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Discrimination Against Men

Appearance and Causes
in the Context of a Modern Welfare State

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Abstract

The purpose of the work is to examine the forms of discrimination against men in Finland in a manner that brings light also to the appearance of this phenomenon in other welfare states. The second goal of the study is to create a model of the causes of discrimination against men. According to the model, which synthesizes administrative sciences, gender studies and memetics, gender discrimination is caused by a mental **differentiation** between men and women. This differentiation tends to lead to the segregation of societies into masculine and feminine activities, and to organizations and networks which are dominated by either men or by women. The organizations dominated by men will tend to develop ideologies and cultures which emphasize the **superiority** of men over women, whilst women's organizations and networks tend to glorify women, and exaggerate the deficiencies of men. This bias is likely to evolve in all religions, ideologies, sciences and professions which are dominated either by men or by women. The evolution and reproduction of the feminine and masculine biases is caused by a feedback loop, in which **mental meme**s such as norms, role expectations, attitudes, beliefs and paradigms manifest themselves into **cultural memes** of masculinity and femininity, such as habits, traditions, advertisements, discourses and texts. This reproductive loop is completed by the manner in which people interpret and imitate the cultural memes that they recognize around themselves.

The evolution of mental and cultural memes tends to favor **simple** and **attractive** memes. The attractiveness of memes is substantially affected by their coherence with popular memeplexes, discourses and paradigms. Those memes that are anomalous to dominant paradigms and memeplexes tend to be **filtered out** in the process of **memetic reasoning**, which is a chaotic combination of fuzzy logic, Chinese whispers, and an intentional twisting of memes. Another consequence of memetic reasoning is the tendency of exaggerated, simplified and mutated memes to replace their original memetic "ancestors" that have been developed within rational and coherent scientific or political paradigms. This tendency towards mutations makes it possible that two seemingly opposing discourses such as **sexism** and **feminism** emit memes that recombine into misandric memeplexes such as the **reverse strategy** which considers women better and more valuable than men. In the same fashion, some welfare state ideologies such as the general idea of **favoring the disadvantaged** tend to mutate and corrupt into misinterpretations which cause harm either to men or to women. An example of such corruption is the evolution of the memeplex of **reverse discrimination**, which proposes the wide and practically permanent usage of double standards in favor of women, and which differs from the more moderate memeplex of **positive action**.

When this is all summed up, we may predict that modern welfare states tend to be simultaneous patriarchies and matriarchies in such a fashion that women have a high chance of being discriminated in male dominated organizations and fields of activity, while men will be discriminated by female dominated organizations and fields of activity. These predictions were evaluated in a study that analyzed 1149 complaints and other requests of action sent to the Finnish equality ombudsman's office 1997–2004. In more than **one third** of the potential or confirmed cases of discrimination, the discrimination appeared against men. Men seem to have a **two times higher chance** of being discriminated in issues concerning the treatment of customers, both by private and public organizations. Women seem to have a **three times higher chance** of being discriminated on the labor market than men, in general. However, male employees seem to have a **3–9 times higher chance** of being discriminated in those fields of activity, in which the majority of employees and managers are women (e.g. social services and healthcare).

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1 Topic of Study and the Research Mission

1.1 Topic of Study and Its Relevance

The topic of this study is the ***discrimination against men***. The focus is on gender discrimination, which means such discrimination that is caused by gender instead of some other variables such as social status, race, sexual orientation or ethnic background. Gender discrimination against men is an important topic as the equality of the sexes, and the removing of all discrimination is considered an important issue among researchers, politicians and public administrators. So far, the majority of research and policy programs, however, have been targeted at removing discrimination against women, and to the improvement of the status of women. For example, in Australia, the public sector spends 20 million dollars per year on campaigns that work on removing discrimination against women (Marshall 2004).

Equality policy and research, concerning the discrimination against men, has been limited in most welfare states. Instead, it seems that the problems of men are often seen as a natural consequence of men's own choices and actions, and therefore, require no actions from the formulators of the equality policy. Even the entire idea of the *discrimination of men* may raise resistance and denial among the formulators of the equality policy (Holter 2000, p. 76).

When I entered the search term *discrimination* in a bibliographical database, hundreds of books that handle discrimination were found (Linda database 2005). Out of these books, about 50% handled racial or ethnic discrimination, or discrimination against sexual minorities. The remaining 50% seemed to be concerned about discrimination against women. No books about gender discrimination against men were found. Although this simple search was limited, it may be used for illustrating the manner in which the majority of the scientific community has been oriented in the research on discrimination.

A new trend is emerging though. The role pressures that the gender system causes to men are widely recognized by the scholars of gender studies, and the actual discrimination of men has recently been brought to discussions by men's right activists, and by researchers who have written

about the discrimination of men in courts (Kurki-Suonio 1999 and Jeffries 2005a and 2005b). Also on a political level, more and more initiatives concerning men's issues and men's involvement in equality issues have been introduced in Finland, and more widely, in the European Union.

1.2 Research Mission and the Specific Research Tasks

The mission of this work is to create a better *understanding* of the appearance and causes of discrimination against men in the context of a modern welfare state, and to *find out and describe* (roughly) how common the discrimination of men is compared to the discrimination of women in Finland.

In order to work towards this mission, I was required to draw ideas from several traditions of social scientific research. The research mission required *conceptual analysis*, which connected it to the conceptual studies of social science. After conceptual analysis, however, the formulation of explicit scientific models seemed so challenging, that the following required step was to continue analysis in a **hermeneutic** manner, trying to understand it, enabling a circle of deeper understanding and knowledge. After the enlarged understanding of the topic, however, the scope of this work expanded to the **description** of the discrimination of men in Finland, using empirical research data. However, the work is more ambitious than those traditional social scientific studies which only intend to understand or describe. The mission of this work is also to **explain** why men face gender discrimination. At this level, the work has some resemblance to those social scientific studies in which clear scientific models are formulated and then tested. Yet, the work does not fully fit the genre of these studies, as this work does not rely on the typical discourses of statistical testing.

Although this work may be difficult to categorize into the traditions of social scientific study, it seems to follow or imitate the traditional scientific method in general, with minor adjustments: It starts with **conceptual analysis**, concerning the existing definitions and interpretations of equality and gender discrimination. It then advances to the formulation of **social scientific models**, which can be used for the explanation

of gender discrimination in general, and gender discrimination against men in specific. After this theory formulation, the work advances to the **table testing** of the models. This concept of table testing is used in order to emphasize that this testing differs from traditional statistical testing. While statistical testing is normally used in studies, which focus on a very narrow phenomenon and in the testing of just one or two hypotheses, this study produced theoretical models that were used for the derivation of dozens of predictions concerning empirical reality. In this context, I have felt that it is more productive and beneficial to compare the implications of the theories to empirical reality on a more general manner – without calculating the statistical significance of the findings. That would, however, be the next logical step in some consequent studies.

1.3 Positioning the Work among Existing Studies

This work is, first of all, positioned in the study of **administrative science**. It fits there the tradition of perceiving organizations as *natural* and *open* systems, as opposite to fully rational systems. The idea of organizations as natural systems means that private and public organizations are somewhat chaotic and their policies and cultures emerge in an evolutionary fashion, not as a consequence of a fully rational process (Scott 2002). The idea of organizations as *open systems* emphasizes the processes that organizations use to ensure their existence. This means that organizations may prioritize their own existence over the good of the interest groups that they are supposed to serve (Scott 2002). Within the study of the public administration, these perspectives have led to criticism against the paradigm of public organizations and the welfare states as fully *rational systems*, which seek for the good of all of their citizens. This also connects the work to the some studies that criticize the belief in rational, centralized planning in the context of the welfare state (e.g. Friedrich Hayek, and Harisalo & Miettinen 1995).

Within the field of **memetics**, this work attempts to integrate the perspectives of the internalists such as Dawkins to the ideas of the externalists such as William Benzon (1996) and Derek Gatherer (1997). In order to reach this goal, the work uses ideas from cognitive science,

linguistics, philosophy of science, cultural studies, anthropology and discourse analysis (sociology). This makes the work more of an interdisciplinary study than a study of memetics.

Within the context of **gender studies** and **men's studies**, this work is located in the center of the field below. The first axis of the field is criticality against the "patriarchal" or "hegemonical" masculinity. The second axis is criticism against feminism.

	No criticism against traditional masculinity and the bipolar gender system	Criticism against traditional masculinity and the bipolar gender system	Severe criticism against traditional "hegemonic" masculinity
Approval of all feminism and refusal to criticize women			"Critical studies of men" paradigm
Indifferent or mixed position towards feminism and women	Mythopoetic "pro male" men's studies	Most scholars of gender studies **The position of this work**	
Mostly critical perspective towards contemporary feminism (or towards some female behaviors)	The critics of feminism (in general), and the critics of women's behaviors		

Figure 1.   The Positioning of the Work within Gender Studies and Men's Studies.

This work differs from the Mythopoetic tradition of men's studies (e.g. Bly 1990, Gray 1995), which seeks ways to restore the original or authentic "caveman" masculinity, which has become endangered over the course of civilization and industrialization. Compared to the "Mythopoetics", this work is more critical towards traditional masculinities – and hopefully also more scientific than the writings of the *Mythopoetic men's movement* (see Kimmel 1994).

The relatively influential "Critical studies of men" paradigm is located at the upper right hand corner of the field (e.g. R.W. Connell, Jeff Hearn & Markku Soikkeli). It is openly pro-feminist, meaning that it refuses to criticize any forms of feminism or any female behaviors. Instead, it perceives men as the main cause of men's and women's problems, and does not believe in the existence of discrimination against white, heterosexual middle-class men. This work is positioned below the critical studies of

men, as it is more critical against women and feminism. In this respect, the work resembles the writings of modern mainstream feminists who are also critical against some forms of feminism and against some female behaviors (e.g. Haraway 1991).

This study also differs from the works of the most severe critics of feminism and women, who openly and strongly criticize contemporary mainstream feminism (e.g. Sommers 1994 & 2001 and Laasanen 2006) or women's behaviors (e.g. Vilar 1972 and Fitzgerald 1999). Although the study reveals some feminist ideas and some female behaviors that may be criticized, it is not anti-feminist or anti-female in general. It follows postmodern feminism by noticing the large variety of feminisms and female behaviors – and this perception implies that some of the feminisms or female behaviors may be criticized on some basis.

Other scholars of men's studies, who could be roughly be located in the center of the field, seem to include Farrell (1974, 1994 and 2004), and Holter (1995 and 2000), for example.

1.4 Personal Standpoint

According to the traditions of discourse analysis and feminist studies, the theories and empirical results of a researcher may be strongly influenced by his or her standpoint (see Ronkainen 2004). In order to let the scientific audience assess whether my personal standpoint has had some potential and yet systematic effect on this research project and this thesis, I need to reveal some parts of my personal standpoint.

I identify myself as a gender sensitive equality feminist and as a postmodern feminist. I not only identify with feminism from the stand point of a researcher of gender studies, but also more personally as a father of two daughters, and as a long time husband of a woman who has used a lot of effort and energy in passing through the glass ceiling within the Finnish police organization, which is highly dominated by men. At the same time, I also identify myself as a masculist who feels sympathy for the divorced men, who have told me about the harsh treatment of men in custody disputes, and who have shown me some sexist legal statements in which custody of a child has been given to the mother simply due to the

young age of the child – and due to the assumption that it is in the best interest of young children to be given to the custody of the mother. I also identify myself as a social scientist, who wishes to defend social sciences against propaganda and bogusness. I am also the father of a son, who just recently lost his right to live in his student apartment, due to the fact that he has began his obligatory military service in the Finnish army.

Instead of perceiving my own "male standpoint" as a strength or as a weakness, I believe that I have attempted to perceive all the issues concerning gender discrimination from the perspectives of a feminist, masculist, discriminated woman, and a discriminated man. Therefore, I do not feel that this thesis has been written simply from the point of view of a white, male, heterosexual, middle-class and middle aged man.

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

The work begins with chapter 2, which contains the conceptual analysis of gender discrimination together with the specification of the concept of "modern welfare states". An introduction to the discrimination against men is offered in chapter 3, which briefly describes the existing research concerning the appearance and causes of discrimination against men.

After this introduction, the work advances to the formulation of models. Chapter 4 presents a *synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution*, by integrating memetics with cognitive science, discourse analysis, linguistics, evolutionary economics, organizational economy, philosophy of science, and some other perspectives. In chapter 5, the synthetic theory is applied to the evolution of gender discrimination in order to form a *general theory of gender discrimination*.

In the last section, the predictive and explanatory power of these theories is evaluated in empirical studies. The first study (chapter 6) analyzes the *gender distribution of power resources* in Finland, intending to locate the border between the matriarchal and patriarchal subsystems of society. In chapter 7, the general theory of gender discrimination is empirically evaluated in a discourse analytical and genealogical study in order to see, whether *sexism and feminism* have produced discourses, memeplexes and discursive elements that induce discrimination against men in the Fin-

nish culture and especially in the public administration. These empirical studies, however, are just preparations for the final empirical study of the thesis. In chapter 8, the main implications of the general theory of gender discrimination are compared to the results of an empirical study, in which *800 complaints sent to the Finnish equality ombudsman* are classified and analyzed. In addition to the evaluation of the hypotheses, the study is used for creating an improved understanding of the nature and volume of discrimination against men in Finland, compared to the discrimination against women.

1.6 Research Data and Methods of the Empirical Studies

The research methods in the empirical studies vary. In the study concerning the empirical gender distribution of the *resources of powe*r to men and women in Finland, the method was statistical meta-analysis of various statistics, research reports and social scientific writings concerning the topic. The method and data are explained in more detail in chapter 6.

The study concerning the potentially misandric and discriminative effects of sexist and feminist discourses was based on a synthesis of discourse analysis and memetics. This study made use of the following research data: 1) Finnish University level course books on women's studies, 2) All materials published on the Internet, sampled by googling, and 3) a structured pilot survey of a feminist target group. The method and research data are described in more detail in chapter 7.

In the final and main empirical study of the work, the research data consisted of all of the complaints that men and women had filed to the Finnish equality ombudsman's office 1997–2004. This data was typed in, based on the summary data recorded by the ombudsman's office, and then classified according to a classification scheme. On top of this quantitative analysis, the material was also analyzed qualitatively, reading some of the special case descriptions entirely, to gain a richer understanding of the varieties and nuances of gender discrimination against men and women in Finland. The research method and research data are described in more detail in chapter 8.

2 Conceptual Analysis of Discrimination and Modern Welfare States

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and specify the central concepts that appear in the title of the thesis. This includes the analysis of discrimination and gender equality, and to the specification of the concept of the modern welfare states.

2.1 Central Concepts Relating to Gender Discrimination

2.1.1 Discrimination and equality in general

Discrimination means a process in which people are considered as different, and then this difference is used for putting some people in a disadvantaged position (see Bruun & Koskinen 1997, p. 76–77). According to Aristotle, people are different from each other on an essential basis, and therefore, they can be treated differently, as long as this difference is not unproportional to these differences. For example, the differential treatment of men, women and slaves was justified by their essential differences. This thinking was challenged by the enlightment philosophers, who considered all people as equal by nature. Most differences between people were considered as caused by social and cultural factors. Therefore, the different treatment of different types of people was basically considered unjust. (Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001, p. 17–22)

This definition of discrimination connects discrimination to equality and inequality: Discrimination is a process in which people are put in an unequal position due to their inherited class, race, gender, nationality, religion, ethnic background, sexual orientation or other characteristic that differentiates the discriminated persons from others. Discrimination, defined in this manner, was forbidden in the declaration of human rights (UN 1945), in the general treaty of civil and political rights (UN 1966), and in the constitutions of most countries. (Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001, p. 223–32)

2.1.2 Structural discrimination, formal equality, and substantive equality

Structural discrimination is a process, in which members of certain classes or sociodemographic groups are put in a *disadvantaged position* due to *structural factors* such as roles, norms and other social pressures, power structures, language and the cumulative choices and actions of the members of the society (see Pentikäinen 2002, p. 82). According to Nousiainen and Pylkkänen, discrimination is more and more often seen as a structural phenomenon, and therefore international human right treaties and national legislation concentrate on removing structural discrimination (Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001, p. 236–8). Structural discrimination is implicit in its nature, as there is no clearly identifiable discriminator. Instead, what appears as the discriminator is usually some collective entity such as the society, the market, the media, or the "system". The disadvantaged position refers to a lower standard of living, to a lower value or status as a human being, or to the unjust prevention of free choice concerning roles, habits, actions or behavior in daily life.

Substantive equality means a state in which there is no discrimination – not even structural discrimination. This means that people of any gender, race, sexual orientation, religion or ethnic group do not have structural obstacles against reaching their full potential in society or against acting according to their personal styles and tastes.

2.1.3 Positive action and reverse discrimination

Positive action, affirmative action, positive discrimination and reverse discrimination may be seen as synonymous or as something slightly different. They all refer to policies and situations which favor individual members of social groups that are statistically at a disadvantaged position, for example, concerning their income, welfare or educational level. The purpose of positive/affirmative action and positive/reverse discrimination is to improve substantive equality by favoring the disadvantaged groups. However, if these policies are applied too harshly, they may cause explicit and direct discrimination against those people, who do not

belong to any group which has been recognized as disadvantaged by the administrators.

According to the Equality Online service of Regenasis, *positive action* is a legal and rightful policy that aims at improving the status of a disadvantaged group, whilst *reverse discrimination* is an illegal violation of the equality of the citizens (Regenasis 2005). This definition emphasizes that we need policies for improving the status of disadvantaged groups, however these policies should not be so strong that they would discriminate against those who are being favored by the positive action policies.

Although this distinction seems to be clear in theory, the supreme courts are having some problems distinguishing between legal forms of positive action and illegal forms of reverse discrimination. For example, the US Supreme Court struck down a special admissions program for minorities on the grounds that it excluded a white applicant because of his race[1]. However in another case, the Supreme Court approved a case in which a private employer and labor union had reserved 50% of higher paying jobs for minorities[2]. In the European Union, the line of the Constitutional Court has been relatively clear not to approve explicit violations of civil rights, even based on good motives and national legislation concerning positive action. For example, in the Johnston case (222/84), the Constitutional Court stated that all legislative exceptions to civil rights, such as the clauses concerning positive action, must be interpreted in a limited sense. This means that all positive action policies must be carefully defined, implemented and monitored thus not to cause discrimination against any individual citizen (Ahtela 2004, p.109).

2.1.4 Reversed burden of proof

One of the major principles of criminal law is the assumption of innocence, according to which all suspects should be treated as innocent until proven guilty by the prosecutor. This principle, however, does not always hold in civil trials, as the stronger party may be required to prove its innocence. For example, in the cases of gender discrimination at the

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1 Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke 1978 (see Dye 1984, p. 67)

2 United Steelworkers of America vs. Weber 1979 (see Dye 1984, p.68)

working place, the employer may have to prove that no discrimination has taken place, if the employee first presents some credible evidence that discrimination has probably occurred (EU Directive 97/80/EC 1997).[3]

The principle of reversed burden of proof, however, is also sometimes used in the criminal court. In the Soviet Union, the members of the former upper-class were routinely required to prove their innocence in trials, as they were considered the stronger party due to their belonging to a privileged class (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995). In the context of gender, the principle of reversed burden of proof appears, for example, in the anti-dowry laws of India. According to them, a man needs to prove his innocence, if his wife dies within seven years of marriage due to bodily injuries, and if he has been violent against his wife during the marriage[4]. The reversed burden of proof also appears in the Indian *Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005*, as it gives the magistrates a chance to order a man to move away from his home, if he is suspected of recurring domestic violence[5]. In this case, the man will have to prove that domestic violence has not occurred, and if this fails, he will have to move away from his home which is reserved for the woman (see Kishwar 2005). In the European Union, the reversed burden of proof is mainly used in civil courts, in cases relating to gender discrimination that has occurred at the working place, or during the process of recruitment (Directive 97/80/EC). The CEDAW committee of the United Nations is also critical about the usage of reversed burden of proof, in criminal cases like in the accusations of rape.[6]

2.1.5 Direct, indirect and structural gender discrimination

Gender discrimination means discrimination which is caused by the gender of the discriminated person or group. According to EU legislation

3 Council Directive 97/80/EC of 15 December 1997 on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex, articles 3 and 4, see http://www.ei-ie.org/payequity/EN/docs/EU%20Documents/97%2080.pdf

4 Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 (amended 1986)

5 Chapter IV, paragraph 19 (see http://www.saveindianfamily.org/images/dvlaw/DVLaw_inbrief.pdf)

6 Paragraph 11 of the CEDAW/C/SR.267 meeting held in the 31.1.1995

and European equality policy, gender discrimination may appear as direct, indirect or structural discrimination. *Direct* gender discrimination refers to a situation in which a person is put in a disadvantaged position due to his or her sex. *Indirect* gender discrimination refers to a situation in which some policy or procedure seems to be neutral and indiscriminative, but which actually put the members of either gender in a disadvantaged position[7]. The present EU legislation forbids both direct and indirect gender discrimination. In Finland, the maximum penalty for gender discrimination is two years in prison.

Structural gender discrimination is usually presented as "lack of substantive equality" in the documents of equality policy and in laws and international contracts. Structural discrimination is not a crime since the actor of structural discrimination is hard to identify. However, EU legislation obliges all public officials to work for substantive equality, which means the same as active work against structural discrimination. According to the *gender mainstreaming* principle, all officials should take the gender equality perspective into account in their entire decision making.

2.1.6 Misogyny and misandry

Misogyny has been defined as a hatred of or a strong prejudice against women (Wikipedia). The word comes from the Greek words for hatred (misos) and women (gunê). This definition may be improved by distinguishing three levels of misogyny, and connecting the definition of misogyny to misandry, which is its male equivalent.

1. *Explicit misogyny and misandry* refer to the hatred or strong prejudice against women/men. It may appear as a categorical hatred or dislike against all women/men, or as a hatred against a stereotype of women/men that is seen as representing almost all women/men. An example of explicit misogyny is the belief that all women cheat, and therefore men should not start committed relationships with them. An example of explicit misandry is the statement of the Leeds Revolutionary Feminist Group, which openly defined men as their enemies by claiming that *heterosexual intercourse means cooperation with the enemy*,

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7 Paragraph 7§ of the Finnish equality law, which follows the directives of EU legislation (see also Anttila 2005).

and therefore should be objected[8]. Although the explicit misogynists and misandrists may admit that some men or women are not actually as bad as the rest, they encounter all members of the opposite sex with prejudice, considering them as bad, until proven otherwise.

2. *Conditional misogyny and misandry* refer to the strong dislike or prejudice against a certain relatively common group, type or stereotype of women/men. This means that men/women are clearly divided into bad and good (and neutral), and the bad type is then disliked and considered as a personal enemy, or as an enemy to the society. An example of conditional misogyny is found in the tendency of some traditional men to dislike women who have a career outside the home. An example of conditional misandry is the tendency of some women to believe that most men are chauvinistic rednecks, who beat their wives and do not perform their share of domestic work. After these strong negative stereotypes have been created, the conditional misogynist/misandrist may act as a great friend and supporter of all women/men who do not fit this assumingly common group of women/men. Conditional misandrists may resemble explicit misandrists, if they think that the stereotype that they consider as their enemy is very common and that exceptions are very rare.

3. *Implicit misogyny and misandry* refer to ideologies that are harmful for women/men as they cause structural discrimination. For example, the tendency of men to prefer women who are thin and who use makeup, skirts and high heel shoes, may be claimed implicitly misogynist since it puts pressure on women to meet these requirements given to them, and as the meeting of these requirements may lead to harmful side effects such as eating disorders or psychological problems with self identity. In the same manner, the tendency of women to prefer wealthy men, may be considered as implicitly misandric as it may puts pressure on men to earn a lot of money, and as the failure to meet this requirement may lead to suicides, alcoholism and homelessness.

Explicit misogyny and misandry may produce *hate speech*, which could meet the definition of a *hate crime*. These hate crimes are crimes that have a discriminative motive, for example a racist motive. The Finnish legislation refers to hate speech in chapter 20 of the criminal law, which prohibits the raising of hatred against a group of people. In Anglo-

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8 Leeds Revolutionary Feminist Group 1981, see Koivunen & Liljeström 2004.

American countries, there are examples of legislation which perceives hate crimes as a special category, or as something which is punished more severely than normal crimes.

2.2 Modern Welfare States

2.2.1 Welfare states

According to Harisalo and Miettinen, the central characteristics of welfare states are government intervention with the market economy in the form of regulation, Keynesian economics in order to reduce unemployment, and the prioritization of the "equality of consequences" over the formal equality of citizens in front of the law (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995). These characterizations may be criticized as they mostly suit the Nordic countries of the 1980s, and are less suited for the market oriented welfare states like the USA and UK, or the 21st century Nordic countries which are reducing the regulation and governmental intervention. A more useful and widely applicable perception to welfare states is offered by Esping-Andersson, who starts by characterizing the welfare states as countries that provide transfer payments and public services to citizens in order to secure their welfare (Esping-Andersson 1990, p. 1–2). In order to illustrate the differences between welfare states, Esping-Andrsson divides them into three types or regimes which are the liberal, conservative, and social democratic (Esping-Andrsson 1990, p. 26–29). The welfare states of a *liberal* regime, such as the USA, Canada and UK, rely on market mechanisms for the production of welfare. They produce transfer payments only for those who are distinctively poor or otherwise disadvantaged. The *conservative* welfare states like Austria, France, Germany and Italy distribute transfer payments to citizens through a corporative network consisting of the state, church and labor unions, providing transfer payments mostly to employees working on the labor market. The *social democratic* welfare states distribute welfare to all citizens (not only the really poor or the breadwinners of families) by using both transfer payments and a wide range of subsidized or free public services such as municipal daycare. This typology of welfare states has been elaborated by Sykes, Palier and Prior

(2001), who divided the conservative block into Bismarkian, Southern and Central European welfare states, and who also added the category of the Eastern European welfare states. Even after these specifications, it remains somewhat unclear whether the welfare states should be defined as countries in which even the more disadvantaged people have a relatively high standard of living, or whether welfare states are countries which share some similar ideologies and policies concerning government and public administration.

2.2.2 Modernity and modern welfare states

In the context of social sciences, modernity refers to modern societies and the industrial civilization. According to Giddens, modernity is more specifically *"associated with (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as an open transformation by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions , including the nation-state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society – more technically, a complex of institutions – which unlike any preceding cultures lives in the future rather than the past"* (Giddens 1990, p. 94). Using this definition, we could define all welfare states of the industrial time as "modern welfare states". This definition, however, would not capture the fact that another revolution seems to have occurred after the industrial revolution: All liberal, conservative and social democratic welfare states of the modern society are distancing themselves away from the patriarchal welfare state, approaching the idea of a *female friendly welfare state*.[9] According to Walby, this process is illustrated by the statistics concerning the participation of women in the labor market and political decision making, and by the statistics measuring the loosening of marriage and family ties. These trends may be taken as the basis of a more specific definition of the modern (female friendly) welfare state. According to this new definition, **modern welfare states** are countries in which:

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9 See Hernes 1987 & 1988

1. At least 40% of the paid labor force is female.

2. Women have at least a 25% representation in the parliament

3. The institution of marriage has lost some of its significance, so that at least 25% of marriages end in divorce, and at least 15% of children are born outside of marriage

4. Legislation and public policy contain several instruments that aim at ending direct, indirect and structural gender discrimination, and the subordination of women, even in the context of the private sphere.

The first three characteristics contain statistical limits, which have already been reached by several welfare states such as the Nordic countries and Germany. According to the statistical study of Walby (2001), all the other industrial welfare states are also approaching these figures: The next likely candidates to meet these limits are Austria, Canada, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Switzerland. This shows that these characteristics are not just typical for the social democratic welfare state and instead, represent a more general trend of *modernization* among all welfare states. The last criterion (4) is basically met by all the countries which have signed the CEDAW treaty of the United States (1979), and the end report of the Peking conference (U.N. 1995). Therefore, all of these criteria can be seen as integral features of modern welfare states.[10]

According to Walby, the driving force behind this modernization has been the entrance of women onto the labor market. This has been encouraged by enterprises, which wish to gain cheap labor, and by women's organizations, which wish to advance the economic status and social independence of women. Labor unions and left wing parties have also supported the participation of women in the labor market, as this has

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10 An alternative term for the *modern welfare state* could have been the *female friendly welfare state*, since the literature of gender studies contains theories about the female friendly nature of the Nordic welfare states (e.g. Hernes 1987 & 1988). This term, however, was not chosen, as the female friendliness of the welfare states has been questioned by anglo-american scholars (e.g. Pateman 1989) and even in the context of the Nordic welfare states. The term "female friendly" would also cause too abrupt and strong connotations in the context of the sentence "discrimination of men in the female friendly welfare states". This would hint that men are in deed discriminated due to the female friendly nature of the modern welfare states. Therefore, the term modern welfare state is used instead, despite its potential normative connotations

meant an increase in the number of potential members and voters. The increasing amount of women on the labor market has reduced women's dependence on men, and reduced the economic and moral necessity of life long marriages. This change has caused an increase in the divorce rates and in the rate of children born outside marriages. As women enter the labor force in large numbers, the amount of women with managerial experience also raises, producing a growing stock of potential candidates for parliamentary elections. This is an important step towards the entrance of women into parliament, as in most countries over 95% of parliamentary members have some managerial experience (see Walby 2001). After the participation of women into the labor market and political decision making has increased in most countries, this will also cause social and international pressure towards the more patriarchal countries, in which women have very little political or managerial power.

When analyzing the reason why some welfare states have not yet reached the status of a modern welfare state, we may detect three main reasons: 1) Patriarchal religion, 2) Fiscal liberalism, and 3) Long history of victorious wars. Patriarchal religious heritage seems to tie women so strongly to their family that they can not freely advance towards positions of political power. This seems to be a possible explanation why France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal have been somewhat slow in their advancement. Economic liberalism seems to be a political hindrance against the development of public sector jobs, and this seems to have reduced women's employment opportunities and reduced their chances of finding daycare services for their children in countries such as the USA and UK. It is also possible that a long history of victorious wars is a factor that strengthens the picture of women as *reproducers of soldiers* and the image of men as the *protectors and guardians of women.* This is a mental hindrance that may slow down the development of gender equality in countries such as the USA and UK. Despite all of these potential hindrances, the statistical analysis of Walby shows that all welfare states have constantly advanced towards the status of a "modern welfare state" over the last decades.

Although this definition of the modern welfare state may be interpreted as a political statement about the beneficial and advanced nature of the modern welfare states, this is not my intention: The term *modern* is meant as a neutral term, in such a fashion that it merely describes the stage that

some countries have already reached and other countries are approaching. Therefore, it is still possible to interpret *modern* either as the opposite of the "old fashioned and retarded past" or as the opposite of the "good old days". For example, the increase in divorce rates in modern welfare states is not necessarily an essentially positive trend, although it is connected to the improved economic and legislative status of women.

2.2.3 Femocrats, gender mainstreaming, and femocracy

The term *femocrat* refers to public officials, who are in charge of the advancement of equality and women's status (Franzway, Court and Connell 1989, p. 133–134; see Holli 2002, p. 129). Femocrats may appear in functionally specified offices like the Equality Unit of the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. However, they can also appear in any level of the public administration, as all public decision makers have the chance to adopt feminism as their central frame of reference, meaning that they begin applying it to all administrative decision making.

Gender mainstreaming is a feminist and administrative principle; according to which gender should be taken into account in all political and administrative decision making (see EU 1996). In a more specific sense, gender mainstreaming means that the effects of all legislative initiatives and administrative projects should be evaluated from a gender sensitive perspective. This means that the benefits and harms of all decisions to men and women should be evaluated separately. Although this all sounds fair in theory, it is also common that gender mainstreaming, in practice, is interpreted as a tool for the inclusion of the feminine and feminist perspective to all administrative decision making (Pentikäinen 2002, p. 87). This could also mean that gender mainstreaming is becoming synonymous as an administrative principle, according to which all public officials should try to advance women's status in all of their decisions. For example, the foreign ministry of Finland has decided that the integration of the female point of view to all decision making concerning human rights should be given first priority (see Räsänen 2002, p. 118). In these discourses, the inclusion of the male point of view to administrative decision making is not seen as important, as it is implicitly assumed that it is particularly the feminine point of view that is missing.

If gender mainstreaming is interpreted in a somewhat radical feminist manner, it is possible that it will gradually evolve into the constitutional cornerstone of *femocracy*, which can be defined as a system, in which all administrative decisions are made from the female and feminist point of view, trying to advance the status of women. At this point, it must be noted that femocracy is only a potential scenario of the future. There is no empirical evidence that any of the modern welfare states would have advanced to the state of femocracy, so far. First of all, gender mainstreaming is a relatively new principle that is not systematically used in all administrative decision making. Secondly, the radical feminist interpretation of gender mainstreaming is still challenged by a more moderate perspective, according to which, gender mainstreaming could also be used as a tool for reducing gender discrimination against men.

2.3 Explicating the Scope of the Thesis

The title of this work may now be enhanced and explicated using the terminology described in this chapter. The research mission of this work is to

> *analyze the appearance and causes of direct, indirect and structural discrimination against men in the context of the modern welfare states, which are defined as industrialized countries which use transfer payments and public policy for securing the welfare of their citizens, and which are characterized by public policies towards the advancement of women's status, women's high level of participation on the labor market, high level of female representation in parliament, and the low significance of marriage as a factor that binds women to a male breadwinner.*

This means that the results of this study are relevant primarily for the Nordic and Northern European countries, which already meet the characteristics of the modern welfare states and secondarily for those European and Anglo-American countries which seem to be reaching the status of a modern welfare state over the next decades.

3 Introduction to the Discrimination of Men and its Causes

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate some of the central traditions and ideas of men's studies, relating to the structural or direct discrimination of men. In addition to the academic branch of men's studies, some ideas of men's right activists and the less academic authors of the men's movement are also introduced, to give a richer picture of the appearance and potential causes of the discrimination against men.

3.1 Gender Roles and Structural Discrimination

According to liberal feminism, gender roles are harmful as they restrict men's and women's ability to be their full self. This idea is already found in the works of the first wave feminists such as Wollstonecraft (1792), Taylor Mill (1851), Mill (1869), and de Beauvoir (1949), and it was further developed by the second wave feminists such as Friedan (1963), Bem (1974) and Faludi (1991), after the development of the *role theory* within sociology[11]. According to the second wave feminists, women should be free to develop and express their "male" traits such as activeness, assertiveness, competitiveness and rationality, whereas men should be free to express and develop their "female" traits and behaviors such as sensitivity, compassion, nurturing, and passive submissiveness (Bem 1974). The second wave feminists also criticized the pressures which men face in being the career oriented breadwinner of the family. These ideas of role theory, liberal feminism and second wave feminism have been developed by the men's liberation movement, which perceives men as victims of old fashioned male roles and masculinities that are pressured onto them by the culture and society. An example of this perspective is given by a declaration of the Berkley Men's Centre:

> *"We no longer want to feel the need to perform sexually, socially, or in any way live up to an imposed male role… we want to relate to both men and women in more human ways – with warmth, sensitivity,*

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11 Terman & Miles (1936), Parsons and Bales (1953), Goffman (1959), Hargreaves (1986) and Pleck (1987); see Edley & Wetherel 1995, 70–95.

emotion, and honesty… we want to be equal with women and to end destructive competitive relationships with men." (See Edley & Wetherell 1995).

The central parts of the male role in American culture have been described by David & Brannon.[12] These role expectations can be easily linked to the disadvantages that they may cause to men. A matching of the characteristics and consequences of the male role is presented in the table below, into which I have also added the "sex machine" as a fifth category, since it is also a common role expectation posed towards men:

Cluster of masculine behavior	Explanation	Harmful effects to men (with references)
'no sissy stuff'	The avoidance of all feminine behaviors and traits;	Homophobia, the difficulty of men to show compassion to their male friends or even to their sons (Connell 2000, 67–126; Jokinen 2003). Shutting down emotions, difficulty in speaking of emotions, mental absenteeism from family, male depression.
'the big wheel'	The acquisition of success, status and breadwinning competence;	The role pressures on men, to be the principal financial supporters of the family, causes men to have a raised risk of stress related diseases such as coronary diseases and ulcer. (Jourard 1974, Harrison 1978). Definition of rich and successful men as masculine and sexy, means that less wealthy men are considered "loosers" and less masculine than other men.
'the sturdy oak'	Strength, confidence and independence	Difficulty in admitting defeat and weakness as a factor leading to male suicides. Difficulty in asking for support and help from friends and relatives. (Jourard 1974, Harrison 1978).
'give 'em hell'	Aggression, violence and daring	Raised chance of becoming a victim of other men's violence (Connell 2000). Work related injuries due to the stereotypic masculinity of daring and risk taking both in the selection of career and in behaviors while at work.
'sex machine'	Always ready and willing for sex.	Performance pressures, loss of interest in sex, impotence.

Table 1.   The Harmful Effects of Dominant Masculine Patterns.

In general, the men's liberation movement, which emerged in the USA in the 1970s, saw the socialization of males as an oppressive process which forces young boys into playing a limited and constricted sex-role. This idea has been represented by Farrel's "Liberated Man" (1974), Fasteau's "The Male Machine" (1974), Jourard's "The Transparent Self" (1971),

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12 David & Brannon 1976 (see Edley & Wetherel 1995, p. 77)

Nichols' "Men's Liberation" (1975), David and Brannon's "The Forty Nine Percent Majority" (1976) and Harrison's "Warning: The male sex role may be dangerous to your health" (1978). All these authors criticized the belief that the masculine role is an image of health and happiness. Instead, they saw the socialization of males as an oppressive process which forces young boys into playing a limited and constricted sex-role (Edley & Wetherel 1995, p. 81). From this point of view, men are seen as prisoners of their own masculine role, forced to work long weekly hours and to be the primary financial supporter of their family.

The actual empirical impact of gender roles and structural discrimination on men is illustrated by chapter 3.6, which describes Finnish research and statistics concerning men's problems.

3.2 Hegemonic Masculinity as the Oppressor of Men and Women

Whereas the men's liberation movement perceived sexism as a structural discrimination against men in such a fashion that also *women* participate in the role pressures and structural discrimination against men, the profeminist scholars of men's studies like R.W. Connell tend to put all of the blame on men themselves. According to Connell, the traditional "male role" is best understood as the culturally authoritative or hegemonic pattern of masculinity (Connell 2000, p. 30). This hegemonic masculinity works in favor of the groups of men that are in power, compared to other men and women. It is supported with an institutionalized ideology that defines hegemonic masculinity as natural, beneficial and desirable. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity is the product of an ideology that has been created to serve the interests of dominant men.

According to Connell, the dominant form of masculinity, or hegemonic masculinity, is based on economic and political power, which is connected to gender, race and sexual orientation. In most societies, the men of the racial and ethnic majority are able to define the dominant and admired form of masculinity, which is then supported by other men and by complicit masculinities. In such a society, different groups of men will receive different amounts of benefits and different amounts of side-effects

for being men. Therefore, the *net patriarchal dividend*, which means the advantage of being male compared to being female, may vary (see Connell 2000, p. 31). This disaggregated analysis of gender equality, emphasizes the fact that sexism, on average, hurts mostly gay men, and to some extent also working class men and the men of ethnic minorities. Upper and middle-class men of the ethnic majority may face minor forms of structural discrimination, but these are outweighed by the large benefits they gain from sexism and the gender roles. Therefore, sexism does not really hurt the heterosexual middle-class men of the ethnic majority. This line of reasoning is summarized in Table 2.

Group of men	Benefits from sexism	Harms from sexism	Size of the patriarchal dividend
Upper and middle-class men of the ethnic majority	**Very large**	Relatively small	Relatively large
Gay men	**None**	Large	Negative
Men from ethic minorities	**Small,** as reaching the norms of masculinity is difficult due to hindrances on the way to economic success.	Varied	Small or negative
Working-class men	**Small,** as reaching the norms of masculinity is difficult due to hindrances on the way to economic success.	Varied	Small or negative

Table 2. Disaggregated Profeminist view to the Discrimination of Men.

3.3 Industrial Capitalism as a Discriminator of Men

According to Seidler (1991), the capitalist working practices encourage men to split their sense of identity between their work personality and their "real me" of private life. Men become emotionally inarticulate, not just because the capitalist ethos tends to favor self-control, stoicism and self-discipline but because, divisions in experience between the private and the public, and the institutionalization of competitiveness cause a process of 'depersonalization'. Men have little alternative within these

sets of social relations, but to become 'working machines', closed and separate from others, fearful of intimacy and vulnerability, regulated, controlled and disciplined. Men become focused on maintaining an increasingly precarious masculine authority, and become familiar with violence both as a strategy, and as the potential object of the violence of others. According to Seidler (1991) and Tolson (1977), capitalism draws men into a network of social relations, which encourage sets of behaviors which we recognize as masculine, and yet, are harmful for men (Edley & Wetherell 1995, p. 101–102).

According to Seidler, not only working-class but also middle-class men become self-estranged and harmed by the capitalist structures. Middle-class men are more isolated than blue collar workers, as they are engaged in an individual struggle with themselves for success. Work is less containable and more engulfing of both time and identity. The development of a successful middle-class career demands even deeper self-alienation as men's personality, character, and social skills become a commodity to be sold to the labor market, along with knowledge and expertise (Edley & Wetherell 1995, p. 105). This self-estrangement may be seen in several autobiographical writings by men.[13] Seidler's analysis may be used for elaborating the disaggregated approach to patriarchal dividend, shown in Table 2. Based on Seidler's arguments, middle-class men may also suffer substantially from sexism, especially if they can not compensate the work related hazards of the labor market at home. This means, that also some middle-class men could gain a negative net benefit or negative "patriarchal dividend" by being male.

The strong and depriving connection between masculinity and paid work is elaborated by Holter's theory of men as the symbol of paid work, and women as the symbol of free time, consumption and domesticity (Holter 1995, p. 102).

> "In this view, gender articulates a basic class relationship, inherent in the wage labor relation itself. The 'one' of wage labor is work, and the one doing it is he. The other is free time, freedom, not as universal freedom, but as posited by the first, relative to work. And the one making this free time possible, once more, is also positioned very specifically as against the first. Many traits of femininity may be

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13 E.g. Jackson 1990, p. 57–59 (see Edley & Wetherell 1995, p. 105).

> *interpreted on this background – woman as the larger ground, the larger ideal being, beyond work, related to pure consumption and a superior kind of freedom." (Holter 1995, p. 102).*

Although this distinction of femininity and masculinity have caused men many benefits and women many disadvantages, the distinction also gives some notable benefits to women, especially in the context of the middle and upper-classes: 1) Women staying home from work, are privileged in the sense that they have more free time than men, and may concentrate on consumption instead of earning. 2) On the mental level, women and femininity are given an excuse for working less and for consuming more.

Holter's theory receives support from "The Custody Revolution" by Richard Warshak (1992). According to Warshack, children used to be considered as the 'property' of fathers from ancient times until industrialization. Industrialization, however, produced the familiar division of roles between the mother as the nurturer and the father as the breadwinner. This division of roles, combined with Sigmund Freud's theory about the mother's unique contribution to her child's psychological well being, gradually turned the tables, making mothers the 'owners" of their children (Warshak 1992, p. 31–33). This means that the industrial division of men's and women's roles has created a situation, in which men have a far lower likelihood of gaining custody of children after a divorce, even if they wish to get the custody.

3.4 Feminism as a Potential Discriminator of Men

According to Christina Sommers, the contemporary mainstream feminism in USA has progressed on a totally wrong track, as it uses cheap tricks to present men as the *powerful oppressors* and women as the *innocent victims* (Sommers 1994 and 2001). This criticism is mainly shared by the men's right activists, and by the masculist authors of gender oriented books (e.g. Farrell 1994 and 2004). According to Sommers, the roots of the attack against men and boys are in the feminist standpoint epistemology, according to which, women have superior capacities in the domains of emotion, morality, knowledge and science. The belief in the superiority

of women has led to the consideration of all normal science as bad and masculine and to the replacement of traditional science with women's intuition (Sommers 1994, p. 74–76). A great number of the scholars of women's studies have taken the freedom not to follow the normal rules of scientific conduct. Strong statements are commonly circulated without explicit references to scientific sources (Ibid p. 189), or based on manipulated studies (Ibid. p. 197). In several cases, far reaching conclusions about the bad status of women have also been derived without any reference to quantitative data and statistics at all (Sommers 1994. p. 117–254). According to Sommers, this politically motivated misconduct of science, has led to *gender feminism or victimization feminism*[14] which perceives women as the massively oppressed gender in all countries and in all sectors of life (Sommers 1994). As this discourse has permeated the school system and healthcare system in the United States, these sectors are almost at the state of war against men and boys. For example, the feminist scholars of women's studies have theorized that high school girls are silenced in classrooms in such a fashion that they begin to suffer from low self esteem. Therefore, various campaigns have been raised to empower school girls. However, the theories and hypotheses are based on no empirical evidence at all, and several empirical studies in schools actually show that it is the boys who are facing problems due to their gender (Ibid. 137–187).

Within the sector of healthcare and social services, the results of victimization feminism are seen in the multiple studies of domestic violence, which try to present women as innocent victims and men as the oppressive perpetrators. According to Straus (1980), Sommers (1994), George (2002), and Fiebert (2005), these studies grossly underreport women's violence against men, women's tendency to initiate the violence, and the central role of alcohol and drugs as causes of domestic violence. At the same time, they exaggerate the role of the patriarchy and testosterone as causes of domestic violence (Kammer 2002, p. 50–56). This misandric essentialism may then be used against men in divorce trials, custody issues and criminal trials in the instances where men are accused of violence or rape (see Sund 2005, p. 109–138).

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14 Sommer's original term for victimization feminism was gender feminism. However, she later changed the term to victimization feminism.

According to Kammer, the shift from equality oriented feminism to misandric feminism was first documented in 1980 and 1981, when the National Organization for Women in the USA first censored away all male friendly statements from its political program (Kammer 2002, p. 129). This development took place simultaneously with a shift towards the ideology of *feminacentrism*, which suggests that women are more valuable than men or that women deserve constant compensation from the society for being women (Kammer 2002, p. 83).

