data from National Institutions and Agencies

1. Demographic Data Constituting Male Dominance and Superiority in Turkey

Demographic data suggest that men in Turkey have their privileged status in benefitting from public resources in the fields of education, employment, politics, law, economy, etc. and these are quantitative indicators of male dominance and social power.³¹ Let's first take a brief look at demographic data in education, employment and subsistence where there are serious risks for men.

Risk areas for male population: Lack of occupation and education and unemployment...

In Turkey, males who face the highest risk are those who are at working ages, but with limited educational background and without permanent and formal jobs:

- The male population in the age group 15-24 is 5.9 million. 1,084,000 of this population are neither in education nor in employment. 155,000 have had their higher education while the rest have their education at high school level or lower.
- The male population in the age group 15+ is 30.3 million. 21.8 million of this total (72 percent) are in employment. 76.9 percent of male population aged 25+ have their educational background of high school or lower level.
- 52.7 percent of single men are in employment. The rate of male unemployment is by 22 percent.
- There is male population of 8.5 million not in labour force. Of this population 2 million are in education, 0.7 million are retired and 1.2 million are not capable of working.
- 2.8 million of 5 million people employed in agriculture are males. Of 22.9 million people employed in non-agricultural sectors 16.2 million are males. Of 19 million males working 2.3 million are employed in unqualified works.

³¹ These data are derived from gender data provided by TURKSTAT.
<https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Search/Search?text=toplumsal%20cinsiyet%20istatistikleri&dil=1> Erişim tarihi 24.12.2020

Hegemony and power domains of males: Marriage, money, proprietorship, managing authority, leisure time utilization, etc.

- Men are paid higher than women in all circumstances; men with disabilities can benefit from public services more than women with disabilities and men enjoy higher levels of education than women.
- Marriage is an area of advantage and superiority for men: Men marry more and live less as widowed; women moves elsewhere upon getting married, but men's motive for migration is subsistence. Children of divorced couples live with their mothers, not fathers. Arranged marriages are less frequent in the case of men; the level of education of marrying man is higher than marrying women. Not men but women get married in early ages and strategic decisions while married are made by men.
- Men are ahead of women in computer and internet use; they are also more active than women in use of social media; driving is still a privilege of men...
- Participation to religious praying practices differs by gender. While 56 percent of women consider themselves as devoted and 30 percent as with faith, these are 47 percent and 38 percent for men, respectively.
- Men are more advantaged in terms of social communication and support since they participate more to social life. While women are in communication more with neighbours and persons from the same town men spend more time with their school and business mates and hobby groups.
- Overwhelming majority of political decision-makers are males:³² 86.09 percent of 550 deputies elected to the parliament (TBMM) in general elections of November 2015 are males; In 2019 local elections, 97 percent of elected mayors, 89 percent of municipal council members; 96 percent of provincial council members, 90 percent of metropolitan city mayors and 98 percent of village and neighbourhood heads are males.³³

³² For further information see: Sancar, S. (2019). Siyasal Kararlara Katılımda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği: Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması., <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/176>
Ve Sancar, S. (2020). Siyasal Kararlara Katılımda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması 2018-2020 Güncellemesi. CEİD Yayınları. (<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1251>)

³³ This figure does not include mayors and municipal staff removed from their posts by appointment of trustees.

2. How do Males Experience Manhood? Violence, Fatherhood, Military Service

Besides demographic data relating to men, there is also need to take a look at how men experience their roles in Turkey. In this context we can refer to data from existing studies on such themes as male violence, fatherhood, undertaking of domestic/family responsibilities, military service, etc.

Large majority of perpetrators or victims of violence are men

There are 275,000 male (96.1 percent) and 11,000 female (3.9 percent) prisoners and convicts held in prisons in Turkey.³⁴ According to TURKSTATS's 2019 statistics the distribution of offences is as follows: Theft (17 percent), wilful injury (12.4 percent), production and trafficking of narcotic or stimulant substances (6.7 percent), breach of Enforcement and Bankruptcy Law (5.8 percent) and homicide (3.5 percent). Educational status of convicts and prisoners is as follows: Primary school (40 percent), secondary and equivalent education schools (20 percent), high school (25 percent) and higher education (15 percent).³⁵

Perpetrators of violence against women are men.

261 women were murdered in Turkey in 2016.³⁶ and this number increased to 440 in 2018.³⁷ Almost all perpetrators of these crimes are men: husbands, former boyfriends/partners or male relatives appearing at the top of the list (HIPS, 2015). According to the Femicide Report 2016-2018 by the Police Academy, 96.2 percent of perpetrators in cases of femicide are males and 3.8 percent are women. Of perpetrators, 46.8 percent are primary school graduates and 63.7 percent are married. 30.9 percent are from the age interval 26-35 and their average age is 39. 57.1 percent of perpetrators are in unqualified jobs or unemployed. 63.5 percent are spouses or partners, and 32 percent are family members. As stated by perpetrators the lead cause is psychosocial motives by 42.6 percent which include quarrelling, jealousy, wife seeing other men, women's intention to get a divorce, and debates about subsistence and property issues.³⁸

According to data obtained from Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies (HIPS) 2014 and 2018 surveys on Domestic Violence against Women, half of women interviewed had suffered physical violence of their husbands or partners. The most

³⁴ <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/cezaevlerinde-yaklasik-286-bin-hukumlu-ve-tutuklu-var/1646397>