3.5 Women as Exploiters of the Chivalrous Men

According to Ester Vilar, women are selfish exploiters of men as they manipulate men to support themselves economically by offering nothing but sex in return (Vilar 1972). The same idea is also presented by Fitzgerald (1999), who criticizes the American culture for turning women into selfish "sexployters" of men. Although this idea may sound somewhat misogynous and antifeminist, the idea of the female body as a *valuable resource* is also embedded in the writings of Wolf (1991), who is worried about the declining value of the naked female body under the competition that originates from pornography, and particularly the pornographic material presented in the Internet. This same idea of the value of women's sexuality has also appeared in the writings of early feminists, who criticized marriage. For example, according to Mary Wollstonecraft (1792), prostitution is a more honest way for earning one's living than marriage, as in prostitution the prize of sex is openly negotiated, whereas the exchange in marriage is organized in a subtle and implicit manner.[15]

The more recent and more academic analysts of sex as a power resource include economists such as Baumeister, Vochs & Catanese (2001), Baumeister & Tice (2001), Baumeister & Vochs (2004), and sociologists like Laasanen (2006). This academic tradition bases the origins of sexual power to the asymmetries in the need for sex among people, which makes the ones with a higher sex drive dependent on others, whilst the others

15 The perception to marriage and prostitution appears in the pages 52–78 of the 1996 edition of the "A Windication of Women's rights" (see Laasanen 2006, chapter 4, "Marriage and prostitution")

then become controllers of a scarce resource. This conclusion is also supported by the resource dependency theory, which states that the control of scarce resources makes others dependent, leading to the accumulation of power to the actors that control this scarce resource (e.g. Pfeffer & Salancic 1978). According to these economists, the higher sexual drive of men has been proven in dozens of empirical studies (see Baumeister & Vohs 2004). Even if this gender difference may be caused by social construction, it is an empirical fact that leads to the female control of a scarce resource (sex), which makes men dependent on them, on average. This dependence is the basis of the sexual power of women (Laasanen 2006). The idea of sexual intercourse as an exchange is also supported by the theory of social exchange, according to which all human interaction should be seen as an exchange in which both parties seek to gain some benefits (Simmel 1907, see Laasanen 2006, p. 17).

Another trend in the criticism of the female exploitation of men is the concentration of the male characteristics and behaviors which make this exploitation possible. According to men's right activists such as Ramanathan (1999) and Kammer (2002), a central feature enabling the exploitation of men, and double standards in favor of women, is *perverted chivalry*. This refers to the perception of women as very vulnerable and to the practices of putting women on a pedestal and offering them all forms of special treatment. According to masculist authors like Farrell (2004), the existence of chivalry and gentlemanly behaviors, as part of the gender system, is not sufficiently noted by feminist scholars of the gender system. For example, when studying the ways in which male soldiers act in the presence of female soldiers, it was found out that men tend to devote a lot of effort and risk their own lives for the protection of the female soldiers (Farrell 2004). This also appears on the level of officers and generals, who are willing to pay a full salary to female soldiers, while not wishing to send them to the frontier.

3.6 Finnish Statistics Concerning
the Impacts of Structural Discrimination on Men

3.6.1 Introduction

The Finnish literature concerning the discrimination of men appears mainly in the form of sociological studies, which approach "men's misery" either through statistics or through the qualitative analysis of the problems of uneducated, unemployed, alcoholic, homeless or criminal men. Although this tradition began in the 1960s and 1970s as somewhat detached from the gendered point of view, it can easily be reformulated into the terminology of gender studies and gender discrimination. According to this reformulation, the bad status of the problematized men seems to be partly caused by the role expectations which require men to be tough, outgoing, risk taking, and economically successful or otherwise powerful (see 3.1) and by the hegemonic representations of masculinity (see 3.2). Based on these role expectations and representations, it is possible to predict and explain the statistical findings concerning men's higher suicide rates, higher risk of facing violence, higher rates of alcoholism, drug usage and crime; and boy's higher chances of dropping out of the school system (see 3.1). In Finland, this recognition of the gendered nature of the problems of low social status men has strengthened over the last few years (e.g. Jokinen 2002, Rimpelä 2007, and Taipale 2007). It even appears in some writings of feminist scholars of women's studies, who recognize the concentration of severe social problems in the less educated men of lower social classes (e.g. Veikkola 2002 and Rotkirch 2005).

This chapter provides gendered statistics, which may be used as a support for the hypotheses. Due to the nature of this chapter, as an introduction to the discrimination of men, the statistical analysis offers just a brief introduction, not giving much attention to the systematic research of potential alternative statistics and alternative interpretations.

3.6.2 Dropping out of the society

Finnish girls, more often than boys, seem to feel that teachers accept them just as they are. Girls also tend to have better relationships with teachers than boys (Yrjölä 2004, p. 14). According to statistics, boys on average, have a higher chance of dropping out of the school system than girls, although the social background of students plays a higher role than their gender.[16] This higher propensity of boys to drop out of school seems to be causally connected to the fact that a large proportion of the unemployed labor force is made of uneducated men (see Veikkola 2002). This concentration of unemployment to uneducated men is a risk factor that may also lead to the concentration of other social problems to men.

According to statistics, men make up almost entirely the 3 % of the Finns, who have dropped out of the society, meaning that they have no job, no spouse, no connections to relatives, no motivation to search for a job, and no permanent home. This group is also likely to suffer from alcoholism, health problems, depression, and misuse of medicines. It is also known that the majority of the homeless, prisoners, and persons with life-size debts, are men.[17] These statistics are in line with the finding that over 40% of the receivers of municipal transfer payments in Finland 2004 were single men (Stakes 2004, Table 6), which is a far higher proportion than the proportion of single women (see Julkunen 2002, p. 35). Other statistics, confirming the tendency of young men to be at the highest risk of dropping out of the society, are the statistics of Stakes, according to which 70% of clients of drug user's clinics and services in 2005 were men. The clients mostly had a low level of education, and 62% of them were unemployed. Twelve percent were homeless (Stakes 2006).

These statistics have been explained by the male role, which pressures young men away from time consuming academic studies, and towards outgoing and risk taking behaviors. Some others have pointed out that the school system seems to discriminate against boys, which leads to the risk of young men dropping out of the society (e.g. Kotro 2007).

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16 Nousiainen & al. 2004, p. 46

17 According to Jokinen (2002, p. 248), the generally high presentation of men among the social drop-outs appears in "Naiset ja miehet Suomessa 2001", Melkas (2001) and Taipale (1995). The voluminous debts of men have also been recognized in the studies of Sepponen (2005b).

3.6.2 Men's health problems
and lowered life time expectancy

Men, in general, die younger than women in Finland (Veikkola 2002, p. 53–54). The gender difference in life time expectancy is connected to men's gendered health problems, higher suicide rates, and higher risk of severe accidents. The lifetime expectancy for girls, who were born in Finland between the years 1970–75, was 75 years, while for men it was 67 years. For those girls born in 2000, the lifetime expectancy is 81 years while for men it is 74 years (Veikkola 2002, p. 53–54). These differences are not merely biological phenomenona, as the causes of men's health problems, suicides and accidents seem to be closely connected to the male role as a tough and competitive risk taker, or a tough and hard working breadwinner who is required to earn a high income for his family.

According to Eira Viikari-Juntura, Finnish male employees are more likely to suffer from exertion and stress related illnesses than Finnish women, even within the same job categories and industries. This especially appears in the food industry field. The absolute measures, concerning the higher likelihood of men in getting exertion and stress related illnesses, are coupled with the trend that women's illnesses steeply declined between 1989 and 1997, while men's illnesses have not declined at the same pace (Viikari-Juntura 1999). This finding can be explained by the role expectations, which require men to be hard working, sturty and uncomplaining – meaning that men tend to hesitate before attending a doctor due to minor health problems. Men also have a significantly higher chance than women in developing coronary diseases at the age of 35–60 years in Finland (Kansanterveyslaitos 2000, chapter 7.1). Even this finding can be connected to the male role, which requires men to be tough, competitive, hard working and risk taking, in order to earn high salaries.

Another factor that lowers the life time expectancy of men is the higher rate of suicides among men. According to Tilastokeskus, approximately 7 women and 30 men per 100.000 inhabitants committed suicide in the year 1921 (Kansanterveyslaitos 2004). During the recession of the 1930s, the figures were 56 men and 10 women. During the next severe recession at the beginning of the 1990s, the suicides of men rose to 62 for men and

15 for women. These figures show that men (miehet) have approximately a 4–5 times greater chance than women (naiset) to end their life by suicide during recessions. This aligns with the hypotheses about the role expectations, which pressure men into the role of a breadwinner and which makes it difficult for men to admit defeat and start modestly again from scratch, if severe economic problems occur.
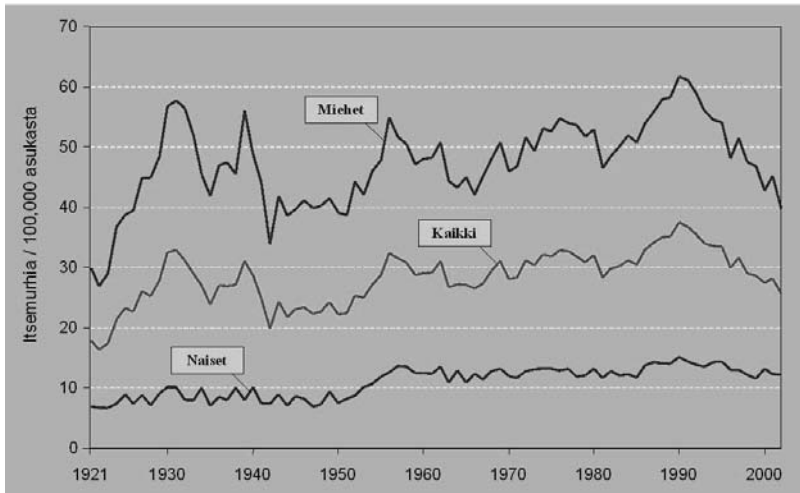
Figure 2.   Men Have a Higher Risk of Suicide than Women.

3.7 Summary

According to role theory and the main stream of men's studies, gender discrimination against men appears mostly in the form of structural discrimination, which is caused by the *sexist gender system* of industrial societies. This sexist system prevents men from gaining substantial equality with women, as men are more likely to suffer from stress related illnesses, work related accidents, unemployment, life sized debts, alcoholism, traffic accidents, drugs, lack of housing, higher suicide rates, and a lower lifetime expectancy. The sexist gender system also puts men in a vulnerable position in the context of divorce and custody disputes, since childcare is generally considered a feminine activity, and thus

mothers are therefore perceived more important to children than men. Although the gender role theory seems to explain very well the structural discrimination of men, in such a fashion that is also supported by empirical statistics, it does not contain a sufficient basis for the analysis of the direct and indirect discrimination against men and women. The gender role theory and its masculist interpretations are also challenged by the critical studies of men, which claim that white, heterosexual men of the upper and middle-classes still enjoy a large patriarchal dividend for being male, although they may face structural discrimination due to sexism (e.g. Connell 2000). This means that the Critical Studies of Men is a paradigm, which is not interested in the study and analysis of the discrimination against men in general.

According to some masculists and liberal feminists, some forms of feminism may also be seen as potential causes for the discrimination against men. According to Sommers (1995), men are discriminated by *gender feminism*, which claims that women are epistemologically and morally superior compared to the competitive, uncompassionate, irresponsible and selfish men of our "patriarchal" society. The consequences of gender feminism appear in the war against men and boys in the American society (Sommers 2001). This war against men has also been analyzed by masculist authors such as Kammer (2002), Farrell (1994), and Fiebert (2005), who criticize the feminist theories and statistics which picture men as the sole and dominant possessors of power, and which stereotypes men as the guilty oppressors and women as the innocent victims. This critique against gender feminism, however, has not produced a theory which would describe the precise content of gender feminism, or its causal connection to the discrimination of men in different contexts. The practices used for collecting data on the discriminative effects of feminism to men, are also rarely based on solid quantitative or qualitative methodologies. These problems make it difficult for a reader to evaluate, whether *gender feminism* really is that popular, and whether it really causes notable amounts of discrimination against men, outside the scope of some curious examples.

The fourth perspective to the discrimination of men, described in this chapter, is the perception of women as the manipulative exploiters of chivalrous men. These theories are based on empirical findings showing

that men have a higher sexual drive than women, and on the conclusion that women, therefore, have superior sexual power compared to men. This theory of the sexual overpowering of women, however, is not sufficiently connected to empirical statistics that would show the disadvantaged status of men in the context of a heterosexual couple. Closely connected to the theory of sexual power is also the idea of perverted chivalry, which refers to the tendency of men to favor women, and to put down other men. This theory also lacks the support of empirical studies that would show the connection from perverted chivalry to the discrimination of men. Therefore, the value of these theories, so far, is mostly in their nature as a balancing and alternative discourse to the radical feminist discourses, which claim that women are discriminated within heterosexual couples, and in all other contexts of the society.

Due to these problems, this work begins by building a systematic and thorough theoretical framework, which is grounded on the philosophical basis of social constructivism, and on a new model of the evolution of social and cultural systems. This *synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution* is then applied to gender studies, producing a *general theory of gender discrimination*. Only after these preparations, the work will proceed to the empirical analysis of the connections that the male role, sexism, perverted chivalry, and victimization feminism have to the discrimination of men.

4 A Synthetic Theory of Socio-Cultural Evolution

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the discrimination of men was assumed to be caused by the male role and victimization feminism, which can be perceived as mental, cultural and ideological constructions. This chapter aims at developing a synthetic theory of the social and cognitive construction of mental, cultural and social structures, called *memes*, and of the principles according to which these constructions evolve and change the society over time. This analysis of the mechanisms of cultural and social evolution (sociocultural evolution) is considered necessary, as the empirical analysis of sexism and victimization feminism would not have a sufficient theoretical basis without such a theory.

This synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution is based on the synthesis of critical discourse analysis, memetics, general systems theory, cognitive science, philosophy of science, evolutionary economics (Nelson & Winter 1980), organizational ecology, and the "garbage can model" of administrative decision making (Cohen, March & Olsen 1972). The model also draws from several theories of power and public policy, which originate from administrative sciences, politology, and sociology. The overwhelmingly cross scientific nature of this model, means that the chapter can not be started with an introduction to all of these fields – as that would simply take about twenty pages for each of the sciences mentioned. Instead, the entire model is first presented as a condensed overview to give a general understanding of the theory and its conclusions. In the later chapters, the specific areas and elements of the model, together with its philosophical basis, are then described in more detail, providing some general references to the work of the scholars in each field of sciences mentioned above. The figure below presents the cross scientific roots of the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution. The persons, whose ideas have a strongest resemblance and influence to the theory, are shown in parentheses. In order to document the process of the formulation of the theory, the arrows are attached to years, representing the time when I first encountered this source of information, and integrated it into the synthetic model. Due to the late integration of sociology and discourse

analysis to the theory, the earlier versions of the theory have a stronger touch of positivism and biological thinking, than the present version which is based on social constructivism.
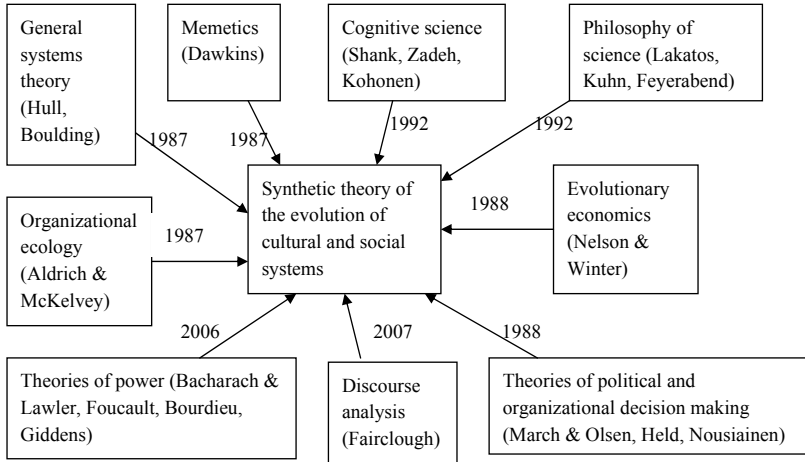
Figure 3. The Cross Scientific Roots of the Synthetic Theory.

4.2 Overview

4.2.1 Central concepts

The central idea of the synthetic theory is that all sociocultural phenomena are governed by memes, discourses and paradigms. In order to formulate this into a theory, the following concepts and ideas need to be introduced.

A *replicant* is a self replicating structure that is able to copy itself from one generation to another (Dawkins 1976). A synonym for a replicant is a *replicator* (Hull 1981). In most cases, the replicants are carried by interactive or living systems such as animals, people, organizations or societies (see Miller 1978 and Hull 1981). This, however, is not a requirement, since computer viruses are also replicants.

A *meme* is a mental, cultural or sociostructural replicant. This definition solves the central ontological schism of memetics, which exists between

the internalists and externalists: The internalists like Dawkins (1976), Brodie (1995) and Lynch (1996) claim that memes are mental structures, while the externalists like Benzon (1996) and Gatherer (1997) claim that only cultural replicants should be studied and called memes, because the internal mental representations of people can not be observed. The recognition of the mental, cultural and sociostructural replicants as three different subcategories of memes solves the ontological problem. The new element in this definition of memes is the sociostructural memes, which include the structural properties of social systems, such as social hierarchies, the distribution of power, and the structure of the communication and dependency networks.

Memes appear in *memeplexes*, which are sets of interconnected memes. Examples of large memeplexes include discourses, paradigms, and configurations. However, almost all memes are actually memeplexes because they are made of lower level components: Theories are made of statements, statements are made of sentences, and sentences are made of words. Spoken words are made of phonemes, and written words are made of letters. Memeplexes may also simultaneously contain mental, cultural and sociostructural memes. Racism, for example, is a memeplex that contains *mental* attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes; *cultural* memes such as texts, comic scripts, acts, and policies; and a *sociostructural* meme that shows the disadvantaged status of the group that is being faced with racist discrimination. In most cases, however, the concepts *meme* and *memeplex* relate to each other in such a context where memes refer to concepts and statements, and memeplexes are collections of interconnected concepts or statements. In this context, a synonym for a cultural meme is a *discursive element* (Laclau & Mouffe 1985 and Fairclough 1993, p. 138).

When memes are studied, the analysis is usually at the level of meaning, not at the level of precise presentation. Different articulations, appearances or *paraphrases* of memes can be counted as the same meme, if they have the same meaning (paraphrases, see Schank & Abelson 1977). This means that the same meme may appear in different languages. In cultural studies, it is also known that the same script or plot may appear in many different stories, and still, it is usually counted as the same meme.

Discourses are sets of loosely interconnected memes that appear in a specific field or context. Examples of discourses include the medical

discourse, the feminist discourse, and the doctor – patient discourse. Most scholars of discourse analysis concentrate on the study of cultural memes like texts and spoken discourses. In this sense, a discourse is a more limited concept than a memeplex, which may also contain mental and sociostructural elements (memes).

A *paradigm* is a large, stable and relatively coherent memeplex that is built around a theory, model, perception or analogy in some field of human knowledge. Although the idea of paradigms originates from the study of scientific paradigms (Kuhn 1970), there is no need to believe that religious, ideological and professional paradigms would be essentially different from the scientific paradigms (see Feyerabend and the social constructivist criticism of the objectivity of science). Paradigms can be carried by people, or by entire organizations. Therefore, it is possible to speak of the *paradigm of an organization* (Pfeffer 1982, de Jong 1999). Paradigms can be seen as a subcategory of discourses, but not all discourses can be classified as paradigms, as some discourses are too contextual, casual, temporary, changing, small or incoherent in their nature.

A *metameme* is a meme that governs the way in which people, groups and organizations evaluate and adopt other memes. Examples of simple and condensed metamemes are the epistemological principles which determine what we consider as true, or true enough. It is also possible to perceive discourses and paradigms as metamemes, since they govern the way in which people evaluate and adopt new memes: If the memes are incompatible with popular paradigms and discourses, it is unlikely that people adopt them.

Sociocultural reproduction is a process in which mental, cultural and social memes reproduce with the aid of living systems such as humans and organizations, which are capable of passing learned knowledge from one generation to another. In sociocultural reproduction, the mental memes are *manifested* into cultural memes, and then the mental memes are reproduced as people *interpret and imitate* cultural memes. People also manifest mental memes into sociostructural memes: Racism manifests itself into the social hierarchy, where the target of the racism appears at the bottom of the social hierarchy (not only mentally, but also substantially, measured by the standard of living). After a sociocultural

meme has evolved, it tends to reproduce the mental memes as people interpret the social structures and form mental representations of them.
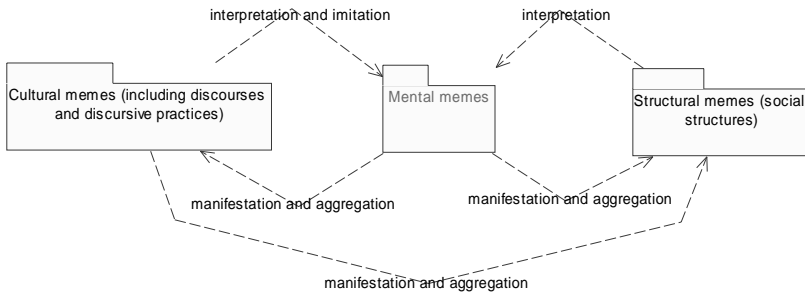
Figure 4. The Reproduction and Change of Mental, Cultural and Sociostructural Memes.

Humans are both the ***masters and slaves*** of the memes. According to Althusser (1971), Gramsci (1991), Dawkins (1976) and Blackmore (1996), humans tend to be subordinated to the memes that float in the *memepool* of the society.[18] Due to this subordination, people, organizations and societies reproduce memes, discourses, paradigms and social structures with an amazing copying fidelity. Some other scholars of cultural studies and discourse analysis point out that people have the capacity to invent new memes, alter them, and create new recombinations of memes in creative and revolutionary manners (E.g. Fairclough 1989, p. 172). This gives people the potential capacity to become masters of the memes.

The concepts described in this chapter synthesize memetics and discourse analysis, in a manner that solves some central problems in these fields of study: The dispute of memetics, between the internalists, who emphasize mental memes, and the externalists, who emphasize cultural memes, is solved by the model of sociocultural reproduction presented in Figure 4. The concepts also connect memetics to the Marxist tradition (E.g. Althusser & Gramsci), which perceives human culture and sociostructural memes as something very rigid. This helps to eliminate the Sperberian criticism against memetics, according to which memes can not be copied

18 Although Althusser and Gramsci do not use the terminology of memetics, their idea of the subordination of humans to the culture resembles the ideas of memetists (see Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 20).

sufficiently accurately from one generation to another (Sperber 2001). For the field of discourse analysis, the concepts presented above create an improved perception of the role of small discursive elements (memes), which intertextually participate in different discourses at the same time. The synthetic model of sociocultural reproduction also binds the cultural memes together with the mental and sociostructural memes. This is a necessary reminder for those scholars of discourse analysis, who would have the temptation of explaining everything with discourses, ignoring mental memes and cognitive processes, and the sociostructural memes and sociological theories.

4.2.2 The determinants of sociocultural evolution

Although the previous chapter described the central elements which evolve in the evolution of sociocultural systems, it did not give a scientific model of the evolution of these elements. In order to raise the conceptual framework of memetics and discourse analysis to the level of a theory of sociocultural evolution, the more specific determinants and shapers of sociocultural evolution need to be identified. In addition to this, their effects on the mental, cultural and sociostructural memes need to be explained. As these determinants are numerous, and have very complex connections to each other and to the reproduction and evolution of memes, this chapter gives a short overview of the determinants and their connections, which are summarized in Figure 5.
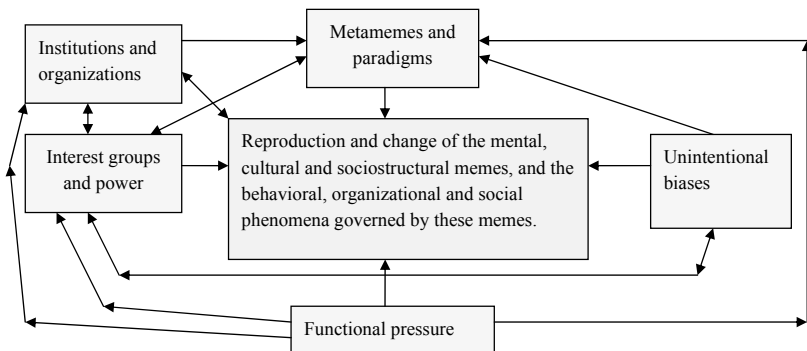
Figure 5. The Determinants of Sociocultural Evolution.

At the center of the figure is the reproduction and change of mental and cultural memes, and the phenomena governed by these memes. These phenomena include actions, decisions, behaviors, routines and policies that may appear at all levels and institutions of the society.

The most influential *interest groups* are able to shape metamemes and all the other memes to their needs, through the usage of economic, political and discursive power. This is likely to strengthen and reproduce the sociostructural memes of the society, such as the hierarchy of social status, social dichotomies, and the structure of communication and dependency networks. *Unintentional biases* tend to amplify the results of interest group activities, as people commonly tend to identify with some social group, and as simplistic stereotypes are commonly utilized for the members of other social groups. The *functional pressures* appear, for example, in the form of coercive and economic pressure, shaping the human meme pool (culture) by rooting out some of the memes which correlate with low economic efficiency or an inability to defend the tribe or nation against aggressive offenders. The functional pressures affect the metamemes and paradigms, as those societies, which do not value economic efficiency and ability to defend the society, will gradually face the risk of collapse and extinction unless economic efficiency and coercive capacity are not given more value. Functional pressures also affect interest groups and organizations, as those groups and organizations that reach economic and coercive viability are likely to outlive their rivals. In the next chapters, these determinants of sociocultural evolution are described in more detail.

4.3 Functional Pressure

4.3.1 Introduction

Functional pressure not only directs the evolution of mental, cultural and sociostructural memes, but it also shapes the appearance of some of the other determinants of sociocultural evolution. This chapter presents a model of functional selection, after first taking a brief look into the existing theories of functional and natural selection.

The diagram shows connected boxes: "Institutions and organizations", "Metamemes and paradigms", "Interest groups and power", "Reproduction and change of the mental, cultural and sociostructural memes, and the behavioral, organizational and social phenomena governed by these memes.", and "Functional pressure".
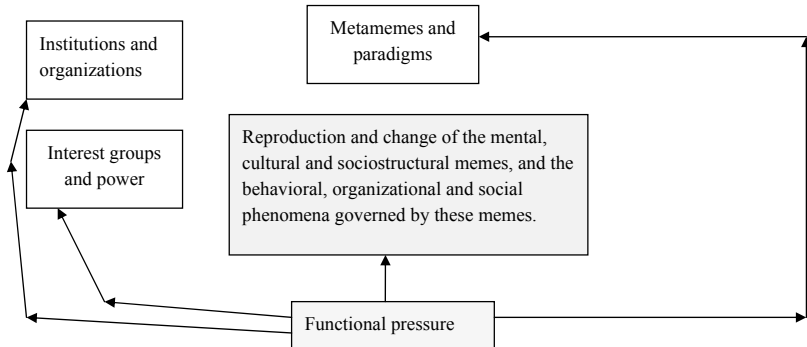
4.3.2 Earlier theories of functional selection

The early theories of functional pressure include *functionalism* (Parsons & Bales 1953), *lamarckism* (Lamark 1809) and *liberal economics* (Smith 1776). These theories attempted to explain the evolution of biological or social systems, with the idea of functional pressure and competition. They assumed that competition forms an "invisible hand", which guides the populations of animals, societies and companies towards some functional and practical direction, permitting the best fit or most competitive forms to replace the less functional ones. The problem with these approaches was their inability to see the role of replicants such as genes and memes in the evolution. They were also unable to recognize that populations of animals and economic organizations are not constantly at the state of equilibrium, in which all systems have taken the most functional and best fit form.

A more advanced theory of functional pressure was created by Darwin[19], and then also applied later to the evolution of organizations and social systems (Hannan & Freeman 1977). According to this theory of natural selection, the animal populations and organization populations evolve due to the processes of variation, selection and retention. In the context of organizations, variation means, that organizations are different, applying different strategies, structures, policies and practices. Selection means that those organizations which are less fit than others are rooted

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19 See Laihonen, Salo & Vuorisalo 1986.

out by bankruptcies and other organizational deaths. Retention means the process in which the surviving organizations fill up the space left by the deceased organizations. The theory of natural selection, in the form presented by Darwin and Hannan & Freeman, fails to recognize the importance of genes and memes as the central tools that pass traits onto future generations of animals and organizations. This shortage, however, was removed by the invention of genes in the study of biological evolution, and the discovery of memes and other replicants in organization science and discourse analysis. According to McKelvey and Aldrich (1983), the evolution of organizations is based on the natural selection that shapes the organization populations by rooting out those "comps" that cause bad organizational performance. In the field of economics, the traditional model of microeconomics was challenged by the evolutionary economics of Nelson & Winter (1980), who claimed that industries evolve due to the different technological and managerial innovations that they develop or imitate from each other. According to Nelson and Winter, these replicable know-how structures cause companies to have different production functions, different growth rates, and different viabilities. These ideas of replicant based natural selection were developed into a theory of the evolution of social systems by Malmi (1987, 1988, 1992). This theory also takes into account the significance of coercive selection processes, which have played a notable role in human history. The theory is renamed here as the theory of *functional selection*, since natural selection has a very bad connotation among sociologists, and as natural selection directs too much attention away from cognitive and social selection processes.

4.3.3 The combined effects of economic, coercive, reproductive and cognitive selection

According to the theory of functional selection, the evolution of social systems may be pictured as a process which starts with a population of social systems that carry a variety of memes. These variations cause social systems to have differences in coercive, economic and reproductive capacity. Low coercive and economic capacity reduces the expected

longevity of social systems through bankruptcies and violent extinctions. This is likely to lead to the rooting out of those memes, which cause bad coercive and economic performance. Economic and coercive capacities are strongly interlinked as economic capacity may raise the coercive capacity of a social system through the acquisition of more weapons and soldiers. In a similar fashion, a strong coercive capacity may lead to economic success through the acquisition of loot, taxes and natural resources from the subordinated social systems and geographical areas. The differences in reproductive capacity include the colonialistic expansion by settlements, and expansion by sheer growth. The corporate franchising and licensing contracts also belong to the area of reproductive capacity. All of these reproductive processes lead towards retention, which means that the viable social systems with a good reproductive capacity are likely to fill the open space freed by the shrinked or extinct social systems. Retention leads to a raise in the relative frequency of those memes that correlate with good coercive, economic and reproductive capacity.
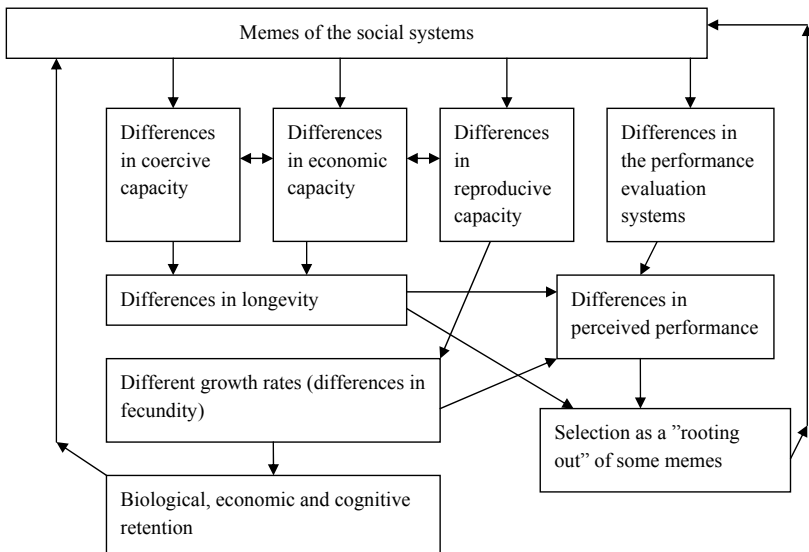
Figure 6. Selection and Retention as Shapers of the Evolution of Social Systems.

These processes of coercive, economic and reproductive selection are complicated by the processes of cognitive selection, which are presented on the right side of the diagram. The performance evaluation systems are powerful metamemes, which can either amplify or contradict the effects of the coercive, economic and reproductive selection. If the social systems value a coercive and economic capacity, and the high growth rate of the social system, the social systems are likely to do their best to develop and imitate memes that are correlated with these values. This also means that those memes that contradict these values are likely to become very unpopular, making them disappear relatively rapidly from the meme pool. However, in some other societies, the performance evaluation systems may favor peacefulness, non aggression, low economic growth, and altruistic behaviors such as giving gifts without expecting anything in return. In these societies, it is possible that the behavior of people and organizations will be governed by memes that promote these alternative values (see Vaughan 2007). However, if this pacifistic and altruistic society coexists with some other societies that have far more aggressive and competitive values, the processes of coercive and economic selection are likely to take place in a fashion that roots out the pacifistic and altruistic memes (see Eisler 1988).

The role and significance of coercive, economic, reproductive and cognitive selection processes may vary over the course of history. For example, in a sparsely populated environment, the most significant force that drives the evolution of tribes and families is reproductive selection: Those memes, which help families and tribes to reproduce most efficiently, tend to reach a hegemonic status through the processes of growth and retention. In more densely populated areas and under a great scarcity of resources, coercive selection is likely to have a significant role in the evolution of societies. In a market economy, economic selection is likely to be the dominant shaper of the meme pool, and this is likely to also appear in the field of arts and cultural industry, since this field also operates by the principles of economic selection. In a socialist country, the evolution of organizations is likely to be dominated by cognitive choice. However, in the competition between socialist and capitalist countries, the economic selection, again, is likely to have an impact which roots out those ideologies that produce bad economic performance for the society as a whole.

4.3.4 The significance of functional selection in the context of the welfare states

The evolution of the welfare states is strongly affected by functional pressures, which appear in the need to maintain the public budgets in balance and in the need to maintain sufficient military power to avoid the destruction of the state by foreign conquerors. A good example of a welfare state that did not survive the pressures of functional selection is ancient Athens. According to Harisalo & Miettinen, Athens developed a public sector centered welfare system which gradually suffocated itself due to a lack of economic resources (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995). This economic catastrophe was caused by democratic pressures and interest group activities, which caused the city state to grant more and more privileges to such interest groups that managed to convince the politicians and administrators of the need for their favorable treatment. This economic failure of ancient Athens, gradually led to the destruction of the state, as it was not able to maintain a sufficient level of military power to ensure its independence.

Another example of functional pressures appeared in the economic pressures, which forced the re-evaluation and reconstruction of the welfare states that had evolved in European countries after the Second World War. In this case, the rapid expansion of the public sector resembled the growth of the public administration of Athens, but only to the point of an economic crisis. In the case of the European welfare states, the economic pressures caused a process of cognitive selection, which restructured the public spending of the welfare states to a more sustainable level. This economic crisis also forced a change to the political paradigms that govern the appearance of the welfare states, leading to the ideological movement of the social democratic welfare states in the direction of the liberal welfare state, at least in the questions concerning the limits of the growth of the public sector, and the necessity of the deconstruction of some administrative hindrances that prevented the functioning of a market economy.

4.4 Unintentional Biases as Shapers of Memes

4.4.1 Introduction

Unintentional biases refer to those cognitive, linguistic, communicational, social psychological and emotional biases, which twist our interpretation, learning, memorization and communication of memes, in such a fashion that reduces our chances for obtaining accurate, objective and reliable knowledge. These biases have a strong effect on the evolution of mental, cultural and sociostructural memes in a fashion that favors simple and attractive memes, even when simplicity and attractiveness is not connected to the objective correspondence with reality. The unintentional biases also have an effect on the metamemes and paradigms that we prefer, and on the ways in which interest groups are able to cumulate symbolic, normative and discursive power resources.

This chapter gives a brief introduction to the various kinds of unintentional bias, and then proceeds to the description of *memetic reasoning*, which is the combined effect of all these biases.
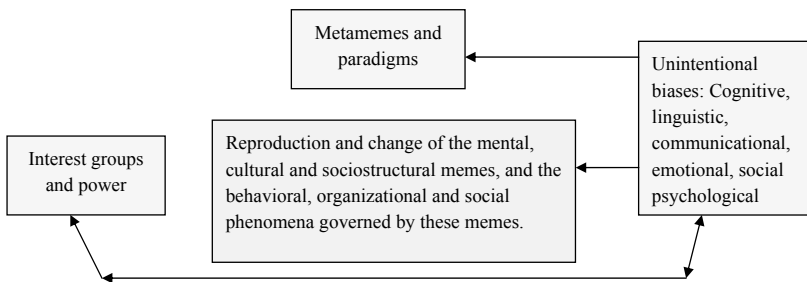
Figure 7.   Unintentional Biases as Shapers of Other Memes.

4.4.2 Cognitive, linguistic and communicational biases

Cognitive, linguistic and communicational biases can not be fully distinguished from each other, as cognition and communication are strongly based on language, and since communication is an interactive process in which the receiver of the messages also actively participates in

the interpretation, understanding and memorization of the communicated memes. Therefore, this chapter presents a set of cognitive, linguistic and communicational biases, without making a clear distinction between these biases.

The *inductive bias* refers to the careless generalizations that humans tend to do, based on a very small set of observations.[20] The tendency seems to be an effective cognitive strategy, as in many cases human beings need to make decisions based on a very limited number of observations. For example, if someone dies in pain after eating some peculiar mushrooms, it is possibly beneficial to make a generalization that all mushrooms of that type are poisonous – or that all mushrooms, in general, should be avoided as they are potentially poisonous. Although these rush generalizations may cause negative side effects, on average, they seem to have created more benefits than harms over the human evolution. This tendency may, however, also act as a source for numerous superstitious beliefs, which have been created by generalization in dangerous situations: For example, the spitting to a river over one's right shoulder may not have any beneficial effect for avoiding death by poisoning after one has been bit by a snake. However, it may easily become a popular belief, as the following of this rule of thumb requires a very minor effort from its proponents.[21]

A specific form of the inductive bias is the tendency of people to create *stereotypes*. This tendency seems to be connected to the highly efficient way in which the human brain performs pattern recognition, even based on only a few observations. According to Kohonen (1988), Schank & Leakey (1989), and Bar-Tal & Kruglanski (1988) and Pollock (2006), stereotypes act as a way for storing the results of inductive learning, even in such cases where the knowledge is not stored in a symbolic or linguistic form. According to Kohonen, humans are able to create "hologrammic images", which store the generalized or stereotyped image of a group of observed objects or phenomena that resemble each other (Kohonen 1988, see Hautamäki 1988). It is possible that these hologrammic images are a fundamental cornerstone in the development of human languages, in such a fashion that all concepts are actually produced from the neural stereotypes that individual people have created and then communicated

20 See Barker 1989, p. 192 and Cedarblom and Paulsen 1991, p. 257

21 For a more detailed description of inductive fallacies, see Barker (1989, p. 192) or Cedarblom and Paulsen (1991, p. 257).

to each other using primitive languages. This centrality of stereotypic images and patterns on the neural level may be such an essential feature of human cognition that it may be very difficult for people to avoid stereotypic thinking.

The formulation of *dichotomies* is another cognititive strategy that is likely to cause bias. Dichotomies are attractive, since they structure and clarify the world by categorizing objects and phenomena to something, and to its opposite. Humans, for example, may be considered as men or women, leaving all other alternatives out of the question. The tendency to create dichotomies, and to attach clear stereotypes to them, may simplify the world. However, it may also create a lot of bias in human thinking, and lead to normative pressures for humans to act either according to this stereotype, or according to its opposite. Structural gender discrimination seems to be a good example of the side effects of simple dichotomies and the hasty conclusions of the proper stereotypes of men and women. This preference of humans for dichotomies, may even affect the fundamentals of human languages.[22] The perception of dichotomic thinking as inevident, however, would be exaggeration, as some cultures and languages are not so clearly built around them: For example, the Finnish language does not have masculine and feminine forms for adjectives, pronouns and verbs like the Latin languages do.

Human decision making seems to operate in a very different manner than the theory of rational optimization suggests. Instead of trying to optimize utility functions based on sufficient information, people tend to search for good enough solutions under the pressure of time, with limited information, and without a sufficient information processing capacity to find the optimal solutions. In a way, this is also functional, since the endless inquiry for additional information and search for optimal solutions would be paralyzing to the decision making of all humans and organizations (see Simon 1951). Due to the complexity and time pressure related to many human decisions, people tend to make decisions based on *heuristics*, which mean simple rules of thumb (Cohen, March and Olsen 1972). These rules of thumb tend to be created by inductive generalizations and simplifications. After that, they may be rapidly spread by human communication, thus becoming attractive and popular cultural memes.

22 See Saussure 1960, Ortner 1974, 69, 71–72, and Cixous 1987, p. 63–65.

The storage of human knowledge has tended to favor *simplicity*, especially before the invention of literacy. In the preliterate cultures, most knowledge was passed from one generation to another in the form of oral folklore and sayings. The mere simplicity, however, has often been decorated with some poetic rhythm and rhymes, in order to help the memorization of the message. Even after the invention of literacy, people tend to best learn, memorize and communicate those pieces of knowledge which are simple to their nature. This yearning for simplicity may cause bias, just like the rush conclusions, crude stereotypes, simple dichotomies, and application of simple heuristics instead of more elaborated theories and decision criteria. Simplicity is also favored by the processes of communication, as simple memes are most effectively coded into pictures or linguistic messages, and then interpreted by the receiver without errors made. Due to this cognitive and communicational bias, even the scientific and professional knowledge in literate societies tends to break down to a collection of simplified memes. An example of the deterioration and degeneration of scientific knowledge appears in the way in which the portfolio theory of the Boston Consulting group rapidly spread to the discourses of managers and consultants in most industrial countries. The original theory contains a visual table that divides all business units of a corporation into stars, question marks, cows and dogs.[23]

Stars	?
Cows	Dogs

Table 3.   The Portfolio Model of Management by Boston Consulting Group as a Meme.

The theory also contains specific quantitative criteria for dividing the business units into these categories, and specific instructions for treating the different business units. However, when the training materials of consultants and the discourses of managers are examined, it is likely that very few of them contain any description of the specific quantitative rules. In many cases, the participants of these discourses only memorize that stars are something good, cows are ok, and dogs are bad. The visual image

23 See http://www.themanager.org/models/BostonBox.htm

of the table here containing stars, cows, question marks and dogs is easily memorized due to its simplicity, but the rest of the theory is far more likely to be misunderstood, forgotten, or filtered out in communication.

Linguistic bias is caused by the detachment of linguistic concepts, from the hologrammic images that have been created by people's observations. Although it is possible that people use an internal language of thought that is based on the hologrammic images that have been generalized on the basis of observations, the usage of external languages interferes with the idea of direct observation. Due to the evolution of external languages, people are able to pass knowledge onto each other, but the meanings of concepts also become socially constructed, and based on circular references from concepts to each other. As there is no objective definition for the meaning of any concepts in human language, all concepts, words, sentences and languages are biased by social psychological and social processes. In this context of biased language, the only pragmatic solution seems to be the usage of fuzzy logic, which means that all statements tend to receive a logical value between one (true) and zero (false). When fuzzy logic is used for the making of conclusions, the conclusion may be reached if it can be based on some relatively true premises and relatively good deduction rules (see Zadeh 1965). Although the fuzzy logic is against the traditional logic, it has proven relatively efficient in the making of decisions and conclusions, based on information that has been presented in natural human languages.

Due to the fuzziness of human languages, people tend to refer to *authorities* and *dogmatically* true memes, when they try to find out the "true" meaning of concepts and the "true" essence of reality. This has a considerable effect on the evolution of cultural memeplexes. This means that some memes may be evaluated as true within the framework of a specific paradigm or discourse, whilst they do not make any sense in other discourses and memeplexes (see Foucault 1972). This form of social psychological bias is closely connected to the interest group activities and power of social groups, as powerful groups tend to be able to reach professional, scientific and political authority, which may easily lead to the concentration of discursive power to the most powerful social groups (see chapter 4.5).

4.4.3 Emotional and social psychological biases

According to Campbell (1973), the human brain has evolved in such a fashion that the core of the brain consists of a selfish core or a "reptilian brain", which contains the primitive emotions relating to survival. On top and around this reptilian brain, the evolution has developed other brain areas and layers which are more suitable for abstract thinking. This layered nature of human beings has also been recognized by the psychoanalytical paradigm, according to which, the human personality consists of the Id, Ego and Superego. In the tradition of transaction analysis, these layers have been renamed as the Child, Adult, and Parent (Harris 1995). The child is the spontaneous, creative and selfish core of the human thought, while the parent provides us with a set of norms and rules. In the internal dialogue between the parts of the personality, it is the task of the Adult (Ego) to mediate and find solutions that satisfy the selfish child, who wants everything right now, and the parent which tells that some behaviors are immoral or improper.

These areas of personality are likely to have an effect on the way in which people adopt memes, how they structure their memes into a loose internal paradigm, and how they utilize their memes in every day decisions and judgments. If we perceive personalities as "collections of memes" or "sets of discursive elements", as are typical to the memetists and discourse analysts, we may proceed to the prediction that this memetic material is organized into the memes of the child, adult and parent. The child is likely to be the *selfish core* of the paradigm of personality, containing memes such as "I did not get enough!", "The others got more than I did!", "I deserve a lot more!" and "I have the right to do what I want!"[24]. In a similar fashion, the layer of the parent is likely to contain normative memes telling that some general principles concerning fairness need to be followed, and that some specific norms and moral rules need to be honored. The layer of the adult, which is the mediator between the child and the parent, is likely to develop procedures, heuristics and tricks for finding out solutions that just barely meet the moral requirements of the parent, while simultaneously giving in to the child to some extent.

24 The idea of personalities as paradigms or memeplexes, appears in Blackmore 1996 and in the Marxist texts concerning the "false consciousness". The idea of the selfish core of paradigms has been presented in chapter 4.6.3.

For example, the adult may interpret the moral rules of the parent in a slightly twisted manner, to ensure the satisfaction of the child. The existence of the Id, child, or the selfish core of human personality, leads to the tendency of humans to develop several emotional biases which reduce their capacity for objective thinking. Some examples and effects of these biases are described below in more detail.

Externalization of negative and internalization of positive things is a set of emotional biases, which all work towards the perception of oneself as good and skillful, while the bad things are externalized and projected to others. According to the psychoanalytical tradition, people have the tendency to project their own negative feelings outside themselves (Gay 1998, p. 281). It is a defense mechanism, which protects people from recognizing negative things in themselves. A selfish person, for example, may complain that others are selfish, and an aggressive person may claim that others behave in an aggressive manner. A parallel bias is the tendency of people to perceive positive events as something caused by their own skills and virtues, and bad things as unfortunate consequences of bad luck and external circumstances. These human tendencies have been detected by studies concerning gamblers (Corney & Cummings 1985), stock investors (Kennedy 2006) and entrepreneurs (Goel & Karri 2006).

The internalization of good things and externalization of bad things also appear on the level of social groups. People are social animals and typically have a more or less explicit need to belong to some group to which they identify with. Such groups of identification may consist of tribes, families, nationalities, ethnic or religious groups, social classes or fraternities. A part of this identification with a group is the creation of a *positive stereotype of the members of the group one is trying to identify with*, while members of other groups are perceived in a more neutral or negative manner.[25] This critical and prejudicious attitude against some other social groups may also appear on the level of individuals: Many people have *prejudicious attitudes* against all people who clearly deviate from something that is considered as normal. Although it is not certain whether these emotional and social psychological biases are inherent or not, they are still so common in most human cultures that they play a role in the interactions of the members of different social groups, and in the production of social identities and the cultural stereotypes of social groups.

25 Social identity theory, see Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 101

4.4.4 Memetic reasoning

Emotional, social psychological, cognitive and linguistic fallacies together, are likely to lead to the spreading of rhetoric fallacies. These fallacies are likely to turn into influential heuristics that govern the evolution of memes, in a fashion that leads to the deterioration of scientific knowledge. People, for example, are likely to use rush conclusions (inductive fallacies) and argumentum ad populum (a rhetoric fallacy) when evaluating what is "true enough". In this study, these somewhat illogical and yet commonly utilized ways of reasoning are called *memetic reasoning*. This type of reasoning is governed mainly by popular heuristics, biased concepts, rhetoric fallacies and other biased rules of thumb, which produce somewhat practical and pragmatic results, but which simultaneously, tend to lead to illogical and harmful side effects, and to the deterioration of scientific knowledge to modern folklore and biased quasi science.

Below is an example, which attempts to illustrate the proceeding of memetic reasoning:

Premises:

1. I know some women, who are very bad at parking cars.

2. I do not know any women, who are skillful with cars.

3. It might be an essential part of female nature that they can not handle technical equipment.

4. It might be an essential part of the female nature that they can not handle the spatial movement of objects as well as men do. There was once even a study about this.

Conclusion: Women can not handle technical equipment, and are far worse than men in tasks that require the spatial movement of objects.

4.5 Social Groups, Power and Interest Group Bias

4.5.1 Introduction

Social groups may have a substantial effect on the evolution of mental, cultural and sociostructural memes, due to their ability to cumulate and use different kinds of power resources. This chapter starts by analyzing the connections between power resources, influence and domination, and then proceeds to the construction of a more specific typology of power resources, and a more detailed model of the connection of power to direct, indirect and structural discrimination.
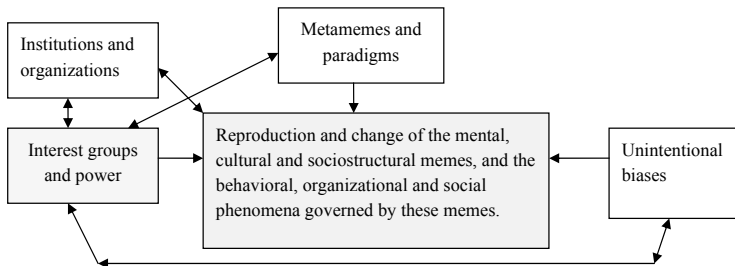
4.5.2 The elements and consequences of power

Power may be perceived as a *resource*, as an *influence*, or as *domination* (Antikainen 2002, 41–45). The good availability of resources tends to increase the influence of social actors.[26] The connection from resources to influence is most clearly seen when a social actor controls some *scarce resource* that other actors require.[27] The idea of resources, as something that can be exchanged for goods, services or power, is also embedded in the theories of social exchange which have been developed by social psychologists (Simmel 1907), organizational scientists and sociologists[28], and the scholars who combine social psychology with a theory of economic

26 See Thibaut and Kelly 1959

27 See Pfeffer & Salncik 1978

28 E.g. Emerson 1962, Blau 1964, and Bacharach & Lawler 1981.

exchange.[29] The theories of domination also tend to link resources and domination to each other, by emphasizing the feedback loop from a dominant position to the accumulation of resources. Dominance, for example, may lead to the accumulation of economic resources to the dominant class (Marx 1964). The followers of Marxist ideas within sociology and gender studies, tend to emphasize this link even more: The superior resources or power are seen as a cause of domination, and domination is commonly seen as a way for the dominant group to reproduce its superior stock of economic, political and discursive resources of power.[30] When all of these connections are synthesized together, the relations of resources, influence and dominance appear as shown in Figure, which also has a high resemblance to the way in which Giddens perceives power resources, influence and dominance.[31]

A good availability of power resources for a social actor, such as a person, group, class, institution or organization, will raise its ability to influence others (arrow 1). As some actors will have more influence than others, this will tend to aggregate and institutionalize their dominant position (arrow 2). This means that there is an indirect connection from the power resources to the dominant position (arrows 1 and 2 combined).[32]

This dominant position will enable dominant social actors to control, manipulate and discriminate other actors (arrow 3).[33] If and when a social actor manages to achieve a dominant position, it is in an advantageous position for reproducing this dominance by the accumulation of power

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29 Molm 1997, Zafirovski 2003, Cook 2004, and Cook, Cheshire & Gerbasi 2004 (see Antikainen (2002, p. 41–45) and Laasanen 2006).

30 E.g. Tolson 1977; Abramovitz 1989, p. 25; Hartman 1997, p. 103; Tong 1998, p. 49; and Bourdieu 2001.

31 Giddens 1983 (see Antikainen 2002, 41–45)

32 According to Giddens, the level of power resources is directly connected to the ability of people and groups to influence others, and to transform social systems. According to him, the power resources are also simultaneously a determinant of the dominant position of social actors (Giddens 1983, p. 91–93; 1984, p. 151–153; 1993, p. 9; see Virtanen 1994, p. 125).

33 This relation from dominance to the ability to discriminate is apparent in Weber's definition of power as the *ability to execute and actualize initiatives despite the resistance of less powerful actors* (see Laasanen 2006).

resources to itself (arrow 4).[34] As the distribution of power resources tends to be a zero sum game, the increased power resources of the dominant social actor tend to be taken out of the share of the subordinated actors. This feedback loop tends to strengthen the dominant position of the social actor, which has the best amount of power resources.
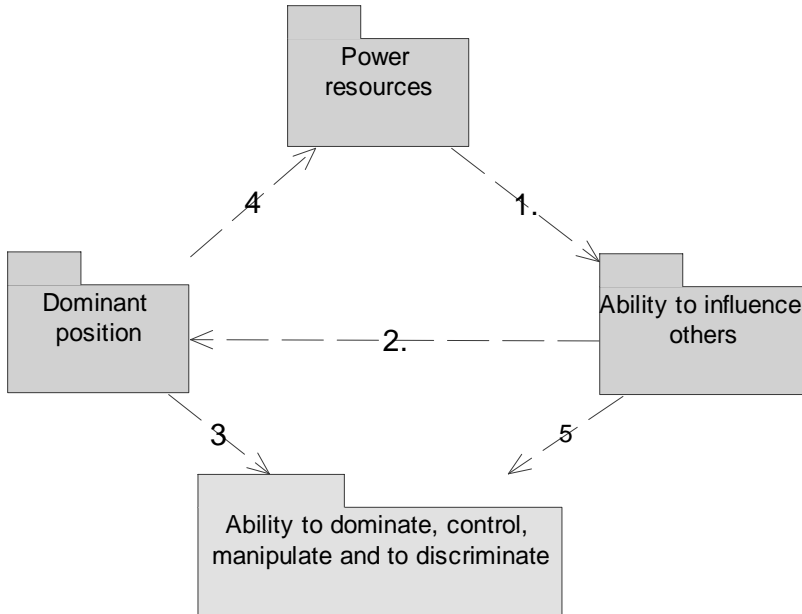
Figure 8.   Central Elements of Power.

This general line of reasoning is challenged by the theories which emphasize the chances of the subordinated and disadvantaged groups to resist. For example, according to Giddens (1983, 1984 and 1993) and Barnard (1974, p. 172–184), the power of the dominant actors is limited by the fact that also the subordinated actors have an influence on the dominant actors, as they may resist or disobey the dominant group (see Antikainen 2002, p. 41 and p. 54–55). The dominant social actors also tend to be dependent on the subordinated groups, which control at least the resource of their own labor and manpower to some

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34 The feedback loop from domination to the unfair distribution of resources has been analyzed by Thye (Thye 2000, see Laasanen 2006)

extent. Although Giddens and Barnard tend to see this influence of the subordinated actors on the dominant actors as something relatively temporary and contextual, *the dominance of the subordinated group may also become institutionalized and sedimented in some contexts, spheres and spaces*. This is based on the segregation of tasks between the dominant and subordinated actors, which tends to lead to the evolution of special spheres for the subordinated actors. These spheres may be geographical (e.g. a slum), or functionally horizontal (e.g. some tasks performed only by the subordinated group). Within its own sphere, the subordinated group is likely to have more manpower, better contextual information, and even superior cultural and discursive power (e.g. a special slang). In general, it may be predicted that the subordinated groups will have a dominant position within their own sphere, meaning that they have the power to control, manipulate and discriminate the members of the dominant group within their own sphere. When applied to the gender system, this model leads to the prediction that women, even if they are generally the subordinated gender, may develop their own sphere, in which they have a superior stock of power resources and where men are at a risk of being controlled, dominated and discriminated (see chapters 5.6 and 6).

In summary, the outcome of the evolution of dominance and discrimination seems to be heavily dependent on the distribution of power resources to social groups: The group that has more resources of power, quantitatively speaking, will reach a dominant status in the society, but the subordinated group is likely to be dominant in its own sphere, where it will collect more resources of power compared to the dominant group. This makes the analysis and empirical study of the resources of power essentially important, if one wishes to study domination, discrimination, or the segregation of the society to the spheres of different social groups. However, the study of power resources should be performed in such a fashion that the theory of the "sphere of the dominant group" and the "sphere of the subordinated group" may be falsified or supported. In order to reach this goal, we should make the following theoretical and methodological choices:

1. Concentration on **groups** as social actors, taking the personal differences between people into account, only if there is evidence that

the groups, on average, have different levels of resources of power on a personal level.

2. Concentration on **resources of power**, and their relation to **dominance and discrimination**, in such a fashion that the complicated networks of dependency and influence between individual people or between organizations are studied only if it is empirically feasible, and if it helps to reveal patterns of domination and discrimination between the social groups.

3. Concentration on relatively **rigid power resources** and not on temporary, changing and contextual resources of power. This is necessary, as otherwise it would not be possible to study the distribution of power resources to social groups.

By these choices and delineations, it is hopefully possible to avoid the perception, that power is so complicated that it can never be fully understood or empirically studied (see Antikainen 2002, p. 60).

4.5.3 An empirically oriented typology of power resources

If our goal is to study the empirical connection from power resources to dominance and discrimination, we may end up in a position where the major typologies of power offer relatively little advice. The main reason for this dilemma is that the theories and typologies of power tend to speak of power, and not of the resources of power. For example, in his typology of power, Etzioni divides power into *coercive*, *remunerative* and *normative* power, without specifying that he is speaking of the three different types of the resources of power (Etzioni 1975, p. 5–6, 500). This typology of power has been elaborated by Bacharach and Lawler, who have added the category of *information*, as a resource of power, to the typology (1981, p. 32–34). This is a choice also supported by the writings of Boulding (1956 and 1981) and Nelson & Winter (1982). Bacharach & Lawler, however, present their typology of the sources of power using two separate dimension of power, which are the *base* and *source* of power. This makes the typology hard to apply in empirical studies concerning the distribution of power resources to social groups. A relatively similar,

but improved, typology of power resources has been offered by Uphoff (1989), who divides the power resource into six types, which are physical, economic, social, political, informational, and moral.[35] The typology is presented below in a form, where the power resources have been sorted in a fashion that the more primitive resources of power are given at the top, while more advanced ones are presented at the bottom. This sorting reflects Maslow's hierarchy of human needs,[36] Kohlberg's theory of moral development[37], and Campbell's neuropsychological theory of the evolution of pleasure and intrinsic rewards (Campbell 1973).

Type of power resources	Examples or clarifications
Physical	Coercion or violence (depending on the perceived legitimacy of applied physical force)
Economic	Property and income.
Social	Social status and authority based social roles.
Political	Ability to influence the exercise of authority
Informational	Information and know-how
Moral	The perceived legitimacy of decision makers

Table 4.   Uphoff's typology of power resources (modified).

This typology, however, fails to recognize one specific category of human needs, and the power that is based on this need. This is the need for sexual satisfaction, which makes sex a resource of power. This source of power has been analyzed by masculists and economists (see 3.5). The nature of sex as a power resource is also recognized by Morgan, who mentions it as one of the fourteen sources of personal power (Morgan 1997, 171–172). These theoretical traditions mean that the neglecting of sexual power in the typology of power resources, could possibly hide an important part of the power structures between men and women.

When studying groups, it may be illuminating to deconstruct Uphoff's category of physical power resources into two categories, which are manpower (or group power) and coercive power. While coercion refers to legitimate and illegitimate forms of coercion, the idea of manpower

35 See Brinkerhoff (2006, p. 13)

36 Maslow 1943.

37 Kohlberg's stages of moral development: See Craig 1985, p. 118–136.

as a resource suggests that the mere existence of a large group of people, sharing a common identity, is a resource of power to the group itself, or to the leaders of this group. Manpower (or womanpower) may be used, for example, for creating an implicit threat to a group that has less manpower in a given context. It may also be used for creating symbolic, discursive and moral power, since argumentum ad populum and argumentum ad numerum are very commonly used as rhetoric tools. This close connection of manpower to discursive power, suggests that manpower should be handled as something distinct compared to coercive power.

Some more adjustments to Uphoff's model are still to be proposed. Instead of using the term "moral resources of power", it is recommended that this term is replaced by *discursive resources of power*. Other possible names for these type of power resources would have been symbolic, normative or rhetoric resources of power. The term discursive, however, is better than symbolic, since symbolic is something that could be used both for discursive and informational resources of power. Normative and moral, on the other hand, direct too much attention to laws, norms, rules and moralization. Discursive resources of power is a better category, as it may be also used for analyzing the subtle messages encoded into advertisements, pictures, dances, and gestures etc, which implicitly reproduce the hierarchy of the groups. In these cases, discursive power seems to be a better concept than rhetoric power, which may have too strong a connection to direct persuasion. One more important type of power resources is made of the managerial positions of power. This type has some similarity with political and social power, but managerial power seems to lie on lower and more practical levels of organizational hierarchies than political power. It also makes sense to study empirically the positions of political and managerial power as separate resources of power for social groups. The final theoretical adjustments to Uphoff's model are the separation of formal and informal positions of political power, and the operationalization of social power as a combination of authority and the ability to speak up and be listened. The results of these adjustments are collected in the theoretical typology of power resources, presented in Table 5.

Resource of Power	Example of operationalization at group level
Manpower	Amount of members in organizations
Managerial positions	Amount of members in managerial positions, amount of management assistants and management consultants.
Formal positions of political power	Members of parliament, members of the cabinet, presidency, party leaders
Economic power resources	Income (including transfer payments), wealth or private consumption
Coercive power resources	Indirect measurement: Fear or fearful respect by other social groups.
Sexual power resources	Indirect measurement: Volume of personal gifts, benefits and transfer payments acquired due to ones gender
Social power resources	Amount of most appreciated positions of authority, amount of speaking time or media presence
Informal positions of political power	Amount of lobbyists, liaisons (who sit on two seats), gatekeepers (personal secretaries and assistants), manipulated or bribed specialists and propagandists, grey eminences, seats in advisory boards and committees.
Information and know-how	Professional and university degrees, amount of consultants and university level teachers, availability of rumors and silent information through social networks.
Discursive power resources	The quantity and popularity of the rhetoric arsenal that can be used in favor of the social group, or against its rivals. Amount and intersectional popularity of the biased memes that favor the social group, or put down its rivals.

Table 5. An Empirically Oriented Typology of Power Resources for Measuring the Power of Social Groups.

The typology is provided with suggestions concerning the operationalization of each resource of power, in order to show that some resources of power are easily operationalized and measured, while others seem to be so intangible that their quantitative measurement is a very difficult task. The table begins with those resources of power such as manpower, managerial power and formal political power, which are fairly easy to measure. At the end of the table are located those resources such as discursive power, social power and informal political power, which are more difficult to measure.

In some cases, the operationalizations may also cause the double counting of some resource of power: For example, the gender distribution of professor level seats in universities could be used for the measurement

of the gender distribution of information, social authority, or managerial positions. Yet, it is best to have the principle that one operationalized resource of power is only counted to one category of the resources of power, in order to avoid the double or triple counting of the same resource in several categories.

4.5.4 The connections from memes and power to discrimination

The connection from the resources of power to domination and discrimination was already given in Figure 11, in a relatively general fashion. However, it is possible to increase the level of detail in the model by dividing the resources of power to concrete, informational and discursive, and by separating direct, indirect and structural discrimination from each other. The results of these specifications are given in Figure 12 and in the explanations below.

Information and memes, containing know-how, form an amplifier for the more concrete power resources (arrow 1a), and for the discursive power resources (arrow 2). However, the concrete power resources also tend to raise the ability of a social group to gain valuable information and know-how (1b). If concrete resources of power, in some sector of society, are concentrated to some social group, this group will have an augmented chance to dominate, control, manipulate and discriminate the members of other social groups (3a). This domination is amplified by the feedback loop from domination back to concrete power resources, as the dominant social group tends to have its ways of cumulating concrete power resources to itself (arrow 3b). The concentration of concrete power resources to one social group, also tends to amplify the formation of normatively loaded memes. These memes act as a resource of discursive power (4a). This discursive and normative superiority of one social group over the others will lead to structural discrimination of the members of other social groups (5) and to the indirect discrimination of the discursively weaker social groups (7a).

The discursive superiority will also lead to the ability of the dominant social group to amplify its own concrete resources of power, and to suppress

the concrete resources of power of the other social groups (arrow 4b). The amplification of power resources appears, for example, when discursive power is changed into formal and informal positions of political power and into the ability to speak up and be listened to. The political positions of power, together with social power resources, may then be used for increasing the managerial power of the social group, which has superior discursive power. The discursive power may even be used for securing the superior resources of manpower for a specific social group in a specific field of the society. For example, a social group may use its discursive power for creating a norm that the members of some other social group should not enter into some professions, tasks or activities.
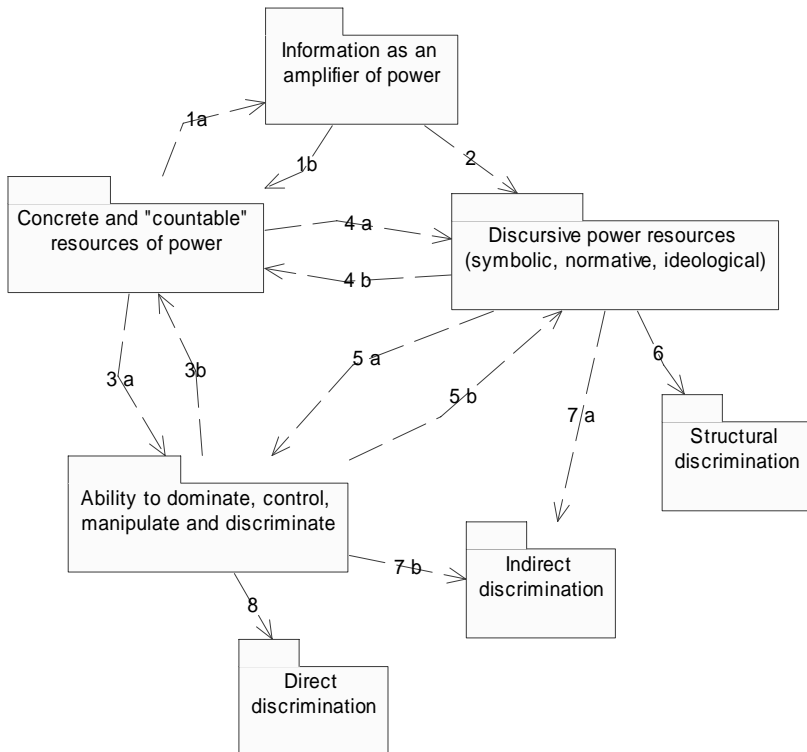
Figure 9. Connection from Power Resources to Gender Discrimination.

The discursive dominance of one social group over the others, in some fields of society, does not only enable structural and indirect discrimination. It also helps in the creation and reproduction of the dominant position of the discursively superior social group (5a). This means that discursive power is also closely connected to direct discrimination, since dominance is almost a synonym for the ability to control, manipulate and discriminate (arrows 5a and 8).

4.6 Metamemes and Paradigms as Shapers of Other Memes

4.6.1 Introduction

Metamemes and paradigms have a strong effect on the evolution of mental, cultural and sociocultural memes. At the same time, they are strongly affected by institutions and organizations, interest groups and power, psychological and linguistic biases, in addition to functional pressures.
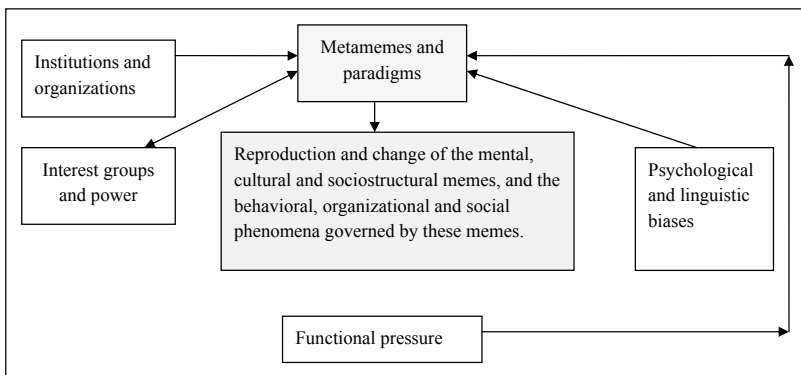
Figure 10. The Connection from Metamemes and Paradigms to Sociocultural Evolution.

In this network of causal connections, the sociocultural evolution of knowledge may lead towards a flourishing of loose and detached memes,

which appear outside the scope of some specific paradigm. Yet, it is also possible that most memes are strongly affected by the existence of influential paradigms, which practically filter and block out all of the memes which conflict with them. This chapter begins with a general introduction to paradigms and other metamemes, and continues with a model of the interplay of large paradigms and small memes. At the end, the last two chapters are devoted to the analysis of the significance of paradigms as shapers of sociocultural evolution.

4.6.2 Paradigms and other metamemes

Metamemes are memes which direct the ways in which people evaluate other memes, and choose the most practical or most true memes out of the set of alternative memes. This means that the metamemes have a high influence on the attractiveness of memes in the eyes of people, and therefore have a substantial effect on the fecundity and evolutionary success of other memes. Through this process, the metamemes have an indirect effect in the evolution of all other memes, including the cultural memes and the structural memes such as the constellations of power within the society. The most important categories of the metamemes are 1) epistemological metamemes, 2) methodological metamemes, 3) values and performance rating systems, and 4) paradigms.

Values are a very central category of metamemes. They govern the evolution of other memes by setting the general goals and preferences of social systems. This means that they also govern the performance rating systems of societies, by requesting organizations and managers to measure those things that are valued. However, in some cases, it is also possible that performance rating systems direct attention and valuation to those values and goals which can be measured. Values also direct the epistemological preferences of people.
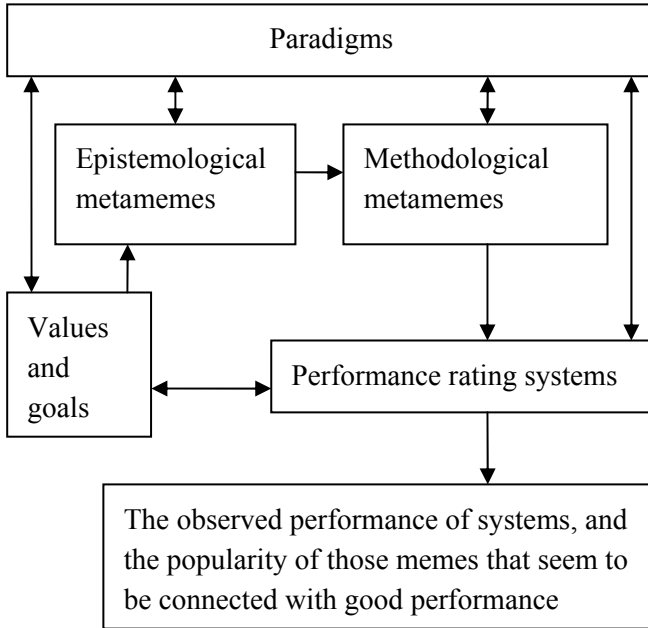
Figure 11. The Connection from Metamemes to the Popularity of Other
Memes.

Epistemological metamemes govern the way in which people search for
knowledge and truth. The two central epistemological questions, which
tend to direct our other cultural memes, are the preference simplicity versus
complexity, and the preference of induction versus other epistemological
criteria. As described in chapter 4.4.2, human beings tend to base a lot
of their thinking on pattern recognition and stereotypes. This tends to
lead to the favoring of simple dichotomies, exaggerated stereotypes, and
other simplified memes. This is likely to also lead to the dominance of
simple scientific models over the more complicated ones. A contrary
trend, however, exists in the form of mysticism. In some cultures, people
actively look for the feeling of illumination or mystical pleasure through
the examination of paradoxes (what is the sound of a one hand clapping?).
Another form of mysticism is the favoring of overwhelmingly complex
theories and ideologies, which give a mystical sense of understanding

without containing any predictive power, and which are so fuzzy and tautological that they can not be falsified. These contrary trends mean that some cultures may value simple and pragmatic memes, while some others search for overwhelmingly complex and mystical memes and memeplexes. The preference for simplicity versus complexity may also relate to the power of interest groups, as in many cultures some specific group of people have specialized in the explanation of the mystical and complex memetic structures that appear in the field of religion or ideology. In this case, the complexity of the ideology or religion appears as a resource of social status and power for the group that has specialized in explaining the religion or ideology. In any case, the trends towards oversimplification and mysticism reduce the rationality and objectivity of human thinking and cultural evolution.

Another important epistemological question is the preference of induction versus other epistemological criteria. Although people tend to value induction and rapid generalizations based on empirical observations, there are also tendencies towards limiting the time used for the making of these observations and generalizations (see Simon 1951 and Cohen, March & Olsen 1972). This means that people often wish to avoid spending time in empirical observations and induction, and instead, base their memes on the memes of some people that they consider as reliable sources of information. In many cases, this "reliability" is not based on professional or scientific authority: People use their friends, allies and interest group organizations as sources of information. This tendency also reduces the rationality and objectivity of cultural evolution.

In the area of *methodological metamemes*, the central alternatives are quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Those social systems, which prefer quantitative methodologies, tend to value those things that can be quantitatively measured, such as economic growth, productivity, economic wealth and military power. This may lead to the neglect of such qualitative values and phenomena as self actualization, organizational atmosphere and social justice – unless these phenomena can be quantitatively measured. In some other social systems, qualitative methods can be preferred over quantitative, and this may lead to the intentional ignoring of those values which can be quantitatively measured.

Performance rating systems are based on values and goals and on the methodologies for measuring the accomplishment of the values and

goals. If the methodological metamemes favor quantitative methods, the rating systems are also likely to be quantitative in their nature. This is likely to emphasize those parts of the performance which are easy to measure. The favoring of quantitative methodologies is also likely to put emphasis on those elements of performance, which occur in the short term, as long term performance is so difficult to measure. For example, the simplistic quantitative performance standards that appear within the paradigm of "accountable management" and within the science of stock analysis may result in the exaggeration of short term results and in the conversion of the economy and society towards quartal capitalism. Yet, the quantitative methods do not need to lead to the ignoring of the qualitative and humanistic phenomena, as also these may be quantified. For example, the balanced scorecard system of management, includes the measurement of employee satisfaction as one key element of organizational performance, especially in those fields of activity in which motivated and highly educated employees are a valuable resource for which the companies are competing for. The qualitative performance rating systems are based on the idea that some parts of the performance of social systems are measured by a set of dichotomies, trying to find out whether some social practices or phenomena are acceptable or not, good or bad, legal or not, etc. Another alternative is to make choices simply based on dozens of conflicting values. In these rating systems the problem is that they do not usually constitute a real rating system. Instead, the performance of organizations and other social systems is evaluated by a set of heuristic rules of thumb, or by a discourse in which some values (out of many alternatives) are given the highest priority without any operationalization of these values.

The potential variation of these metamemes means that some societies may very effectively seek for growth, economic capacity and coercive capacity, using quantitative methods for maximizing these traits of the society, and developing quantitative performance rating systems for all organizations of the society. Under these circumstances, the forces of coercive, economic, reproductive and cognitive selection may work towards the same direction (see Figure 6, chapter 4.3.3). This will make the prediction of the evolution of the societies and their organizations relatively easy, in such a fashion that the main problem in prediction is the locating of the statistical correlations between memes and good

performance: If this correlation is found, one can predict that the memes that are related to good performance will gradually replace their rivals.

Paradigms are long lasting and relatively stable metamemes, which may be built around some theoretical or ideological core memes (see 4.2.1). However, they may also sometimes evolve spontaneously around some specific values, goals or performance rating systems. For example, a governmental decision to set one specific rating system or performance figure for public organizations may create an entirely new organizational and managerial paradigm, which aims towards the maximization of organizational performance, measured by this rating system (see de Jong 1999). Paradigms are essentially important for the understanding of sociocultural evolution, as they are often created with a strong influence from some social group, and since the dominant paradigms are able to filter out conflicting memes. Paradigms can also produce and emit mutated memes, and form curious coalition discourse with rival paradigms on an opportunistic basis. Due to this central importance, the following chapters are devoted to the evolution of paradigms, and on the effects of paradigms on smaller and more "atomistic" memes.

4.6.3 The evolution of theoretical paradigms

This chapter focuses on the evolution of theoretical paradigms, which refer to the relatively stable and coherent theoretical constructions that appear in the field of science, religion or politics, or in any single profession. This means that those contextual paradigms that are carried only by one carrier – like "the paradigm of an organization" – are not covered by the model. The evolution of theoretical paradigms may appear in the form of paradigmatic revolutions (see Kuhn 1970) or in the form of a more constant learning process, in which the core memes of the paradigm remain unchanged while the peripheral memes go through changes (see Lakatos 1978 and de Jong 1999). Both forms of sociocultural evolution are governed by psychological, linguistic and communicational biases, interest groups and power, functional selection, and by some metamemes which shape the content and structure of the paradigms.

Interest groups and their power resources play an important role in the evolution of paradigms, as organized and powerful interest groups

are often able to develop highly credible paradigms, which prove the legitimacy of the status, demands and interests of the interest group. For example, the political paradigms of socialism and social democratic thinking are connected to the interests of employees, while the paradigm of liberalism is more clearly connected to the interests of entrepreneurs, wealthy tax payers, and consumers. In a similar fashion, some forms of conservativism and corporativism are paradigms, which are supported by the farmers of the industrial countries, who benefit from the blockage of inexpensive foreign food from the national market. When the connection of paradigms to interest groups is recognized, it is also useful to distinguish some of the roles of the people who promote or carry a specific paradigm. The *ideological promoters* of a paradigm are those persons who belong to an organized interest group, which benefits from the popularity of the paradigm. Full time *experts* of the paradigm are persons who gain personal benefits from their expertise of the paradigm, even if the paradigm itself might be directed towards the interests of some other interest group. For example, the communist ideologists were the experts of communism, which was a paradigm that intended to improve the status of the working-class employees. On top of the ideological promoters and experts, paradigms are also carried by *laymen*, who may participate in the promotion of the paradigm as political, financial and practical supporters of the paradigm. For example, in the evolution of religions, the laymen tend to be the ones who do not fully understand the theology of the religion, but yet support the religion and give funding to it through religious payments and taxes.

Psychological, linguistic and communicational biases tend to deteriorate paradigms into small and atomistic memes, which are taken out of the full context of the theoretical paradigm (see Dawkins 1976). This particularly appears when paradigms are communicated to laymen, or by laymen. This is an important factor that affects the evolution of theoretical paradigms, as the interpretations and atomistic theoretical memes carried by the laymen may have a strong feedback to the resources, popularity and growth rate of the theoretical paradigms. For example, religions and political ideologies may gain or loose popularity and power due to the activities of the laymen, who may give monetary or even military support to the religion or ideology. In the evolution of professional paradigms, the opinions of the laymen are likely to affect the income of the professionals.

This will help the most popular paradigms to grow, measured by the amount of the experts of the paradigm. This feedback loop also appears in the evolution of scientific paradigms: Those paradigms that are attractive in the eyes of the laymen tend to receive more funding from private and public funds. This means that the evolution of all theoretical paradigms may be analyzed by the model of functional evolution, in which the effects of economic and cognitive selection are combined.

Psychological biases also affect the structuring of paradigms in such a fashion that people tend to develop and favor paradigms, which present themselves as good and talented while some negative things are externalized to the others, for example, to the members of other interest groups. This subjective and somewhat selfish bias not only affects the political paradigms, but also religions, professions and sciences. For example, a religious paradigm, developed by priests, is likely to give theological arguments why only priests should have the right to preach the religion. The professional paradigms of doctors are likely to contain arguments, why several tasks such as running a hospital or deciding on the proper day to leave the hospital, are better handled by doctors than by professional managers and nurses. In sciences, all specialized fields tend to develop paradigms which argue that only the specialists of that field should be involved in the study of the field – while some generalist sciences such as philosophy and economics develop paradigms and arguments which propose that their paradigm can be applied in the field of any science. In these examples, the close connection of the psychological biases with interest group activities and ideologies is relatively clear. In many cases though, the interest groups devote a lot of effort to the hiding of their interests under discourses, which give the impression of objectivity and authority.

Functional selection appears as a process in which paradigms compete for scarce resources such as proponents, financial funds, media space, and political support (see Figure 6, chapter 4.3.3). Those paradigms that loose their proponents are likely to become extinct, until they are possibly revived by new proponents, who rediscover the core memes of the paradigm. The shrinkage and practical extinction of paradigms may also appear as a consequence of the political incorrectness of the paradigm and the withdrawal of funding from the full time experts of the paradigm. In some cases, paradigms may also collapse as a result of

cognitive selection, for example, when severe anomalies have eroded the credibility of the paradigm to a point at which there is a demand for alternative paradigms.

Although the psychological, linguistic and cognitive biases tend to break theoretical paradigms into sets of loosely coupled and detached memes, especially among the laymen, there are also some processes of functional evolution which favor the survival of the core memes of theoretical paradigms, precisely due to the flexibility of the peripheral memes of the paradigm (see Lakatos 1978). This means that theoretical paradigms may actually exist for long periods of time, although they are not replicated to new generations as unchanged entities.

Metamemes may partially favor the evolution of large theoretical paradigms, as these larger structures may have more explanatory power than the individual statements that are taken out of their context (see 4.6.2). Some other epistemological metamemes may also emphasize the feeling of enlightenment or understanding, and this may lead to large and circular theoretical paradigms, which give a feeling of understanding due to their tautological nature. These large and conceptually confusing paradigms may then be reproduced by specialized experts, who gain social status and power from their ability to interpret the paradigm.

The evolution of paradigms

When these perspectives are combined, we can develop a model of the logical structure of theoretical paradigms, and a model of the ways in which paradigms compete and cooperate with each other. According to this combined model, theoretical paradigms tend to consist of an "objective" core, some theoretical branches, a selfish core, and a group of peripheral memes, which appear in the aggressive and cooperative periphery. All of these parts of a paradigm may be somewhat overlapping in such a fashion that some specific memes or memeplexes simultaneously belong to more than one part of the paradigm.

The ***theoretical core*** consists of those central memes which are common to all ***branches*** of the paradigm. For example, the theoretical core of the right wing ideology in Finland seems to have consisted of *anti-socialism* and the *objection of high taxes*. Despite this common core, the right wing

ideology seems to be divided into two theoretical branches, which are *liberalism* and the *conservativism*. The liberals favor multiculturalism, variety and the freedom of choice, while the conservatives favor a more coherent model of one nation, one religion, and one proper model for the family institution.

The *selfish core* of a paradigm contains those memes which legitimize the interest of the central interest groups that promote the paradigm. In the right wing ideology, the selfish core consists of the idea that "our tax burden should be lowered" and "private property should be given special protection (from taxation and collectivization)", which are both memes which specifically benefit the wealthiest people who pay the highest taxes and own the most of the property. The selfish core may also contain strategies, tactics and heuristics, which concentrate in raising the popularity, viability, resources and power of the paradigm.

The theoretical core, branches and selfish core of a paradigm is surrounded by peripheral memes, which are only loosely coupled to the core and the branches. Due to this loose coupling, the periphery may freely contain an *aggressive periphery*, which consists of nasty stereotypes, rhetoric fallacies and biased statistics, which are used in ideological warfare against other paradigms. In this war, the aggressive memes of paradigms are used to prove the worthless nature of the opponents of the paradigm (or the interest group that created the paradigm) or for proving the legitimacy of the central interest groups behind the paradigm. The loose connection from the periphery to the core of the paradigm permits the use of nasty tricks, without making the theoretical core responsible. The reputation of the paradigm is also protected by a common arrangement, in which the aggression and wicked attacks are performed by the *laymen* of the paradigm: This reduces the responsibility of the *experts* of the paradigm, and helps to maintain the illusion of the ideological and theoretical purity of the core of the paradigm. In the case of the Finnish right wing ideology, an example of the aggressive peripheral memes is made of the stereotypes which presented all socialists as "antipatriotic commies" and all pacifists, who object men's obligatory military service, as "fags".[38] Although these memes are not found in the political programs of any right wing party in Finland, they still belong to the theoretical periphery of the right wing

38 These stereotypes were popular especially from 1945–1980, and lost a large part of their popularity after the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialism.

ideology. These aggressive memes of the periphery of a paradigm are a double edged sword, which can hurt the enemies of the paradigm, but can also spoil its reputation. Therefore, most paradigms of the modern society develop a double strategy, in which they are careful not to let these aggressive memes enter the official discourses of the paradigm, while reserving their more fanatic promoters with the right to apply fallacies, biased statistics and nasty stereotypes in more casual and private contexts. Although many people would like to think that scientific paradigms are different from political and religious paradigms in the sense that they lack the aggressive periphery, this seems to be a case of wishful thinking, as the sociology of science has also revealed the aggressive nature of scientific paradigms (Feyerabend 1975).

The theoretical periphery of paradigms not only contains the aggressive memes, but also a *cooperative periphery*, which makes it possible for the paradigm to form coalition discourses with other paradigms (Figure 12).
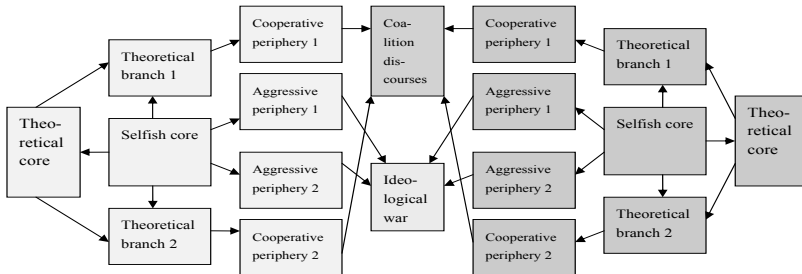
Figure 12. Ideological War and Coalition Discourses between Two Paradigms.

This cooperative periphery is based on the fuzziness of language, which makes it possible to create memes that simultaneously suit several rivaling paradigms. For example, the conservative branch of the right wing ideology contains an old peripheral meme, according to which *the common citizens are an uncivilized mob, which should not be given too much power to change the status quo of the society.*[39] This idea may be combined

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39 This meme originates from the late feudal societies, and from the attempts of the aristocrats and conservatives to limit the democratic power of citizens, using the philosophy of Platon, Hegel and Bastiani as a theoretical basis (see Harisalo & Miettinen 1995).

with the social democratic (peripheral) idea, according to which *people do not always know what is best for themselves and therefore, the state should make some decisions on behalf of the citizens*. When these peripheral memes of right wing ideology and social democratic thinking are combined, we reach a "conservative – social democratic" coalition discourse, which may be used for fighting against the liberal ideology, according to which people should be given maximal freedom to make their own choices.

This model may also be applied to the analysis of the evolution of feminism. This is done in chapter 5.5, in which the selfish core, major branches, and the misandric effects of the aggressive periphery of feminism are analyzed. The model is then used again in chapter 6, for taking a closer look at the misandric memeplexes of feminism, and at the ways in which feminism and sexism have formed coalition discourses, which seem to harm all other men except for the men of the highest social status.

4.7 The Role of Organizations and Media in Sociocultural Evolution

4.7.1 Introduction

From the perspective of general organizational theory (e.g. Miller 1980 and McKelvey 1982) and the theory of communication networks (e.g. Rogers & Rogers 1976), all social actors such as groups, tribes, clans, families, fraternities, and temporary task forces may be perceived as *organizations*.
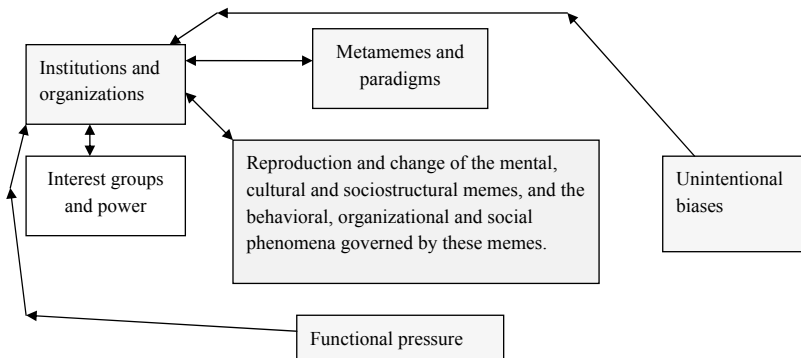
From this point of view, organizations are an essential factor for understanding evolution, even in the more primitive and agrarian societies. In the modern society, however, the role of formal organizations is even more central, and this is connected to the strong influence of the media in the shaping of the cultural memepool. This chapter first introduces a model of the aggregation and change of organizational memes. This model is presented in a relatively general form that allows its use also for the organizations of the more primitive societies. However, the chapter also introduces some central features that shape the organizational cultures, paradigms, policies and practices in modern societies. Among them are the media and the professional and scientific communities, which tend to develop specific paradigms in their own field of expertise. At the end, the connections from organizational cultures to discrimination are analyzed in the context of public and private organizations, and the organizational clusters consisting of both public and private organizations.

4.7.2 The vertical and horizontal aggregation of organizational memes

The memes of organizations are created in a process which converts mental memes to cultural memes and vice versa. The organizational memes may also consist of sociostructural memes such as the formal and informal organizational structure. The informal organization structure refers to the actual shape of the communication network of the organization (see Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers 1976). The total set of the memes of an organization may be called the organizational culture or organizational paradigm. Culture is a better term, since paradigm gives the somewhat misleading connotation that organizations have only one dominant paradigm. This is not true, when different factions or functions compete for the creation of hegemonic paradigms and discourses. This may occur, for example, in the competition of the marketing and sales paradigm against the technology and production oriented paradigm. In order to get a good grasp of the organizational culture of an organization, the following types of memes need to be analyzed: Values, priorities, goals, performance measurement schemes, strategies, policies, routines, rules

of thumb, quality systems, formal process models and instructions, role expectations, professional discourses, jokes, stories, habits, traditions and the sociostructural memes which appear in the hierarchies and networks concerning power, status, friendship, cooperation, dependency and communication.

According to the *rationalist* paradigm of administrative sciences, the missions, values, strategies, goals, and policies of organizations are determined by the upper management of the organization. These strategic level information structures are then used as a guideline in tactical level decisions, and in the production of more practical and operational goals, rules, directions and policies. At the grass root level, all of these upper level information structures are then applied in the daily work of employees, and in the production of goods and services to the customers (see Scott 2002, p. 45–46 and Ströh 2004, p. 35–38). This perspective has been challenged by the paradigm of organizations as *natural systems*, where the policies, practices and organization cultures are formed from the bottom up, as the result of the cumulative and somewhat chaotic choices, negotiations and daily practices of hundreds of employees.[40]

These rationalist and the natural system approaches may be combined to each other by analyzing separately the rationalistic flow of memes from the top down, and the naturalist aggregation of the memes of the organization from the bottom up. The (seemingly) rationalist processes convert the *official* strategic and tactical memes into the daily decisions, actions and routines of employees, producing the visible behavior of the organization as observed by customers, interest groups and by other organizations. The naturalistic bottom-up flow of memes aggregates the recurring actions, discourses and practices of employees to the *unofficial* organizational culture, policy and paradigm. The official and unofficial cultures may be coherent, or they may deviate. In any case, the *actual* cultures, paradigms, policies, discourses and actions of organizations are

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40 The clearest example of the perception of organizational decision making as chaos that evolves from the bottom up is given by the garbage can model of Cohen, March & Olsen 1972. Other perspectives within the natural system approach include Weick's "organizing" theory, and theories of negotiated order, organizational learning, socio-technical systems, strategic contingency, population ecology, resource dependency (Scott 2002, chapter 5). The Marxist theory, institutional theory, and postmodernism in general may also be seen as members of the natural system approach to decision making.

produced jointly by the top-down and flow of memes, and the bottom-up aggregation of memes (see Colebach 1998, p. 1–4).