³⁵ <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Ceza-Infaz-Kurumu-Istatistikleri-2019-33625>

³⁶ <http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/183232-2016-da-oldurulen-261-kadini-isimleriyle-aniyoruz>

³⁷ <https://tr.euronews.com/2019/12/31/kadin-cinayetleri-2019-raporu-474-kadin-erkekler-tarafindan-olduruldu>

³⁸ Taştan, C. ve Küçükler Yıldız, A. (2019). Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Kadın Cinayetleri 2016-2017-2018 Verileri ve Analizler. Polis Akademisi Yayınları <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1622>

common forms of physical violence are beating (52.4 percent), punching (48 percent), slapping (37.8 percent) and manhandling (37.8 percent) (HIPS, 2015). Of men resorting to physical and sexual violence 75 percent are above age 35 and only 2 percent are under 25. 44 percent are primary school graduate and 84 percent are wage earners. In the light of these data it cannot be said lack of education and job are the causes of violence. Neither is there any direct connection between violence and bad habits. Gambling and drug addiction is quite rare among males using violence (2 and 1 percent, respectively). The most prevalent one of bad habits is alcohol abuse (by 21 percent). Focusing on men engaged in frequent alcohol use we see that 6 percent of men who resort to violence are those who use alcohol every day while it is 11 percent among those resorting to sexual violence. Examining men's history of violence in their families we find that 27 percent were exposed to their parents' physical violence. 40 percent of men resorting to physical violence and 46 percent resorting to sexual violence are those who were once exposed to physical violence of their fathers and mothers. Among those resorting to physical and sexual violence, the share of those who were once exposed to violence is higher. 22 percent of men had suffered physical violence themselves. 35 percent of men who resort to physical violence and 42 percent who resort to sexual violence are those who suffered physical violence in their families.

Of men who have no education at all or dropped out of primary school 45 percent resorted to physical and 19 percent to sexual violence. For men with graduate and postgraduate degrees these percentages drop to 20 percent in physical and 4 percent in sexual violence. Despite this positive effect of education, it is still interesting that one-fifth of even most educated men in the country have resorted to physical violence. Among men who are involved in acts of violence, physical violence used by those who have fought at least once with other men is more than twice (by 63 percent) than others using violence but have not fought with others (by 30 percent). In sexual violence this difference is by more than three times (29 percent and 9 percent, respectively). Physical and sexual violence by men who cheat their wives (by 70 percent and 40 percent, respectively) is more frequent relative to others. The outcomes of the study show that half of men (51 percent) whose mothers suffered physical violence use physical violence against their wives and one-fifth (19 percent) is involved in sexual violence. 22 percent of males have themselves suffered physical violence in their families. Men's past experiences as victims of violence is among factors that increase the incidence of using physical (54 percent) and sexual (22 percent) violence

Compulsory military service for males in Turkey is to be terminated.

The present report addresses data related to the military and masculinity from the angle of compulsory military service, paid military service, on-contract draft and

the right to conscientious objection. In this context, the Turkish Armed Forces started to switch to professional army model and conscript on-contract privates starting from 2011. The Law no. 6191 on Contracted Privates and Non-Com³⁹ provides the basis for the recruitment of such personnel. Starting from 2014, paid military service was made possible.

In Turkey the right to conscientious objection is not granted to those who do not want to be enlisted for their conscientious preferences. There is still penal sanctions who resist enlistment for this reason. Yet the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and Council of Europe Committee of Ministers recognized the right to conscientious objection as a component of the freedom of faith and conscience basing on Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Upon a case coming from Turkey, the ECHR gave Turkey time until the end of 2011 to make necessary arrangements in this respect in her legislation. In spite of this decision, only Turkey and Azerbaijan among 47 members of the Council of Europe do not recognize conscientious objection as a legal right.

Risks that compulsory military service brings for men constitute an important issue relating to the rights of men. According to 2015 data, 934 soldiers committed suicide while in military service within the past 10 years. According to 2012 figures the incidence of suicide among soldiers is 2.5 times higher than among civilians. Of victims of mobbing in the military 42 percent complain about insults, 30 percent about being beaten, 28 percent about disproportionate penalties, 24 percent for not being able to get healthcare, 14 percent about being forced to excessive physical activity, 14 percent about being threatened, 7 percent for being forced handle some personal work of their superiors and 7 percent about being denied sleep.⁴⁰

As of 2018 there are 585,210 people subject to military service roll call, that is people at military service ages. There are 570,422 draft evaders, 56,947 absentees and 5,772 deserters. 2,930,279 persons have postponed their conscription while 1,885, 438 did so for their on-going education. There are 360,869 privates under guns and the number to be conscripted in 2019 is 345,933. These mean that there are in total 5,448,858 persons related to the military in some way.⁴¹

2. Males in Households and Male Responsibilities in Turkey

- The average household size in Turkey is 3.3 and it is gradually getting smaller.⁴² The proportion of single-parent nuclear families dropped from 67.4 percent in 2014 to 65.3 percent in 2018. The proportion of single-member

³⁹ <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuatmetin/1.5.6191.pdf>

⁴⁰ <https://www.barobirlik.org.tr/haberler/tsk-da-mobbing-ve-intihar-vakalari-ilk-kez-masaya-yatirildi-40653>

⁴¹ <https://www.dunya.com/gundem/asker-adayi-55-milyon-kisi-var-tsknin-yillik-ihiyaci-346-bin-haberi-418102>

⁴² Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Türkiye Aile Yapısı İleri İstatistik Analizi, 2018 <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1623>

households reached 16.1 percent in 2018, which was 13.9 percent in 2014. The proportion of households of extended family defined as at least one nuclear family plus some others, which was 16.7 percent in 2014, dropped to 15.8 percent in 2018.