The coexistence of the official and unofficial organizational cultures means that the daily choices, actions and routines in organizations are simultaneously affected by the social group which has the most managerial positions, but also by the social group which has the most manpower (or womanpower) at the grass roots level. This has important implications to the appearance of domination and discrimination of employees and customers in organizations: Even if a social group dominates the positions of upper managerial power in an organization, its members may still be discriminated by the subordinated group at the grass roots level. For example, many armies of the 19th and 20th century were still lead by generals and officers belonging to the upper class. Yet, at the grass roots level of private soldiers, these armies might have been very harsh places for young upper-class men, who entered their military service in a context where the lower social classes dominated at the level of privates.

All organizational cultures are also strongly affected by the horizontal flows of memes coming from professional discourses, and from the general discourses and memeplexes pushed towards the organizations by the media and interest groups, and by the personal contacts of employees and managers. In most cases, these horizontal flows of memes tend to amplify the dominant position of the dominant social group. However, in those organizations which operate in the sphere of the subordinated group, the general discourses of the society are likely to point towards the suitability of the subordinated group, for the tasks of the organizations operating within this sphere. This is likely to lead to the accumulation of manpower to the subordinated groups within the organizations of their own sphere, and to the formation of organization cultures which emphasize the skills and virtues of the subordinated group, at least on those levels of organizational hierarchy, where the subordinated group has more manpower and positions of power. The combined effects of the vertical and horizontal flows of memes to the actual organizational culture and paradigm, and to the routines, policies and daily actions of organizations, are shown in Figure 13.

The strategic and tactical memes of the management flow downwards and concreticize into operational level policies, routines and actions (arrow 1). The memes of the management have an effect in the discourses

and perceptions of the employees, and this may be amplified by the training procedures of the organization (arrow 2a). The memes of the employees, however, tend to aggregate upwards to the policies, routines and behaviors of organizations (arrow 2b). The actual paradigm and culture of the organization also has an effect on the memes of the top management, which needs to rely on middle management and professionals in many issues (arrow 1b). These vertical flows of memes are enriched by the horizontal flow of professional memes (arrows 3a, 3b and 3c), and the general discourses of the society into the organization (arrows 4a, 4b and 4c).
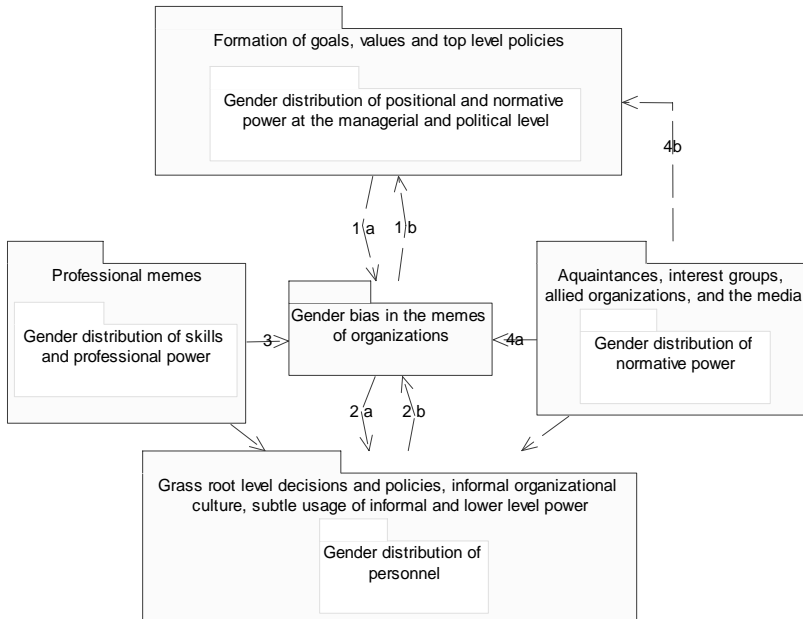
Figure 13. The Emergence of Organizational Cultures, Policies and Actions.

4.7.3 The change of organizational memes

Organizations tend to develop a dominant or hegemonic culture which is promoted by the management and the most powerful professions and social groups of the organization. This tends to create hegemonic discourses,

official organizational cultures, and dominant organizational paradigms, for example, in professional issues. Despite this likely emergence of dominant and hegemonic cultures, the culture of an organization is likely to also contain dissident, resistant and silenced cultures, which wait for a suitable moment of time to change the hegemonic paradigms and discourses. These alternative cultures may be found, for example, by interviewing members of those professions and social groups which are at a lower level of the status hierarchy in the organization. At some points, the alternative cultures and lower status groups may also maintain a silent war against the dominant cultures and groups, for example, by intentionally misinterpreting orders, or by obeying senseless rules and orders when the time is right.

The rigidity and homogeneity of the organizational paradigm, may lead to the inability of the organization to learn and change in an adaptive and "phyletic" fashion. In a fluctuating and changing environment, this is likely to lead to a gradual paradigm crisis (see de Jong 1999), a bad organizational performance, and to radical changes which may appear in the form of a merger, change of upper management, outsourcing of previously influential departments (like IT), or dramatic reductions to budgets and personnel. The paradigm crisis may also appear in a purely cognitive fashion, since the anomalies of the formerly dominant paradigm may cause a serious process of re-evaluation and replacement of the central memes of the organizational culture (de Jong 1999). In other organizations, the flexibility and heterogeneity of the organizational memes may permit a more continuous process of learning and adaptation, in such a fashion that the memes of the organization are constantly being updated and re-evaluated as new professional memes enter the organization, as new trends and fashions are spotted in the political, technical or social environment. This "learning" however, does not have to have any resemblance to rational optimization, as the cultures, paradigms and discourses of organizations may change simply as the consequence of the change in the social attractiveness and fashionability of alternative memes. For example, the organizational structures of business enterprises may change as a consequence of a change in the contemporary "management fashion", which determines whether organizations are multidivisional, functional or matrix organizations. In a similar fashion, the strategy of

organizations may vary between strong diversification and strong focus on one single business. Sometimes, these fashions are clearly irrational and determined by the need of directors to seek for a high social status. On this basis, the organizations may favor, for example, the building of fancy headquarter buildings, or the granting of status symbols such as statues, paintings or purchased honorary titles to their directors. The goals of the organization may also be biased by the wish of the directors to manage a "big" organization, measured by turnover or the total size of the balance sheet (not by the size of the corporate profit).

The change of the organizational cultures may also be dependent on the changes in the popularity of alternative political and social discourses and representations, since organizations attempt to show that they are responsive and modern. This may mean, for example, that organizations try to adopt some memes of ecological, antiracist and woman friendly discourses, at least, if these memes do not cause notable costs or needs to change the central strategies and practices of the organization. For example, a corporation that has oil refining as its main business, may change its corporate sign and logo to more "greenish" ones, and make some investments into wind energy, just to improve its image (see Klein 1999). In a similar fashion, organizations dominated by middle aged white males may create web pages which show a set of young to middle aged men and women of several racial and ethnic backgrounds.

4.7.4 Organizational clusters

Organizations tend to connect into clusters, which appear within the same field of activity or within the same geographic area. At the center of the cluster are the big and institutionalized organizations of the field, but the cluster also consists of their subcontractors and retailers, and the universes and academies that provide professional memes for the field (see Porter 1998b & 2000). In several cases, the organizational cluster is also strongly connected to some public organizations and private associations that relate to the field of activity. This connection to private associations may introduce the ideologies, discourses and paradigms of certain interest groups and social groups to the organizational clusters.

In some cases, entire clusters may become dominated by the discourses of some specific interest group ideology. For example, in some countries the agricultural cluster of the society may consist of all the organizations which are involved in the production, importation, exportation, sales, regulation and subsidy, or research and development of agricultural products. It is also possible, that the agrarian workers and land owners will organize themselves into an association of agricultural producers, which connects strongly to this cluster. This process of clusterization and interest group activity may produce an agricultural cluster, which is dominated by the discourses and paradigms of agricultural producers. According to these discourses, the agricultural producers must be defended from the fluctuations of the market and from the unfair competition of other countries. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the state to protect the producers by protectionist measures and by substantial state subsidies. This paradigm and discourse may then be amplified by the research and development organizations, and all other parties of the cluster, who require more public funding for the cluster.

The emergence of such clusters means that even a social group, which perceives itself as subordinated or threatened by the dominant groups of the society, may gain superior resources of power within their own cluster. Although the clusters of organizations are organized around the professional know-how within some specific field of operation, they also tend to develop shared discourses, paradigms and other memeplexes, which shape the beliefs, values and priorities of the organizations and people working for the cluster.

4.8 The Success Factors of Memes and the Degeneration of Scientific Knowledge

4.8.1 Summary of the success factors of a meme

According to Dawkins, the success factors of memes and other replicants are their fecundity, longevity and copying fidelity (Dawkins 1976). In order to operationalize this model in a way that suits sociocultural evolution and permits the prediction of evolution, these factors

are replaced by the following five central success factors of memes: 1) simplicity, 2) attractiveness, 3) compatibility with larger memeplexes, 4) copying fidelity, and 5) pragmatic benefits to the carrier. These central success factors are caused by a set of other factors that contribute to these central factors.

The **simplicity** of a meme is helped by the small size of the meme. However, it may also be helped by the chances of representing the meme in a permanent visual form, as a picture, drawing, diagram, ornament, decoration or object that can be looked at. Another form for adding the simplicity is the representation of the meme in symbolic language as a short description of the target of the meme, or as a short description of how to manufacture and reproduce it. In the context of implicitly stored memes such as dances, games and rituals, the simplicity of the meme may be augmented by modularization and by the creation of a logical structure between the modules. For example, a dance may consist of specific motions that are repeated in a systematic order, making the learning of the dance somewhat easier. The simplicity of the meme is very important, as it raises its communicability, memorizeability and attractiveness.

The **attractiveness** of a meme is determined by psychological and socially determined factors. One central psychological factor of attractiveness is the artistic or mystical value, which is presented in the mental pleasure that is caused by the meme due to its aesthetic, mimic, poetic or mystical nature. In some cases, the mystical value of a meme may be raised by the paradoxal, tautological or inexplicable nature of the meme. Under the influence of some alternative epistemological metamemes, the mystical value of the meme is less significant and the correspondence with reality is given highest value and priority when evaluating the attractiveness of a meme. A third psychological or cognitive factor of attractiveness is formed of the pragmatic benefits that the meme is perceived to give to its carriers and appliers. These psychological factors of attractiveness, however, may be far less significant than the social factors such as the popularity of the meme among opinion leaders and the compatibility of the meme with some popular memeplexes.

The **compatibility of a meme with other memeplexes** may be gained either as a tight and explicit coupling with the theoretical core of some

popular theoretical paradigm. For example, a very simple and specific meme for measuring organizational performance may act as the core for a very large memeplex. This core meme may then determine the attractiveness of several other memes such as alternative organizational policies and discourses, which aim towards compatibility with this core meme (see de Jong 1999). The popularity of the meme among opinion leaders is also a crucial factor, as this popularity is likely to yield some social benefits to all who carry it.

The **copying fidelity** of a meme is determined by its communicability and memorizeability, which are both highly affected by the storability of the meme to durable media: Those memes, which can be stored in written or other permanent form, are likely to be copied to future generations with fewer mutations than implicitly stored memes such as oral folklore. The copying fidelity of a meme is also affected by the simplicity of the meme, since simple memes are more likely to be communicated and memorized without errors.

The **pragmatic benefits of the meme to its carriers** may be helped by the correspondence of the meme with reality. This particularly applies to scientific and professional memes, which try to describe the reality, and then to utilize this knowledge for practical ends. The pragmatic benefits, however, are also determined by the compatibility of the meme with popular memeplexes and by the popularity of the meme among opinion leaders: Popular memes are likely to maintain or augment the status of their carriers, while unpopular memes are likely to lower the status and power of their carriers. Although this applies most clearly to memes such as clothes and fashions, it also applies well to the spreading of habits, beliefs and belief systems.

The central consequences of these success factors of memes are the rapid **spreading speed** of the meme (fecundity), and the **economic, coercive and reproductive benefits** that the carriers are likely to gain from the meme. These together, determine the short term and long term evolutionary success of memes.
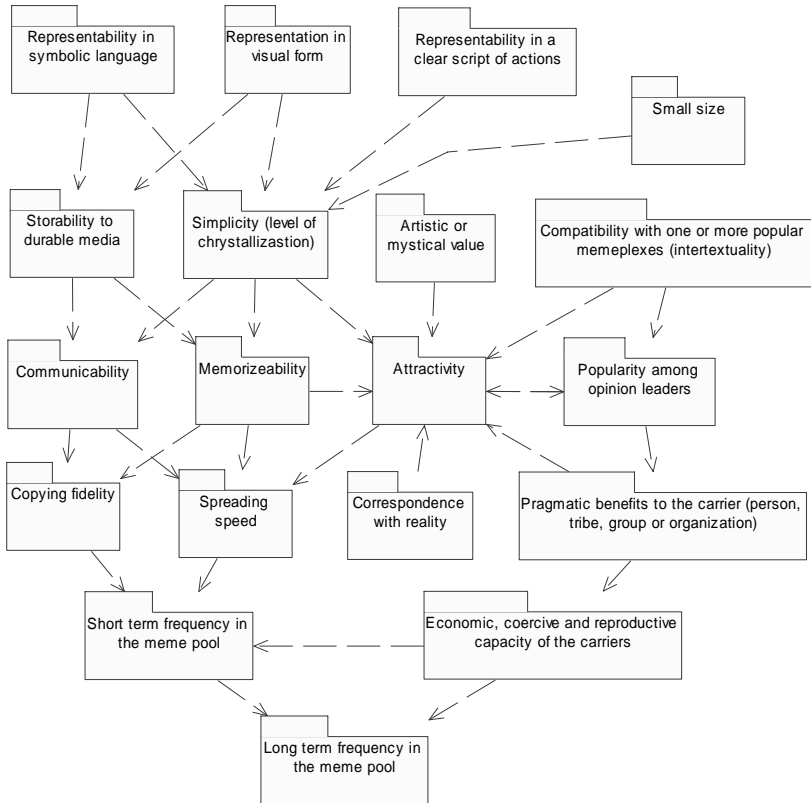
Figure 14. The Success Factors of Memes.

4.8.2 The degeneration of scientific knowledge in modern societies

When analyzing the success factors of the memes, we can see that simplicity is a superiorly important meme, as it contributes to the communicability, memorizeability and attractiveness of the meme. The most important indirect effects of simplicity are the improved spreading speed and copying fidelity of the meme. Together, these success factors are so central to the evolutionary success of memes that these benefits of

simplicity tend to overweigh some of the harms of simplicity – such as the weakened match of the meme with reality, which may be caused by oversimplification. When analyzing the importance of simplicity from the point of view of interest groups and power, simplicity is also an essentially important factor for memes: In general, the simplest memes make the best propaganda, as they can be communicated and memorized most effectively. The simplest memes are also the ones which may also be communicated to the laymen, and not only to the experts of theoretical paradigms.

When analyzing simplicity from the point of view of organizations and media, it is possible to notice that simplicity is something that is required for efficient communication in the media, and for the rapid teaching of the organizational culture to new recruits. Even if organizations possibly have digitalized quality handbooks and process descriptions, these are usually modularized in a fashion that permits their learning piece by piece, using simpler modules (memes) as a basis. When the internal structure of organizations is analyzed, together with the connections from organizations to the external world, it is possible to see that a major part of memes flow into organizations through the network of journalists, consultants and trainers. Due to the constraints on decision making, managers and specialists in organizations do not have sufficient time to study their professional memes directly from universities and research reports. Therefore, most organizational memes enter organizations through the network of journalist, consultants and trainers, and not directly from scientific sources. This creates a layer that separates companies, public organizations and associations from science, and filters, biases and mutates the memes that organizations adopt. (It must also be noted that the scientific memes may be relatively biased even in the first place, within the scientific community). An important factor in the shaping of the scientific memes is made of the interest group organizations which intentionally filter out information that conflicts with their interests, and actively distribute and manipulate information in order to serve their own interests. In modern societies, this manipulation of information is usually performed in a skillful manner, so that direct lies are replaced by half-truths. This kind of propaganda is more elegant than direct lies, and reduces the chances of being justfully accused of explicit lies, which would mean the lowered reputation and credibility of the interest group and its paradigm.

When scientific memes are communicated to organizations and to laymen through a network of journalists, consultants, trainers and interest group activists, the memes go through a process of filtering, simplification and mutation. *Filtering* occurs as a communication and learning process, in which incompatible memes are filtered out as they conflict with the paradigm of the learner or the receiver of a message.[41] This filtering may be intentional, for example, when interest group activists filter out statistics which threaten the legitimacy of the requests of the interest groups. It may also be unintentional, such as the spontaneous unwillingness of people to learn data that would threaten their belief system. *Simplification* is a process in which memes or memeplexes are simplified by leaving out some parts or memes. The simplification of scientific memes appears on two levels: On the level of large textual bodies, simplification appears in the tendency of busy people to examine only the summary or abstract of a book, and then some headlines and chapters that seem interesting. This tends to cause the simplification of scientific knowledge, since the memes are condensed and simplified to a form that can be represented in a summary or abstract. On the level of single claims and statements, the simplification particularly occurs in the detachment of the statement from some other important memes. Although statements should be perceived as memeplexes which contain the statement, references and disclaimers concerning the applicability of the statement, scientific statements are often communicated to others without the explicit references and disclaimers. Precise figures also tend to be simplified into rounded ones, or to general qualitative expressions. For example, the figure "78.2%" may easily be simplified to a "vast majority", which is easier to remember, but which can practically mean anything between 60% and 99%. This simplification may also be intentional and ideologically motivated: For example, the statement *the majority of the victims of domestic violence are female* can be used to hide the fact that the figure may actually be something like 51–60 %, according to several international metastudies (see 6.3.4).

Although simplification is one of the most common forms of memetic mutation, other mutations also occur. These are often caused by accident,

41 The ability of discourses to filter out conflicting material appears in Foucault 1982, p. 119 (see Keskinen 2005, p. 95). The idea of filtering also appears in the context of paradigms and organizational structures (see de Jong 1999).

careless conclusions, or by the invalidity and confusion of concepts. Mutations are sometimes partly intentional and partly unintentional. For example, the meme *"there is no evidence that a high consumption of butter would cause coronary diseases"* may be easily mutated to the meme *"a high consumption of butter does not cause coronary diseases"*. Due to the interest group activities and paradigms, this mutation is more likely to appear in a newspaper of the agricultural producers than in some other newspaper.

When these processes of the deterioration of scientific knowledge are applied to modern societies and to public administration, we can reach the following model (Figure 15). The media, politicians and interest group activists together, may gradually produce a consensus on what paradigms of science are politically correct. This affects the public funding of research, and the popularity of alternative paradigms within the scientific community. It also discourages the media from publishing material that is considered politically incorrect.
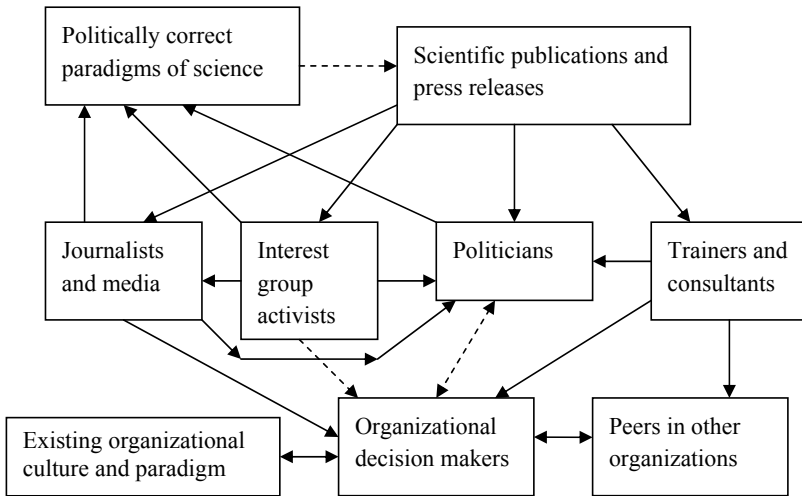
Figure15. The Degeneration of Scientific Knowledge in Modern Societies.

Interest group activists lobby the media and politicians, in order to gain publicity for those research results that they have carefully selected, and which therefore, match the interest of the interest group. This information warfare may also contain intentional simplification and a mutation of

memes. These processes may be used for raising the attractiveness of the favored memes, or for reducing the attractiveness of the memes that belong to opposing paradigms. This reduction of attractiveness may be reduced, for example, by the usage of *straw men*, which are mutated and intentionally "worsened" versions of the original memes.

The behavior of private and public organizations is affected by scientific memes, but this effect is usually indirect. The scientific memes tend to be first simplified, before being taught to managers and functional professionals through the network of journalists, consultants and trainers. This network filters out information, simplifies it, and sometimes also mutates it. These processes of filtering, simplification and mutation also occur at the boundary of the organization, as organizational decision makers resist information that conflicts with the existing paradigm of the organization. In some cases, entire clusters of interconnected organizations may develop an identical organizational paradigm, as a large part of organizational memes are adopted from peers in the same industry or sector, or from new recruits which also come from the same sector. If such clusters evolve, the resistance against new ideas may become very strong, as all organizations in the field jointly object to the alternative ideas and paradigms. This particularly appears in the public sector, in those cases, where the entire existence of the cluster is based on a specific ideological paradigm.

This deterioration of scientific knowledge to simplified and mutated exaggerations is amplified by the relatively common social democratic idea of the *necessity to subordinate science to political goals*. In social democratic welfare states such as Sweden, the political system has a relatively strong control over scientific truth, through its ability to fund researchers and universities, and through the practical opportunity to nominate professors and "favored national scientists". The political system may also state, what should be researched, and what should not. In such conditions, the ability of the scientific community to produce memes and paradigms that deviate from the politically determined main stream paradigm is severely reduced. This tends to lead to the evolution of a hegemonic paradigm, which enjoys the support of the political elite, and some significant interest groups. In such conditions, the differences between science and propaganda tend to become rather vague, and scientific knowledge will easily degenerate into simplified slogans, beliefs

and stereotypes. On the official level, these slogans and stereotypes may appear in a somewhat neutral form, but the hegemonic paradigm also tends to develop an aggressive periphery which ruthlessly attacks the potential proponents of alternative paradigms. A potential example of this degeneration of scientific knowledge in social democratic welfare states is given by the document "Könskriget" (Rubar 2005). This document describes the process in which one specific feminist theory gained an official and hegemonic status in the political and scientific community of Sweden. In this case, the theory was also connected to a theoretical periphery, according to which "men are animals".[42] This seems to be a typical case of an aggressive meme that is used to put down the enemies of an interest group and its ideological paradigm (see 4.6.3).

Another reason for the degeneration of scientific knowledge is the Internet. The evolution of the Internet has created a situation, in which all interest group activists may freely publish texts on their web pages, blogs, news groups, discussion forums and mailing lists. This dramatically raises the amount of published, textual memes. Simultaneously, there is no mechanism for rooting out bad texts from the net, or for guaranteeing their journalistic or scientific quality. Under these conditions, it is very easy for interest group activists to filter, mutate, simplify and spread memes which serve their own political interests. In practice, this tends to create a second layer between the scientific memes and the audience, since the scientific memes are first filtered, simplified and mutated by professional journalists, trainers and consultants, and then refiltered, resimplified and remutated by the layer that consists of individual activists, who usually do not base their writings on the scientific writings, but on the writings of journalists or other activists. As the writings of these activists are not governed by any strong professional, scientific or journalistic code of ethics, the texts tend to contain bad references to scientific texts, even if there is an aim to gain scientific credibility through the quotation or other usage of scientific memes. Examples of this degeneration of scientific knowledge are those pieces of urban folklore, which float around the web forums and e-mailing lists of ideological activists. For example, the feminist forums and lists tend to distribute a meme, according to which *"the rates of domestic violence always rise during*

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42 Irene von Wachtfeld, the chairman of ROKS, the Swedish association of Women's shelters (see Rubar 2005).

national football matches" (see Kammer 2002, p. 48–51). In Finland, this meme was distributed in the national e-mailing list of women's studies, in a mutated form, according to which *"the rates of domestic violence always rise during ice hockey matches"*[43]. A scientific reference to this meme was not received even after a request, which is not a surprise, as there is no empirical evidence whatsoever to support this meme (see Sommers 1994).

4.9 Predicting the Evolution of the Welfare States

4.9.1 The central memeplexes of the welfare state ideology

According to the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution, most social phenomena are caused by mental and cultural memes, which then manifest into the sociostructural memes of the society. Therefore, we need to identify the central memeplexes of the welfare states, in order to predict the future of the welfare states. When identifying these memeplexes, it is also useful to keep in mind the existence of interest groups and interest group paradigms, and the existence of some other metamemes of modern society. Using these principles, together with some ideas of Lindblom (1977), Toffler (1980), Esping-Andersson (1990), and Harisalo & Miettinen (1995), it is possible to identify the following memeplexes that govern and shape the evolution of the welfare states: 1) Centralism vs. decentralism, 2) Valuation of high vs. low level of functional specialization, 3) Standardization vs. variance, 4) Socialism vs. private ownership, 5) Pro-market ideology vs. anti-market ideology, 6) Popularity of social transfer payments and positive action polities, 7) Popularity of voluminous public services.

4.9.2 Functional selection
and the macro level trends of welfare states

The large trends in the evolution of welfare states are mainly governed by the co-effects of economic and cognitive selection, which gradually

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43 Kaarina Kailo on the naistutkimus@uta.fi list (Kailo 2007)

root out those memeplexes that cause bad economic performance. Due to constant changes in external factors such as technology, military constellations and the availability of natural resources, modern societies are not systems which would gradually reach a stable equilibrium. Instead, they are under functional pressure to change, whenever external factors change. Due to these external functional pressures, the early industrial *II wave societies* tended to optimize industrial production, based on the principles of standardization, synchronization, functional specialization, and the strong centralization of decision making (see Toffler 1980). These principles, which suited a relatively stable industrial society based on mass production, were also supported by central authorities of the public and private administration such as Max Weber and Frederik Taylor (see Scott 2002). The most significant ideological dispute, concerning the organization and public policy of the II wave societies, was the ideological struggle between socialism and the market oriented ideologies. During the earlier part of the 20th century, socialism and the market oriented ideologies seemed equally attractive to the voters of many European countries. The era of the II wave societies, however, was turned on its end roughly at the 1980s, due to functional pressures which were partly caused by changes in the technological basis of production. These trends are described in more detail below.

Functional selection has shaped the content and popularity of alternative political paradigms such as conservativism, liberalism, socialism and social democratic thinking. The heavy reliance of the Soviet Union on socialism, centralism and anti market policies gradually eroded the economic resources of the society, leading to an economic crisis, which forced the elites of the country to reconsider the political ideology of the state. This meant the ideological collapse of socialism at the end of the 20th century, due to economic and cognitive selection. This collapse, however, did not destroy the basis of the social democratic paradigm, which only made some ad-hoc adjustments to its perception concerning markets: The strong anti-market thinking was replaced by an idea that markets are inevitable, but they must be controlled in some extent by the state. This change led to the emergence of the new European left wing parties and ideologies such as the ones applied in the United Kingdom during the government of Tony Blair. The conservative ideology has

also been affected by the collapse of socialism. It is predictable that the anti-market memes of the conservative welfare paradigm will gradually lose some of their popularity, as there is empirical proof that market economies are more efficient in the production of welfare than the strictly regulated economies. However, the harms of the conservative anti market ideologies to the economic performance of societies are so moderate, that it is possible that cognitive selection will not root them out in the evolution of political ideologies. This persistence in anti-market ideologies is also likely to be supported by interest groups such as agrarian producers and national enterprises, which are likely to lobby against the opening of local economies to more efficient competition. Yet, it is possible that those countries and organizational clusters which have learnt to cope with global competition in the first place, will gradually gain more economic resources and political influence than the more conservative countries and companies, which rely on protectionist policies. This development would gradually erode the popularity of conservative protectionism.

The speeding up of the rate of technological change at the latter part of the 20th century caused the large, centralized and functionally organized business organizations to appear too slow, unresponsive and unadaptive, which caused bad economic performance. This led to the invention of the multidivisional organizational form, the matrix organization, and several mechanisms, which allowed the decentralization of administration and the weakening of functional specialization (see Galbraith 1977). The changes in information technology also permitted the decentralization of decision making close to the grass roots level of organizations. These changes in management paradigms, also reached the public administration in the 1980s and 1990s. The technological changes also reduced the need for standardized products and services that were produced during office hours, in a synchronized fashion. One example of such a development was the evolution of the World Wide Web based services to consumers and citizens, and another example was the development of e-mail, home offices and teleconferences, which enabled the asynchronization and decentralization of organizational work and decision making. This led to the more general eroding of the belief in the benefits of centralization, standardization and synchronization. Most of these changes occurred first among private enterprises, and were then disseminated to the public

administration, through a network of scholars, consultants, trainers, journalists, and politicians.

After the functional and cognitive selection have rooted out socialism, the notable remaining ideologies of the welfare states at the beginning of the 21ˢᵗ century are liberalism, conservativism and a new form of social democratic thinking, which tolerates markets and attempts to use them for the production of welfare to the citizens. Conservativism, as a political memeplex, is also connected to religious paradigms. Both share the belief in the *standardization* of habits, behaviors and families; strong *functional division* of tasks between men and women; and some level of governmental or religious *centralization* to prevent the spreading of deviant and immoral behaviors. Although it is possible that these religious memeplexes manage to control the content of conservativism for a long period of time, it is also equally possible that the pressures of functional selection, combined with cognitive selection, change religions towards accepting more variety in human behaviors and lifestyles. This functional selection would be caused by the fact that variation in cultures and lifestyles tends to create more ideas and innovations, which seems to be positively correlated with a high economic performance on the level of organizations and national economies.

One more trend in the functional and cognitive selection is the rooting out of the systematic budget deficits of the welfare states. Although several short term pressures induce the emergence of budget deficits, the long term functional pressures are likely to lead to an economic crisis, which either changes the fiscal and political paradigms or leads to the collapse of the state. This process showed its effects in the 1980s, as the constant increase in public spending and taxes was stopped by most European welfare states. In popular discourses, this reduction in public spending was equated with harsh neoliberalism and social injustice, but these budget cuts were made equally by countries governed by social democrats, liberalists and conservatives. This supports the idea, that the ending of the expansion of public expenditure and taxation was a necessity, not a political plot against the disadvantaged social groups.

4.9.3 Interest groups and discourses
as determinants of the future of welfare states

Although some major trends in the evolution of the welfare states have been described above, many features of public policy and welfare states seem to be purely discursive in their nature. This means that policies and management fashions may fluctuate freely, according to the principles of unintentional bias, interest group activities, and strong philosophical paradigms, which indirectly guide the formulation of political paradigms and public policies. This means that the evolution of the welfare states, in the shorter term, may be predicted mostly by measuring the popularities of alternative memeplexes among the opinion leaders and most influential interest groups of the society. This also requires analysis of the distribution of power resources among different interest groups, as this can have an effect on the ability of the interest groups to practice information warfare, meaning the intentional filtering, simplification, exaggeration and mutation of memes, and the spreading of these twisted memes to central decision makers of the society. By using these perspectives, it is possible to attempt to predict the evolution of the welfare policies that relate to the helping of the disadvantaged, or to the preference of governmental regulation versus market economy.

The most significant philosophical dispute, concerning the welfare states, seems to appear between the moderate and radical welfare state ideology. According to the radical paradigm, the state is a superior entity compared to its citizens and their choices. This idea originates from the works of Platon, Hegel and Bastiani (see Harisalo & Miettinen 1995). This memeplex tends to lead to the belief of the superiority of the public administration compared to citizens. Therefore, this radical memeplex tends to enjoy support from the conservative ideology. However, it also aligns with the social democratic thinking, according to which the public administration should take care of the citizens – not letting the citizens and the market mechanisms take care of the citizens. This idea of the superiority of the state and public administration, leads to governmental interventionism and to the conclusion that it is the task of the government and public administration to *identify and help disadvantaged social groups*. This is almost identical to the memeplex, according to which the public

administration should introduce transfer payments and positive action policies in order to help the disadvantaged (see 4.9.1).

Due to the cognitive limits of people, administrators tend to view social groups in a dichotomic fashion, so that some groups are privileged and others are disadvantaged. For example, the working-class is disadvantaged compared to the entrepreneurs, although some white collar workers earn several times more than the owners of small enterprises. In a similar fashion, women are considered as a disadvantaged group, although some white upper-class women are clearly privileged compared to black working-class men. All ethnic minorities tend to also be perceived as disadvantaged, although some ethnic minorities may have a higher standard of living, on average, than the majority of the population. These strong dichotomies are promoted by the organized interest groups of the disadvantaged social groups, and these dichotomies are a source of discursive power for the interest group organizations. This means that the popularity of the "helping the disadvantaged" meme has led to the attempt of all interest groups to present their members as more or less severely disadvantaged. In some cases, some clearly disadvantaged groups of people fail to organize and to lobby their interests, and this leads to a situation, in which they do not get an "official" status as a disadvantaged group. Therefore, the public administration will not develop policies for supporting and helping them. Examples of poorly organized groups are made of the short people, ugly people, alcoholics, drug users, uneducated and unemployed people, mentally ill people, and victims of domestic violence. These groups are likely to be disadvantaged, in objective terms, and yet they have not achieved an official status as a disadvantaged group. Therefore, the public administration does not recognize their problems as well as the problems of women, racial minorities, or employed workers, who have formed their own interest group organizations.

In some cases, it is possible for a disadvantaged group to gain superior discursive power, which may then be converted into political power, (wo)manpower, social power, managerial power, and coercive power. In this process, it is typical that the disadvantaged group does its best to maintain its image as the disadvantaged group, and a picture of its enemies as the "oppressors". This appeared, for example, in the Soviet Union, where the courts maintained a discourse in which the academically trained people,

who had owned some private property, were continuously stereotyped as "oppressors", although the socialist system had ended private ownership a long time before (see Harisalo & Miettinen 1995). It is also possible that the disadvantaged social group, after first creating a strong interest group organization and an interest group paradigm, attempts to present its ideology and interests as *synonymous to the general welfare of all citizens*.[44] These mechanisms and trends in the ideologies of the disadvantaged groups may lead to very radical mutations of the welfare state ideology. In extreme conditions, they may lead to a dogmatic paradigm, which defines the disadvantaged group (which actually holds more power resources than other groups) as the "officially disadvantaged" group, and pictures all other groups as selfish oppressors. This may lead to a public policy, which encourages or passively tolerates hatred and terror against the members of the "privileged" social groups. An example of such a system seems to have appeared in the Soviet Union after the revolution, and also in Southern Africa, after the collapse of the white regime. In modern welfare states, there is a small chance that such an ideology will be formed on the basis of radical interest group feminism (see chapter 5.8.3).

Even if the evolution of welfare states does not lead to such radical scenarios, it is possible that the intention of the public administration, to help disadvantaged groups, will lead to policies of *reverse discrimination*. Due to these policies, the members of the (officially) disadvantaged group may be favored to such an extent that the constitutional and human rights of others are violated. Even if the Supreme Courts put a clear limit to this kind of reverse discrimination, it is still possible that the interest groups of the disadvantaged group, together with the officials of the public administration, will maintain discourses which encourage the active favoring of the disadvantaged group in all contexts. This may lead to organizational cultures, which subtly discriminate against all others, except for the members of the disadvantaged group. However, it is equally possible that the public administration carries memes, which subtly permit the discriminative treatment of the disadvantaged group. In order to diagnose the case, the organizational values, stories, beliefs, statistics, facts, jokes and practices of the organization would have to be studied in such a fashion that it is possible to distinguish, whether the organizational

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44 Marx 1845-6, p. 27 and 35–37 (see Mitchell 1973, p. 144–145).

culture is permeated by the propaganda of the disadvantaged group, or by the biased belief system of the members of the privileged group.

4.10   Summary

This chapter produced a synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution. This theory is based mainly on the synthesis of memetics, discourse analysis, organizational science, and evolutionary economics. According to the theory, sociocultural evolution is based on a process in which *mental memes* like concepts and beliefs are manifested into *cultural memes* like texts, routines and social practices. These cultural memes cause the institutional structures, dichotomies of power, and other *structural memes* of the society. The cultural and structural memes of the society have a strong feedback loop to the mental memes of people, in such a fashion that people often reproduce mental and cultural memes with a surprisingly high accuracy. Memes may be small or large of their size. They may be stored inside the human brain, in texts and media, in the shapes and decorations of objects, or in the rigid routines, rituals, gestures and acts that circulate in human cultures through imitation and learning. Small memes tend to connect to larger *memeplexes*. The advantage of this is the combination of flexibility, rigidity and cognitive power of the memeplexes, compared to atomistic memes that appear without the context of a memeplex. All memes are vulnerable to mutations, which may appear in the form of simplification, exaggeration and random changes. All smaller memes are also subordinated to larger memeplexes like *paradigms* and *discourses*, in such a fashion that the larger memeplexes tend to filter out those memes that do not suit them.

Sociocultural evolution is governed by unintentional biases (4.4), functional selection (4.3), interest groups and power (chapter 4.5), institutions and organizations (4.7), and by metamemes and paradigms (4.6). *Unintentional biases* consist of those cognitive, linguistic, communicational, emotional and social psychological biases, which direct sociocultural evolution towards the flourishing of biased concepts, subjective stereotypes and simplified beliefs, since these kinds of memes tend to spread most effectively due to their superior simplicity,

memorizeability, communicability, and cognitive and emotional attractiveness. *Functional selection* directs sociocultural evolution by rooting out those paradigms and memes, which cause a severe reduction of economic, reproductive or military performance to organizations and other social systems. However, those memes which cause only moderate harms to their carriers may survive in sociocultural evolution for very long periods of time, as the cognitive learning process of human societies may fail to detect the connection of the meme and the harm caused by the meme.

Interest groups and power appear as a significant factor that shapes sociocultural evolution. Interest groups may use economic and political power resources for shaping the legislation, public policy and culture of the society to their interests. This may also lead to the accumulation of discursive power to the dominant social group, if it can control the media, public education, religion, research and other institutions that produce cultural memes. In modern societies and welfare states, however, the total hegemony of one interest group is not so common, since subordinated groups tend to gain moral power through their disadvantaged status. This moral and discursive power may then be converted to political power, which can be used for improving the status of the disadvantaged group. Modern societies may also become segregated in such a fashion that different social groups dominate their own "sphere". This means that even the most powerful social group may face discrimination in the sphere of some other social group.

Institutions and organizations are important shapers of sociocultural evolution in modern societies. They collect memes from the surrounding society through a network of journalists, consultants and trainers, which means that they tend to receive relatively simplified and popularized versions of scientific and professional memes. Organizations also collect, cumulate and aggregate memes from the peers of organizational decision makers, which tends to lead to the formation of organizational clusters, which share a common culture or paradigm. This clustering of organizations may lead to the division of the society into subsystems, which contain very different cultures and paradigms compared to each other. For example, the paradigms and cultures of male dominated, technology oriented private organizations may vary dramatically from the paradigms and cultures of female dominated, service oriented public organizations. In some cases, the clustering of organizations and the

formation of cluster specific paradigms may also be governed by active interest group participation, lobbying and propaganda.

Metamemes and paradigms direct sociocultural evolution in close connection with interest groups: Most religious, political, professional and scientific paradigms have some connections to interest groups, and sometimes they have even been invented and created by interest groups to serve their own interests. This leads to the structuration of paradigms in such a fashion that they have a *theoretical core, selfish core* and a set of *peripheral memes*. The selfish core contains the memes, which are used to legitimize the interests and requests of the central interest group that is connected to the paradigm. It is beneficial for interest groups to hide the existence of this selfish core, in order to present the paradigm as an objective theory, or as an ideology that seeks for the common benefit of all citizens. The theoretical periphery of paradigms contains rhetoric fallacies, biased statistics and nasty stereotypes that can be used for attacking the enemies of the paradigm, or for boosting the popularity of the paradigm. Although paradigms compete against each other, they may also form coalition discourses which usually appear through peripheral memes that are shared by two rivaling paradigms. This analysis of the selfish cores and theoretical peripheries of paradigms, forms a basis for the analysis of the potential misandric elements of feminism and for the analysis of the coalition discourses between feminism and patriarchal sexism.

These determinants of sociocultural evolution, when applied to the welfare states in modern societies, suggest that the paradigms of political parties and public organizations will be constructed around the (selfish) paradigms of powerful interest groups, and around professional paradigms which consist of simplified, popularized and filtered versions of scientific memes. Under these conditions, the evolution of the public administration can be predicted by measuring the popularity and fashionability of specific political and professional paradigms and memes, and by analyzing their chances of forming successful coalition discourses with rival paradigms. This means that societies, in the short term, are not heading towards an economic equilibrium, which would produce an optimally effective and beneficial solution. In the longer term, however, the mechanisms of functional selection may root out some of the most harmful memes and paradigms, no matter how popular they may be at some specific point in time.

5 Applying the Theory to Gender Discrimination

5.1 Introduction

Sociocultural evolution appears through the change of mental, cultural and sociostructural memes. One part of sociocultural evolution is the appearance of the memes, which cause direct, indirect and structural gender discrimination. In order to explain and predict this evolution of gender discrimination, it is necessary to analyze those determinants of the sociocultural evolution and their connection to the mental, cultural and sociostructural memes. This means that the effects of interest groups and power, organizations and institutions, metamemes and paradigms, unintentional biases, and functional selection on gender discrimination need to be analyzed.
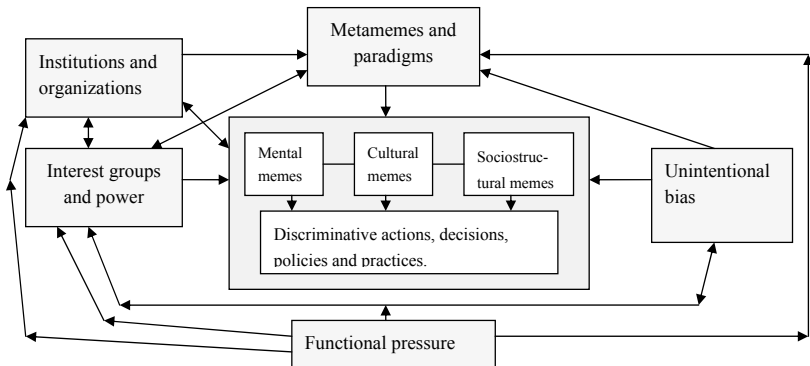
Figure 16. The Determinants of Gender Discrimination.

The central memes that shape the discriminative actions, decisions, and traditions, are first listed in chapter 5.2. Then chapters 5.3–5.6 are used for analyzing and summarizing the effects of the determinants on these memes of gender discrimination.

5.2 Identifying the Memeplexes and Biases that Cause Gender Discrimination

5.2.1 Mental and cultural memeplexes

In chapter 3, sexism, the male role, hegemonic masculinity, and feminism were identified as potential discriminators of men. If we aim at a general theory of gender discrimination, this list should probably be appended by the female role and hegemonic femininity (see Holter 1995). On top of these memeplexes, we may assume that almost all other cultural memeplexes like concepts, language, habits and traditions may contain a gender bias, which may lead to the discrimination of either men or women. All of these memeplexes interact and connect with each other in the fashion described in Figure 17.
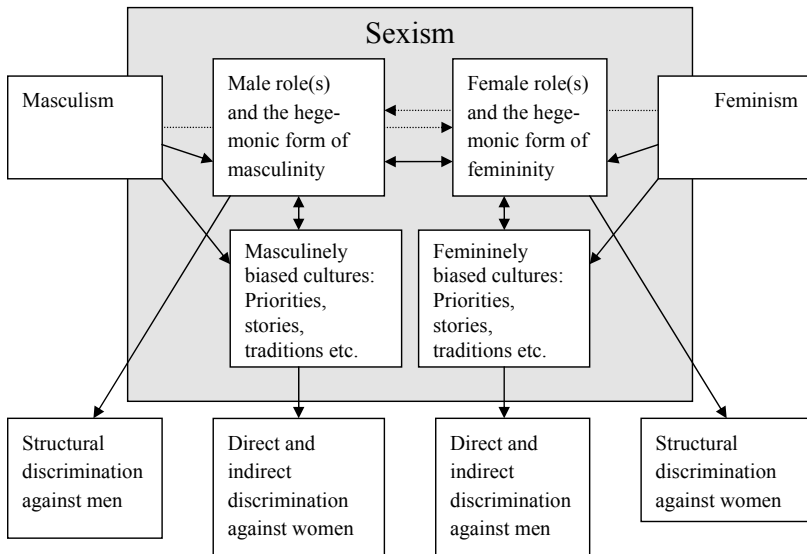
Figure 17. The Memeplexes that Cause Gender Discrimination.

The male role(s) consists of role expectations, stereotypes, scripts and scenes, which manifest the traditional forms of masculinity. If the society contains only one hegemonic and dominant male role and preferred

form of masculinity, this is likely to induce structural discrimination against those men who would like to deviate from this dominant male role. Masculinity and the male role(s) are dependent on the femininity and the female role(s), since men in most societies and cultures wish to distinguish themselves from women. In a similar fashion, the *female roles* and femininities also depend on the contents of masculinity, since women may be defined as the 'other', which is not the male. If the society has only one or two dominant forms of femininity, these are likely to cause structural discrimination against those women who deviate from the dominant female role. At this point, it must be noted that the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and femininity refer to those memeplexes of masculinity and femininity, which are the most popular or common, compared to alternative memeplexes of masculinity and femininity. Therefore, it is possible that, in some societies, a pacifistic, uncompetitive and unaggressive form of masculinity or femininity may reach a hegemonic status, compared to alternative masculinities and femininities. This is important to note, as "hegemonic" is often perceived as a synonym for tyranny, aggression and coercive power, despite the fact that hegemonic originally and correctly refers to *hegemonic discourses* and other dominant mental and cultural representations (see Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 7).

The experiences of men in the groups and networks of men, tend to create a shared, *masculinely biased culture* for men, due to group pressure and the formation of a group identity (see chapters 4.4 and 5.4). This culture may consist of values, priorities, concepts, words, stories, jokes, stereotypes and beliefs in a fashion that looks very innocent, but which is still likely to lead to social practices that discriminate against women in male dominated organizations and contexts. In a similar fashion, the *femininely biased cultures* of women's networks and female dominated organizations may also lead to gendered practices that put men at a disadvantaged status, causing discrimination against men. The appearance of such masculinely and femininely biased cultures is amplified by the horizontal segregation of the society, which leads to the emergence of male dominated and female dominated organizations, networks and contexts, in different fields of the society.

Masculism may be defined as the interest group ideology of men, although the term itself is not very well established yet. Most masculists

are antisexists, and they try to fight against the traditional male role which causes structural discrimination against men (see 3.1). Yet, some other masculists perceive the traditional male and female roles as beneficial and practical, and create discourses which strengthen the traditional male role. Masculists may also try to change the traditional female role, in order to change the cultures and practices of women to some extent, for example, in such a fashion that the economic exploitation of men by women is reduced (see 3.5). Due to the fact that most masculists are men, masculism tends to support and reproduce some of the masculine bias that is embedded in men's cultures. Masculists may, for example, prioritize men's interests above women's interests in the creation of public policy. Through this mechanism, masculists may contribute to the existence of direct and indirect discrimination against women. In a similar fashion, *feminism* is basically and originally an interest group ideology of women. Antisexist feminists try to widen the female role, in such a fashion that women could just as well as men, be managers, politicians, priests, etc., and not be tied down to the role of a housewife, as such a narrow role would mean structural discrimination against women. Yet, some maternalist feminists promote discourses, which reproduce the picture of women as the tender, loving, uncompetitive caretakers of children. These discourses may also picture women as the less sexual gender, which has higher morals than men. Feminists also tend to work towards the change of the traditional male role, in order to gain space for the new, changed female role, and to change those masculine traditions which induce discrimination against women. Due to the fact that most feminists are women, feminism tends to support and reproduce some of the feminine bias that is embedded in women's cultures. Feminists may, for example, perceive men's problems as mere curiosities, and feel no interest in the removal of the gender discrimination against men.

The ideological core of *sexism* is made of a set of memeplexes, which exaggerate gender difference, underestimate the variety within genders, and present gender differences as beneficial or inevitable in such a fashion that tends to legitimize the existence of strongly separate male and female roles. This core is supported by a large set of gendered concepts, traditions and practices. Due to the various different sources of influence on sexism, the sexist memeplexes tend to appear in different versions, such

as the masculinely and masculistically biased version, and the femininely and feministically biased version. The version promoted by the sexist masculists and men in general, tends to emphasize gender difference, in such a fashion that exaggerates male virtues such as braveness, reliability, honesty and the ability to think rationally and make quick decisions. This characterization of men is connected to the masculinely biased tendency to exaggerate such female deficiencies as volatility, unreliability and the inability to make rational and quick decisions. In a similar fashion, the femininely and feministically biased version of sexism tends to exaggerate female virtues such as compassion, cooperativeness, peacefulness, flexibility, and the ability to give unselfish love. In these discourses, men are commonly presented as unloving, selfish, competitive, cold, violent, and sex crazed. These examples show that the interpretation of sexism and gender difference may appear in clearly distinct, femininely and masculinely biased forms. Yet, these forms of sexism may also support each other, as they share the same core memes that exaggerate gender differences.

5.2.2 Sociostructural memes as causes of gender discrimination

The most significant sociostructural memes, in the context of gender, are the horizontal and vertical segregation of the society. According to some scholars of women's studies, *horizontal segregation* occurs basically in the fashion that men dominate the public sphere, while women have been pressed into the private sphere (e.g. Pateman 1989, see Julkunen 1995, p. 15). This perspective is also supported by Warshack and Holter, although they see women not only as prisoners of the private sphere, but also as the rulers (see 3.3). The idea of the public sphere as a sphere of masculinity, however, has been challenged by the Nordic feminists, who have recognized that some functions, professions, organizational clusters and discourses of the modern welfare states are dominated by women. This *sphere of femininity* inside the public sector may consist of, for example, charity organizations, healthcare and social service organizations, daycare centers, and organizations related to the equality policy (see Acker 1992;

Rantalaiho 1994, p. 25–26, and Silius 1995, p. 61–64). This segregation of the society is a manifestation of the male and female roles, which point out that some tasks are more suitable for men and others for women. At the same time, the segregation of the labor market is also interpreted as a proof of the differences between men and women, which tends to strengthen and reproduce the traditional gender system. A potential connection of the memes of masculinity and femininity to the segregation of professions and tasks is shown in Table 6:

Memes of masculinity	"Masculine tasks"	"Feminine tasks"	Memes of femininity
Competitiveness and decisiveness	Managerial tasks	Customer service tasks	Compassion and interest in human affairs
Toughness and interest in technology and outdoor activities	Mining, construction, transportation, hunting	Clerical jobs	Caretaking nature, carefulness, service orientation
Stereotype of men as active actors and thinking subjects	Men as fashion designers and political commentators	Women as fashion models and newsreaders	Stereotype of women as beautiful objects

Table 6. Connection from Masculinity and Femininity to Stereotypic Male and Female Tasks.

The strong segregation of tasks even appears inside organizations, as some tasks such as customer service and clerical jobs are considered particularly suitable for women, at least in those contexts in which the employee is expected to play a flexible, service oriented and modest role. The horizontal segregation of tasks may even appear within professions. For example, in the profession of doctors, almost 100% of the veterinarians in Finland are female, and in the field of law, almost all famous business lawyers are male, while women are dominant in the legal tasks of the public administration in Finland (see Silius 1995).

The historical change in horizontal segregation seems to have appeared in such a fashion that when women have entered new arenas of the society, they have always started from the most feminine tasks of that new arena. For example, women's political activism and participation in paid labor began in Finland from charity work and voluntary work in nursing, education and childcare (Ollila 1994 and Saarinen 1994), which are all typical "feminine" tasks, according to the female role and the stereotypes

of femininity. In a similar fashion, the entrance of men into kitchen work and childcare at Finnish homes seems to have began from the most "masculine" tasks, such as grilling meat and sausages, smoking fish, and the transportation of children to their hobbies. A third example is made of the entrance of women into the sphere of technology, which seems to have occurred through the mastering of copying machines, which are assumed to belong to the domain of female secretaries, and by the usage of messenger, e-mail and computerized dating simulations (which are assumed to belong to the feminine domain of communication and human relations). These examples show that the meaning of femininity and masculinity, and the division of tasks in the society, may be renegotiated in a fashion that shapes and changes the gender system, even if the idea of gender difference remains (see Rantalaiho 1994, p. 21–28).

The *vertical segregation* of societies has been studied in the context of political decision making and the labor market. According to the radical feminist tradition and its successors, the entire western culture is vertically segregated, in such a fashion that women and femininity are subordinated to men and masculinity (see Hirdman 1990, and Rantalaiho 1994, p. 12). It is hypothesized that the vertical segregation of political, managerial, economic and coercive power resources, is partly reflected and partly caused by the discursive and linguistic positioning of masculinity above femininity. For example, according to Cixous and Ortner, language is a dichotomic and hierarchal system that oppresses women (Ortner 1974 and Cixous 1987). If these hypotheses are to be evaluated, it is necessary to study all the various resources of power, and see, whether they are all concentrated towards men, as the radical feminist hypothesis claims.

Although political, managerial, economic and coercive resources seem to be concentrated towards men in many societies, it is does not necessarily mean that discursive resources would also be concentrated towards men. In modern societies, the subordinated status of women may become a valuable asset for the women's movement, enabling it the control of symbolic, discursive, rhetoric and normative power resources, in such a fashion that also leads to changes in legislation and public policy. It must also be noted, that there have been some historical societies, in which men have held the managerial power, but women have controlled the power resources above the level of management. For example, in the Cherokee society, women had the power to nominate the chief of the

tribe.[45] Therefore, women had full control of the political power, while men controlled the managerial power. Another example is Finland, where women have tended to have superior resources of moral power compared to men in a fashion that has permitted women to wield the "power to forbid" (Gordon 1992, see Rantalaiho 1994). The potential role of women as the political and moral rulers of the "managerial" men is also pointed out by the proverbs, according to which *"The man is the head of the family, but women are the ones who turn the head"* and *"The man is the head of the family – until the guests have left the house"*. These examples show that the vertical segregation of power resources in the society and in families may appear in such a fashion that men have the official and visible resources of power, while women have an equal or even dominant share of discursive and informal resources power.

The central outcome of horizontal and vertical segregation is the division of the society into the spheres of femininity and masculinity. Although men control some male dominated industries, organizations, professions and discourses in the modern society, most welfare states are horizontally segregated, in such a fashion that women dominate in some other sectors. In the most clearly female dominated sectors, women may also control the managerial and political positions, while in the male dominated sectors, women appear only in relatively dull and badly paid jobs that relate to customer service or boring factory work. This means that the sphere of femininity seems to appear in the lower right hand side of Table 7, while the sphere of masculinity covers all the other areas, except for the debatable borderlands between the sphere of masculinity and femininity. It is also possible, that a layer of moral and symbolic female superiority and dominance appears above the layer of political decision making, even in the male dominated sectors of the society. Therefore, it can be predicted that the sphere of masculinity and the area of male dominance may be challenged by women from three directions: From above, in the form of women's superior discursive power resources, from the right, in the form of the horizontal expansion of the sphere of femininity into previously masculine areas, and from below, as more and more companies and organizations are pressured to deconstruct the glass

45 Wilma Mankiller, principal chief of the Cherokee Nation 1987–1995, speaking at the University of Arizona in January 2002, as broadcast on C-SPAN, 2002-06-01 (see Kammer 2002, p. 39)

ceilings, which prevent women from advancing in the organizational hierarchy.

	Traditionally **masculine** fields of paid work (defense, internal affairs, industry, transportation)	Gender **neutral** and debatable fields of activity (education, human resource management, environmental issues)	Traditionally **feminine** fields of paid and unpaid work (care taking, human relations and domestic work)
Moral leadership and the "mothers of the nation"	?	?	?
Top management and political leadership	Boards of stock companies, ministers of trade and industry, defense and internal affairs	Principals and professors of universities, ministers of education, employment and environmental issues	Ministers and top officials in the field of social services and health
Middle management and high level experts	Managers in industry, trade, defense, police, transportation etc.	Teachers in high schools	Daily management of domestic work and childcare; Managers of social service and healthcare organizations
Grass roots level	Manufacturing work on the assembly line	Teachers in primary schools and universities	Daily grass roots level domestic work

Table 7.   The Shrinkage of the Sphere of Masculinity in Modern Welfare States.

This model should be taken only as a general map to the spheres of masculinity and femininity, since the actual patterns of the horizontal and vertical segregation of tasks and power resources may vary from one welfare state to another. Yet, it seems that the significance of the vertical segregation is being reduced in the modern welfare states, while the horizontal segregation of tasks may well continue despite the general (vertical) equalization of the society.

5.2.3 A typology of the biases
that cause gender discrimination

The human biases, which distort sociocultural evolution, were divided into *unintentional bias* and *interest group bias* in chapters 4.4–4.5. In this chapter, the interest group bias appears in two gender related categories, which are the masculist/feminist gender bias and the alpha bias. After this distinction, the gendered related biases can be presented in the form of a two dimensional typology (Table 8).

	Masculine version	**Feminine version**
Unintentional gender bias	Masculine bias	Feminine bias
Interest group biases		
- Masculist/feminist bias	Masculist bias	Feminist bias
- Alpha bias	Alpha male bias	Alpha female bias

Table 8.   A Two Dimensional Typology of the Gender Biases.

The unintentional gender bias is caused by the cognitive, linguistic, communicational, emotional, and social psychological processes, which simplify, exaggerate, mutate and filter people's mental memes according to their gender, and which cause the policies and practices of groups, networks and organizations to be biased in a way that follows the biases of the dominant gender (see chapter 4.4). The subcategories of unintentional bias are the *masculine bias* and the *feminine bias*. The interest group bias is caused by the selfish nature of interest groups and by the selfish core of interest group paradigms (see 4.5 and 4.6.3). This interest group bias appears in four forms that affect gender: These are the masculist bias, feminist bias, alpha male bias, and alpha female bias. The *masculist bias* refers to the tendency of men's interest group organizations to promote an ideology, which prioritizes and legitimizes men's interests and presents men as slightly superior to women in many ways. In a similar fashion, the *feminist bias* causes women's interest group organizations and the women's movement to promote a feminist ideology, which prioritizes and legitimizes women's interests and presents women as slightly superior to men in many ways. The *alpha male bias* refers to the tendency of alpha

males to discriminate against the men of lower social status, and the *alpha female bias* makes women of high social status likely to discriminate women of low social status. The alpha male bias and alpha female bias, work in the same direction, which is the promotion of sexist gender roles, which particularly benefit the alpha males and females. All of these six biases are analyzed in more detail in chapters 5.4, 5.5 and 5.7.

5.3 Functional Selection as a Determinant of the Gendered Memes

5.3.1 Functional selection in primitive and agrarian societies

Functional selection favors those societies, tribes and families, which are able to cumulate food and wealth, which reproduce effectively, and which are able to defend themselves against enemies. In the more primitive tribes and societies, the effects of functional selection may have occurred in two steps which have both affected the content of masculinity and femininity, and the gender system as a whole. According to Gilmore, the inability of men to breast feed infants, together with men's larger size and strength, has pushed the gender systems in hunting and gathering societies towards an arrangement, in which women specialized in childcare and domestic tasks, while men specialized in outdoor activities such as hunting, fishing and long distance trade (Gilmore 1990, see also Mies 1986). This initial segregation of activities has been reproduced through history so effectively, that even today most childcare professions are perceived as "feminine", while the jobs that require outdoor activities far away from home are still perceived as "masculine". This means that some parts of the horizontal segregation of the labor market, in modern welfare states, still originate from hunting and gathering societies. The rigidity of this segregation means that the ancient male and female roles still cause structural discrimination against the men and women, who wish to deviate from the traditional roles.

The second fundamental step in the evolution of the gender system seems to have appeared about two or three thousand years before the Common Era, when the relatively peaceful and egalitarian societies

that applied the gender partnership model were confronted with more aggressive, competitive and hierarchal societies which applied the domination model (Eisler 1988). This confrontation led to the gradual replacement of the *partnership model*, both by coercive selection (extinction of the more peaceful tribes and cultures) and by the adoption of the *domination model* by the societies and tribes, which wished to reach a sufficient military capacity to defend the society against intruders and conquerors. This change of gender paradigm introduced a very limited role and somewhat discriminated position to women (Ibid). Women were perceived as the weaker casket, the symbol of childcare and domesticity, and as the breeders of successive generations of soldiers and male political leaders. This reduced women's chances to participate in activities outside the scope of the private sphere. These macro level historical conclusions, however, do not fully capture the variations of societies and gender systems, as a consequence of environmental, technological, and economical differences. For example, the male role and female role seem to have been strongly dependent on the scarcity of food and economic resources, and on the coercive pressures facing the society in the form of wars. During the times of peace and economic surplus, masculinity has tended to become more "feminine" or dandy, in a fashion that has pictured the successful (alpha) men as masters of courting, intrigue and witty urban activities. Under economic recessions, famine and military crisis, the masculinity has usually been shifted back towards a more Spartan ideal (Hoch 1979, p. 118). The general toughness of life and lack of resources may have also produced gender systems, in which there is less romanticism, and more egalitarian, hard work and partnership between men and women (see Rantalaiho 1994, p. 16–21).

It is also likely that the commonness of far reaching military expeditions and long distance trade have shaped the gender system, together with the lack of influence of the dominance model of the patriarchal society. For example, in the Old Norse society, women tended to take care of large properties and domestic projects, while their spouses were on their yearly Viking raids or Variag expeditions to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. This meant that the spouses of wealthy men developed notable skills in management, organization, leadership, trade, agriculture and accounting. These economic and military arrangements led to a gender system, in which women were permitted to control their own property,

and to marry or divorce a man whenever they wished (Roesdahl 1993, p. 73–76). In the Old Norse sagas, women were presented as superior or almost divinely wise and righteous characters, while men were presented as very reckless, fearless and brave to the point of pitiful stupidity.[46]

5.3.2 Functional selection
   in the industrial and post industrial societies

According to Holter and Warshack, industrialization and industrial capitalism have developed a gender system in which masculinity is the symbol of paid work, while femininity is the symbol of childcare, domesticity, freedom from paid work, and consumption (see chapter 3.3). This development can be partially explained by functional selection, since industrialization broke down the older agrarian families, and replaced them with the nuclear family, in which either parent had to stay home, taking care of the children while the other parent participated to industrial work. Due to the ability of women to breastfeed infants, the party staying home was almost always the mother. The evolution of the male breadwinner – female housewife model however, was not this simple, as the industrial employers continued persuading women onto the labor market, wishing for employees who could be paid small wages due to the hypothesis that their husbands would take the main responsibility of breadwinning. In countries such as Finland, where industrialization appeared very late, and the political liberation of women occurred very early, the gender system did not have time to adapt to the global industrial model of male breadwinners and female housewives, although the upper-class women and men tried to also import this model to Finland (see Rantalaiho 1994).

The validity of the male breadwinner model was also questioned during World War II, as women had to take care of industrial and agrarian tasks that had previously been performed by men, during peacetime. This

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46 It is also worth reading the Ynglinga saga, according to which women were considered as "daughters of Freya and mistresses of their own property" (Strorolfson 1200-1300, see http://omacl.org/Heimskringla/ynglinga.html). In total, the saga describes the women of the Old Norse society as wise and strongly determined, while giving a somewhat stupid and irresponsible image to the Norse kings.

enlarged the female role, and encouraged more and more women to enter the labor market after the war. Yet, the discourses of military threat can also be used for defending the traditional gender role, which seems to have occurred in the USA during the war against terrorism. In these discourses, men are given the subject position of the brave defenders of women, while women are perceived as the fragile gender which requires male protection. This strengthening of the traditional gender roles, due to the changes in terrorism, however, is somewhat surprising as the evolution of terrorism and unconventional warfare has led to a situation in which a relatively high percentage of suicide bombers and guerilla fighters are female. Another example of the sensitiveness of the gender system to discursive processes is the connection of the larger average size of men to the aggressivity or non-aggressivity of men against women. The larger size of men may push the social construction of the gender system towards discourses and social practices of men as the protector of women, or men as the aggressive dominators of their wives and girlfriends. These causal connections from men's larger size to the actual shaping of the gender system are almost completely socially constructed and have very little determinism. However, it is possible to predict that the discourses of men as the protectors and/or aggressors of women will be found among most human cultures, although neither of them may be in a particularly influential position.

In the modern society, a lot of the evolution of the gender system appears at the level of companies and other organizations. In this context, the most significant process that shapes the gender system is the ***financial pressure***. This pressure causes organizations to discriminate against female employees in recruitment and in the setting of salaries, if the legislation of the society imposes heavy costs on the employers of those employees, who take maternity or parental leave. For example, in Finland, the high cost of long parental leaves, together with the fact that women use most of the parental leaves, has led to the tendency of companies to avoid the hiring of women of fertile age – or to practices that reduce the costs of pregnancy to the employer. Women's salaries are also lower than men's salaries, partly due to the risks of pregnancy to the employer. The effects of functional selection in this context can be illustrated by the effects of the legislative changes in Iceland, where a similar system as in Finland was replaced by a system in which the parents of the child receive 3 +

3 + 3 months of parental leave: The first 3 + 3 months are ear marked for the mother and father of the child separately, in such a fashion that those families, in which the father does not use this chance for parental leave, loose this 3 months entirely. The last 3 months are available for the mother or the father of the child, based on the choice of the parents. These legislative changes have caused financial and functional pressure towards Icelandic employees and employers, in such a fashion that about 90% of the Icelandic men spend at least 3 months on parental leave. As an indirect effect, the relative risks of female recruits compared to male recruits have dramatically been reduced, since men also take parental leaves. As a consequence, the discrimination of women of fertile age has been reduced on the labor market.

Although the financial pressures may cause discrimination against female employees, economic selection and cognitive selection together, can also reduce the discrimination against women. For example, modern technology no longer requires that women concentrate on domestic tasks. Instead, women can participate in paid labor equally as well as men, since very few professions on the labor market require (male) physical strength any longer. Although the entry of women onto the labor market requires that economic resources are reserved for daycare services for children, the total effect of women's participation on the labor market will benefit the economy, since employees will be pointed towards different tasks based on their skills and gifts, and not based on their gender. This means that those societies, in which women are artificially prevented from participating in paid labor, are economically less efficient than the more egalitarian societies. This will gradually lead to financial pressure towards the change of the more conservative societies.[47] Similar financial pressure is also imposed on business enterprises, which head for the optimization of their economic efficiency and profitability: Empirical studies have pointed out that companies managed by women, tend to be more profitable than others, and the proportion of women as board members is also directly related to good economic performance, at least until 50% of the board members are female.[48] These findings create financial and cognitive pressure towards the business enterprises to remove all the

47 This conclusion does not apply, if these conservative societies have an endless supply of such natural resources, which make this financial pressure insignificant.

48 See Eisler 2005 and Pateman 1989 for a more general perspective to the issue.

obstacles of women's advancement to top management. These examples are important, as they refute the theories of some left wing ecofeminists and radical feminists, who claim that the market economy systematically leads to solutions that discriminate against women.[49]

5.4 The Feminine and Masculine Bias as Causes of Gender Discrimination

5.4.1 Introduction

The cognitive, linguistic, communicational, emotional and social psychological biases described in chapter 4.4.2 are all gendered, as people perceive the world and interpret cultural memes through their conceptual network and, through their cumulative personal experiences. These conceptual networks and personal experiences are gendered, since in almost all societies there is some segregation of tasks between men and women, and some differences in the gender roles. This means that adults tend to spend most of their time in the sphere of their own gender, while children are actively prepared by parents and teachers for the role of their own gender. People also tend to communicate mostly with the members of their own gender. These processes mean that girls and boys begin to construct a gendered conceptual network, and a gendered set of experiences and memories from the very moment they are born. This is likely to lead to the different stereotypic concepts that people develop internally, and it also makes the interpretations of external concepts heavily gendered.[50]

5.4.2 The gendering of the cognitive and linguistic biases

In some cultures, the entire apparatus of the language may contain a gender bias, in such a fashion that presents masculinity and femininity in a

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49 Left wing ecofeminism may be found, for example, in the writings of Vaughan (2007).

50 The difference between *internal* and *external* concepts and languages has been described in chapter 4.4.2.

hierarchal fashion, proposing that either gender is more valuable than the other. For example, in the French language, the term "ils" (masculine for "they") is used to refer to a group of 50 women and one infant male child, suggesting that one male character is more significant and important than 50 women (see Ortner 1974, 69, 71–72 and Cixous 1987, p. 63–65). Even in these cultures, however, the horizontal segregation of the society into the spheres of femininity and masculinity is likely to create biased memes, which also discriminate against the gender which has gained a superior position in the vertical segregation.

For example, by communicating mainly with other women and by reading women's magazines and paperback books, women tend to develop a femininely biased (heteronormative) perception of love, which exaggerates some aspects of love *such as romanticism, tenderness, sweet words, having a crush* and *caring for*, and forgets some aspects that are important for men. Men, on the other hand, may develop a masculinely biased (heteronormative) perception of love, which may exaggerate such aspects of love such as *attraction to the beauty of one's partner, strong sexual desire* and the wish to *provide safety and economic stability* to the ones that are loved. As love and emotions, in industrial societies, tend to be perceived as something that belongs to the sphere of femininity, women are likely to receive a discursive advantage in defining the content of love. This means that the femininely biased definition of (proper) love may reach a hegemonic status. According to Francesca Cancun, this is precisely what has happened in the USA. According to her, the hegemonic status of the femininely biased definition has also led to the perception of men as "less loving" than women (see Cancun 1987). This is a belief that tends to locate love even more firmly in the sphere of femininity than before. The strong discursive position of women in the field of love is strengthened by the discourses that present women as the superiorly moral gender. With this moral power, women may simply claim that people whose emotions and actions do not meet the requirements of the proper (femininely biased) definition of love are on a morally lower level. This normative judgment is likely to amplify the perception of men as less loving and morally inferior to women.

In a similar fashion, sex may be defined in a masculinely biased and heteronormative manner, emphasizing *penetration and ejaculation* as

essential parts of heterosexual intercourse. A femininely biased definition of heterosexual intercourse could describe (proper) sex as *a process, in which the woman is aroused by the verbal stimuli and acts of foreplay by the man, who then performs an intercourse, which satisfies the woman but does not necessarily end in ejaculation*. If the masculinely biased perception of sex gains a hegemonic status, this may lead to the uncomfortable status of women in the context of sexual intercourse. It may also lead to a common perception of women as "less sexual" than men. This process seems to have taken place in Great Britain, during the Victorian era. This heteronormative and masculinely biased definition of sex, however, seems to have lost its hegemonic status at the end of the 20th century. This was caused by the sexual liberation of women that occurred in the 1970s and by the recognition and rehabilitation of homosexual sexualities that took place at the end of the 20th century. The definitions of proper sex are discursively constructed, and therefore, may change from one extreme to the other. For example, it is possible that the femininely biased perception of (proper) sex gains a hegemonic status in the modernizing welfare states. This shift of definition may then cause a bad discursive and moral status for men in the context of sex, and lead to a situation in which men become less interested in sex than women, on the average (see Heusala 2005a and b).

A third example of the biasing of concepts, relates to the spontaneous and stereotypic definitions of concepts such as *childcare* and *domestic work*. [51] According to the model presented in chapter 4.4, and due to people's tendency to forget things that do not directly relate to themselves, men and women are likely to create stereotypic concepts of childcare and domestic work in such a fashion that they emphasize those tasks that they have personally done, while failing to recognize some of the tasks performed by their partner. In a heterosexual couple, women may create a long list of domestic tasks that will include some typical "feminine" tasks, while failing to recognize some "male" chores, which do not directly relate to women. In a similar fashion, men are likely to emphasize some "male" chores, while failing to recognize some of the female ones. This is shown in Table 9, which contains an example of the biasing of the concepts of domestic work and childcare. The examples are based on observations in the Finnish society.

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51 Stereotypic concepts, see chapter Virhe. Viitteen lähdettä ei löytynyt.

	Included mainly in the femininely biased conceptualization	Chores that appear in male and female conceptualizations	Included mainly in the masculinely biased conceptualization
Domestic work	The making and maintenance of textiles, washing the toilets, dusting, interior decoration (including the shopping of the items and textiles), taking care of flowers inside and outside the house.	Childcare, cooking, laundry, vacuum cleaning, shopping for food and other necessities, notable chores concerning construction and maintenance at home, notable chores relating to the lawn and garden.	The choice, purchase, deployment and maintenance of electronic equipment, motors, software and vehicles. Changing the lamps, monitoring the condition of the building and equipment, buying fertilizers and equipment for the garden.
Childcare	Textile work and shopping for the child, worrying about the health and safety of the child, taking the child to routine examinations, constantly keeping an eye on the child, teaching manners to children under 2 years old, teaching "feminine" skills to children.	Domestic chores for the child (see above), Taking care of the hygiene of the child, providing love and tenderness to the child, teaching the basic skills of life to the child, transportation of the child to necessary events.	Playing with the child, taking children to the hospital or nurse in case of illness or accidents, helping older children with schoolwork (E.g. physics and math), teaching logical games (E.g. chess), helping children with boisterous hobbies by providing transportation (E.g. hockey).

Table 9. An Example of Unintentional Gender Bias in the Concepts of Childcare and Domestic Work.

This biasing of the concepts of childcare and domestic work has been recognized by Lorna McKee, according to whom men tend to do a lot of childcare chores which are not recognized as childcare by many women, including the female respondents of surveys, and the female researchers of the distribution of childcare and domestic work (McKee 1982). As the domestic work and childcare tend to belong to the sphere of femininity, at least in industrial societies, women tend to have a discursive advantage in setting the norms and defining the concepts. This means that the femininely biased perception of childcare and domestic work has a good chance of reaching a hegemonic status in the discourses concerning childcare, domestic work, and their fair distribution between men and women.

Gendered biases may be also caused by the inductive bias of men and women. Women, for example, who have lived in a relationship with a violent, sexually overactive, or cheating husband, may conclude that all men are violent, sex crazed and sexually unfaithful – or that all men are animals. In a similar fashion, men who happen to know a couple of women who cheat on their husbands, or are bad at parking cars, may conclude that all women cheat and are bad at parking. These hasty generalizations are likely to be strengthened by men's and women's social networks, which spread and filter out information in a fashion that tends to strengthen existing generalizations and stereotypes. This process has also connections to the social psychological biases that occur in the groups of men and women.

5.4.3 The emotional and social psychological gender bias

The following analysis of emotional and social psychological gender bias is based on the theory of emotional and social psychological biases (see 4.4.3). Examples of memes that can be easily biased due to emotional and social psychological bias include concepts, stereotypes, attitudes, values and priorities.

The emergence of biased concepts due to emotional and social psychological biases may be illustrated by an example concerning the distribution of domestic work between men and women. Due to the cognitive limits of people, and due to the existence of the selfish core within our personalities, we are likely to develop a stereotypic concept of domestic work, in such a fashion that exaggerates our own efforts while some task done by others are likely to be forgotten, or labeled as mere "hobbies", instead of real domestic work. Women, for example, may perceive typical male activities with motors, cars, electronic equipment and software as "mere hobbies", while perceiving their own activities such as knitting, sewing and baking as real domestic work (see Table 9). This biasing of concepts is likely to be amplified by the Id or child, which says that "I am tired" and "I have done my share!" (see 4.4.3). Even the entire idea and measurement scheme of fairness is likely to be biased by the selfish core of human personality. For example, in the context of domestic work, men and women are likely to use such definitions of fairness that

prove that they have not been treated fairly, and that they are actually the unselfish and self sacrificing party. Women, for example, may emphasize fairness as a situation in which domestic work (under their own definition) has been divided equally in the couple, while men may perceive fairness as an equal division of free time, counting their own hobbies, not as free time, but as some kind of useful work. The female emphasis on domestic work is supported by the fact that women tend to do more domestic work according to statistics. Men, on the other hand, are likely to see the amount of free time as more significant, as they tend to have less free time than women, according to statistics (see chapter 6.3.5).

In strongly segregated groups of men and women, the biased concepts may lead to very biased stereotypes and attitudes, which present the opposite gender in a somewhat negative light, while the virtues of one's own gender are exaggerated to some point. Due to the segregation of the society, men and women tend to spend most of their time with members of their own gender. This means, that they also develop more friendships with the members of their own gender. This process is strengthened by the separate male and female roles, which also direct the hobbies and interests of men and women in such a fashion that men engage themselves with other men in "masculine" hobbies, while women are more likely to get to know women in "feminine" hobbies. As a consequence, men tend to develop networks of friends and acquaintances that consist mostly of men, while the friends and acquaintances of women tend to be mostly female. This is likely to strengthen gender bias and lead to the emergence of the different subcultures for men and women. The subculture of men is likely to utilize masculinely biased concepts for constructing a discourse of the way things are, and how they should be. This discourse is likely to contain beliefs, values and attitudes that emphasize the superiority of men in the tasks that belong in the sphere of masculinity (see Connell 2003, p. 9). Men, for example, may claim to have superior skills in the area of mathematics, logic and technology. At the same time, they may point out the deficiencies of women, especially within the sphere of masculinity. This is likely to appear, for example, in the form of jokes about the blondes who have difficulty in changing a lamp, and in the form of stories of the troubles of women when parking a car. These behaviors that exaggerate the virtues of one's own gender and point out the deficiencies of the opposite gender are amplified by the social

psychological need of men and women to identify with a group – which often seems to be a group of their own gender. This means that men and women try to strengthen their identity as members of their own group by slightly putting down members of other groups (the other gender). This is likely to lead towards slightly male chauvinist memes within men's culture, and slightly female chauvinist memes within women's culture. An example of a slightly chauvinist and femininely biased memeplex, appears in the tendency of social workers (who are mostly female) to identify with their female customers in a manner that promotes a femininely biased stereotype of men as "big children" (Forsberg 1995, p. 143–144). Social workers may also develop a culture of laughing at men's "pathetic" attempts to perform childcare tasks (see Forsberg 1995, p. 143–144). This kind of unintentional gender bias may even appear in those social service organizations, which have posed the deconstruction of traditional gender roles as an official policy of the organization.

The chauvinistic tendencies of men and women are amplified in the groups of bachelor men and women, who tend to exaggerate the deficiencies of the opposite gender in order to explain their own status as bachelors, and in order to keep the former bachelors loyal to the bachelors' values, even after they have started cohabiting with a female partner. Batchelor men, for example, may pressure married men to keep up the discourses that devalue women and present them as one night trophies and as nothing but "good fucks".[52] They may also pressure the married men to show their daring on bachelor nights at strip tease clubs, or during their bachelor trips to holiday resorts that provide a plenitude of services from the employees of the sex industry. In a similar fashion, the bachelor women, in modernizing welfare states, may promote discourses that devaluate men and present them as mere one night trophies and "good fucks". The devaluing of men may appear in discourses that present men as no good for anything else except for sexual intercourse, and as a fair pray for those women who want to squeeze out presents, paid dates and economic benefits.[53] The gender bias in women's and men's subcultures is also affected by divorced and disappointed men and women, who are

52 Men's groups that develop a coherent and somewhat anti-feminine and anti-female culture are referred to as *homosocial* groups of men (see Jokinen 2003).

53 This is the role and subject position that programs like "New York Singles" seem to be proposing for men.

likely to tell exaggerated stories of their traumatic experiences in bad relationships. These stories are likely to give a very subjective and biased picture of the opposite gender, since all the problems of the relationship tend to be projected onto the ex-partner and onto the opposite gender.

A special form of the emotional and social psychological bias is made of the biased priorities: Men and women in general, tend to perceive the problems and needs of their own gender as more pressing than the needs and problems of the opposite gender. This is partly caused by the cognitive bias, as the problems and needs of the opposite gender are not perceived, recognized and memorized as well as the problems and needs of one's own gender. However, a part of this bias is also made of the selfish core of the human personality, which claims that "I deserve more" and "I did not get enough". Although this social psychological bias, with the setting of priorities, may be connected to the emotional and psychological features of men and women, it seems possible that this bias can be removed or even reversed by social conditioning and discursive practices: Women, in some cultures and contexts, may be conditioned to believe that men's interests are more important than women's, while men in some cultures and contexts may be conditioned to believe that women's comfort and lives are much more important than men's comfort and lives (see chapter 7.4.5).

5.4.4 Masculine and feminine biases as shapers of facts

Men's and women's groups and networks tend to become effective filters of information, as all groups tend to develop paradigms, cultures and discourses that resist information that does not fit the paradigm, culture or discourse. Women, for example, may filter out stories, writings and articles, which would challenge the dominant stereotypes of men and women that women have. On the other hand, if some facts are especially interesting or attractive, they can be spread them out very rapidly. Men's and women's groups and networks may also mutate facts, and then spread the mutated versions, which have become even more attractive than the original version of the memes. These mutations often occur unintentionally, as figures such as 52% may be represented as a "majority", which may then be mismemorized as a "vast majority". For example, a

group of women who have some shared experiences of men as sex crazed, may catch a piece of urban folklore in the form of a meme that claims that men think of sex "30% of their time". This statistical figure may then be mutated to 50%, 60% or even to 90%, without any reference to any empirical studies or other scientific sources.

Simplifications may also appear in a gendered fashion. Men and women, for example, may memorize statistics that report some positive average figures of their own gender, and some negative average figures of the opposite gender. In these cases, it is likely that the disclaimers that relate to the quality of the sample or to the strong deviation of the data are filtered out in a fashion that produces simplified overgeneralizations of the results of the study. Women, for example, may favor studies which suggest that men on average have a thinner corpus callosum in their brain, and are therefore less capable of performing several tasks at a time than women. This kind of gendered biases may appear in a relatively mild form in the thinking of individual men and women, but in social networks of men and women the gender bias is substantially amplified: The sphere of masculinity tends to produce masculinely biased facts, while the sphere of femininity is likely to develop femininely biased facts.

5.4.5 Examples of the discriminative effects of the masculine and feminine biases

After the memes of men's and women's groups and networks have reached a high degree of gender bias, these mental and cultural memes are likely to cause direct and indirect gender discrimination. The direct discrimination occurs when masculinely or femininely biased priorities, values, concepts, stereotypes, beliefs and facts are applied in such a fashion that they produce masculinely or femininely biased decisions and actions that put the opposite gender in a disadvantaged status. Research shows that the under represented gender, in a social setting, will be easily stereotyped as "the other", and face gender discrimination (Kanter 1977, see Holter 2005, p. 25). Although this direct discrimination may sometimes be intentional, in most cases it seems to be based purely on the unintentional gender bias that occurs in concepts, stereotypes and beliefs.

For example, a group of female social workers may deduce that women are better suited as custodians of children, since they are 'more loving', 'have more experience in domestic work', and 'are far more experienced in childcare' than men. As a conclusion, female social workers may tend to recommend custody to the mother, although the father, in objective terms, would be an equally suitable custodian for the child (Antikainen 2004, p. 3).

Indirect gender discrimination seems to be even more clearly unintentional. It is based on the process in which the biased memes of people, couples and groups are manifested into cultural memes such as routines, practices and policies. Some of these cultural memes may be very discriminative in their nature, although they seem neutral on the surface level. For example, a group dominated by men may decide that the leader of the group should be somebody who has military training. Although this argument may sound rational and fair on the surface level, it may still put the female members of the group at a disadvantaged position, as few women have military experience. In a similar fashion, a group of social workers or psychologists may claim that children, in divorce situations, should be given to the parent which has spent the most time with the children.[54] Although this policy seems fair on the surface level, it may still be discriminative against men, as childcare tasks tend to be segregated in such a fashion that women spend more time with children when they are under 3 years old, while men may spend an equal or even larger amount of time with them when the children are over 7 years old (see McKee 1982, p. 120–138). This means that such a policy, especially when applied to children under 3 years old, may be indirectly discriminative against men.

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54 According to Kurki-Suonio, this is called the presumption principle. According to this principle, it is presumed that it is in the best interests of the child, to be given to the custody of the parent who has spent more time with the child, taking care of the daily needs of the child (see Kurki-Suonio 1999).

5.5 Feminism and Masculism as Causes of Gender Discrimination

5.5.1 The cooperation and competition between feminism and masculism

Men's and women's interest group organizations, networks and movements are likely to develop theoretical paradigms, which act as a basis for their work in the improvement of men's or women's status. These paradigms may be called *feminism* and *masculism*, although they appear in several different anti-sexist and sexist branches. Masculism and feminism, as all theoretical paradigms, are likely to contain a theoretical core, theoretical branches, selfish core; cooperative periphery and an aggressive periphery (see 4.6.3). The cooperative periphery of the paradigm consists of beliefs and interpretations, which are not fully coherent with the theoretical core and branches, but which offer the paradigms a chance to cooperate with rivaling paradigms and interest groups. The aggressive periphery consists of twisted concepts, logical fallacies, manipulated statistics, nasty stereotypes and rhetoric tricks that may be used in the war against the ideological enemies of the paradigm. This aggressive periphery is only loosely coupled to the theoretical core, as a connection that is too close could damage the reputation of the paradigm. Yet, the aggressive periphery and the "hang around" activists of the formal interest group organization may have a substantial effect on the spreading of biased statistics, rhetoric fallacies, nasty stereotypes and pieces of urban folklore that benefit the interest group, or harm its enemies.

Although the theoretical cores of masculism and feminism are likely to contain the idea of the importance of gender equality, this meme is challenged by the selfish cores of the paradigms: Masculists tend to perceive men as somehow superior and yet discriminated due to their gender, while feminists tend to perceive women as slightly superior and yet discriminated. Therefore, feminists tend to prioritize the advancement of women's status over the advancement of equality, and masculists tend to prioritize the advancement of men's interests. This is likely to lead to an ideological war between masculists and feminists, or more widely, between men and women. However, coalition discourses may also emerge.
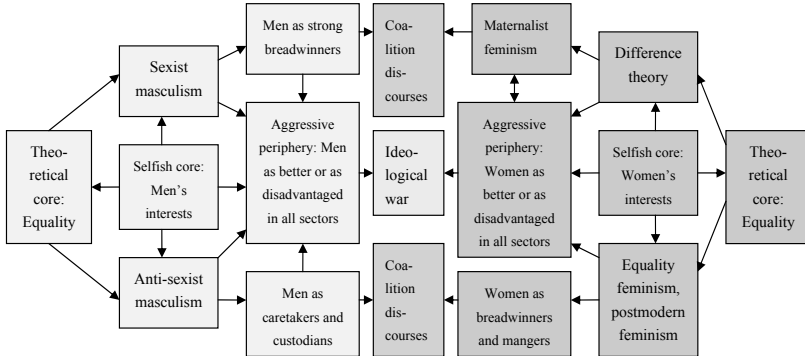
Figure 18. The Theoretical Paradigms of Men's and Women's Interest Group
Organizations.

For example, the male sexist perception of men as natural breadwinners is likely to align well with the maternalist memeplex, which pictures women as the ideal care takers of children. In a similar fashion, the antisexist groups of men, like the father's right organizations, have a chance of forming a coalition discourse with the equality feminists, who perceive it as completely natural if women act as breadwinners and men take the role of caretakers and custodians of children. In recent decades, the relationship of masculism and feminism seems to have changed in such a fashion that the coalition discourses of antisexist masculists and equality feminists have weakened, or disappeared altogether. The more dominant discourses, at the beginning of the 21st century, are discourses of gender war and the coalition discourses between the maternalist difference feminists, and conservative men. These trends are briefly analyzed in chapters 5.5.2–5.5.5, and then re-examined from a more empirical perspective in chapter 7.

5.5.2 Sexist masculism and male chauvinism as causes of the bad status of women

The earliest forms of sexist masculism and male chauvinism occurred in the interest group ideologies of male priests, who wanted to advance their

power in the competition against female priestesses. This was followed by the interest group activities of the free men of the ancient cities, who wanted to secure their monopoly on political decision making. In modern times, sexist masculism and male chauvinism still appear as central beliefs of some religious groups, and in the writings of some masculists who openly promote patriarchy. These forms of sexist masculism are described in more detail below.

Earlier religious and political trends

The ancient priests of Egypt and the Near East seem to have engaged into an active quest for power around 2000 BCE, against the female priests and female gods. Before that time, the prehistoric tribes and cultures tended to promote gender equity, and to give a divine status to women, who were perceived as symbols of fertility and the future of the tribe (Eisler 1988). Female goddesses were commonly worshipped, and female priestesses were at least as common as male priests. The good status of women as priestesses was attacked by the male priests, who began to mutate and twist the old religious stories and symbols to suit their own interests, and the common interest of men compared to women (Eisler 1988). For example, the original version of Genesis presented men and women as equal, and as created by the God at the same time. This version was gradually replaced by a version, which suggested that God was not satisfied with the assertive and equal woman that he had created and therefore replaced the first version of a woman (Lilith) with a more submissive one (Eve). The manipulation of the genesis then continued in such a fashion that the ancient meaning of the snake, as a symbol of wisdom, was changed to the symbol of *seduction and evil knowledge*. This changed the meaning of the genesis, as the pictures of a snake and a woman were no longer interpreted as symbols of the wisdom of women. Instead, they were interpreted as representations of an evil snake that seduces the morally weak woman to commit sin. This mutated version of the genesis took away the wisdom of women by changing the meaning of the snake, and replacing it with the idea of women's moral guilt for the troubles and sufferings of the mankind. (Eisler 1988). This gradual mutation of the

genesis, which was caused by the intentional or unintentional activities of the male priests, led to the substantial weakening of the status of women. This patriarchal hierarchy that positioned women below men was even strengthened by the interest group activities of the free men of the ancient Greece cities, who had the common interest of limiting the entrance of slaves and women to the area of political decision making. At that time, the ancient culture developed the essentialist idea of women as somewhat volatile and irrational, and prone towards hysteria, which was seen as a direct cause of the female womb.[55]

According to Eisler, these processes of patriarchalization were threatened by the early interpretations of Christianity, which gave women the right to participate actively in religious discussions and meetings, and which perceived men and women as more equal than the other religions of the area. This early equalization in Christianity, however, was rooted away as heresy during the foundation of the Catholic Church, which became one of the most patriarchal organizations in the history of mankind, and which used considerable effort for the institutionalization of a patriarchal ideology in all Catholic countries (Eisler 1988). The ideology of the Catholic Church began with the raising of the Holy Mary into the position of a role model for all women. She was a young and pure maiden, whose only task in life was to give birth to a man. This idea of the purity of women, however, was later on obscured by the scholastics, which developed an ideology of women as the symbol of flesh and nature, while men were considered as symbols of rationality and spirit. This memeplex led to the conclusion that women are subordinated to men, in the same manner as flesh is subordinated to spirit (Augustine, "Civitate Dei").[56] This conclusion also led to the stereotypization of women, as *the more physical and sensual gender* and the morally inferior gender, while men were stereotyped to have a lower sexual drive and a higher spiritual and moral quality.