- In 2018 8.9 percent of all households in Turkey were composed of a single parent with children. Of all households 1.9 percent are composed of single father and his children and 7 percent of single mother and her children. Divorced fathers do not live with their children.

Males being fathers

Studies conducted in Turkey and in other countries show the approach and attitudes of men towards domestic division of labour are similar to each other. In this model, men are expected to undertake outdoor affairs or things that require technical knowledge and skills while women are seen as responsible for household affairs and care work. The MenCare suggests governments five fundamental arrangements to eliminate this distinction and to equalize domestic responsibilities: Fully-paid and untransferable maternity/paternity leave for all parents; state-supported and quality childcare services; development of health policies that will include men too in pre-natal medical examinations, delivery and post-natal care; building awareness through inclusive communication campaigns and formal training; and ensuring regular data flow and assessment related to the sharing of unpaid domestic labour.⁴³

The AÇEV report on “Involved Fatherhood and its Determinants in Turkey” lays down basic principles determining involved fatherhood.⁴⁴ An involved father is in communication with his child, engages in joint activities and spends time together; he plays and invents new games with the child; supports his child psychologically, emotionally and physically when there is need; mobilizes necessary resources for the care of the child.

According to the study “States of Masculinity and Fatherhood” again conducted by the AÇEV the following are some characteristics of fathers in Turkey:

- 35 percent adopt the role of “traditional fatherhood” that sticks to traditions, is authoritarian, closed to change and distant to children;
- 28 percent are “new traditional fathers” who, although adopting traditional male roles, are still willing to go beyond traditional roles with their daughters;
- 23 percent are “enthusiastic” fathers who, although adopting traditional roles, still display fatherhood behaviours in line with their personal preferences;

⁴³ <https://men-care.org/what-we-do/advocacy/the-mencare-commitment/>

⁴⁴ AÇEV. (2017). Türkiye’de İlgili Babalık ve Belirleyicileri. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/802>

- 12'si percent are "diligent" fathers who do not adopt traditional gender roles and expectations and refuse traditional fatherhood practices, but doing these for different reasons out of their own will;
- 0.9 percent are "out of line fathers" who believe in gender equality, display an equalitarian behaviour in this sense, undertake childcare and make efforts to improve themselves".⁴⁵

According to the AÇEV study "Involved Fatherhood and its Determinants in Turkey"⁴⁶

- For an overwhelming majority of fathers (91 percent) the mother has the primary responsibility in childcare.
- 41 percent of fathers say, "I would not undertake my child's care whatever circumstances may be".
- Almost a half of fathers are not interested in their children's physical care; 51 percent take their child to bed; 50 percent take them to bathroom; 47 percent get help their children get dressed; 42 percent feed them; 36 percent never change diapers of their infants; and 35 percent never cut their children's fingernails.
- The issue that fathers have keen interest in relation to their children is their health. Fathers frequently say they are attentive when their children get sick.
- Fathers remain behind mothers in participation to activities related to the education of the child or in supporting their education.
- It is mostly fathers who set in when there is any issue related to the discipline and punishment of the child. Punishment may assume a range of forms most frequent of which is bans followed by verbal violence, probation and physical violence.
- Fathers think they are affectionate and close to their children, but the time they spend with them is often of poor quality. They mostly watch TV together. The time spend this way is by 78.5 percent with smaller children but gets as high as 86 percent at higher ages.
- Neither do fathers spare special time for their children out of home; 76 percent of fathers walk together with their children; 73 percent go to family visits and 62 percent to shopping centres.
- Fathers do talk to their children, but do not listen to them. 80 percent of fathers say they talk with their children about their feelings, but a large majority cannot make a distinction between conversation and admonishment. According to a study by Boratav, Fişek and Ziya Eslen, 85

⁴⁵ AÇEV. (2018). Erkeklik ve Babalık Hâlleri. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/804>

⁴⁶ AÇEV. (2017). Türkiye'de İlgili Babalık ve Belirleyicileri. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/802> p. 29

percent of men say it was just admonishing when their fathers talked to them.⁴⁷

- Babalar, hayatlarından memnun ve mutlu oldukları ölçüde çocuklarını mutlu edebiliyor. Hayatımdan memnunum diyenlerin oranı yüzde 86, bu babaların kendi babalık pratikleri ile olumlu algıları da aynı derecede yüksek (yüzde 94).