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55 Aristotelian essentialism (see Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001, p. 17–22), see also Eisler 1988. The term hysteria originates from the Greek word "uterus", which means the womb (Kammer 2002, p. 55)

56 Patriarch Augustine, "Civitate Dei" (see Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001, p. 158)
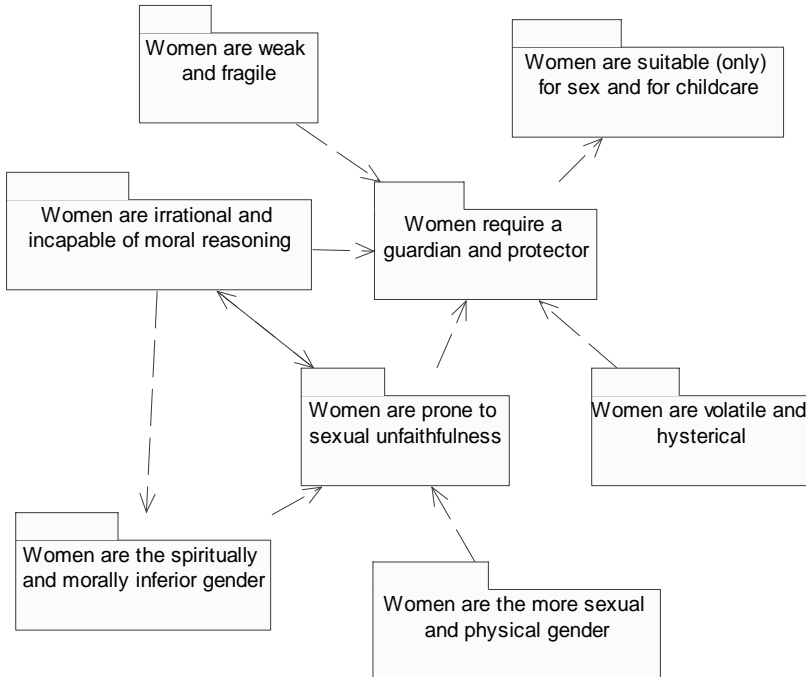
Figure 19. The Misogynous Logic of the Early Manifestations of Male Chauvinism.

The ancient religions, ancient Greek essentialism, early Catholic Church, and the scholastics of the medieval times, together created a memeplex that pictures women as creatures who definitely need a guardian and protector, and who are inferior to men in everything else other than childcare and some limited domestic tasks (Figure 19). Once this memeplex began to spread to new countries and cultures, it rapidly eroded the good status of women, even from those cultures where the women had a traditionally good status, and a chance to control their own property. For example, the history of the Nordic countries, between the years 1200 and 1600, seems to be characterized first by the strong raise in the influence of the church of the society, and then by the systematic weakening of the legal status of women (see Roesdahl 1993 and Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001).

The modern representations of male sexism

In the modern society, the strongest groups which dare to be openly male chauvinist are the religious groups, which claim that God has given men and women different roles in the human life. This argumentation is then used for discouraging women from paid work outside the home, and for preventing women from entering religious ceremonies in the role of a priest. The religious versions of sexism and male chauvinism also tend to moralize against women, who have children without being married to a man. These forms of religious moralism support the patriarchal ideology and the memeplex of male chauvinism, by assuming that women need a male breadwinner, protector, and guardian. In the modern welfare states, this religious belief system is rapidly loosing its popularity. However, in the more religious countries such as the USA, it is still a viable idea within the sexist men's movement. For example, according to Cheney (1999, chapter 2) and Amneus (1990), the present western societies are irresponsible matriarchies as the state takes care of the financial needs of the unmarried women who have children. According to their ideology, such support to unmarried mothers promotes irresponsible female behaviors, and therefore a far better system would be the traditional patriarchy in which children are systematically considered as property of the father. Due to the openly patriarchal and misogynous nature of the conservative and religious sexists, they do not seem to have much support among the political elites of the USA.

A more influential version of modern masculinely biased sexism seems to appear in the Mythopoetic movement (e.g. Bly 1990) and in the promotion of clearly separated gender roles (e.g. Gray 1995 and Makow 2000). These authors emphasize the essential gender differences, and encourage men and women to heal themselves mentally through the rediscovery of the authentic and essential forms of masculinity and femininity. These authors wish to present men as brave, assertive and strong "cavemen" and women as the soft and somewhat irrational "cave women", who have difficulty coping with the challenges of stressful paid work, and who need to devote more time to beauty care, relaxing baths and interior decoration (see Gray 1995). This sexist branch of masculism gains support from the general ideas and traditions of best seller sexism, which presents men and women as essentially different from each other

(e.g. Pease & Pease 1999). Although some forms of the modern male sexism are very near to the idea of gender equity and although they contain relatively few examples of explicit male chauvinism, they are still likely to cause structural discrimination against women by promoting the strong separation of the masculine and feminine, and by proposing the segregation of human tasks and lifestyles into feminine and masculine ones. They may also act as a breeding ground for the more chauvinistic discourses and stereotypes, which present women as the weaker casket which is only suited for childcare and domestic tasks – and not for the paid work on the labor market. This means that modern male sexism may push women very strongly towards the role of a housewife, and it may also cause direct discrimination against women by sexist men, who consider women as inferior in the tasks of the labor market.

5.5.3 Sexist branches of feminism as a cause of the bad status of men

The sexist branch of feminism seems to have its roots in the era of renaissance, when Lucretia Marinella claimed that women are not only equal to men morally and intellectually, but excel them in many respects (Marinella 1600, p. 2–3). This tradition was continued by the early 20th century feminists such as Jane Addams and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who claimed that women are superior to men in many ways due to their caring, compassionate and non-violent nature.[57] This interpretation of feminism was challenged by the *equality feminists* such as de Beauvoir (1949) and Bem (1974), who objected to the glorification of maternity and women's special caring abilities as something essentially feminine in their nature. This branch of equality feminism also had sympathy for men, who were treated badly by the maternalist discourses in the context of childcare, divorce and custody. This led to a short period of cooperation between masculists and feminists in the 1960s and 1970s.

The tradition of equality feminism was challenged in the 1980s by the feminist *difference theory*, which claimed that equality should not be used as a way for pushing women into the role and norm of men. For example,

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57 See Rizer 2006

the difference theorists argued that it is not true equality and liberation for women, if they are forced to work on the labor market and adopt masculine values and norms in order to advance their careers (Kuusipalo 2002, p. 212–4). They suggested that women should, instead, be valued as they are, different from men. This difference was originally thought to be socially constructed, in a very similar fashion as was presented in chapter 5.4. These ideas, however, were soon simplified and mutated into the meme of the *reverse strategy*, which claims that women are actually better than men in almost all human tasks and skills (see Kuusipalo 2002, p. 220). The strongest manifestations of the reverse strategy are found within cultural feminism and ecofeminism, which tend to be ideologies promoted by the less academic and less theoretical feminists, meaning that they belong to the theoretical periphery of feminism. *Cultural feminism* is a relatively essentialist memeplex that emphasizes the differences of men and women, and the superiority of women, women's cultures and femininity over men, men's cultures and masculinity (see Alcoff 1988; Kuusipalo 2002, p. 212–4; and Jallinoja 2004). It aligns with the essentialist interpretation of *cultural ecofeminism*, which perceives women as "closer to nature", "privileged in understanding nature" and "more empathetic than men", while men are considered to be the gender that is engaged in the patriarchal and masculine "raping of the Mother Earth".[58]

This memetic degeneration of the difference theory to somewhat essentialist generalizations of the superiority of women compared to men has been amplified by the feminist standpoint epistemology, which claims that women's feelings and intuition are a better source of information and knowledge than the traditional quantitative studies performed within the "male science". This epistemology led to the tendency of the scholars of women's studies to target their interviews and surveys to women only (see McKee 1982). This created a tradition, in which the feminine bias of the female target group was taken as a reliable source of information, while men's opinions and experiences were given no value (see Sommers 1994). This bias against men seems to have led to several scientifically shaky and sexist generalizations of men and women. These generalizations present men as selfish, violent, irresponsible, unloving and lazy (in the context of domestic work), while building the stereotype of women as

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58 Spretnak's (1989: 129), Mies & Shiva 1993, p. 20; and Collard & Contrucci 1988 (see Twine 2001, p. 2). See also Vaughan 2007.

unselfish, peaceful, responsible, loving and hard working.[59] They also led to the belief that women are the (only) discriminated gender and to the general hatred against men by feminists, and in the media (see Thomas 1993, Kammer 1993 and 2002, Sommers 1994 and 2001, Schenck & Everingham 1995, Nathanson & Young 2001, and Rubar 2005). These sexist stereotypes of men and women, and the general misandry against men, may also lead to the discrimination of men in courts, since the judges are not willing to believe that the female suspects of violence or other crimes could have possibly done anything bad, while the male suspects of violence and other crimes are treated harshly by the judges (see chapter 7.2.7).

The replacement of equality feminism by difference theory, standpoint epistemology and cultural feminism at the 1980s, led the women's movement to a clash against the father's rights movement. This appeared first in the USA, where the father's rights movement had organized itself and managed to improve men's status in the context of childcare and custody (see Kurki-Suonio 1999). The discourses of cultural feminism, maternalism and ecofeminism challenged the father's movement by emphasizing the fundamental superiority of women in the field of childcare. Women were pictured as the gender with a higher capacity for caring, loving, nurturing and sensing other people's needs.[60] This generalization was then supported by the theories that emphasized men's tendencies towards violence or towards sexually irresponsible behaviors such as rape and incest (see chapter 7.4). The final weapon against men, in the context of divorce, was given in the form of the *feminist theory of social work*, which pressures social workers to identify with their female customers, and which suggests that the interests of women and children are synonymous (see 7.5.5.4). This theory leads to the conclusion that the interests of the child may be found out by interviewing the mother. Together, these ideas inspired by the difference theory, have led to the weakening of the status of men in the context of divorce, custody disputes and criminal court, although the original ideas of the equality feminists might have had the opposite effect to the status of men.

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59 These exaggerated stereotypes are described in more detail in chapter 7.2.2 and 7.4.

60 The sexist, maternalist and patriarchal tendency of feminists to glorify women's capacity for motherhood has been pointed out by Snitow 1992 (see Nätkin 1995, p. 68)

The general hatred against men in the media, together with the perception of women as the discriminated gender, also tends to lead to the emergence and legitimization of dozens of double standards that favor women and harm men in various situations, contexts and fields of the human life. The degeneration of the feminist difference theory towards essentialist glorification of women, towards misandric criticism of men, and towards the discrimination of men, has been summarized in Figure 20. The misandric consequences of feminism are analyzed in more detail in chapter 8.
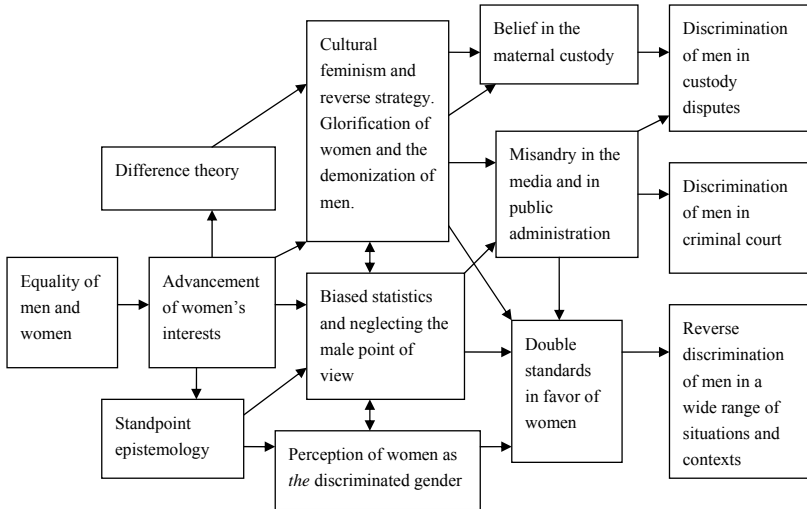
Figure 20. The Discriminative Effects of the Sexist Branches of Feminism.

5.5.4 Anti-sexist masculism
   as a cause of the bad status of women

The anti-sexist branch of masculism began in the 1960s in the form of the Californian fathers' rights movement, and in the form of the early European movements such as the Finnish "Movement nr 9", which worked together with feminists in the 1960s in order to advance gender equality (see Kurki-Suonio 1999). The detailed history of the antisexist men's movement of the USA may be found in Baumil (1985), but it

seems that an international history that would expand past 1985 has still to be written. Although the antisexist men's movement began in relatively good cooperation with feminists (E.g. Farrell 1974), the movement ended up on a collision course with feminism at first in the USA, where the sexist branch of feminism began to construct a somewhat misandric discourse, which was then used against men in criminal court, in the handling of custody disputes, and in the public administration, in the context of domestic violence (see 5.5.3).

The theoretical core of the antisexist male movement appears in the theoretical and ideological battle against the potential s*exist, misandric* and *unscientific* traces of feminism, women's studies and public equality policy. Straus, for example, performed a scientific counterattack against the biased feminist statistics, which presented men as the perpetrators of domestic violence and women as the innocent victims (Straus 1980). This criticism has then led to a body of literature on domestic violence, which is motivated either by masculism or by the wish to defend science against feminist propaganda (see Fiebert 2005). However, the results of this work have partially degenerated into biased statistics of men's right activists, which suggest that the phenomenon of domestic violence hurts men and women equally. In other words, feminist propaganda has been matched by masculist propaganda. This deterioration of scientific knowledge also appears in the context of the wage gap between men and women: According to the women's movement, the "women's Euro is 80 cents", which is presented as an implicit suggestion that women's salaries should be raised by at least 20%. The masculist counterattack against this figure claims that the women's Euro is at least 96 cents, when people doing precisely similar jobs are compared to each other (Korkeamäki & Kyyrä 2007, see also Farrell 2004). This is then easily taken by men's right activists as proof of the "fact" that women are not discriminated on the labor market. This may reduce the legitimacy of the equality policies, which aim at improving women's status on the labor market.

The masculist fight against sexism and misandry also appears in the criticism of *maternalism*, *reverse strategy* and *standpoint epistemology*, which create a discourse that harms men in the context of custody disputes and criminal court, and which may raise general misandric hatred against men

and masculinity in the society.[61] Although this criticism may be based on egalitarian thinking and on the wish to give men a better chance to cope with the matriarchal subsystem of the society, the criticism against maternalism and reverse strategy is easily detached from its context, and interpreted as general criticism against feminism. This may lead to the spreading of negative stereotypes of feminists, which is likely to weaken the chances of the feminists to work towards the improvement of the status of women, in those sectors of the society in which women are at a disadvantaged position.
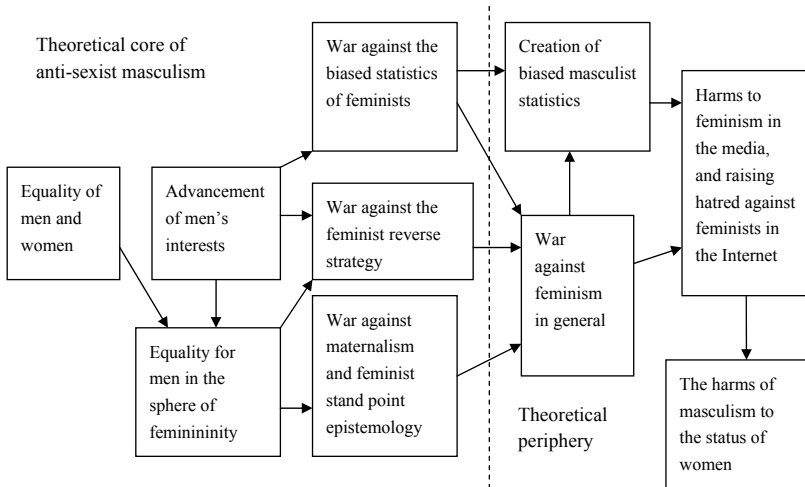
Figure 21. The Degeneration of the Antisexist Branch of Masculism into Antifeminism.

The antisexist masculists seem to have relatively little power to influence gender studies or the equality policy, due to the fact that they have not been able to make coalitions with feminists or with conservative men. Instead, these two groups seem to have formed an alliance, which stereotypes antisexist masculists as unmasculine men, who are still chauvinist oppressors of women (see chapter 7.6). Despite the relative weak political influence of antisexist masculism, this branch of masculism may harm women's interests

61 See Warshack 1992, Thomas 1993, Kammer 1993 and 2002, Sommers 1994 and 2001, Schenck & Everingham 1995, Nathanson & Young 2001, and Lehtonen 2007).

by fuelling the aggressive periphery of masculism, and by reducing the general popularity of feminism and feminist equality policy.

5.5.5 Anti-sexist forms of feminism as a cause of men's bad status

The anti-sexist branches of feminism are based on the tradition of liberal feminism, which began from the assumption that men and women are not fundamentally different from each other (see Kuusipalo 2002). The questioning of the gender differences led to the conclusion that men and women should have equal rights and obligations in the society. Equality feminism, in general, considers gender differences as relatively insignificant. Even if differences exist, they are socially constructed, and appear in the form of a two dimensional typology, in which both men and women may have "masculine" and "feminine" traits and skills (see Bem 1974). According to the ideal of androgyny, both men and women would learn a maximal amount of positive "masculine" and "feminine" traits and skills, while leaning away from some negative "masculine" and "feminine" traits that they have developed during their history as men or as women. This perception to gender contains the idea that men may also have some valuable skills that would be worth learning for women. These ideals of androgyny are commonly objected to by the difference theorists, who claim that women should not be pressured into doing anything masculine – and that masculinity does not actually contain anything worth learning for women (see 7.3.3.2).

The ideas of equality feminists have been elaborated by postmodern feminists. Postmodern feminism began as criticism against structuralism, which presents the social reality as the product of rather determinist dichotomies that exist within language. In its resistance against predetermined dichotomies, postmodern feminism is also critical of the feminist difference theory, which is based on the dichotomic division between men and women[62]. According to postmodern feminists, the difference theory is a conservative theory, which tends to strengthen the traditional dichotomic gender system instead of challenging it (see Butler 1990, hooks 1990 and Haraway 1991). The difference theory is also

62 See Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 260–262

considered normative by postmodern feminists, since it pressures women into the role of a caring, loving, modest and peaceful "mother", even when women advance to upper managerial positions or positions of political power in the society (see Kelles 2006). However, the branch of postmodern feminism is internally so diverse that it also contains feminists, who study the fundamental differences in men's and women's thinking and writing (e.g. Irigaray 1993). This means that postmodern feminism may also sometimes appear in a sexist form, making it vulnerable to the perception that women and femininity are superior to men and masculinity.

Even if the anti-sexist feminists such as equality feminists have a male friendly perspective to gender equality in general, they tend to carry some memeplexes that are problematic from the perspective of men, and which may lead to the discrimination of men. The most significant of these memeplexes is the theory of patriarchy[63], which has later on evolved into the theory of male domination (e.g. Bourdieu 2001). The problem with these theories is their inability to see the contextuality of the gender system, meaning the cumulative effects of different economic systems and historical developments that have occurred in different countries. The theories of patriarchy and male dominance also tend to be too determinist in a fashion that presents patriarchy and male dominance as evident, leading no room for resistance. These weaknesses in the theory of patriarchy have also been criticized by postmodern feminists (see Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 262). A third problem with the theories of male dominance is in their inability to see the coexistence of the spheres of masculinity and femininity, and the chances of the coexistence of patriarchy and matriarchy. This means that the theories of male dominance tend to see women as *the* discriminated gender and men as *the* dominant gender, failing to recognize that in the sphere of femininity, the roles of the dominator and the discriminated one may be reversed. Due to this perspective, the theories of patriarchy and male dominance completely fail in the analysis of the discrimination against men. This means that these theories easily become memetic filters, which prevent the scholars of gender studies from recognizing any discrimination against men, which is not caused by other men. This is very harmful for men, as the discrimination against men tends to be nullified even by the equality feminists and the postmodern feminists. For example,

63 see Abramovitz 1989, p. 25; Hartman 1997, p. 101–103, and Tong 1998, p. 49

Professor Kevät Nousiainen, in her response to my question concerning the discrimination of men, used several rhetoric tactics for proving that the discrimination of men is a relatively insignificant phenomenon (Nousiainen 2007).

Even if the branches of equality feminism and postmodern feminism differ from the difference theory on a theoretical level, they still tend to share the same selfish core of feminism, which is constructed around the prioritization of the advancement of women's status over any other goals. This means that even the postmodern feminists tend to see the advancement of men's status as a very low priority issue, although they might recognize that men might possibly be discriminated due to their gender in some contexts in some societies. In general, the idea of the discrimination of men is perceived as bizarre by feminists (Holter 2000, p. 76). As discursive power is a very important resource of power, the selfish core of feminism is likely to direct feminists towards fighting against all information that would reduce the image of women as *the* disadvantaged, discriminated and oppressed gender. As the idea of *the discrimination of men* tends to reduce the power of the idea of *women as the disadvantaged gender*, all data that points towards the discrimination of men is usually objected by feminists, including the postmodern feminists. Feminists, for example, may shut their eyes from the discrimination of men in the context of divorce, as they wish to remain loyal to the feminists, who are fighting against men in the context of feminist theory of social work or in the context of their own divorce and custody disputes. Feminists may also be tempted to claim that men are not discriminated in the context of custody, which will solve the conflict between the advancement of women's status and the advancement of equality. A third alternative is to hide the nature of custody disputes as conflicts between men and women: This will occur by claiming that custody disputes are actually not an issue of gender, but in the best interests of the children. A fourth alternative is to twist the idea of equality, in such a fashion that women's overpower in the context of custody is seen as a balancing factor that actually advances gender equality. For example, according to Ann Snitow, some feminists defend the superior role and power of women in childcare, as this is one of the only areas in the society, where women have a privileged position (Snitow 1992, see Warshack 1992, p. 22–23).

As a conclusion, even the antisexist branches of feminism tend to be somewhat biased against men, and have a low motivation towards the improvement of men's status in the sphere of femininity. This makes them highly similar to the antisexist masculists, who wish to advance the status of the opposite gender in theory, but who are reluctant to admit the weak status of women in the sphere of masculinity.

5.6 The Coexistence of Patriarchy and Matriarchy in Modern Welfare States

5.6.1 The accumulation of power to men and women

According to the model presented in chapter 5.2.2, all societies tend to segregate horizontally and vertically to the spheres of femininity and masculinity. This segregation is originally mental and stereotypic in its nature, but it also tends to lead to the segregation of labor and tasks:
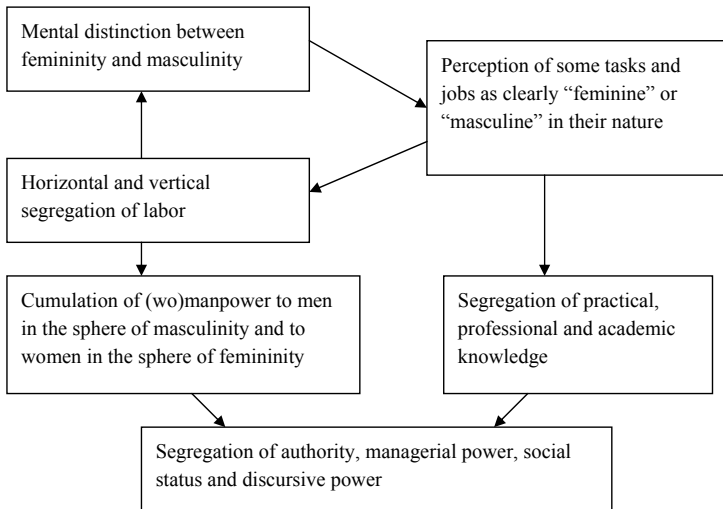
Figure 22. From the Gendered Spheres to the Coexistence of Patriarchy and Matriarchy.

This process is likely to lead to the accumulation of all different types of power resources to men in the sphere of masculinity, while women are likely to dominate most resources of power in the sphere of femininity (see Holter 2005, p. 24–25). Despite these general processes, societies differ from each other in the degree and precise nature of vertical and horizontal segregation. In the more traditional agrarian, feudal and industrial societies, the vertical segregation of the gender system may have been so strong that the sphere of femininity appeared very small, consisting only of some specific tasks, activities and discourses that related to childcare, human relations, and the daily routines of the private sphere. In these societies, the accumulation of power resources to women in the private sphere was relatively insignificant, compared to the massive accumulation of power resources to men in all other areas, contexts and spheres. In modern welfare states, however, the vertical segregation of the society is substantially reduced: Women participate in political decision making and in the labor force. They advance to managerial positions, gain high educational degrees and have a secured economic position due to the legislation that relates to marriage, divorce, and the right for public transfer payments and low cost services. Therefore, the sphere of masculinity tends to shrink, due to the deconstruction of the vertical segregation and due to the domination of women in some service oriented sectors of the public sphere (see Table 7 in chapter 5.2.2). This is likely to lead to the emergence of a clearly female dominated organizational cluster in the traditionally "feminine" field of activity. If we assume that the organizations and discourses in the sphere of masculinity tend to be dominated by men, we can call this sector of the modern welfare states, the patriarchal subsystem. In a similar fashion, the discourses and organizations in the sphere of femininity tend to become dominated by women in modern welfare states. This will lead to the evolution of the matriarchal subsystem of the society.

5.6.2 The accumulation of gender bias into organizations

Before advancing to the analysis of the matriarchal and patriarchal subsystems of the society, it is necessary to take a look at the accumulation

of gender bias to organizations. This is essentially important, since organizations form a central arena for the discrimination of employees and customers. Organizations also participate in the production, amplification and refutation of discriminative discourses, cultures and paradigms of the society.

Organizations receive their memes as a consequence of vertical and horizontal flows, which are all affected by the distribution of power resources between men and women (see Figure 23). At the level of top management, the values, goals and top level policies are affected by the gender distribution of the political, managerial and discursive resources of power (arrow 1a). The gender with the higher availability of power resources is likely to establish its own gender bias in the official culture and paradigm of the organization, which appears at the level of upper and middle management of the organization. This institutionalized organization culture also has its effect on the memes of all lower status employees and new recruits through a process of socialization (arrow 2a). However, the memes also flow from the bottom up, as the actual, practical and informal organization culture is often determined by the employees and lowest level managers of the organization (arrow 2b). In male dominated organizations, the organization culture is likely to be masculinely biased, while in female dominated organizations, it is likely to be femininely biased. The feminine or masculine bias may appear in the stories, jokes, stereotypes, norms and role expectations which are dominant in the organization. These gender biased parts of the organization culture may also flow upwards to the top, as the political and institutional leaders of organizations are often so busy that they rely on the consultations given by their subordinates (arrow 1b). This means, that an organization led by a man may be actually femininely biased, if the vast majority of employees and middle managers are female. The effects of the gender of the top management on the organization culture also depend on the degree of centralization, which appears in the organization: In highly decentralized organizations, most decisions are made at the middle management or even in daily customer service work. This means, that the gender bias at the grass roots level is likely to aggregate to the biased organizational culture of the entire organization. This phenomenon is likely to bias the organizational culture in a feminine

manner in all decentralized organizations, in which women dominate the grass roots level, and the lower level managerial tasks.
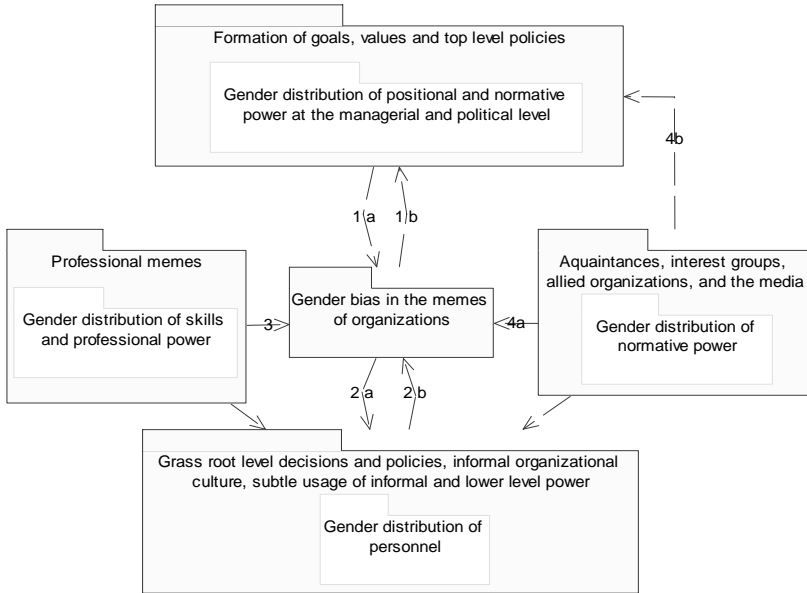
Figure 23. The Emergence of Gender Bias in Organizations.

The vertical flows of memes are challenged and matched by horizontal flows. An important source of the gender bias in organizations is the unequal distribution of expert knowledge among men and women (arrow 3a). If the majority of experts in certain organizations or in certain organizational functions are female, it is likely to cause a feminine bias among the professionals, and this bias is likely to establish itself as a part of the organizational culture – or as a part of the belief system and paradigm of a specific functional unit within the organization. A good example of the segregation of professional expert knowledge is illustrated by the statistics concerning Finnish university grades and professional grades: About 82% of all degrees in technology are held by men, while 88% of the degrees in healthcare and social services are held by women (see chapter 6.2.4). This is likely to cause feminine bias in social service and healthcare organizations, and masculine bias to industrial organizations and their

suppliers, financers and allies. The professional memes also have their effect on the top management, through the training of administration and management (3b). The grass root level memes are also affected by professional training, which contains not only anormative and objective information, but also normatively loaded memes, which are likely to contain some gender bias, if the leading experts in the field are mostly male or female.

All organizational cultures are affected by the horizontal flows of memes coming from the interest groups, allied organizations and informal acquaintances of the members of the organization (arrow 4a). The memes published in the media also act as a source of memes that flow into the organizations. These horizontal flows of memes also have their effect on the values, goals and priorities of top management (arrow 4b) and on the memes of employees at the grass roots level (arrow 4c). The popularity of misogynous stereotypes and norms in the surrounding society is likely to pressure organizations towards more misogynous organization cultures, while the popularity of misandric memes is likely to promote misandric organization cultures and discrimination against male employees and customers of the organization. This biasing of the organizational cultures is amplified by the activities of feminist and masculist interest group organizations, which try to lobby their own paradigms, beliefs, facts and statistics to organizational decision makers, politicians, journalists, consultants and trainers. Although this process may contain intentional propaganda and information warfare, the activities of the feminists and masculists may also be based mainly on the unintentional biases. These biases make people filter out information, which is anomalous to their paradigm and spread out "facts" that are beneficial to their agenda. This means that there is no need to picture the feminists or masculists as the intentional manipulators of statistics.

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  Scientific publications │
                    │    and press releases    │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
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Filtering, simplification, exaggeration, mutation

Journalists and mass media ← Feminists and masculists → Consultants, trainers and professional magazines

Biased statistics · Biased statistics

Lobbying

Politicians

Filtering, simplification, exaggeration, mutation

Managers and professionals of organizations

Figure 24. The Influence of Feminists and Masculists on the Accumulation of Bias to Organizations.

5.6.3 The accumulation of bias to the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems of the society

The division of the modern welfare states to patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems of the society, leads to the accumulation of masculine and masculist bias to the male dominated organizations, while the female dominated organizations are likely to become arenas of feminine and feminist bias. The masculinely biased organizations tend to develop organizational clusters, in which the masculine bias of the central organizations is radiated to those organizations which are dependent of the masculinely biased organizations. This means that the masculinely biased organizational cluster may include and influence a set of other organizations, in which the power resources seem more balanced between the genders. In a similar fashion, the femininely biased organizations also tend to form organizational clusters in which the feminine and feminist bias of some central organizations and parties is spread and diffused to

some dependent collaborators, which are less clearly female dominated. As a consequence, entire clusters made of public organizations, private associations and business organizations may develop a femininely and feministically biased paradigm. This spreading of the masculine and feminine biases to dependent organizations, is caused by the fact that interdependent organizations tend to harmonize their values, goals, priorities and metamemes (see Offe 1981, p. 131).

The masculinely biased organizational cluster of modern welfare states is likely to be based on the organizations that work in the fields of industry, agriculture, forestry, trade, defense, construction, and transportation. These organizations are mentally located in the sphere of masculinity, as they tend to require outdoor activities or technical knowledge from employees. These organizations are also located in the sphere of masculinity, due to the simple fact that the majority of employees and managers in these organizations are male. This masculinely biased organizational cluster also contains those public organizations and institutions that regulate and support the private companies in these fields. These organizations also tend to be heavily dominated by men. The third part of the masculinely biased cluster of organizations is made of the universities and institutes that train professionals for these male dominated fields. The majority of the teachers and students in these educational organizations also tend to be male. The fourth group of masculinely biased organizations is made of the investment companies, which mostly specialize in investments to organizations that operate within the sphere of masculinity. Figure 25, presents a typical male dominated and masculinely biased organizational cluster, which is horizontally connected to similar clusters in other countries. All of these organizations are likely to develop a masculinely biased organizational culture, which may also contain some elements of the masculist bias, due to the influence of those men's networks and interest group organizations, which have a strong position among the members of the male dominated organizations.
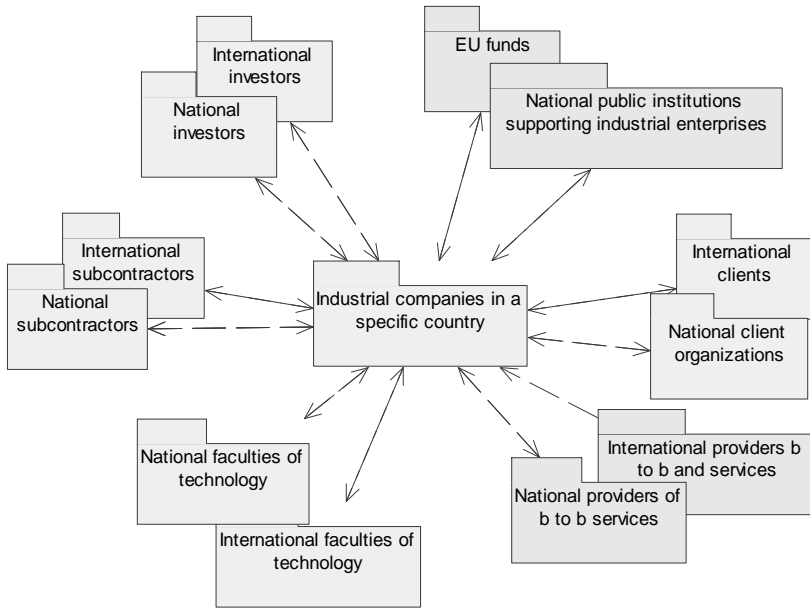
Figure 25. An Example of a Typical Masculinely Biased Organizational Cluster.

The femininely biased cluster of organizations is likely to emerge around those human activities that relate to care taking, human relations, or the advancement of gender equality. In the context of welfare states, this means the municipal, governmental and international organizations in the field of healthcare, social services, childcare, and equality policy. These organizations tend to be dominated by women, especially at the grass roots level, but also increasingly on the level of upper management. This means that they are very likely to create a femininely biased organizational culture, discourse and paradigm. These organizations also tend to be relatively tightly connected to the women's organizations, and to the faculties of women's studies. This is likely to also introduce the feminist bias to the cluster of female dominated organizations and their allies: The faculties of women's studies develop theoretical memes, which the women's organizations filter and simplify, and then pass to the governmental organizations operating in this field. These close

and institutionalized connections tend to form an institutionalized channel, which imports the feminist bias of the women's interest group organizations into the public organizations within this cluster. These connections, together, are likely to lead to the emergence of a femininely and feministically biased cluster of organizations (Figure 26). In this figure, some organizations such as WHO and regional governments are marked with a neutral color, as they seem to resist some of the feminist memeplexes and discourses, which have reached a hegemonic status in other organizations of the cluster.
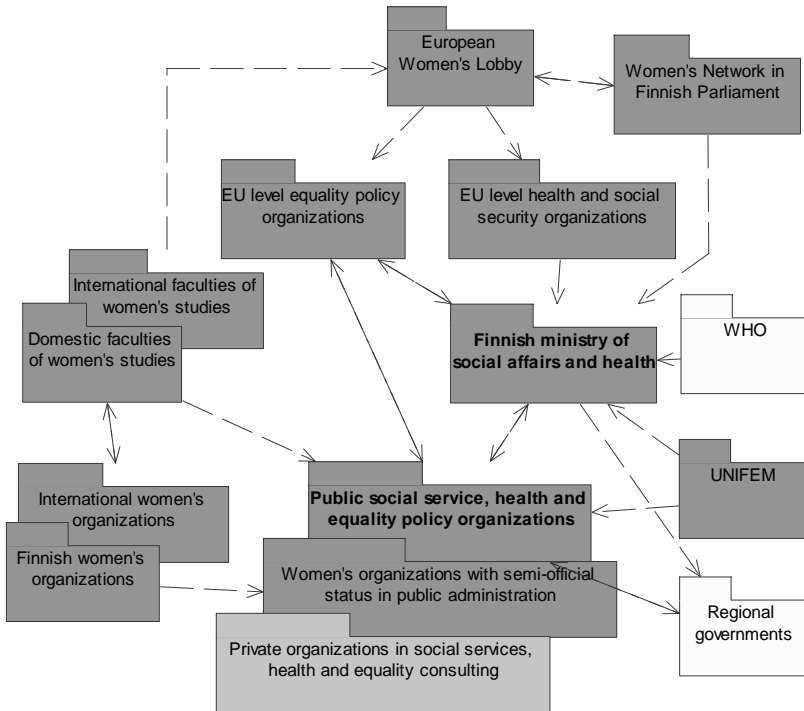
Figure 26. An Example of a Femininely Biased Organizational Cluster.

Although the feminine and feminist bias are originally created in women's organizations and in other organizations strictly dominated by women, these biases are likely to also spread to allied, not so clearly female dominated organizations, through a process in which interdependent organizations harmonize their values, goals and paradigms. Due to this

process, some of the feminist memeplexes of women's organizations have gradually been distributed to the UNIFEM and the national ministries, which have been made responsible for the advancement of women's status. From these strongholds, the feminist values have also been "gender mainstreamed" to the United Nations and the EU on a more general level. This has produced a situation in which some feminist discourses have reached a hegemonic status in the policy of the United Nations, the EU and national governments, especially in issues that relate to men, women or gender equality. Due to this spreading of the feminist memeplexes and discourses, it is possible to identify a *femocratic subsystem* within the public administration, which also covers organizations that are not dominated by women (see 2.2.3). In summary, the femocratic subsystem of the society is also created by the diffusion of the feminist discourses from the matriarchal subsystem of the society to other parts of the public administration.

5.6.4 The discrimination of men and women in the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems

After the society has been segregated into the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems, the consequences of this division are likely to show in the appearance of gender discrimination: In principle, men are likely to face direct, indirect and structural discrimination as employees and customers of the female dominated organizations of the matriarchal subsystem. In a similar fashion, women are likely to be discriminated by the matriarchal organizations, discourses and paradigms.

The tendency of patriarchal organizations to discriminate women is based on the accumulation of masculine and masculist bias in the organizations, and on the accumulation of managerial and professional power resources to men. The accumulation of masculine and masculist bias may appear, for example, in the development of a male chauvinist organization culture, which perceives women as technologically, rationally and intellectually less competent than men, and which perceives volatility and some level of hysteria as typical female problems. Although these stereotypes and beliefs are very unscientific, they may still have some

remote and biased connection to some scientific studies, which have raised the attention of some men. These stereotypes will easily lead to the perception that even academic and highly trained women are best suited as secretaries, coffee makers and visual sex objects in the company. Even those men, who value women, may do this valuation in a sexist manner, emphasizing the traditional feminine virtues such as peacefulness, flexibility, beauty, modesty, etc. In such organizations, men tend to value men and masculinity higher than women and femininity, even in a professional sense. This is likely to lead to the direct discrimination of women in the selection of recruits and in the granting of promotions and benefits. This direct discrimination is usually matched with even more common and widely spread forms of indirect discrimination. The men of the management team, for example, may tend to search for new promising managerial candidates through their personal networks. As men commonly create personal networks with other men, these networks tend to locate and suggest male candidates for opening positions. This may appear completely unintentionally, even by managers who consider themselves as promoters of gender equality. Management teams may also favor "the ability to cooperate" as a criterion for promotions. In practice, however, this may be synonymous to being friends with – and this may be more difficult between men and women than it is between men. Therefore, the criterion of "the ability to cooperate" may induce indirect discrimination against female candidates. It is also possible that the performance measurement system of the organization, measures only those forms of quantitative performance which men tend to consider important. Some more holistic and less quantitative factors of performance, such as the quality of the organizational atmosphere, may not be measured at all. This may discriminate against those female managers, who tend to put a lot of effort into the development of a positive organizational atmosphere in their unit.

The organizations of the patriarchal subsystem of the society may also develop a very narrow role for women, in a fashion that prevents women from entering the truly "masculine" professions of the patriarchal cluster. Female police officers, for example, may be pressured towards administrative tasks and away from the operative tasks of the "true men". If women comply with these role pressures, they may actually

gain from the benefits of a glass escalator, advancing to managerial tasks in administration. However, if a female police officer intends to head towards the management of police operations, the organization may label the woman as difficult and uncooperative (as she does not meet the role expectations). After this labeling, it is very difficult for the woman to advance to managerial and operative positions, as there is a general gossip that she is inflexible, difficult and uncooperative.

In a similar fashion, the tendency of matriarchal organizations to discriminate men is based on the accumulation of feminine and feminist bias to these organizations, and on the accumulation of managerial and professional power to women. For example, in the female dominated social service, organizations may form of a femininely and feministically biased organizational paradigm, according to which men are a threat to women and children, the interests of children and women are synonymous, and the mother is the most important adult for the children. As a consequence, social service organizations may systematically recommend that the custody of children should be given to the mother, in almost all situations (see chapter 7.5.5).

The matriarchal subsystem of the society may also discriminate against its male employees, due to the fact that most managers and high level professionals are female. This tends to lead to a bias in the criteria concerning good professional performance, and also pressure all employees to comply with the femininely biased paradigm of the organization. If male professionals want to question some parts of the feminine bias, they tend to be labeled as difficult and uncooperative. This means that they are also perceived as professionally less competent by their female superiors, which may act as a hindrance to promotions. The female dominated organizations may also pressure men into a very stereotypic male role, in order to protect the more feminine tasks and duties from "male intruders". Male nurses, for example, are easily pressured into the role of a bodyguard in mental hospitals. This easily means that they are more often appointed to the restless night shifts than women, against their will. In a similar fashion, female teachers at daycare centers may be pressured into the role of a janitor, who is supposed to do all the technical tasks (Kröjer 2003, see Holter 2004). If men in female dominated organizations comply with these role expectations – and do not question the femininely biased

professional paradigms – they may enjoy the benefits of a glass escalator, which leads to rapid advancement to managerial positions. However, if the role expectations are not met and if the men try to have their effect on the professional paradigm of the organization, the men are easily labeled as difficult and uncooperative. This means that they have a lowered chance of promotions and salary increases.

These predictions may be clarified by stating that the discrimination of male employees and male customers is likely to be much more common than the discrimination of female employees and female customers in the organizations that operate within the sphere of femininity, or within the matriarchal cluster of organizations. In a similar fashion, the discrimination of female employees and customers is likely to be more common than discrimination against male employees and customers in the cluster of organizations that operates within the sphere of masculinity. Although these predictions are perfectly in line with the model presented above, they require some revision due to the tendency of alpha males to discriminate beta males. This tendency is analyzed in the following chapters.

5.7 Discrimination of Beta Males and Females by the Society

5.7.1 The basic model

Higher status men and women tend to discriminate lower status men and women. This is nothing new from the point of view of sociology. This discrimination, however, appears in a gendered fashion, which is directed by the competition of the higher and lower status men for the high status "alpha" women, and by the competition of the high and low status women for the high status "alpha" men. Due to this competition, it seems that the higher status "alpha" males actively put down the lower status males, and the higher status "alpha" females actively put down by the lower status females. This "putting down" appears in the form of direct, indirect and structural discrimination.
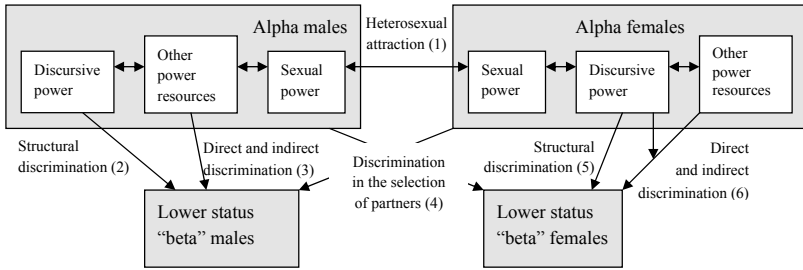
Figure 27. The Discrimination of Beta Males and Females.

Alpha males refer to those men, who have been able to cumulate a dominant share of discursive power, economic power, social authority and other power resources. Due to these resources of power, alpha males also tend to cumulate sex appeal in the eyes of heterosexual women (arrow 1). This accumulation of power resources to the alpha males makes it possible for them to define the hegemonic form of masculinity, which also sets the role expectations for all those beta males who can not fully meet the norms of this hegemonic alpha masculinity. This leads to the structural discrimination of the beta males (arrow 2). The accumulation of power resources to the alpha males means that they also have the managerial, political and social power resources to put down and discriminate the lower status beta males (arrow 3). This may occur, in those situations in which the alpha males have an absolute advantage over the beta males, measured in power resources. An example of such a situation may appear in criminal court, if a male judge puts down the men of lower social status, while favoring alpha and beta women. An example of a more temporary and contextual advantage of power resources may appear, for example, in cases in which a lower income male police officer puts down all other men in the context of traffic penalties – and tries to reach an alpha male status in the eyes of women by charging them lower traffic penalties. Although the alpha males discriminate primarily beta males, they also tend to discriminate against the lower status beta females on their selection of heterosexual partners (4). At this point, it must be noted, that beauty and sex appeal are power resources. This means that those women who possess them are not beta females, who would be discriminated by the alpha males in the choice of partners.