It appears that the gender of the child is no problem for fathers in Turkey; preference for a boy or girl child does not differ much at least at discourse level. However it may be interesting to note that while 31 percent of fathers think “male children should not play with dolls” and 34 percent say, “fathers cannot change their infant daughters”, 87 percent affirm “girls’ school enrolment and attendance” and 88 percent see no problem in “girls and boys playing together”.⁴⁸

88 percent of fathers think father is the head of the family. 66 percent think that women should remain silent before their husbands when necessary, 65 percent say, “Men must be able to have their words listened to” and 78 percent believe “Women are weaker and more emotional by their nature”. 43 percent of fathers say their wives and children hold back before them and 24 percent state they have resorted to physical violence against their wives at least once.⁴⁹

But when it comes to economic circumstances men seem to be more equalitarian. 75 percent say, “Women can do paid work out of home” while 72 percent think “children will be affected negatively by their mothers’ employment out of home”.⁵⁰ According to AÇEV’s 2018 study “States of Manhood and Fatherhood” 66.3 percent of men take it positively if their wives have higher income.⁵¹

More and more fathers start to undertake domestic responsibilities as mothers are also employed out of home and take their part in social life. Fathers’ perceptions about domestic division of labour directly affect their fatherhood behaviour and attitudes. However, while 40 percent of fathers go out to shopping for basic food items once a week only 24 percent do the same daily. More than half of participants say they have never cooked and done any cleaning work in their houses. More than three-fourths of fathers have never done such works as wiping windows or washing and hanging out laundry.⁵²

Decisions made within the family are also determined by gender attitudes. 64.7 percent of fathers say decisions in investment are made by men. 40.5 percent of fathers say the mother decides whether to let children out, but 53.4 percent believe that it should be fathers who give the decision about letting the child to stay with a friend.⁵³

⁴⁷ Bolak Boratav, H., Okman Fişek, G.ve Eslen Ziya, Hande. (2017). Erkekliğin Türkiye Halleri. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları

⁴⁸ AÇEV. (2017) Türkiye’de İlgili Babalık ve Belirleyicileri. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/802>

⁴⁹ age p. 62-65

⁵⁰ age

⁵¹ AÇEV (2018). Erkeklik ve Babalık Halleri. p. 34-35 <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/804>

⁵² AÇEV. (2018). Erkeklik ve Babalık Halleri. p. 34-35 ve 37 <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/804>

⁵³ age p. 35

Another factor that affects men's fatherhood-related perceptions and behaviour is their relations with their own fathers. Men learn fatherhood roles and responsibilities mostly from their fathers. Many studies confirm that boys whose fathers equally share household responsibilities do the same as fathers in their own families.⁵⁴ According to a study conducted in Turkey, 44 percent of men say they have learned fatherhood on their own way while 38 percent state they have taken their fathers as a model in this respect. There are also some fathers (27 percent) who follow their mothers as a role model for their parenthood.⁵⁵

The proportion of men able to communicate with their fathers does not exceed 20 percent. There are some men who could be in close contact with their fathers during early childhood and adolescence while others could attain this only after reaching the age for military service. Indeed, 38.5 percent of men state that their fathers took them seriously only after they have completed their military services. When there is communication, men talk with their fathers mostly about finance issues (50.3 percent), existing problems and troubles (54.5 percent), and problematic cases with their siblings (51.6 percent). There is almost no communication between fathers and sons about life experiences and sexuality in particular. Of issues that males never speak about with their fathers, "talking about girls" (80 percent) and sexuality (90.6 percent) are at the top of the list.⁵⁶

Some men think their negative experiences with their fathers in the past shape their present fatherhood behaviour and performance while others state that their presently affectionate, involved or sometimes compromising attitude to their children is the outcome of their past negative experience with their own fathers.⁵⁷ There are many men saying they used to fear their fathers and could not see the love and appreciation they expected from their fathers.

The findings of a study on fatherhood-related behaviour and values suggest that the role of fatherhood is based upon authority, obedience, and discipline rather than emotions and having shared some nice experiences. At least 60 percent of males say they are afraid of their fathers and 18 percent are furious against them. 50.8 percent of men complain that they have never "grown up" in the eyes of their fathers and 65.9 percent say they have put up with things that they never wanted to just for keeping their fathers pleased. 52.7 percent of men marked the choice "I knew that it was for my own good when my father was harsh to me (punishment, scolding, beating)." Men's expectations to be appreciated and taken seriously by their fathers are met mostly after they complete their military service, start to earn money or finish their school. This shows that the process of being a man is experienced as a struggle to prove himself and reach recognition.

According to time utilization data by TURKSTATS males work outside and do not do much at home. Comparing TÜİK data from 2006 and from the period 2014-

⁵⁴ Promundo. (2016). Evolving Men Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey. <https://dSPACE.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/954>

⁵⁵ AÇEV. (2017). Türkiye'de İlgili Babalık ve Belirleyicileri. p. 72 <https://dSPACE.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/802>

⁵⁶ Bolak Boratav, H., Okman Fişek, G. ve Eslen Ziya, Hande. (2017). Erkekliğin Türkiye Halleri. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

⁵⁷ AÇEV. (2017). Türkiye'de İlgili Babalık ve Belirleyicileri. p. 70-71 <https://dSPACE.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/802>

2015 we see that the division of labour based on men working out of home and women doing housework has not changed much. According to TURKSTATS's time utilization data men 4.5 hours a day for their employment-related work and 1 hour for household and family care whereas women spend 1.15 hours for employment and 4.5 hours for family care. Data related to who is doing what in domestic works suggest that there is a quite sharp gender distinction. This still persists even when women do work out of home. According to a KONDA study, though shopping for food items is shared by men to a certain extent cleaning work continues to be of women's.

According to the IPSOS barometer study "Attitudes Towards Gender Equality in the World and in Turkey" covering 28 countries including Turkey⁵⁸ almost half of respondents in Turkey think there is not enough efforts to ensure equal rights to men and women at home. Data from Kadir Has University's 2020 Study Perception of Gender and Woman in Turkey⁵⁹ to points out to similar outcomes. According to this study men's contribution to housework is less than 10 percent in Turkey. The same study say this does not change much with higher education levels on the part of men. Fathers' contribution to childcare remains limited to few issues only. Still, there is a considerable proportion of men, with respect to different age groups, who want to take more part in childcare. This indicates that in different living conditions men want to engage in emotional relationship with their children.

Alimony as a Male Responsibility

There is a wide consensus that men have their alimony obligation after divorce. Alimony as a legal obligation is also found appropriate. Under the Poverty Alimony Survey conducted by the Women's Solidarity Foundation, 140 cases of alimony (brought along with divorce or after) seen by civil courts in 11 different provinces were examined and data about poverty alimony were checked. These data⁶⁰ show in lawsuits brought for alimony gender-based violence appears as a common ground in most of these cases. Data also show that violence against women becomes more frequent lower the level of education of women is. Of these claims 75.7 percent are related to psychological violence, 47.1 are of economic nature, 52.1 percent are related to physical violence and 15.7 percent are sexual violence. Of these lawsuits 76.4 percent are brought by women and 16.4 percent by men. Relative to men as defendants, complainant women are less educated, rarely working and 45 per cent have no income. 2.1 percent of these women are illiterate, 15.7 percent are primary school graduates, 3.6 percent have secondary education,

⁵⁸ IPSOS, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Kadın - Erkek Eşitliği Konusundaki Tutumlar Araştırması, 8 Mart 2019, <https://www.ipsos.com/tr-tr/dunyada-ve-turkiyede-kadin-erkek-esitligi-konusundaki-tutumlar-arastirdik>

⁵⁹ Kadir Has Üniversitesi. (2020). Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Algısı Araştırması. TTCKAA19. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/324>

⁶⁰ Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı. (2019). Yoksulluk Nafakası İncelemesi (Sosyo-hukuki bir inceleme). (Yazan: Akçabay, F. C., Araştırma koordinatörü: Karabacak, H.) <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/426>

16.4 percent finished high school, 20 percent are university graduate, and 1.4 percent have their postgraduate degree. 26.4 percent of women have no occupation while it is only 0.7 percent for men. 22.9 percent of women complainants are unemployed whereas the rate of unemployed men is 5.7 percent. 0.7 percent of women run their own business while 6.4 percent of men are in the same status.

In court cases examined, the custody of children is mostly given to women (to women in 79 percent of cases and to men in only 7 percent). 86 percent of women asked for alimony of which 70 percent were as poverty allowance. In 61 percent of cases there was request for child support allowance. While cases were going on, 44 percent of complainants requested transitional alimony for children while 46 percent of requests assistance.

The rates of acceptance of alimony requests by courts are 70 percent and 49 percent, respectively, for child maintenance and poverty. Courts accepted 8 percent of requests fully, rejected another 8 percent, and in 85 percent of cases accepted requests partially. The type of alimony most commonly granted by courts is for child maintenance by 70 percent. Of amounts of alimony, only 2 percent are above 2,000 TL while 66 percent are under 500 TL.

Examining relevant data we find that of alimonies ruled by courts 20.7 percent are fully paid, 0.7 are paid partly, and 50.7 percent are not paid. The reason for not paying is stated as obligors refusing to pay by 40 percent. Of alimony obligors 0.7 percent say they have no job and 2.9 percent say no income. For unpaid alimonies, execution procedures were given start in 44.3 percent of cases after which alimonies could be collected fully in 22.2 percent and partly in 5.7 percent. In 25 percent of these cases collection was through seizure while obligors made their payment in 2.9 percent. In 16.4 percent of cases of unpaid alimony applications were made to enforcement courts and 15 percent of obligors were penalized through this procedure. 14.28 percent of those who were sentenced to imprisonment by enforcement courts avoided imprisonment by paying accumulated alimony for three months only.

Charges in criminal files include, by 82.9 percent, acts ranging from homicidal attempt to sexual abuse. On the other hand, only in 21.4 percent of case files there is criminal investigation or prosecution related to events associated with divorce. There is no criminal complaint on claims of violence in cases of divorce handled by family/civil courts.

3. Dynamics of Change in Male-Dominated Society

What are the basic characteristics of a male-dominated society?

It is claimed that male-dominated social structures are rapidly changing in the world and in Turkey. To assess opinions and observations on this it is first necessary

to clarify what is meant by male-dominated society.

- The basis of male-dominated societies is the superiority of masculine values; having superior values include being strong and rational, ability and skills to control emotions, to manage and decide according to imminent interests, taking risks, endurance to physical pain, predisposition to scientific studies, being warlike and protective. These values are expected to be in men rather than in women.
- Male-dominated modern societies are based on male labour, capital and management in the context of market relations of capitalist economy.
- The model of citizen armies as the basic institution of modern nation states conscripts each citizen to give him a military training, equips him with “protector soldier-heroic martyr” narrative and places the man at the centre of this training as a commander/statesmen to be obeyed to.
- Modern family is a structure which man sustains and manages; it is based on woman’s obedience and dependence to man where the former provides her unpaid domestic labour.
- It is based on the perpetuation of legally guaranteed male privileges (superiority in marriage, alimony as the sole responsibility after divorce, giving his last name to the woman, leaving the guardianship of the child to father while child’s care to mother, etc.)
- Though he may not be the de jure head of the family, the man’s legally protected precedence as the sustained of a lineage giving the child his/her identity and last name is still recognized.
- It is expected that males are devoted to monotheism and institutions and practices designed to place female fertility and sexuality under male control are supported.
- The dominant heterosexist (belief in the existence of two mutually exclusive sexes in nature) culture is homophobic and adopts sexual ethics that is based on debasement and exclusion of sexual orientations and feminine sexuality.
- Sexual freedom of men is untouchable; there is no penalty for male polygamy.
- It is claimed the reason behind male aggressiveness and imposition of obedience on women by using violence is androgenic hormones and masculine violence is normalized by referring to as an undesired but natural outcome of “biology” (testosterone ideology).
- Buying women’s body/sexuality by paying money is regarded as “natural” and men buying women is not criminalized in “combat against prostitution.”
- Men who are different, standing against and at distance to dominant masculine values are left to silence and exclusion.
- Women collaborating with male dominance are rewarded and men who do not question masculine authority by remaining silent get their share in power.