Alpha females refer to those women who have a dominant share of sexual power resources (arrow 1), discursive power, social authority and other power resources. Due to these power resources, the alpha women also tend to be able to cumulate a dominant share of economic power resources.[64] This accumulation of power resources to the alpha females makes it possible for them to define the *hegemonic femininity*, which also sets the role expectations for all those beta males who can not fully meet the norms of this hegemonic alpha femininity. This leads to the structural discrimination of the beta females (arrow 5). The accumulation of power resources to the alpha females means that they also have the social power resources to put down and discriminate the lower status beta males (arrow 6). This may occur, in those situations, in which the alpha females are engaged in social activities in which also some beta females participate. In these situations, the alpha females may easily show the beta females their low status by boasting their status symbols, and by showing the deviations of the beta females from the proper norms of femininity. Examples of such boasting and putting down may appear, for example, in the ways in which the wealthier housewives dress up their children in better costumes, donate better cookies to the daycare center, or tell stories from more expensive and exotic tours than the beta females. A more severe case of alpha female hostility against beta females appears in the context of prostitution, as the alpha females consider the low social status prostitutes a personal, moral and symbolic threat to themselves. On top of this discrimination of beta females by the alpha females, it is also typical that the alpha females discriminate against the lower social status beta males in the selection of heterosexual partners (arrow 4).

The mechanisms of alpha male discrimination vs. beta females, differ from the mechanisms of the alpha female discrimination against beta females, due to the asymmetries in the construction of alpha male status compared to the construction of alpha female status. The differences of discrimination are also caused partly by the different kinds of threats

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64 In most societies, the emergence of an alpha position for men and women differs in such a fashion that for men the economic, political and other resources of power are a source of sex appeal (in the eyes of women), while the female alpha status is based more directly on sex appeal. This asymmetry, however, may be socially constructed, although the sociobiologist interpretation of sexual attraction suggests otherwise. (See Rotkirch 2005).

that the beta males and females pose to the alphas of their own gender: Beta males pose an indirect threat to the alphas in the form of the threat of rape, violence and seduction targeted to women. This means that alpha males tend to be especially hostile towards the beta males, in the context of criminal charges against beta males who are suspected of rape or violence against women. The beta females - and the sexually attractive alpha females of lower social classes – pose an indirect threat to the alpha females, due to their capacity to seduce men or to offer services as prostitutes. Due to this threat, the alpha females are likely to be most hostile against beta females in the context of prostitution. Based on this analysis, it is now possible to balance the theories of patriarchy and matriarchy (see 5.6) with the theory of alpha discrimination presented in this chapter. Based on this balanced theory, men and prostitutes are likely to be discriminated against by matriarchal organizations, while women and male suspects of crimes are likely to be discriminated against by patriarchal organizations.

5.7.2 The effect of alpha males and females on the masculist and feminist biases

As noted in chapter 5.2.1, sexism tends to appear in a femininely and feministically biased version, and in the form of a masculinely and masculistically biased version. These two main branches of sexism, however, are more heavily influenced by the alpha males and females than by the beta females and males. This is due to the accumulation of economic, political, discursive and sexual power resources to the alpha females and males: As a consequence, most memeplexes of sexism are heavily influenced by the alpha males and females. This influence of the alpha males and females tends to also appear within the feminist and masculist memeplexes, although this effect appears in somewhat bizarre and confused fashions. For example, the representations of sexist feminism are strongly affected by maternalism, which has strong connections to the ideology of the bourgeoisie alpha females (see 7.2.5 and 7.7.3). The sexist branch of feminism is also an alpha female ideology in its systematic fight against prostitution, and in its tendency to label

all prostitutes as deviations of the proper form of femininity. The sexist branch of feminism has also connections to the Victorian upper class discourses, which presented women as the less sexual gender, and which suggested that men are "beastly and sex crazed" compared to the morally superior and sexually less active women. This upper class and alpha female nature of feminism has also been detected by feminists such as bel hooks, who accuse the feminist movement for the development of a paradigm that forgets the existence of black women, working class women, lesbian women, and the women of ethnic minorities (Hooks 1990, p. 27, see Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 262). Due to this strong influence of alpha females in the contents and representations of sexism, it would be unfair to equate "patriarchal ideology" with sexism, which is mostly an ideology shared jointly by most alpha males and females.
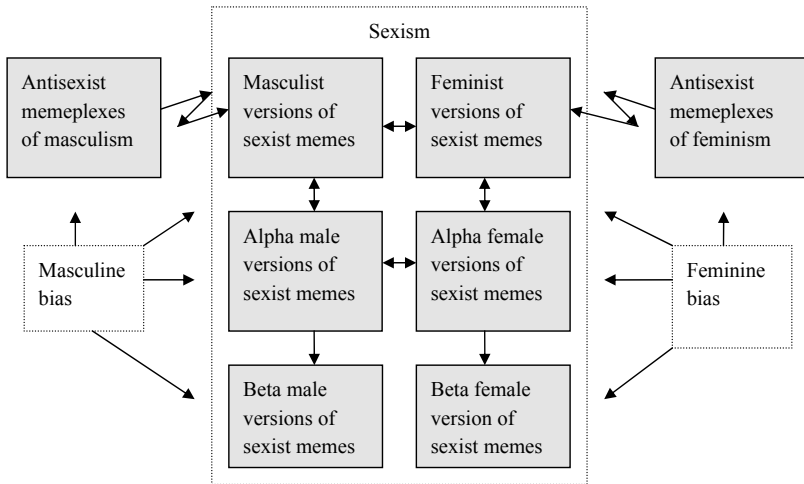
Figure 28. The Role of Alpha Males and Females in the Construction of Sexism.

5.8 The Connection of Welfare State Ideologies to Gender Discrimination

5.8.1 Introduction

According to the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution, paradigms and metamemes are a central determinant of mental, cultural and sociostructural memes. Although the paradigms of sexism, feminism and masculism have already been analyzed, it is useful to also take a look at the welfare state ideologies and religious memeplexes which support the sexist gender system, prevent the recognition of gender discrimination, or promote a systematic bias against men.

5.8.2 Welfare states as patriarchal discriminators of women

According to Anglo-American scholars of gender studies, the modern societies and welfare states value *the* public over the private. This also leads to the conclusion that the paid work in the public sphere is more valuable than the unpaid domestic work, which may even appear as invisible in the masculinely biased statistics of the national economy (e.g. Pateman 1989). The *valuation of the public over the private and paid work over unpaid domestic work* may be connected to the social democratic and socialistic memeplexes, which emphasize the roles of men and women as employees and workers. This emphasis on public activities also appears, in a somewhat weaker fashion, in the economic branch of the liberal memeplex, which emphasizes the role of people as employees, entrepreneurs and consumers, who actively participate in the production of the gross national product. The valuation of the public over the private is also connected to those memes of the conservative memeplex, which picture the state and public organizations as symbols of rationality, while the private activities and individual choices of people are related to chaos and irrationality (Platon, Hegel, and Bastiani, see Harisalo & Miettinen 1995, p. 34–41). Due to these connections, all ideologies of the welfare state tend to contain elements that push towards the perception of the public sphere as more important than the private sphere.
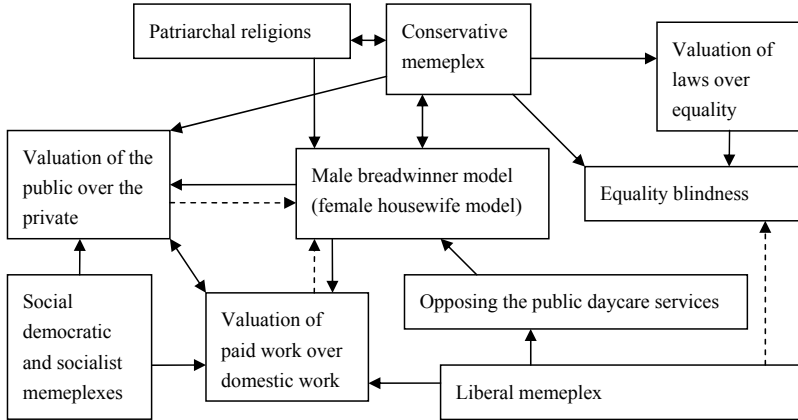
Figure 29. The Conservative Memes of the Welfare State Ideology.

The memeplex of *men as breadwinners and women as housewives* gains support from the valuation of the public sphere and paid work over the unpaid domestic activities, if it is connected to the sexist assumption that men should concentrate on the more valuable tasks – such as paid work – while women should remain the primary caretakers of children. The male breadwinner model is also supported by the conservatives, who wish to conserve the old traditions, role models and social structures of the society. Another proponent for the male breadwinner model appears in the form of the patriarchal religions, which emphasize marriage, female virginity and purity, maternal concentration on childcare and domestic tasks, and the leading role of men in the society through men's active work in the economic, political and religious organizations of the society. In most welfare states, the conservative and religious arguments in support of the male breadwinner model seem to be almost identical. However, the liberal memeplex also seems to support the male breadwinner model, at least indirectly. According to the liberal paradigm of economics, the state should not intervene with the market, for example, by creating public daycare services and transfer payments that would aid parents to combine their roles as mothers and employees. Although this liberal idea is not directly discriminative against women, it may cause indirect discrimination, as it hurts women more than men, due to the fact that

traditional role pressures push the primary responsibility of childcare onto women. The welfare state ideologies which most strongly work against the male breadwinner model are socialism and social democratic thinking, which both encourage women to work outside the home, and which both promote policies and solutions of public daycare for children. Yet, also these memeplexes, when combined with general sexism, may lead to such a male breadwinner model in which men do only the breadwinning, and very little domestic work.

The *valuation of the laws over equality* is a conservative meme, which is based on the perception of the states as superior entities compared to citizens. According to this conservative meme, the laws of the state are already almost perfect, and therefore it is impossible to think that they would cause direct or indirect discrimination against either gender. This meme is also usually combined with a conservative perception of equality and discrimination, which does not recognize and value the concepts of indirect and structural discrimination. The memes of *equality blindness* are supported by the social democratic, socialist and conservative memes, according to which, the state and its officials and organizations form a superior and rational entity, which therefore can not possibly allow the existence of gender discrimination. Therefore, it is deduced that gender discrimination no longer exists, although it might have existed in the past. This equality blindness is also supported by the liberal memeplex, according to which, the market mechanisms tend to produce an optimal equilibrium, which will not contain any gender discrimination since this discrimination would be economically ineffective.

5.8.3 Misandry and matriarchy as a future scenario of the welfare states

The welfare state ideologies contain elements that make welfare states vulnerable to the lobbying of interest group organizations such as the women's organizations. This is most evident in the social democratic welfare states, but the conservative and liberal welfare states may also develop organizational clusters that are heavily biased by the ideological memes of the women's organizations. The theoretical memeplexes that

support the expansion of the matriarchal subsystem of the society are the *conservative belief in the superiority of the state, interventionism, belief in the need to favor the disadvantaged groups*. These memeplexes may also appear in more radical and misandric versions in the theoretical periphery of the welfare state paradigm.

According to of Platon, Machiavelli, Hegel and Bastiani, the *state is a morally and rationally superior* entity compared to the unsophisticated mass of citizens (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995, p. 34–41). This means that the policy makers and administrators of the state are believed to have a better knowledge of the needs, wishes and problems of citizens than the citizens themselves. This may lead to an arrogant bureaucratic elitism, which makes the bureaucrats and politicians unwilling to listen to the people's own perceptions of their problems.[65] The tendency of administrators to consider the state bureaucracy as superior to the citizens, may also lead to the deduction that all criticism against the administration and the political elites is unsophisticated, barbarian, and regressive. That poses a real risk to the equality of the citizens, since the dissidents might not be able to get their voices heard by the administrators (see Popper 1971). Although the elitist welfare state ideology may be seen as a threat to the free choices of the citizens, it has also been used for driving through necessary social reforms that did not originally have sufficient support from the citizens (see Dye 1984, p. 45–53).

The belief in the moral and rational superiority of the state has led to *interventionism*, according to which, there is a need for the government to control the free choices of men and women by controlling the markets, and by giving benefits or privileges to some social actors (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995, p. 199; see also Toqueville 1969). The more moderate forms of interventionism include the *Keynesian economics*, which tries to balance between recessions and growth, *transfer payments*, which aim to help the disadvantaged companies, municipalities, provinces or social groups, and *progressive taxation*, which simultaneously helps the collection of funds and the reduction of social segregation. The moderate form of interventionism may also appear in *public campaigns* and processes, which try to change the opinions, values, norms, attitudes and behaviors of the citizens (see Harisalo & Miettinen 1995, p. 34–41). An example

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65 Harisalo & Miettinen 1995, see also Hayek 1978.

of such a campaign was the campaign of the Finnish political elite and public administration to persuade the Finns towards membership of the European Union in the 1990s. The general ideology of interventionism may also be used in radical manners, as is shown by the socialization of property in the Soviet Union after the revolution, and in the cultural revolution of China in the 1970s. In these interventions, the dissident citizens were either killed, or imprisoned until they complied with the official ideology of the state.

The radical forms of interventionism tend to be connected with the *revolutionary perception of equality*. According to this perception, all groups of people should end up having the same standard of living, and all individuals who fall below the average standard of living need to be supported by the society (see Toqueville 1969 and chapter 2.1.2). This idea means that all people should either have the same salary, or the state should use progressive taxation and transfer payments to ensure that all receive the same level of income. It also means that all groups should reach the same average level of education and have an equal number of representatives in positions of management of organizations. As this revolutionary equality is given the first priority by the radical interventionists, they tend to accept the sacrifice of the formal equality, which means the equal treatment of individuals in front of law. In other words, the intentional favoring of the members of the disadvantaged groups is permitted, even if it might cause discrimination against people who do not belong to these groups. This is precisely the idea of *reverse discrimination*, which means the favoring of some groups of people at the cost of the "privileged group" (see 2.1.3). According to Harisalo & Miettinen, the radical perception of equality tends to lead to a situation, in which only strong and well organized interest groups, which are able to present their members as disadvantaged, are served by the authorities of the welfare states. They are the ones who will receive transfer payments, special treatment, and privileges from the administrators. (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995, p. 206–210 and 230–233). As the women's feminist interest group organizations have substantially more discursive, economic, political and social power resources than the masculist organizations, they are likely to be able to present women as *the* discriminated group that deserves substantial benefits and favorable treatment from the welfare

states. In this political game, the masculist organizations are likely to be closed outwith the public equality policy, as it is difficult for the public officials to understand that *the dominators and discriminators* (men) could possibly be discriminated in some contexts of the society.
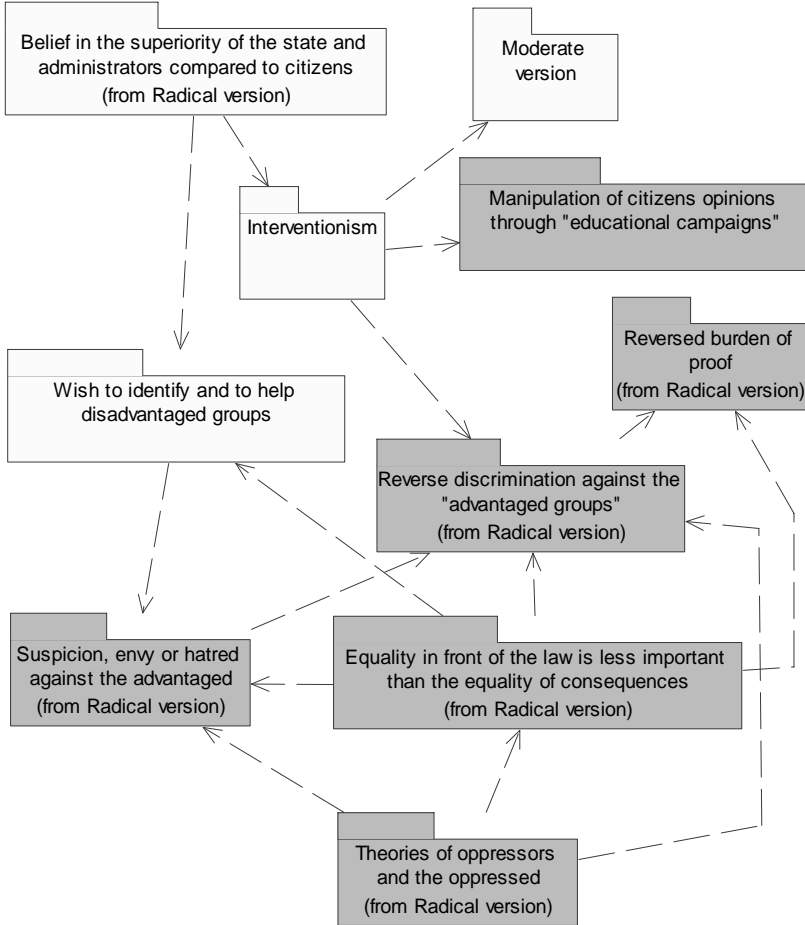
Figure 30. The Radical Welfare State Ideology as a Potential Threat to Men.

The radical interpretation of equality is also commonly connected to *envy and suspicion against the privileged group*. This is supported by Marxist and Leninist theories, which claim that the privileged position of the

richer and better educated people is based on the oppression of the less educated and less wealthy groups of people. This kind of hatred against upper social classes, appeared in the form of communist terror against nobles, business men, land owners, and academic people in the Soviet Union after the revolution. The discrimination against the privileged groups also appeared in the way in which the Soviet legal system tended to *put the burden of proof on the defendants*, if they belonged to the "privileged group" (Harisalo & Miettinen 1995 and chapter 2.1.4). These radical developments of the welfare state ideology, may also lead to a general hatred against men – who are supposed to be the dominant social group – and towards the reversing of the burden of proof, in such a fashion that men need to prove their innocence in court (see 2.1.4). All of these developments, towards the radical interpretations of the welfare state ideology are shown in Figure 30. The more theoretical and moderate core of the welfare state ideology is shown at the upper left hand side, and the more radical memeplexes at the lower right hand side.

5.8.4 Mixed scenarios

The scenarios above have pictured the conservative version of the welfare state ideology as the most patriarchal and misogynous, while the potential matriarchal and misandric traces of the welfare state ideology have been connected to the social democratic and radical left wing ideologies. In reality, these scenarios of misogynous and misandric welfare states are mere ideal types, and specific, individual welfare states are likely to contain elements of both scenarios simultaneously. This dual nature of the welfare states is supported by the horizontal segregation of the society to the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems. Under such conditions, the patriarchal subsystem is likely to maintain discourses and ideologies, which support the male breadwinner model and the supremacy of masculine tasks over the feminine. In a similar fashion, the matriarchal subsystem of the society is likely to develop femininely and feministically biased discourses, which also contain elements that promote the reverse discrimination of men and the misandric shaming of men.

The separate scenarios of patriarchal misogyny and matriarchal misandry are also complicated by some mechanisms, which discriminate

against men in patriarchies, and against women in the more female friendly welfare states. An example of patriarchal discrimination against men appears in those welfare states, which maintain a system of obligatory military service for all men. This system, which severely limits the freedom of young men for 6–24 months, is based on the conservative stereotype of women as housewives and caretakers of children, which suggests that the military duties should be given primarily to men. When this belief is combined with the conservative memeplex concerning the *supremacy of the state compared to the free choices of its citizens*, it will lead to the conclusion that the state has the right to force its (male) citizens into military service, even during peace time. This conclusion, however, is not supported in the liberal welfare states, in which young men are given a free choice whether they wish to join the military force during peace time.

An example of the misogynous nature of the "female friendly" social democratic welfare states appears in the statistics concerning women's salaries and the instability of women's careers. For example in Finland, almost half of the younger women work under temporary job contracts (Veikkola 2002). This is caused by the "female friendly" system of long maternity leaves and parental leaves, which make young women a liability for employers (assuming that it is mostly the women who use the parental leaves). In liberal welfare states, such a problem does not occur, as the maternity leaves (and parental leaves) are so short that the costs of pregnancy to the employer are far smaller. However, the system of long parental leaves could also be implemented in such a fashion that does not induce discrimination against female employees (see chapter 5.3.2).

5.8.5 Preliminary predictions concerning the future of gender discrimination in welfare states

According to the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution, functional pressures will gradually root out those memeplexes which cause severe reduction to the economic performance of the society or its organizations. This means that discriminative practices will tend to be rooted out, if they reduce the economic performance of the society. For example, the

male breadwinner model is likely to gradually loose its popularity and disappear, since it wastes the intellectual capacity of women. Therefore, it reduces the economic output of the society, and is doomed to gradual extinction. This conclusion is also supported by comparative statistics, which show that the participation of women in paid work and political decision making is constantly increasing in all welfare states (see 2.2.2). This deterioration of the male breadwinner (and female housewife) model may also be connected to the loss of popularity of some patriarchal ideas that originate from conservativism and patriarchal religions. Although conservativism will not disappear, its content is likely to change. For example, the conservativism of the 20th century tends to defend democracy, while the conservativism of earlier centuries objected to democracy. In a similar fashion, the conservatives of the 21st century are likely to defend women's rights for paid work and voting, even if the conservatives of the earlier centuries did not consider these rights as self evident. The content of conservative religions is likely to change as an increasing number of female priests and theologists begin to question some of the patriarchal parts of the religions.

Another trend in the evolution of the welfare states is the strong influence of feminism in the formulation of new laws and policies that govern the lives of men and women. This trend has led to the improvement of women's substantive status and not only to the acquisition of formal equality. Although the advancement of women's status and the reduction of the vertical segregation of the society seem to be trends that are easy to predict, the future of the discrimination against men is a more difficult question. If we assume that conservativism and the male breadwinner model are loosing their popularity (or changing their content), we can conclude that there will also be increasing pressure against the conservative forms of discrimination against men, such as the men's obligatory military service. After the collapse of socialism and the ending of the cold war, the welfare states of Europe would probably manage with armies that are based on a more liberal system, like a combination of national guards and a relatively small professional army (the defense system of the USA). The reduction of the popularity of the male breadwinner model may, however, also lead to the double burden of men, as men need to have one career as paid employees, and another career of unpaid work

at home. Partly due to this double burden, men with children in most European welfare states are working longer working weeks than women (see 6.3.5). It must also be noted that the entrance of women onto the labor market has not changed the traditional male role, which pressures men to be tough, persistent, uncomplaining, competitive, wealthy, and somewhat rebellious, in such a fashion that they do not subordinate themselves to common standards and rules. This male role pressures men towards behaviors, which severely harm their health, lowers the average educational level of men, and causes a large portion of men to drop out of the society due to unemployment, alcoholism, drugs and crime. These problems are clear examples of structural gender discrimination. However, they may not be recognized as gender discrimination by the femocrats of modern welfare states.

Due to the central importance of the femocrats and feminists in the reduction or amplification of the gender discrimination against men, the future of the discrimination against men can be best predicted by studying the discourses of feminists and femocrats. If these discourses emphasize only the improvement of women's status and consider the discrimination of men as a conceptual impossibility, this is likely to lead to such policies which amplify the discrimination of men, instead of reducing it. Another indication of the future of gender discrimination against men can be detected by studying the power balance between the sexist and antisexist branches of feminism: As noted in chapter 5.5, the sexist branches of feminism tend to be more misandric than the antisexist branches, which may also contain male friendly discourses. A third way to predict the future of discrimination against men, is to study those coalition discourses and political coalitions, which promote a systematic bias against men. This analysis is performed in chapter 7.6.

5.9 Summary

This chapter presented a *general theory of gender discrimination*, which first described the memeplexes that are connected to discrimination, and then analyzed the different processes that induce gender discrimination. According to the theory, gender discrimination is a complicated

phenomenon, which is originally caused by the division of societies into the spheres of femininity and masculinity. This is likely to lead to the strong division between the memeplexes of femininity and masculinity, and to the fact that societies tend to develop both a patriarchal and a matriarchal subsystem. The core of the patriarchal subsystem has tended to be constructed around technical and outdoor tasks, and around competitive breadwinning and management activities. The substantially smaller matriarchal subsystem has tended to be built around human relations, domestic work, childcare, and other care taking activities.

On a more detailed level, gender discrimination is caused by six primary reasons. The first of them is *masculism*, which is the male interest group ideology that causes discrimination against women due to the masculist bias, which makes male activists and men's interest group organizations likely to prioritize male interests, to perceive men as somewhat superior to women, and to be reluctant to fight against the discrimination of women. A parallel cause of gender discrimination is *feminism*, which is the female interest group ideology that causes discrimination against men due to the feminist bias. This feminist bias is likely to promote the prioritization of women's interests over men's interests. It also tends to lead to the perception of women and femininity as somehow superior compared to men and masculinity. The feminist bias also reduces the willingness of women to admit to the existence of discrimination against men, or to fight against it. The third cause of gender discrimination is the *masculine bias*, which makes it difficult for men to think from the stand point of a woman, and which causes men to be subjective and unintentionally selfish due to cognitive, linguistic, communicational, emotional and social psychological biases. A parallel for the masculine bias is the *feminine bias*, which is caused by the precisely same human biases as the masculine bias. The only difference is that masculine bias tends to produce policies and practices that discriminate against women, while the feminine bias tends to lead to concepts, discourses and policies that discriminate against men.

The fifth cause of gender discrimination is *sexism*, which is an ideology that exaggerates gender differences in such a fashion that induces structural gender discrimination. Sexism is also connected to social status in such a fashion that it tends to benefit the men and women of high social status

(alpha males and females). Due to this strong connection of sexism to social status, sexism creates a reason for the alpha males to discriminate against the beta males, who deviate from the norms of the correct (alpha) masculinity. Due to the coalition of alpha males and females, sexism seems to remain an influential paradigm, which appears in memes that promote the *gentlemanly favoring of women*, and the *gentlemanly discrimination of lower status men* by the higher status men. The popularity of these sexist memes may be used for predicting and explaining the discrimination of (especially lower class) men, even in the sphere of masculinity. For example, it can be predicted that male dominated courts and male police officers discriminate against male customers by giving female customers special benefits for their gender. In a similar fashion, one can predict that the middle classed alpha females tend to discriminate against the lower status "beta" females, who deviate from the traditional and sexist norms of correct femininity, and this discrimination will even occur within the matriarchal subsystem of the society (maternity centers, daycare centers, social service organizations, etc.). The sixth cause of gender discrimination is made of functional selection, which pushes organizations into using practices which maximize the growth and chances of organizational survival. In modern societies, the most significant mechanism of *functional selection* is **financial pressure**: If the society has created a legislation which gives an initiative to discriminate, for example, against pregnant women or women of fertile age in general, it is likely that discriminative practices will be common, based on the logic of financial pressure (see 4.3.3).

Figure 31 presents all of these discriminative processes, and shows the segregation of the society as one of the root causes of gender discrimination. The financial pressure in the figure is partly caused by sexism, which puts pressures on consumers and employees to behave in a specific manner. This gives public and private organizations an initiative to treat men and women in a fundamentally different (sexist) manner both as customers and as employees.
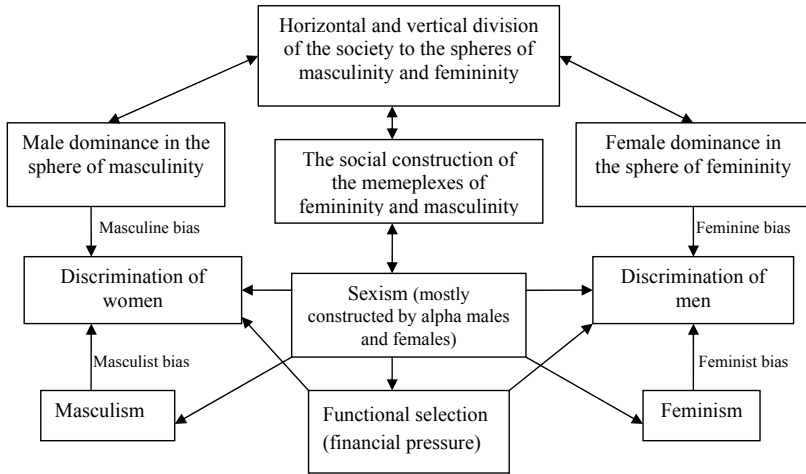
Figure 31. The Central Causes of the Discrimination of Men and Women.

6 Locating the Patriarchal and Matriarchal Subsystems of the Finnish Society

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Purpose of the chapter

The purpose of the chapter is to clarify the location of the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems of the society, based on empirical statistics and research results concerning the gender distribution of different kinds of power resources. The main focus of the chapter is on the distribution and gender segregation of power resources in the **public sphere**. Therefore, the main goal of the chapter is to evaluate the hypotheses given in chapter 5.6, primarily in the context of the Finnish welfare state, but taking into account also results from other welfare states, when necessary. This means that the chapter will produce mainly results for Finland, while for other countries the results should be seen as potential generalizations which need additional testing in each country. The secondary purpose of this chapter is to take a glance at the gender distribution of power resources in the private sphere, in the context of the Finnish society. Although the discrimination of men in the **private sphere**, by their girl friends and spouses is a bit out of the scope of a study of administrative science, some statistics concerning the private sphere are of vital importance as they can be used to evaluate, whether the public organizations that operate in the field of equality policy are actually discriminating against men, based on the biased feminist paradigm concerning the distribution of power in the private sphere. Therefore, this chapter attempts to evaluate the radical feminist hypothesis, according to which the private sphere and the heterosexual relations between men and women are the most severe arena in the domination of men, and the subordination of women.

6.1.2 Initial hypotheses

According to chapter 5.2.2, the sphere of masculinity is likely to be constructed around the activities and discourses concerning defense,

industry, technology and economics, while the sphere of femininity is likely to be built around care taking and domestic tasks. According to the theory, these spheres of femininity and masculinity are likely to also lead to the segregation of power resources, in such a fashion that men dominate the sphere of masculinity, while women dominate the sphere of femininity (5.6). It was hypothesized that the segregation of power resources to these spheres is so strong that we may even speak of the sphere of masculinity as the patriarchy, and of the sphere of femininity as the matriarchal subsystem of the society. On top of this horizontal segregation of the society, the model predicts that societies will be segregated vertically, in such a fashion that the tasks of upper level management get concentrated to men, while women tend to be put in charge of the dull, grass roots level routines. This second principle of segregation was formulated into two competing hypotheses, one claiming the existence of clear vertical segregation, and the other claiming that the gender hierarchy is being dramatically reduced in modern welfare states, due to the entrance of women into politics and managerial positions.

In addition to these hypotheses concerning the public sphere, this chapter also advances towards the evaluation of the radical feminist hypothesis of the oppression of women in Finnish families, and the masculist hypothesis concerning the exploitation of men by the "selfish women", who use sex as a resource of power for subordinating men (see 3.5). Related to these hypotheses, it is also possible to draw two more hypothesis, according to which the feminist statistics, concerning the power resources and status of women, present the women's status as very disadvantaged, while the masculist statistics give the image of women as the gender which has more power and better status. The statistics and research reports produced by official (non-feminist and non-masculist) sources are predicted to be in the middle, neither exaggerating the women's or men's bad status to such a high extent.

6.1.3 Research method and research data

The research method of the study is *critical literature analysis*. The first element of the method is the analysis of official main stream statistics, which have then been widely presented, quoted and reviewed by scholars

of women's studies. The second element, however, is a critical review of alternative sources of data that might challenge or question the main stream statistics, which are in a hegemonic status. This challenging does not necessarily mean that the validity of the official statistics is questioned. Instead, it refers to the idea that the official statistics may contain a systematic bias, in such a manner that the statistics cover only those resources of power that men dominate. This bias in the collection of statistics may also be amplified by the way in which scholars of gender studies quote and highlight only those statistics which indicate male dominance. Therefore, it was necessary to also analyze pieces and bits of literature concerning those resources of power, which women may dominate. Due to the tension between the main stream literature, quoted by scholars of women's studies, and the alternative sources of information, the research data of this literature study in this chapter is not very consistent. Yet, from a critical perspective, the alternative sources of information also needed to be taken into account. In general, the research data and available statistics did not provide sufficient information for definite conclusions about which gender has more power resources. However, it seems to provide a relatively consistent body of findings, concerning the segregation of power resources in the spheres of masculinity and femininity, as all findings pointed to a relatively coherent direction.

6.2 The Gender Distribution of Power Resources in the Public Sphere

6.2.1 Operationalization of the power resources

The typology of power resources, presented in chapter 4.5.3, was adjusted due to the fact that power and power resources appear differently in the context of the public sphere and in the private sphere. In the public sphere, the analysis of the gender distribution of power resources was simplified by counting out coercive and sexual power resources, as these forms of power play a relatively limited role in the public sphere of the modern welfare states: Coercive power is mostly monopolized by the state, and this institutionalized coercion is not used in such a manner that

the male dominance in police and military forces would clearly benefit men at the cost of women (or vice versa). Sexual power resources may play some role for some women in gaining salary increases and career advancements, but this potential phenomenon is already included in the statistics concerning salaries and managerial positions. Therefore, the counting of sexual power resources as a separate power resource in the public sphere would lead to double counting. The distribution of economic resources to men and women on the private sphere is also left out of the study, since managerial and political positions of power also cover this aspect of economic power.

Resource of Power	Operationalization of the resource, in order to measure the distribution of power to men and women
Quantitative resources of power	
Manpower	Amount of men and women in organizations
Managerial positions	Gender distribution of managerial positions.
Know-how	Amount of professional and university degrees, and university level teachers.
Formal positions of political power	Gender distribution of the members of the Finnish parliament, members of the cabinet, presidency, and party leaders.
Social resources of power	Authority, ability to speak up, and status symbols
Qualitative resources of power	
Informal positions of political power	Amount of liaisons, gate keepers, members in advisory boards, lobbyists, propagandists, grey eminences and ideologically committed information producers.
Implicit information resources	Rumors, gossip and other information acquired from social networks. Not included in the study.
Discursive power resources	The quantity and popularity of the rhetoric arsenal that can be used in favor of the social group, or against its rivals. Amount and intersectional popularity of the biased memes that favor the social group, or put down its rivals.

Table 10. The Operationalization of Power Resources in the Public Sphere.

After these adjustments, the central resources of power in the context of the public sphere of modern welfare states were settled to the list presented in Table 10. The quantitative and qualitative resources of power do not differ from each other in a fundamental theoretical fashion. Instead, this is mostly a question of measurement and validity: The quantitative resources of power may be measured relatively well, while the operationalization of the qualitative resources of power seems to be more difficult, and related to higher problems of validity. Yet, it is possible that some future studies

will manage to also operationalize the "qualitative" resources of power, in such a fashion that their gender distribution may be measured.

6.2.6 Manpower

Manpower and womanpower are divided among men and women in a relatively equal manner, as about 50% of the Finnish population are female. However, manpower and womanpower are highly segregated into "masculine" and "feminine" functions and sectors of the society. In the domain of paid labor, most fields of organizational activity are segregated in such a fashion that the clear majority of employees are either male or female. The percentage of male employees, within each sector in the year 2000, is shown by the table below, which is based on the statistics of Tilastokeskus (see Veikkola 2002, p. 60).

Field of activity	Percentage of male employees
Social services	8 %
Healthcare	14 %
Finance and insurance	30 %
Education	33 %
Other public or private services	38 %
Renting, cleaning and management of buildings	46 %
Accommodation and restaurants	46 %
Public administration and defense	47 %
Trade	52 %
Communications	60 %
Technical services and b to b services	62 %
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	69 %
Industry	71 %
Transportation	78 %
Construction	93 %

Table 11. The Segregation of Manpower on the Finnish Labor Market.

This table indicates that the jobs in social services and healthcare are clearly considered as feminine in Finland, and to some extent, also the jobs in finance, insurance and education. What is typical to most of these tasks is the role of the employee as a *customer service person*, or as a teacher. If the statistics concerning education were given in more detail, we would probably notice that there is a strong female dominance among *teachers within the lower level of education*, while men may still have an equal share of the positions within universities.

According to these statistics, the most "masculine" jobs are found in construction and transportation, although industry, agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing are also clearly dominated by men. If the statistics concerning "public administration and defense" where shown in more detail, we would probably see that defense is also a sector which is clearly dominated by men.

6.2.3 Managerial positions of power

Most directors and managers of organizations in all western countries are men, including the modern welfare states. This is also found in the statistics concerning the private sector in Finland, as only 26.4% of the directors are female. However, the gender distribution varies strongly according to the sector of activity, as is shown in the table below (Tilastokeskus 2006):

Construction, industry, trade, maintenance, agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing, transportation, warehousing, telecommunications, finances, and services to businesses seem to be functions in which the organizations are dominated by male managers. However, enterprises operating in education, healthcare, accommodation and restaurant services are mostly managed by women, even in the private sector. The percentage concerning "education and healthcare" has been disaggregated by dividing it as an estimate for education (principals, 60%) and healthcare (20%), based on figures derived from more accurate sources concerning the distribution of managers in the public sector (see below).

	Men	Women	Men%
Construction	1 533	219	88 %
Industry	12 792	2 721	82 %
Trade, maintenance etc.	8 980	2 261	80 %
Agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing	166	54	75 %
Transportation, warehousing, telecommunications	3 052	1 030	75 %
Finance and services to businesses	9 547	3 336	74 %
Services for the society	2 301	1 434	62 %
Education and health care	917	1 388	40 %
Estimate for education (principals)			60 %
Estimate for healthcare			20 %
Accommodation and restaurants	952	1 987	32 %
TOTAL	40421	14462	74 %

Table 12. The Segregation of Managerial Power on the Private Sector in Finland.

When only analyzing the statistics concerning the public sector, the status of women appears dramatically better, since 47.3% of the directors are female. The segregation of the managerial power in the public sector is shown in Table 12 (Tilastokeskus 2006). It shows a more detailed segregation of managerial positions than the general statistical classification of activities, which presents categories that are too large such as "public sector and defense" or "education and healthcare", which are very hard to analyze from the point of view of the precise gender segregation of tasks.

	Men	Women	Men%
Directors of small and medium sized industrial organizations	14	0	100%
Directors of trade	2	0	100%
Directors of construction	95	3	97%
Directors of transportation, warehousing and telecommunication	120	5	96%
Directors of industrial production	109	7	94%
Directors of regional government	504	121	81%
Chief executive officers	396	97	80%
Information technology directors	349	88	80%
Directors of agriculture and forestry	84	24	78%
Mayors of cities and municipalities	622	169	79%
Directors of sports and recreation	90	27	77%
Directors of enterprises on the welfare sector	141	43	77%
Other directors of expert organizations	444	146	75%
Directors of cleaning, maintenance and beauty care	28	12	70%
Directors of purchase and stocks	40	18	69%
Other directors of line organizations	201	91	69%
Directors of research and development	586	279	68%
Directors of central government	743	388	66%
Sales directors and marketing directors	220	139	61%
Directors of education, principals	2 204	1 541	59%
Directors of advertising and communication	9	8	53%
Directors of finance and administration	1 391	1 461	49%
Human resource directors	94	99	49%
Directors of hotels and restaurants	13	33	28%
Directors of cultural services	124	373	25%
Directors of social services and healthcare	680	3 194	18%
TOTAL	40421	14462	53%

Table 13. The Segregation of Managerial Power on the Public Sector in Finland.

In the public sector, men seem to dominate the functions concerned with technology, industry, trade, construction, agriculture and forestry, while women dominate in the management of social services, healthcare, cultural services, hotels and restaurants. It is also notable that the directors of regional government, municipalities and public enterprises tend to be male. This supports the hypothesis that line management, in principle, belongs to the sphere of masculinity, unless it appears within a function or field that is considered clearly feminine. However, this should not be confused with the management of functional offices within organizations such as human resources, advertising, communications and finance, as in these fields about 50% of the directors of public organizations are female. Based on the two contrary principles of hierarchal and vertical selection, we may deduce that advertising, communication, finance and human relations are considered as slightly feminine functions in Finland (at least in the public sector) as otherwise they would be dominated by men due to the principle of vertical segregation. This hypothesis is in line with the traditional belief in women's superior human relations and communication skills. The fact that the majority of directors in finance and administration are female might also echo the distant past of the Old Norse society, in which women were perceived as equal or superior concerning their skills to manage property (see 5.3.1).

6.2.4 Academic and professional know-how

The segregation of human activities and the labor market has also caused the segregation of training in universities and professional institutes. It seems that the segregation of the labor market is closely connected to the segregation of higher grades achieved in universities and professional institutes (see Veikkola 2002).

Field of knowledge	Proportion of male degrees
Social services and healthcare	12 %
Customer service professions	25 %
Pedagogics and teaching	27 %
Humanistic sciences and art	29 %
Economics, business and social studies	44 %
Natural sciences	54 %
Agriculture and forestry	70 %
Technology	82 %
TOTAL	48 %

Table 14. The Distribution of Professional Knowledge According to Professional and University Degrees.

The field of social services and healthcare is heavily dominated by women, while the degrees relating to customer service, teaching, humanistic sciences, and art, also belong to the sphere of femininity. Male dominance is most heavily recognized in agriculture, forestry and technology. In economics, business, social studies, and in natural sciences, the gender distribution of students and degrees is relatively equal at the general level, but it is likely that these fields are internally segregated to male dominated and female dominated topics. For example, within the study of economics and business, it is likely that men make up the clear majority of the scholars of economics and management, while women are likely to dominate the study of accounting. This would also explain why women have a very high representation among financial and administrative directors, while men seem to dominate the political positions related to state finance.

When analyzing the gender distribution of university level jobs in teaching and research, we may notice a strong change between 1990 and 2002: In 1990, only 32% of the personnel were female, but the figure had risen to 45% by the year 2002 (Kurki 2003). This means that

women have already advanced above men in their knowledge (counted by university degrees), and are also rapidly passing men in the number of university level researchers and teachers. This seems to show that women have at least as much professional information and know-how as men. Yet, in the highest level of the professional hierarchy, men still rule. This phenomenon is evaluated below, in the context of status symbols and authority.

6.2.5 Formal resources of political power

Political power is one of the most important forms of power in modern welfare states, as the welfare states reaches very far to those areas of the society, which have in some countries been managed by families and private enterprises. The heavy taxation and notable size of transfer payments also increase the significance of political power in welfare states. The most explicit and formal positions of power include the *presidency, ministers of the government, members of the parliament and municipal councils, and chairmen of parties*. This chapter concentrates on analyzing the general distribution and segregation of these positions of power in Finland.

In modern welfare states, over 20% of the members of the parliament are women, by definition (see 2.2.2). In Finland, this figure is 38%, meaning a relatively high level of female representation. In municipal councils, this figure varies from 8% in the rural and peripheral Enontekiö to the 52% in Espoo, which is a city right next to the capital of Finland. If we assume that new trends appear first in the capital area, we may deduce that the new trend in Finnish politics is towards full equality between men and women in the distribution of seats in the municipal councils. The trend towards women's higher power in politics is also shown by the fact that on the level of the government (the cabinet), women in Finland have 12 of the 20 minister positions, which totals to 60% of the positions of power.

However, the general equalization of political power has not removed the segregation of political power from the government and from the functional organs that work under the municipal councils (lautakunnat). In the government, men have tended to control the position of the

prime minister, and hold the minister positions within defense, foreign policy, trade and commerce and state finances, while women have tended to dominate the ministries of social services, healthcare, culture and education.[66] In the municipal organs, the segregation is very similar, as men dominate the boards that relate to technical issues, while women have a very strong position within healthcare and social services (Finnish Government 1999, p. 9). Women also have an increasing representation in environmental issues and employment, which is shown by the fact that the present ministers of these functions are female.

When analyzing the presidency, we may note that the president in Finland has been a female since the year 2000 (Tarja Halonen), and the president of the Supreme Court is also a woman (Pauliine Koskelo). The chairmen of the parties are mostly men, since the Green party, with Tarja Cronberg, is the only exception after Suvi-Anne Siimes of the left wing coalition (Vasemmistoliitto) quit her job in 2005.

6.2.6 Social resources of power

The social resources of power are a wide category of resources of power, and it is partially overlapping with other kinds of power such as managerial and political positions of power. In this chapter, the operationalization of social resources of power aims to focus on those aspects of social power which are not already covered by other types of power resources. The social resources of power handled in this chapter are authority, the ability to speak up, and the availability of status symbols.

6.2.6.1 Authority

Authority is mostly a resource of power, which is directly connected to the positions of managerial or political power. Therefore, its analysis might lead to the double counting of power resources, unless the analyses focus on those traits and tendencies which are not connected to managerial

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66 See the pages of the Finnish government, http://www.valtioneuvosto.fi/hallitus/jasenet/fi.jsp

positions or formal positions of political power. In order to avoid this double counting, this chapter focuses on the examination of academic authority, which mainly exists outside political and managerial power. Another perspective to status and authority is given by the empirical findings, concerning the usage of male and female experts in different fields of expertise.

When analyzing the top positions of authority in the academic hierarchy, we may see that women only hold about 20% of the professor positions in Finland (Kurki 2003). Although this figure is one of the highest in Europe, it is still a very small one compared to the 80% of the positions held by men. However, the positions of professors are also horizontally segregated: In the field of natural sciences and technology, women held only 8% of the professor positions in the year 2002. In the field of humanistic sciences, the figure was 31%, in social sciences 23%, and in healthcare 21% (Ibid.). Even these figures may hide some strong variations within the mentioned fields: In the social sciences, for example, the study of politics and government seems to be strongly male dominated,[67] while women have a substantially higher level of representation among the professors in the fields of social work, social policy, and women's studies.[68]

Another measure for the general distribution of authority between men and women is the gender distribution of expertise in television. According to the "Screening Gender" study of five modern welfare states, the vast majority of interviewed experts and lecturers in TV are male (YLE 2000, p. 8).

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67 For example, no female professors in this field at the University of Helsinki.

68 According to the employee list of the University of Lapland, the faculty has four female professors and two male professors teaching social work. On top of this, it must be noted that one of the male professors is an emeritus, and in addition to the professors, there is also one female professor level lecturer. This means that 66%–80% of the professors in social work are effectively female. In the field of women's studies, 100% of the professors are female. See http://www.ulapland.fi/

Country	Proportion of men
Sweden	72 %
Denmark	89 %
Norway	87 %
Netherlands	89 %
Finland	78 %

Table 15. Proportion of men out of interviewed experts and lecturers in TV.