- Violence is embedded in masculine culture in a male-dominated society. Taking a look at men resorting to violence in many societies we see on the surface fathers who try to sustain their families, protect the honour of their wives and to educate and discipline their children to keep them out of harm's way.
- It is accepted that those who should bring solutions are women although the agents of gender-based inequalities are men. The invisibility of men as the source of the problem in solution processes is an important indicator of male-dominated power relations.

How do male-dominated societies change?

In our present-day societies we witness a change in modernity that used to be based on male dominance and hegemony by which we mean the model of nation state and male citizen armies of compulsory military service, man-centred family, and industrial factory production build upon men's muscle force. Then let's take a brief look to changes and transformations in institutions and practices that constituted male hegemony

- The authority that men have as the head of family is eroding and becoming unsustainable. Facing this loss of authority in family, men try to maintain their position by resorting to violence and to make women and children submissive. But this situation leads to even bigger crises.
- Men's opportunities of full-time and secure employment to sustain their families are gradually diminishing. The number of families where both spouses work and share household responsibilities on equal terms is increasing.
- Meanwhile, changes to follow the sharing of subsistence responsibility with women give unrest to men which brings about what is called "masculinity crisis."
- Men's superiority to women in sexual issues is gradually losing ground since women are getting more and more informed and experienced in these issues. Advances in medicine including easy and inexpensive access to contraceptive methods, birth control, tube baby, sperm bank, etc. give women means to control their fertility behaviour.
- The model of national armies based on compulsory military conscription of citizens by national states is losing ground and being replaced by professional armies. Men other than those from lower classes do not serve in military and go through military training. The absence of mass training in masculinity in military environments erodes classical masculinity and militarism. At the same time, however, modern professional/paid armies surround another kind of men with different class basis with new forms of

militarism.

- As monotheistic religions which served as unshakable bastions of masculinity recede from the spheres of law, politics and production, the masculine sense of morality is increasingly focusing on the control over woman's body and on sexual ethics. This tendency faces resentment by religious women and their understanding of gender equality and equalitarian approach to religion gain importance.
- The legitimacy of heterosexual masculinity is being shaken; the LGBTI+ movement is getting stronger as criticism of homophobia and heterosexism is becoming more visible.
- The norm of dominant fatherhood is changing. The fatherhood model as an authoritarian figure emotionally distant to his children while sustaining the family with his income is losing its meaning. A new model of fatherhood where the father is engaged in emotional relations and willing to experience together with his children is becoming popular.
- Changing conditions of employment bring along changing forms of family and masculinity. As the predominance of neoliberal flexible employment models limit the opportunities of men for full time and protected employment, male employment patterns based on men's income and subsistence responsibility are losing ground.
- As unsecure male labour and increasing male unemployment is balanced by increasing female employment, models of more equalitarian social relations emerge. However, if female employment does not increase enough to contribute to family subsistence this tension leads men to violence or different ways of earning (illegal, informal, double-shift, etc.)
- The struggle for women's rights is changing rules that fix male privileges with the power of laws; laws are changing and replaced by more equalitarian ones. For example constitutional and legal guarantees are provided for equality of men and women in the family.
- Early and forced marriage of girls is now being considered as a wrong that obstructs national development and being a modern society, leaving the country in a "backward" state before the world; solutions are sought, preventive policies are developed, and action plans are prepared.
- Falling in fear and discomfort in the face of these developments men give their support to reactionary behaviour. Political outbursts against women and women's rights are becoming more visible.
- Cases of male violence, that is violence by abandoned, rejected and disobeyed males increase as women get stronger. But, at the same time, it becomes a general problem for the society while it is still coined as violence against women/domestic violence. The perpetrator male is not defined in a responsible position.

- The opinion that male violence enjoys impunity may be getting stronger, but there is also growing sensitivity and attentiveness to this form of violence. The privacy that surround masculine violence is eroding.
- There are new forms of masculine violence emerging as a “force establishing justice and ethics in the street.” The furious male punishes those who are guilty in streets. There is increase in cases of lynch attempts, crimes of hate, xenophobia, punishment of “misfit women”, harassment and assault.

4. To What Extent are Behaviour and Values of Dominant Masculinity Adopted?

Studies on masculinity try to identify values and behaviour that are expected from and adopted by men, accepted as rightful male behaviour and values. Few studies with reliable data on these issues guide us.

Being a male means, first of all, having the power of control over women in the family. The most important indicator of this is that men try to maintain their position to authorize what women want to do. According to the study *States of Masculinity in Turkey* by Boratav, Fişek and Eslen Ziya⁶¹ 27 percent of men oppose their wives' working out of home thinking that it would disrupt domestic life. The same study also finds that at least 50 percent of men think their wives must first get their permission before going to such places as hospital, shopping, movies, and visits to their families.

According to this study, another issue related to dominant masculinity values is doing or accomplishing what makes men feel as men or recognized as such by their surroundings. In this regard, having completed military service, circumcision and experiencing sexual intercourse come to the fore as popular states of manhood, but 38 percent of males still feel as man without doing anything. Socioeconomic status (class identity) determines which of these dominant masculine behaviours will come to the fore. While upper class men attach importance to sexuality, those from lower classes praise participation to religious rituals more. More than half of religious men do not consider having the first sexual experience in a brothel as a sinful act (57.8 percent). Having the first sexual experience in a brother or with a girlfriend by non-religious men may also be considered as legitimate (by 34 percent). In other words, being religious or not does not radically change men's values and behaviour related to sexuality.

The study *Men's Perception of Child, Early and Forced Marriages*⁶² commissioned to the SAM Research by the UN Women defines men's feeling

⁶¹ Bolak Boratav, H., Okman Fişek, G. ve Eslen Ziya, Hande. (2017). Erkekliğin Türkiye Halleri. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

⁶² Women, U. (2021). Çocuk Yaşta, Erken ve Zorla Evliliklere İlişkin Erkek Algısı. United Nations - UN Women. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1650>

themselves as man similarly: Experiences that make them feel like a man include having served in the military (16 percent), fatherhood (14 percent), circumcision (13 percent), getting married (12 percent), starting working/business life (12 percent), having a girlfriend (10 percent) and earning his own money (9 percent).

In the same survey when the question was about behaviour expected from men respondents placed earning money and having a profession at the top (36 percent and 34 percent, respectively). Others include being reliable (17.5 percent), being married (15.5 percent) and supporting their families (15 percent).

Men's perceptions about what the society and close surroundings expect from them marks some important points. "Having a good job" is the most frequently stated one (55%). It is followed by "being a food father" (44%), "having money" (38.5%) and "having a good education" (36%). These show that maintaining a family and fatherhood responsibilities have their important place in the life of men.

5. LGBTI+ Rights and Homophobia in Turkey

In Turkey there has never been any legislation that declares homosexuality or trans identities illegal. It is known, however, that LGBTI+ individuals in the public sector in particular are dismissed from their duties or intimidated and targeted in hate crimes for public morality considerations upon Article 125 of the Public Servants Law which prohibits "dishonourable and shameful acts."⁶³ In a 2019 study by the Kaos GL Association and Kadir Has University with the participation of 1000 persons (228 from public and 772 from private sector)⁶⁴ 4.4 percent of participants from the public sector and 17.4 percent of those from the private sector said their sexual orientations are clear to all. While 67 percent of those in the public sector say they are exposed to discrimination and hate crimes in their workplaces, the same is true for only 5.2 percent of those in the private sector. 3.5 percent of participants from the public sector say there are arrangements and practices to prevent discrimination in their workplaces 12.3 percent state there are such arrangements but not implemented. In the private sector, 20 percent of those working in international companies and 8 percent of others in national companies say there are arrangements and practices against discrimination. Only 11.84 percent of public sector workers and 7.4 percent of private sector workers say they face discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation while 61.41 percent of participants from the public and 42.3 percent of from the private say they do not face discrimination since their sexual orientation is not known/noticed in their workplaces.

According to the Kaos GL's 2019 study on violations of rights of LGBTI+ "Presently there is no legislative arrangement or any protection and prevention

⁶³ <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4e084cfe2.html>

⁶⁴ On average, 86 percent of participants (90 percent in public and 82 percent in private sector) have associate, undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in education and the sample covers all sexual identities and orientations. <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1150>

policy on hate crimes against LGBTI+ individuals.⁶⁵ Compilation of sound data does not seem possible since information about hate crimes, homicides and violations can be obtained only through personal reporting. It is still important to note that there is an increasing trend in cases of violation, assault and discrimination as reported by the Kaos GL. The Amnesty International report on violations of the rights of and discrimination against LGBTI+ concludes that Turkey has yet not ratified conventions against discrimination against sexual orientation, that existing legislative arrangements are not operated so as to protect the victims of discrimination, and that there is systematic support to statements and mechanisms that incite discrimination.⁶⁶

According to outcomes of the Rainbow Index developed by the ILGA⁶⁷ with consideration of legal and structural arrangements related to LGBTI+ rights and prevention of discrimination, Turkey is the second last after Azerbaijan with 4 percent in the list of European countries. In the same index Malta is at the top with 89 percent. The ILGA also states that the score of Turkey is falling since 2015 mainly as a result of bans and restrictions on the rights to organize and peaceful demonstration.⁶⁸

According to KONDA's 2012 and 2017 comparative surveys on Perceptions and Definitions of Shame, Sin and Offense,⁶⁹ 32 percent of people in Turkey want homosexuality to be punished most heavily, 22 percent say homosexuals must be sentenced to imprisonment, 29 percent favour their treatment apart from society, 6.2 prefer fines and 11.2 percent think homosexuality must be considered as a crime. The proportion of those favouring their penalization increases as going to metropolis. 28.6 percent would not eat any meal cooked by a homosexual neighbour (dropping to 21 percent in 2017) while 4.2 percent say they would eat it upon gratitude to the server (increasing to 51 percent in 2017). The proportion of those saying they would elect a homosexual mayor if they had to is 11.3 percent (increased to 21 percent in 2017).⁷⁰

Demographic information about those responding positively to all questions posed about homosexuality in KONDA's 2012 survey is quite interesting. 2.3 percent of all respondents have no problem with homosexuality, and they consider themselves as with faith, religiously devoted and conservative. The majority of these respondents consists of young women with education under high school. In contrast to widespread conviction, this means that conservative lower-class members do not have much problem with homosexuality. Considering data by the Kaos GL, Amnesty International, ILGA and KONDA, it can be said that in relation to LGBTI+ rights traditional lower classes in Turkey are ahead of and more equalitarian relative to

⁶⁵ <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1062>

⁶⁶ <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4e084cfe2.html>

⁶⁷ The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association

⁶⁸ <https://www.ilga-europe.org/rainboweurope/2020>

⁶⁹ <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/918> ve <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1889>

⁷⁰ <https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1889>

legal and structural arrangements introduced by the state (still, far behind the EU average).

6. Evolution of Academic Studies on Masculinity in Turkey

The history of academic studies on critical masculinity dates back to trauma studies of the 1930s. Still, feminist studies focusing on men and masculinities increased significantly starting from the 1970s. Today, masculinity studies offer researchers rich sources in terms of both diversity and quantity.

Critical masculinity studies are being carried out worldwide by many national and international organizations, organizations of women and by gender and women studies centres of universities. In some universities and institutions there are centres established to conduct critical masculinity studies exclusively.⁷¹ Besides, there are also centres carrying out their work as networks and civil organizations.⁷² We see increasing number of periodicals that publish scientific studies on critical masculinity.⁷³ A search across ProQuest shows the availability of 2,393 postgraduate theses in English prepared in the period 1935-2018 with words “patriarchy” and “masculinity” in their captions.

There is considerable increase in recent years on states of manhood in Turkey. The cornerstones of critical masculinity studies in Turkey include a 1988 article by Deniz Kandiyoti where she discusses the concept of “bargaining with patriarchy” by deepening Raewynn Connell’s discussion on hegemonic masculinity,⁷⁴ issue 101 (2004) of the journal *Toplum ve Bilim* (Society and Science) with the main theme as masculinity, and Serpil Sancar’s book *Masculinity: Impossible Power/Men in Family, Market and Streets*. Postgraduate studies increasing within the last 10 years and hundreds of articles published in academic journals in the country and abroad discuss manifestations of masculinity in such fields as literature, cinema, popular culture and sports besides disciplines like sociology, psychology and political sciences. In spite of this built of studies, however, surveys at national scale with qualitative and quantitative data unfortunately remain limited and there is need for extending and deepening masculinity studies in many fields.

⁷¹ For the leading examples of mentioned units see, Bradford University (England), The University Of Manchester (England), Nottingham Trent University (England), Linköping University (Sweden), Örebro University (Sweden), Karlstad University (Sweden), The University Of Wollongong (Australia), Suny, The Centre For The Study Of Men And Masculinities (US), The University Of Massachusetts At Amherst (US), Western Illinois University (US), Aalborg University (Denmark), University Of South Africa (South Africa), York University Masculinities Network (M-Net) (Canada).

⁷² For the leading examples of mentioned organizations see, Political Masculinities Network Landau University (Germany), Critical Masculinity Studies Initiative (Turkey), Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinities (APA Division 51) (US), National Organization for Men Against Sexism (US), The American Men’s Studies Association (US), Women and Men as Allies (US, MENINIST) (US), Centar E8 (Serbia), The Centre for Men and Masculinities Studies (Bangladesh), MenEngage, Promundo, White Ribbon, XY Online, The Mankind Project, EuroProFem, MascNet.

⁷³ For example, see American Journal Of Men’s Health, Boyhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal The Journal Of Black Masculinity, Journal Of Men’s Health, Journal Of Men’s Health And Gender, The Journal Of Men’s Studies, Masculinities & Social Change, Masculinities: A Journal Of Identity & Culture, Men And Masculinities, Norma: The International Journal For Masculinity Studies, Psychology Of Men And Masculinity, Spectrum: A Journal On Black Men, Thymos: Journal Of Boyhood Studies, Journal Of Bodies, Sexualities, And Masculinities, World Journal Of Men’s Health.

⁷⁴ Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with Patriarchy. In *Gender and Society*, vol. 2, no. 3, Special Issue to Honour Jessie Bernard. p. 274-290.

VI. Suggestions and Conclusion

Ensuring men's participation to the struggle for gender equality may help in solving problems that are regarded as those of women only from a broader perspective and sharing responsibilities. Yet, to be engaged in struggle our gender equality men must first see the benefits of this transformation and have some concrete ideas on how to ensure this transformation.⁷⁵ For this, in turn:

- Positive changes that will occur in the life of men in case they support gender equality must be made visible.
- There is need to bring positive role models to the fore to give effect to attitude changes in men.
- In communication with men, it is important to focus on their achievements and define these achievements in concrete terms.
- It must be shown clearly that traditional roles of masculinity easily lead to maladies while sharing relevant data.
- It must be demonstrated that curbing male violence is to the benefit of all men.
- It is possible to change the attitude of men who remain silent to or accomplice with masculine violence. Efforts must be made to bring about this change.

⁷⁵ EIGE. (2012). The Involvement of Men in Gender Equality Initiatives in the European Union. s. 46.
<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/813>



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