When these figures are compared to the fact that women hold more academic degrees than men in Finland, we may conclude that male experts and lecturers are given extra authority and credibility, based on their gender. Alternatively, the high level of men, out of the experts and lecturers, may be explained by the fact that the male dominated or "masculine" fields of expertise are generally valued more highly than the feminine. As these findings do not contain information on the gender segregation of authority, we need to take a brief look at some other findings concerning the gender segregation of authority. For example, according to Kantola, almost 99% of the high status consultants and experts concerning finance and economics are male in Finland (see Kantola 2002, p. 73). This male dominance in finance and economics is matched with the female dominance within equality politics, since about 100% of the listed equality experts and lecturers are female in Finland.[69] As systematic statistics, concerning the horizontal segregation of authority, are missing, we will have to use the gender segregation of professional expertise, and the ability of men and women to speak up, as indications of the segregation of authority.

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69 An example of the concentration of expertise on equality policy for women is found on the list of 22 equality trainers, created by Eurofem, see http://www.eurofem. net/valtavirtaan/valmentajat.html. According to the list, 100% of the trainers on this field are female.

6.2.6.2 Ability to speak up

According to several studies within the field of gender studies, women are entitled less presence and ability to speak up than men, at least in the public sphere (see Brooks 1982 and Smith-Lovin & Brody 1989, p. 424). This conclusion gains support from the statistics from the Screening Gender report, introduced in the previous chapter. According to the report, women have only 31% of the speaking time in television programs, and 32% of the total presence in television, counted as the proportion of female participants in the programs out of all the participants in the programs (YLE 2000, p. 11). The figures concerning the female participation in programs are shown below, as these figures are more complete than the partially missing figures concerning the speaking time.

Female participation in programs (percentage of participants)	Denmark (81 h)	Finland (55 h)	Netherlands (35 h)	Germany (32 h)	Sweden (68 h)	Norway (100 h)
Information	32	44	21	31	33	25
News	25	34	26	16	37	33
Other	46	29	34	39	--	37
Documentary	22	45	31	16	25	42
Entertainment	26	43	33	35	44	31
Culture	20	37	26	--	39	28
Religious	--	--	27	20	--	40
Children and youth	**42**	**61**	**36**	**--**	**51**	**39**
Sports	13	16	3	2	14	10
Drama	32	40	38	41	39	36
TOTAL %	28	36	22	29	36	31

Table 16. The Gender Segregation of Media Presence in Northern Welfare States.

The table shows that men dominate speech in all genres, except those programs targeted at children and youth. In this category, women have 61% of the media presence in Finland and 51% in Sweden. In most genres and in most countries, men control about 60–70% of the presence in media. In the genre of sports programs, 84% of media presence is given to men. These figures also suggest that the media presence and ability to speak up may be horizontally segregated.

Although women have a clearly weaker ability to speak up in television, this is balanced by the fact that over two thirds of the scholars of journalism are women in Finland. The majority of the members of the journalists in the Finnish Association of Journalists have also been female since 1996, and the same is also happening in Sweden[70]. In the association for journalists of the weekly magazines (SAL), 60% of the members are women. This seems to show that women do have a chance to "speak up", at least in the printed media. When analyzing the positions of highest authority and influence in the print media, we may see that most editors of the newspapers are men, but almost 50 % of the members of the association for chief editors of weekly magazines are women. This relatively high degree of gender equality in the ability to speak up in the print media is matched by a strong gender segregation: Male journalists tend to specialize in "hard" topics such as national politics, municipal politics, economics, crime, accidents, army and police, while female journalists tend to concentrate on "soft" topics like education, social services, healthcare, children, youth, daycare, unemployment, taxes and food (Tiitinen 2007, p. 68).

According to some feminist scholars of women's studies, the male dominance in the media is matched by male dominance of speech in small groups[71]. This conclusion, however, was challenged by a larger sample study of Beattie (1982), which showed equal distribution of interruptions among genders. This relatively equal ability to speak up and be listened to, however, may appear to be just the general tendency. According to the general theory of gender discrimination, the ability to speak up, and to be listened and understood, is also strongly segregated in such a fashion that men control speech in some contexts, while women dominate in others. The last paragraphs of this chapter relate to those contexts in which women seem to have a better chance of speaking up and being listened to.

According to the Finnish equality barometer, 35% of male students and 24% of female students have felt discriminated against, due to the fact that the opposite gender is dominating the conversations at class (Melkas 2004, p. 27). When these figures are combined with the fact

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70 See www.journalistilehti.fi, archive, issue 4/2006

71 See Zimmerman & West 1975

that the vast majority of teachers are female in Finland, we may come to the preliminary conclusion that the Finnish schools, observed from the point of view of students, form a context in which women and girls somewhat dominate the discourses. This finding is an anomaly to the general theories of the male supremacy, according to which men and boys dominate in all social settings, in all countries. Another context in which women may have a dominant ability to speak up and be listened to, is made of the social services, maternity guidance centers, and public healthcare services targeted to children and their parents.

For example, when parents go to a dentist, nurse or psychologist with their child in Finland, it is possible that the (female) dentist, nurse or psychologist will not pay any attention to the father, or ask for his opinion in any issue.[72] Also, when men interact with social workers, the communication seems to contain a lot of friction and misunderstanding (Forsberg 1995, p. 142, Kuronen 1995, p. 116, and Antikainen 2004, p. 3). This seems to lead to the tendency of the female employees to skip the gossip with men and not to give any encouragement to men to speak up. These gendered practices dramatically reduce the chances of men to be valued and understood when they interact with social service and healthcare organizations. Similar mistreatment of the "wrong" gender may easily appear, when women enter the organizations that operate in the sphere of masculinity. In order to confirm these qualitative observations, some additional quantitative studies would be needed though.

6.2.6.3 Social status symbols

Money and positions of power are status symbols. In order to avoid double counting, however, this chapter concentrates on those status symbols that are not so clearly monetary in their nature. According to Çagatay (1998, p. 11) and Lizardo (2005), men tend to devote a lot of their time in acquiring status symbols which give them more credibility in the public

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72 This perception is based on my own observations as the father of three children, visiting the municipal parental guidance centers together with my wife and children. This overemphasis with the mother – child relations is also revealed by the legacy of calling the parental guidance centers as "maternal guidance centers", and by the studies of Jaana Vuori (2001).

sphere, while women, especially in the wealthier countries, use luxury products, leisure activities, and leisure services as status symbols. These findings seem to support Holter's idea that masculinity is the symbol of paid work, while femininity is the symbol of leisure, consumption and domesticity (Holter 1995, p. 102). From this tentative model, we may predict that men tend to seek for expensive cars, laptops and mobile phones, or corporate status symbols such as large rooms, reserved parking places, permission to fly on business class, and expensive courses and seminars. Women, on the other hand, would seek for status symbols such as expensive clothes, jewellery, accessories, cosmetics, beauty care treatments and plastic surgery.

This segregation of status symbols, however, may be more closely related to the earlier societies of the industrial age, and less clearly to modern welfare states, in which women also participate in the labor market, and to higher trained expert jobs and managerial positions. Therefore, it is not possible to draw definite conclusions on these phenomena without additional studies concerning the gender distribution and segregation of status symbols.

6.2.7 The qualitative resources of power in the public sphere

6.2.7.1 Introduction

The line between quantitative and qualitative resources of power is not explicit. Instead, it seems to be a practical and methodological one: When some resources of power are measured, the operationalization and quantification of the resource of power may become somewhat biased, so that the validity of the measurement may be questioned. For example, the classification of the social resources of power as quantitative resources may be questioned due to the methodological problems related to the measurement of men's and women's ability to speak up in society. Although social resources of power were still classified as quantitative, this chapter focuses on those resources of power which are even more difficult to operationalize and quantify: The discursive power, and the informal political power. The categorization of these resources of power

as qualitative is not an ontological statement, as it may be possible to develop operationalizations, which give a good, quantitative picture of the distribution of these resources of power between men and women in different sectors of the society.

6.2.7.2   Discursive resources of power

Discursive resources of power refer to the rhetoric arsenal that consists of those memes and discourses that can be used in favor of a social group, or against its rivals. Discursive power is also directly related to the amount and intersectional popularity of those biased memes that favor the social group, or put down its rivals (see 4.5.3). Although this definition could possibly be operationalized into a quantitative form, measuring the amount of biased memes and their popularities, it seems easiest to consider discursive power as a qualitative resource of power. Therefore, we may simply estimate that men seem to dominate certain discourses, while women dominate others. For example, according to Acker and Rantalaiho, men tend to dominate the discourses concerning defense, state finance, industry, and blue collar labor unions, while women dominate the discourses concerning healthcare, social services and equality policy.[73] As this idea of the segregation of discursive power is relatively widely accepted, and also coherent with the distribution of professional know-how (see 6.2.4), no additional empirical evidence is presented here.

Another order of discourse, in which women may dominate, is made of human relations and morality. According to Gordon, women exercise the "power to forbid" in Finland, and this relates to the superior ability of women to define, forbid and sanction immoral behaviors (Gordon 1992, see Rantalaiho 1994). This dominance of women in the discourses concerning norms and morality, seems to be a phenomenon of the modern society, as in the ancient and medieval times when men were considered the morally stronger gender. The discursive and memetic evolution of women's strong position in normative and moral issues has been analyzed in more detail in chapter 7.

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73 See Acker 1992; Rantalaiho 1994, p. 25–26, and Silius 1995, p. 61–64

6.2.7.3 Informal political power

Informal political power means the ability to influence political and administrative decision making without holding formal positions of political power (see 4.5.3). In order to avoid double counting, this chapter only focuses on the informal political power of men's and women's organizations and networks – not on the discursive power (6.2.7.2) or professional authority (6.2.6.1), which also affect political and administrative decisions. According to Nousiainen, Finland is a corporativist society, in which most political issues are prepared and preliminarily settled by the interest group organizations which connect to the public administration through different liaison mechanisms such as advisory boards (see Nousiainen 1992, p. 111–113). This means that a lot of political power may be hidden or informal, in such a fashion that the statistics concerning the formal political power do not reveal the full truth.

In Finland, the male dominated business organizations are connected to male dominated associations and male dominated ministries (see). This strong influence of the male "grey eminences" and male dominated interest group organizations particularly appears in the political decision making, concerning the defense, internal affairs, commerce and industry, agriculture and forestry, and state finance. Just like the professional authority and discursive power are concentrated towards men in these sectors, men also dominate the lobbying power and information warfare capacity. For example, in the sector of commerce and industry, there are several strong male dominated organizations such as EVA, Sitra and STK – and not a single female dominated organization. Women's organizations also have a very weak connection to the ministries in the male dominated sectors. This all means that men dominate not only the formal political positions of power in these sectors, but also the informal positions.

In a similar fashion, the female dominated public bureaucracies in the field of social services, healthcare and equality policy are strongly connected to women's organizations, and to the ministry social services and health. There are also special advisory boards and networks of authorized professionals in these fields (see 6.2.6.1). This means that the decision making in the field of social services, healthcare and equality policy tends to be female dominated, except for those issues in which the ministry of finance, and the political discourses of fiscal policy put a limit to this

female dominance. This limiting nature of fiscal policy mostly appears in the amount of (wo)manpower that the female dominated organizations are likely to get – not in the content of the policy of the organizations. A good example of this concentration of informal power to women is the equality policy. The Finnish equality policy is officially formulated by the government, but in practice, it is very strongly affected by the TANE, which is the advisory board of the equality policy. Although the formal political positions of power in TANE are divided between men and women relatively equally, the secretary general of the organization has always been a woman. The policies of TANE are also very strongly influenced by women's organizations, which have two permanent seats in the advisory board, while men's organizations have none. Although TANE is just an "advisory board", it plays a fundamentally important role in the Finnish equality policy: According to Holli, most of the initiatives of women's organizations have succeeded, if they have first gained the support of TANE (Holli 2002). Therefore, the 2–0 dominance of women's organizations in TANE, is a fundamental loss to men's organizations, as this reduces their ability to get their initiatives taken seriously in the Finnish equality policy.

The female dominance over the informal positions of political power in these fields is also connected to the fact that many women's organizations in these sectors have gradually gained the status of public organization – although they were originally clearly women's organizations. This has appeared especially in the field of protection, support and healthcare relating to children and lower social status women.[74] This means that some public organizations still carry the cultural legacy of maternalist women's organizations of the early 20th century, although the Finnish laws, concerning good administrative practices, would require that they maintain a culture and set of practices that put both genders in an equally good position.

It is important to see how the formal and informal political power resources are intertwined, and how this system is also connected to the tendency of discursive power and professional authority to be concentrated to men in male dominated sectors, such as commerce and industry, and to women in female dominated sectors such as social services and equality policy. This concentration of informal political power to women in the

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74 See Rantalaiho 1994, Anttonen 1994, Saarinen 1994 and Ollila 1994.

Finnish equality policy and social services is illustrated by Figure 32. The grey area in the middle, represents lobbying, informal political influence, and discursive power.
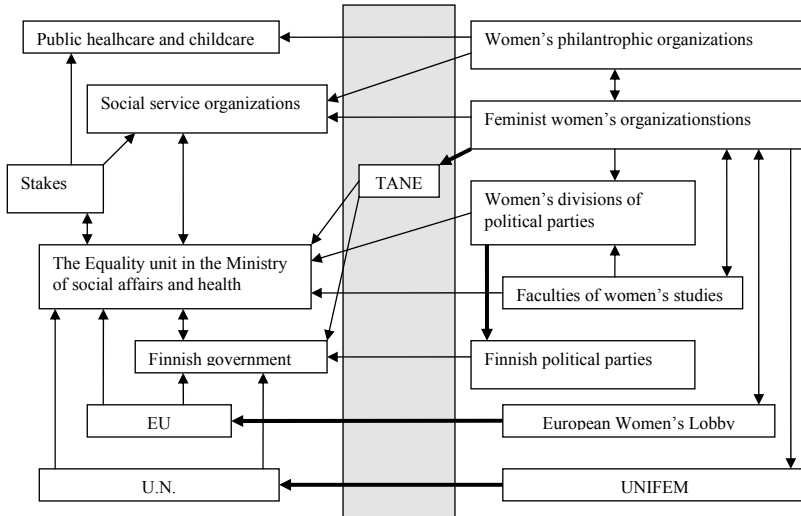
Figure 32. Concentration of Informal Political Power to Women in Equality Policy and Social Services.

The thick arrows represent the most influential forms of informal power that women dominate: As noted earlier, only women's organizations are permitted to nominate representatives to the Finnish advisory board of equality (TANE). This has a substantial effect on the equality policy and on the Finnish legislation, in all issues that are of interest to women. It is also a fact that only women have special women's divisions in political parties. According to Holli, these divisions have been very successful in raising women's interests to the agendas of political parties (see Holli 2002, p. 141). Similar gendered mechanisms for raising men's gender equality problems to the agenda of political parties do not exist. The organizations such as the European Women's Lobby and UNIFEM have also specialized in the advancement of women's interests. Men's right organizations and father's right organizations have not managed to create similar institutions that would concentrate on the reduction of men's equality problems.

The female dominance in "women's issues" may gradually pose a potential threat to men. For example, according to Borchorst, more and more "women's issues" are actually equality issues, which have a strong impact on men's rights and on men's standard of living. Therefore, it would be only fair if men were given equal political power in those issues that affect themselves (Borchorst 2001).

6.3 Resources of Power in the Private Sphere

6.3.1 Solving the Problems of Operationalization

In the context of the private sphere, the analysis of the distribution of power resources is difficult, as all resources of power seem to be attached together, in a fashion that makes their measurement very difficult. The distribution of power resources to men and women in the private sphere is based on Table 5. From this framework, the central resources of power that have significance in the context of a heterosexual couple are given in Table 17.

Resource of Power	Operationalization of the gender distribution of the power resources
Economic power resources	Gender distribution of income (including public and private transfer payments), wealth, and private consumption.
Coercive power resources	Gender distribution in the fear of the violence perpetrated by one's intimate partner; Gender distribution of the incidence of intimate partner violence in heterosexual couples.
Sexual power resources	Indirect measurement: a) Strength of the sex drive (comparing men and women), b) Value of personal gifts, benefits and transfer payments acquired due to ones gender.
Social power resources	Ability to speak up and be listened to in a heterosexual couple.
Information and know-how	Intelligence, experience and ability to get information on important issues that relate to the couple.
Discursive power resources	The quantity and popularity of the rhetoric arsenal that can be used in favor of the man or woman in the couple.

Table 17. The Relevant Resources of Power in the Private Sphere.

In this operationalization, the political and managerial positions of power have been left out, as the formal position of the man or the woman as the "head of the family" seems to be an aggregate result of the other resources of power. "Manpower" is also irrelevant, as there is precisely one man and one woman in the heterosexual couples of the modern welfare states (which do not permit polygamy). Despite these simplifications, the typology of the power resources in the private sphere contains several problems relating to the double counting of the resources. For example, the sexual power resources of women, according to the masculist theories, are converted to gifts and monetary benefits that women receive from men, either during the courting phase or after the wedding (see 3.5). Yet, the private transfer payments inside a heterosexual couple already include the gifts and other financial benefits received from one's partner. The measurement of the sexual and coercive power resources is also very difficult, as they are fundamentally social constructions. For example, the higher sex drive of men may be a social construction, and its implications to the status of men and women in couples is another construction that depends on the cultural context. In a similar fashion, the physical power resources of men and women can not be simply evaluated by simply measuring the volume of muscular tissue of men and women: The higher physical strength of men may be turned either to an advantage for men, or to a disadvantage for men, depending on legislation and administrative practices.

Due to these kinds of problems, it is suggested that the distribution of power resources inside a heterosexual couple is measured indirectly, using the equal or unequal status of men and women in couples as an indicator of the distribution of the resources of power. Below is a proposal for an "equality barometer" for the private sphere, aiming to operationalize the relative status of men and women within heterosexual couples in the context of the modern welfare states. This barometer may be used, both for the evaluation of the distribution of power resources, and as an estimate for the frequency and severity of gender discrimination that might appear inside families.

Resource of Power	Operationalization of the status of men and women in the context of the private sphere
Economic, sexual, discursive and coercive power resources counted together	Gender distribution of wealth
	Gender distribution of income (including salaries and transfer payments), or the distribution of private consumption on personal goods and services.
	Gender distribution of the fear of interspousal violence, and the gender distribution of the incidences of violence.
	Gender distribution of free time in contrast to the time used for paid work, commuting, domestic work, studying, and charity work.
	Ability to speak up in a relationship.
	Ability to leave one's relationship without severe financial or psychological injuries.

Table 18. The Distribution of Power in Heterosexual Couples.

6.3.2 Wealth

According to Mariko Chang, the gender distribution of wealth has been given surprisingly little attention in sociology (Chang 2001). The same seems to also apply to gender studies, especially in the context of the modern welfare states, since the scholars of gender studies tend to skip the statistics concerning the welfare states, and concentrate on analyzing the bad status of women in the developing countries. For example, in Finnish literature, very little is written on the gender distribution of income: According to Veikkola, the ownership of property is gendered, and the largest debts are concentrated towards men (Veikkola 2002). Due to the lack of information concerning the gender distribution of wealth in Finland, the topic needs to be approached through the use of rough estimates and deduced information. According to Tilastokeskus, the vast majority of the wealth of Finnish households is made of apartments, houses and summer cottages (Tilastokeskus 2007). These are typically jointly owned by the adults of the family, meaning that men and women usually own an equal share of the property. Another important form of property is made of the stocks of enterprises owned directly by entrepreneurs. This form of property seems to be concentrated towards men, who make up

the vast majority of entrepreneurs. However, the negative side effect of the concentration of entrepreneurship towards men is the fact that most people, with life sized debts due to bankruptcies, are men in Finland (Veikkola 2002 and Jokinen 2002).

Another source of information, for the gender distribution of wealth in Finland, is made of foreign studies. Although some organizations such as Womankind Worldwide estimate that women own only 1% of the wealth and property in the world, on a global scale (UNIFEM 2008), these are only estimates and they do not relate especially well to the welfare states. Better benchmarks for Finland are the statistics concerning the USA and Great Britain. According to the Federal Reserve Board of the USA, Women now control 51.3 percent of personal wealth in the United States (Greenspan 2002). In Great Britain, the women's share of all personal property is presently 48%. The factors that have raised the women's share of the property are women's increased level of education, and women's higher life time expectancy.

Based on this study of statistics, it seems that Finnish women own roughly 50% of the personal property in Finland. This is difficult to verify, however, as sufficient statistics can not be found from the archives of Tilastokeskus, and if they do exist, they have not been quoted by the scholars of gender studies.

6.3.3 Income and consumption

The measurement of the gender distribution of income is difficult, as income may be earned in the form of salaries, public transfer payments, private transfer payments, or in the form of property based income. Due to the plurality of the sources of income, it is insufficient to concentrate in the gender distribution of salaries, which is a highly studied and published topic in Finland. Although women who do full time work tend to earn only 80% of the salary of an average male full time worker, this difference in income may be balanced by the other forms of income.

For example, according to Laasanen, women are able to enjoy a double salary based on the sexual power that they have on men (Laasanen 2007, see also 3.5). This leads to the hypothesis that women receive more gifts

and higher monetary transfer payments from men than vice versa during the courting phase of the relationship, and possibly even during long time partnerships. This hypothesis could be tested by measuring the average volume and value of gifts and monetary benefits that men and women give to each other. Such studies, however, seem to be missing in the body of gender studies. Another type of private transfer payments, would be the custody payments that the remote custodian pays to the near custodian or the single custodian after the divorce of a couple. According to the statistics of Tilastokeskus, about 85% of the children of divorced parents live with their mother after divorce (Tilastokeskus 1994:5 p. 61). This means that women receive a far larger share of the custody payments than men, and this income of women should be subtracted from the net income of men, if incomes were to be compared in a detailed level.

Even the public transfer payments to men and women are not included in the Finnish statistics concerning the gender distribution of income. This is a clear insufficiency, as many transfer payments such as the maternity payment (äitiysraha) and the child allowance payment (lapsilisä) are paid only to women. Women may also receive more habitation allowance (asumislisä), based on the assumption that they are the main custodians of children. On the other hand, the Finnish statistics show that men make up the majority of the receivers of the social welfare payments, paid by the municipal social service organizations (Veikkola 2002). The insufficient nature of the information concerning transfer payments is not special for Finland, as in international studies this seems to also be a very rarely researched topic (see Gornick 2005). The flow of income that is based on the ownership of property is also missing from the gendered statistics. This is a severe defect, as it is possible that the ownership of stocks is gradually concentrating towards women.

A potential way to solve all problems relating to the difficulties in measuring income, would be the switch to the analysis of consumption instead of income. This would also be theoretically interesting, as Holter's theory suggests that men have become the symbol of earning, while women and femininity are attached to consumption (see 3.3). This means that it would be interesting to test the hypothesis, according to which, women have a higher degree of consumption on private goods and services than men. Such studies, however, are not available, at least in Finland. Due

to the lack of statistics concerning the gender distribution of public and private transfer payments, wealth and consumption, we do not actually have any idea of the gender distribution of income or consumption in Finland. This means that the radical feminist theory of the bad status of women can not be supported, or refuted without additional studies.

6.3.4 Fear of violence
and the incidence of intimate partner violence

The fear of violence in the private sphere is a factor that severely reduces the general happiness of the person who is afraid. Therefore, the gender distribution in the fear of violence may be used as an indicator of the equality of the status of men and women in a relationship. The fear of violence is also a better measure for the gender relations between men and women, as it is possible that women perpetrate as many acts of physical violence against men as vice versa, but men still suffer from less fear from the attacks due to the gender difference in physical strength.

According to the study of the governmental Optula institute in Finland, about 2.4% of women and 1.8% of men are afraid of the violence of their partner, in the context of a heterosexual couple. This means that about 60% of the ones, who are afraid, are women. This result is important as it shows that the fear of intimate partnership violence is very rare in Finland, and that almost half of the ones who are afraid of this violence are men. This result is in sharp contrast with the discourses, which claim that intimate partnership violence is very common, and that it is almost synonymous to men's violence against women (see 7.3.2.4 and 7.4.2). In order to reveal the problematic nature of the statistics concerning the incidence and gender distribution of violence, a systematic collection of all available empirical statistics concerning the gender distribution of intimate partnership violence is presented in Table 19. The first column of the table reports the source of the information, and the second column describes the definition of violence and method of inquiry used. The next columns contain information on the incidence of violence against men and women, measured as incidents or as victimization percentages. The last column contains the calculated proportion of women out of

the victims. In those figures, which measure the perpetration of intimate partnership violence by men and women, the figures concerning victimization are counted based on the assumption that women's intimate partner violence is targeted against men, and men's intimate partner violence is targeted against women (see *italics*). This assumption eases the calculation of comparable values, but reduces the validity of the figures as it does not take into account the appearance of intimate partner violence in homosexual couples. The results are sorted in a fashion that begins with the more general and less severe forms of violence, advancing towards homicide. If the same study has been performed several times, only the newest available figure is presented:

Source	Collection of data and definition of violence	Male victims per year	Female victims per year	Female victims %
Siren & al. (2007, p. 4)	National Victimological Survey: Incidence of physical forms of domestic violence among people 15-74 years old. Data from year 2003.	0.2%	1.1%	85 %
Siren & al. (2007, p.4)	National Victimological Survey: Incidence of physical "intimate partner and acquaintance violence" among people 15-74 years old. Data from year 2003.	1.6%	1.2%	32 %
Nieminen, Heloma & Pihlajamäki (2008)	The European Delphi Study, in which the incidence of punches among young couples was studied in a survey targeted to young men.	14 % (per life-time)	1% (per life-time)	6 %
Steigmetz 1981	A survey study with the CTS method.	-	-	50 %
Police statistics 2000-2004	Instances of mild forms of interspousal violence that have been reported to police per year.	*55*	*508*	90 %
Police statistics 2000-2004	Instances of moderate or "common" interspousal violence that have been reported to police per year.	*106*	*1180*	92 %
Suominen (2005, p. 31)	Survey, in which a random sample of the adult population was asked whether they had been victimized by physical domestic violence during the last 12 months.	3 %	6 %	67 %
Optula (2003)	Survey to a random sample of people asking about their feelings of fear and worry concerning the physical violence of one's partner	0.8%	1.2%	60%
Police statistics 2000-2004 (Lättilä 2001)	Instances of severe interspousal violence that have been reported to police per year.	*55*	*81*	≈ 60 %
Stakes (2005)	Interspousal assaults requiring hospital treatment as recorded by hospitals to the governmental Hilmo register 2002-2003.	266	131	35 %
Lehti (2002, p. 45)	Attempted manslaughters and murders as recorded to the Police register (1998-2000)	-	-	69 %
Lehti (2002, p. 45)	Completed manslaughters and murders as recorded to the Police register (1998-2000)	4	23	85 %
Equality Barometer (Nieminen 2008)	Survey to Finnish adults, asking about the fear for intimate partner violence	4	2	33 %

Table 19. Figures measuring the gender distribution of intimate partner violence.

Although the percentage of women out of the victims varies from 6% to 92%, the statistics still give relatively good support to the idea that approximately 60% of the ones who fear for the violence of their partner are women: In the categories of attempted manslaughter, severe interspousal violence, and in some CTS studies, the percentage of women out of the victims seems to be very close to this figure of 60%. An alternative interpretation of these statistics is that we really do not have a good idea of the gender distribution of intimate partner violence, as there is so much variance in the concepts and figures concerning the incidence and gender distribution of violence.

6.3.5 The gender distribution of free time

According to Nancy Frasier, a society of justice will allocate free time equally between the genders (Frasier 2000, see Julkunen 2002). In order to evaluate the fairness of the distribution of free time among genders, it is important to concentrate on families with two adults, or to compare the availability of free time for male and female single custodians. This choice of emphasis is based on the fact that single men and women have the right to clean up their home as much or as little as they wish, according to their own choices. Also, it is pragmatic to concentrate on people with relatively small children, as this is the phase of life when free time is a scarce resource, and its equal division between the genders is maximally important. The division of free time and labor among senior citizens is not crucial, as senior citizens tend to have a sufficient amount of free time, and even if we might find a statistical discrimination against female senior citizens in the availability of free time, this would be an indicator of an attitude problem which is already passing away.

According to the Eurostat Study "Time use at different stages of life", men with young children have less free time than their spouses in most European countries (Eurostat 2003).

Country	Women's daily work (min)	Men's daily work (min)	Difference (min)
Belgium	488	574	86
Norway	496	547	51
France	502	552	50
Netherlands	491	527	36
UK	512	546	34
Sweden	503	537	34
Denmark	536	541	5
Finland	530	529	-1
Hungary	562	528	-34
Slovenia	617	552	-65
Estonia	558	479	-79
Romania	560	477	-83

Table 20. Men with Children Work Longer Days than Women in Most Western Welfare States.

The daily work in these figures includes paid work, domestic work, studying, charity work, and time spent on commuting (derived from Eurostat 2003). In the USA, men tend to work 17 minutes more per day than women, when counting together the time spent on paid work and domestic work.[75] The highly equal distribution of free time among men and women in Finland is questioned by a study by Piekkola, according to which Finnish men tend to perform 8.5 hours longer working weeks than their spouses, if paid work and domestic work are counted together (Piekkola 2003 p. 15, see Piekkola & Ruuskanen 2006, p. 22). When converted into minutes, the 8.5 h per week is equal to 73 minutes per day, which is at the same level as in Belgium and Norway, in the statistics concerning cohabiting men and women with small children.

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75 Press release from the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan (released 2002-03-12), see Kammer 2002, p. 79.

6.3.6 Ability to speak up in a relationship

According to the radical feminist theory, men tend to patronize and dominate women in the small groups, and in the context of a heterosexual marriage. Based on this theory, some scholars have pointed out that men interrupt women far more often than vice versa. For example, according to Zimmerman and West (1983), men tend to interrupt and patronize women in small groups. This finding, however, is in conflict with a larger sample study, in which Beattie found gender parity in the frequency of interruptions (Beattie 1982). Although the study of Zimmerman and West is more widely quoted by feminist scholars of gender studies, the results of Beattie seem more reliable, due to the larger sample size.

Another potential measure for the ability of men and women to speak up in social settings and in the private sphere is the amount of words used per day. According to the study of Mehl & al., there seems to be a strong gender symmetry in the usage of words by men and women: In a study, which used male and female college students as a sample, women used 16,125 and men 15,669 words per day, on average (Mehl & al. 2007). Although this measure combines the speech in both the private and public spheres, the figures indicate that there is no clear male dominance of speech in the private sphere – as this would require that women speak clearly more in the public sphere.

As the quantitative studies in this field seem to be relatively rare, there seems to be an insufficient basis for claiming that the radical feminist hypothesis is true, or that it is not.

6.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to find the approximate location of the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems of the Finnish society, and the neutral or debatable areas in between. The reviewed literature and statistics showed no indication that the Finnish families would belong to the patriarchal subsystem of the society, as the general hypothesis derived from radical feminism would claim. Although men have 20% higher earnings and possibly more resources of coercive power, this may

be balanced by the higher level of sexual power that women have, and by the flow of private and public transfer payments to women, to such an extent that women may actually consume more, and own more property. It also seems like an indicator of strong gender equality, that Finnish men and women with young children tend to have an equal amount of free time. Based on these findings, the Finnish families were located in the *neutral or debatable area* between patriarchy and matriarchy.

In the context of the public sphere, all the various kinds of power resources seem to be segregated in a relatively coherent manner, so that areas of male and female dominance can be identified, as was the hypothesis derived from the general theory of gender discrimination. Table 21, summarizes the horizontal segregation of power in Finland.

Power resource	Male dominance	Female dominance
Labor or "manpower"	Construction, transportation, defense, mining, industry, agriculture, hunting, fishing, forestry	Social services, healthcare, customer service, cultural services, education, finance, journalists
Managerial positions of power	Construction, transportation, defense, industry, agriculture, hunting, fishing, forestry, warehousing, telecommunication and IT, trade, sports and recreation, general line management, editors of daily newspapers, professors, principals and priests	Social services, healthcare, hotels and restaurants, editors of monthly magazines
Academic and professional know-how	Technology, agriculture, forestry	Social services and healthcare, customer service, teaching, humanistic sciences and art
Formal political power	Defense, foreign policy, commerce, state finances, technical issues	Social services and healthcare, education and culture, moral leadership of the nation
Informal and corporative political power	Same as formal political power plus industrial and technical labor unions	Same as formal political power plus equality policy and issues relating to gender, family and morality
Status symbols	Status symbols related to paid work and careers (?)	Status symbols related to family, leisure, and luxuries (?)
Authority (outside management and politics)	Most fields of scientific research, editors of newspapers	Gender studies, study of social work
Ability to speak up and be listened	Male dominated organizations, newspapers, most TV-programs (+ discourses dominated by men, see below)	Social service and healthcare organizations, equality policy, women's magazines, (+ discourses dominated by women, see below)
Discursive power resources	Discourses concerning technology, sports, commerce, state finances and the corporative network of labor unions and employers' organizations	Care taking, social services, equality policy, human relations, family and children

Table 21. The Horizontal Segregation of Power Resources in the Public Sphere in Finland.

The sphere of masculinity and the area of male dominance seem to be constructed around technical issues (technology and industry), outdoor activities (agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing, transportation, defense and sports), commerce, and state finances. Yet, in some areas, men and women seem to have dominance over different kinds of resources. For

example, in the fields of finance, education and newspapers, men have a clear dominance over managerial positions, while women have a clear dominance in the numbers of labor, especially in the context of customer service. Therefore, these organizations may be classified to the neutral or debatable borderlands between patriarchy and matriarchy. Alternatively, the management of these organizations can be considered as part of the patriarchy, and the customer service may be classified to the matriarchal subsystem of the society.

The sphere of femininity seems to be constructed around care taking (childcare, social services and healthcare), customer services (hotels, restaurants, employment agencies and care taking services), culture and humanistic sciences (magazines, libraries, art, qualitative methods), teaching (schools and universities), families and human relations (journalists of women's magazines, psychologists, social workers, maternity nurses), and equality policy (equality organs, scholars of women's studies and equality specialists). If we list only those organizational fields of activity, in which all or most resources of power are concentrated towards women, this list will include social services, the equality policy, daycare centers, healthcare, cultural services, hotels and restaurants, and women's magazines. As a conclusion, we may draw the following table concerning the segregation of power in Finland. Areas of equality and renegotiations are presented with white, and areas of male or female domination are indicated with explanatory texts:

	Sphere of masculinity: Technology, commerce, state finances, defense, agri-culture, transportation, trade, corporative labor and employer organizations	**Neutral or debatable sphere:** Financial services, education, environ-mental issues, employment offices	**The sphere of femininity:** Healthcare, social services, social policy, equality policy, hotels, restaurants, and some cultural services
Political and discursive power	Clear male dominance		Female dominance
Top level positions in organizations and academic authority	Clear male dominance	Male dominance (especially in finance and education)	Some female dominance (especially in social services and equality policy)
Academic and professional know-how	Clear male dominance		Clear female dominance
Labor and organizational culture on the grass roots level	Some male dominance	Potential female dominance	Clear female dominance

Table 22. The Approximate Location of Patriarchy and Matriarchy in Finland.

The borders between patriarchy, matriarchy and the neutral area in between, may now be used in the empirical studies which measure the likelihood of men and women to face gender discrimination either in the patriarchal or matriarchal subsystem of the Finnish society (see chapter 8). As Finland is one of the modern welfare states, we may also use this coexistence of patriarchy and matriarchy as a hypothesis for other modern welfare states, and to some extent for the countries such as the U.K. and USA, which are gradually reaching the status of a female friendly modern welfare state (see chapter 2.2.2). This hypothesis, however, needs to be tested with substantial amounts of empirical research in other welfare states, as the statistics above gave information mainly of the segregation of power in Finland.

Although this delineation of patriarchy and matriarchy is sufficient for the analysis of the gender discrimination which occurs in organizations due to feminine bias or masculine bias (see 5.4), it fails to capture the general discriminative discourses which spread in the media, and in men's and women's interest group organizations. In order to address these

issues, the following chapter is devoted to the analysis of the discursive power and rhetoric arsenal that can be used for the subordination and discrimination of men.

7 An Empirical Examination of the Memeplexes, Discourses and Coalitions that Induce Discrimination against Men

7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 Hypotheses

According to the general theory presented in chapter 5, gender discrimination is caused mostly by the theoretical paradigms and mental memeplexes which put either gender in a disadvantaged position. These paradigms and memeplexes also act as a source of discursive power, symbolic power and cultural power, which may then be used to dominate and discriminate men or women, depending on the context. According to the theory, the central memeplexes that may discriminate against men are sexism, sexist branches of feminism, the selfish core of feminism, the radical interpretation of the welfare state paradigm, and some conservative and sexist parts of the welfare state ideology. This leads to the first hypothesis that *sexism, feminism and the welfare state ideology contain some identifiable memes, which can be classified as discriminative or misandric against men*. Another hypothesis derived from the theory suggests that these misandric memes appear as *popularized and radicalized mutations* of some relatively moderate and scientific memes. These mutations emerge, spread and gain popularity, due to their cognitive simplicity and their opportunistic attractiveness, which is measured from the point of an interest group (see 4.8). According to the third hypothesis, sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology tend to form *opportunistic coalition discourses*, which benefit the interest groups behind sexism, feminism and the welfare state ideology. This means that we are likely to find alliances in which the discourses of conservative sexists, for example, align with the ideas of left wing feminists. This hypothesis seems to be a sufficiently surprising and unlikely one that the actual finding of such coalitions would be a relatively good proof of the predictive powers of the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution. According to the fourth hypothesis, the radicalized and popularized versions and coalition discourses of

sexism, feminism, and welfare state ideology tend to manifest themselves into organizational practices, which *discriminate against male customers or employees*, or contain such an amount of misandry, that it is close to the definition of a hate crime. The purpose of this chapter was to find support for or against the three first hypotheses, however for the fourth hypothesis, the only purpose was to elaborate and explicate the hypothesis, not to evaluate or test it.

7.1.2 Original research data

The research data for the analysis of *feminism* contains the feminist theories, beliefs and texts, which have been quoted in Finnish university course books on women's studies. The most important sources were the general introduction to feminist women's studies by Koivunen & Liljeström (2004), and the course books, which explained the feminist discourses concerning the relation between women and the welfare state (Anttonen & al. 1994, Silus & al. 1995, and Holli & al. 2002).

The research data, concerning the evolution of the *sexist memes* and discourses, was based on the empirical observations and historical analysis made by other scholars of masculinity, femininity and the gender system (e.g. David & Brannon 1976, Hoch 1979, Gilmore 1990, and Kammer 2002). These scholars have produced material for deconstructing the structure of the sexist memeplex, and for recognizing its historical alterations. These empirical examples were then elaborated by a process in which I followed the scientific references and acquired new texts, which contained empirical examples of the utilization of the sexist memeplexes as justification for the discrimination of men. Among these were the studies concerning the sexist discrimination of beta males in court trials (Gelsthorpe & Loucks 1997 and Jeffries 2005). The research data, concerning the evolution of the *welfare state ideology* towards misandric discourses, was adopted from the ideological analysis and empirical examples given by Harisalo & Miettinen (1995). This analysis was then enriched by the study of an alternative discourse, which perceived welfare states as tools for the reproduction of the patriarchal ideology (e.g. Pateman 1989). Since the content of the welfare state ideologies was already analyzed in chapters 4.9.1 and 5.8, this chapter

focuses on the misandric connections and coalitions between the welfare state ideologies, sexism and feminism.

This original research data was expanded in the course of the study as explained in the following chapters.

7.1.3 Methodological background

The method of the study combines Foucault's genealogy, discourse analysis and memetics. The *genealogical approach* is visible in the setting of the goal of the study, which is to analyze the historical roots and contemporary appearances of the misandric and severely biased discourses, which have a capacity to harm men.[76] The genealogical approach means that the historical depth of the research data may flexibly reach long back into history, if ancient texts or events are required for explaining the present. In a similar fashion, the potential width of the research data is large, since some paths of the genealogical analysis may lead to the analysis of the intertextual appearance of discursive elements in very different types of texts, such as research reports, political programs, administrative papers, and possibly even some blog writings, in some cases, in order to illustrate the appearance of some forms of misandry. The principle research data, however, is to prioritize scientific and administrative texts over the mass of unofficial and unscientific texts found in the media and on the Internet. In those cases where reference to unofficial and unscientific texts are made, they are made in order to understand a phenomenon or a belief system, and not to make claims of its popularity and influence based on a couple of accidentally found texts that have been added to the research data.

The method of the study resembles *discourse analysis* and *memetics* in the fashion that it tries to study the intertextual appearance of discursive elements (memes) within different discourses and memeplexes, some of which may be competing against each other (see Fairclough 1992, p. 102 and Phillips and Jørgensen 2002, p. 74). This lowers the focus and attention to single discursive elements, while keeping in mind the importance of the higher level discourses and paradigms. The study also combines *genealogy* and *memetics*, by concentrating on the random

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76 *genealogy*, Foucault 1972, p. 54–55 (see Stenvall 2000, p. 35 and Alasuutari 1996, p. 18)

processes which create discourses and political texts in a relatively chaotic manner, recombining discursive elements (memes) from different discourses in very creative and yet only "fuzzily logical" or "boundedly rational" ways. A methodological consequence of this perspective is the usage of *googling*, as a method for identifying the intertextual appearance of small discursive elements (memes). This method is a new and promising one, but it is still a very immature one, in such a fashion that well established methodological guidelines have not yet been produced. Therefore, the combination of memetics and discourse analysis also means that some methodological pioneering needs to be done, taking the risk of being criticized for the usage of unconventional methods. The main risk here seems to be the unconventionality of perceiving the entire Internet as research data, and then using Google as a tool for data mining. This is against the idea that research data is clearly delineated, and that all pieces of the research data should be handled in a systematic or identical manner. Although the method of googling directs the study slightly away from critical discourse analysis and genealogy, the method is still in line with the tradition of *discursive psychology*, which studies the contextual and informal discourses that people create in their personal contexts (see Phillips and Jørgensen 2002, p. 20). This perspective suggests that even the blog writings and web forum writings, found by googling, can be used as research data.

At the end, the discovered potentially misandric memes and meme-plexes were structured in the form statements which were stated in a survey, to a target group in a pilot study. The purpose of this pilot study was to advance from qualitative analysis towards quantitative analysis, in an experimental manner, without seeking firm and quantitative evidence. Although modest in its goal setting, the pilot study connects the tradition of qualitative discourse analysis to the tradition of quantitative social scientific and humanistic studies.

7.1.4 Description of the heuristic research cycle

The method of this study began from the identification of the *main discourses* within the order of discursivity, meaning the discourses

concerning the gender system (phase 1). At this phase, the discourses that most likely give rhetoric support for the discrimination of men were found to be sexism, feminism and radicalized welfare state ideology. This preliminary understanding directed the collection of the original research data (phase 2). This initial picture of the main discourses was then enriched by the deconstruction of sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology into memeplexes and memes (phase 3). At this phase, the rhetoric and (fuzzily) logical connections from the memes to each other were also analyzed. This deconstruction of the discourses led to the separation of the male friendly versions of sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology from the more misandric versions, which were then illustrated as *memeplex diagrams*. These diagrams were drawn with the universal modeling tool "Rational Rose" (IBM), or with Word (Microsoft), which was sufficient for the presentation of the simpler diagrams. In the diagrams, the connections of memes to each other were shown as arrows of memetic reasoning, meaning the connections of memes in which one meme can be (fuzzily) deduced from another one. The usage of memeplex diagrams seems to be an original idea in the context of memetics and discourse analysis, although such network diagrams have been relatively widely used in the study of information structures and conceptual networks.

After the modeling of the misandric versions of sexism, misandric feminism and radical welfare state ideology, the research data was analyzed again, in order to study the genealogy of misandry and discrimination against men, and to identify some coalition discourses, liaison memes, and political coalitions between the paradigms of sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology (phase 4). At this point, the research data was expanded to cover the entire World Wide Web, in order to allow for the tracing of the intertextual appearance of discursive elements in various texts in different contexts.

The "final" part of this heuristic method was the evaluation of the popularity and influence of the misandric and discriminative memeplexes with a qualitative, discourse analytical approach (phase 5) and also by a structured pilot survey (phase 6). These methods for analyzing popularity and influence are described below in more detail.

7.1.5 Discourse analysis of the popularity and significance of memes

The discourse analysis of popularity and influence proceeded in three steps: The first step was to check whether each identified misandric meme could be located in some texts, including unscientific and unofficial texts found on the web. Any incidence of the meme was taken as proof that the meme exists, and enjoys at least some popularity.

The second step was to study, whether the identified memes could be located in public policy documents on the World Wide Web, focusing primarily on the Finnish administration, but also taking the European Union, the USA and the United Nations into account in the googling of documents and memes. Once spotted in a public policy document, the third step was to check, whether the memes were presented as "self evident and unquestioned truths" in the public policy documents, or whether they were posed with disclaimers – or whether some contradicting statements about the topic were posed in some other public policy texts. If the potentially misandric memes appeared in several documents without questioning and without disclaimers or contradicting occurrences, the memes were assessed as popular and influential. In some cases, it was also possible to spot the same memes in the political programs of several Finnish parties, which meant that the meme had reached an almost hegemonic status in the discourses of the Finnish parties and public administration.

After these five phases, the original picture of the most influential misandric and discriminative memeplexes within the discourses of sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology were reconsidered. This led to a new cycle of research, in which the research data was expanded based on the increased understanding of the discriminative and misandric discourses. This heuristic method of research resembles the way in which scholars of discursive psychology encourage the usage of naturally occurring material (e.g. news articles accidentally encountered by the researcher), and the intertextual expansion of research data, especially if the research problem is a voluminous one (see Phillips and Jørgensen 2002, p. 120–121).
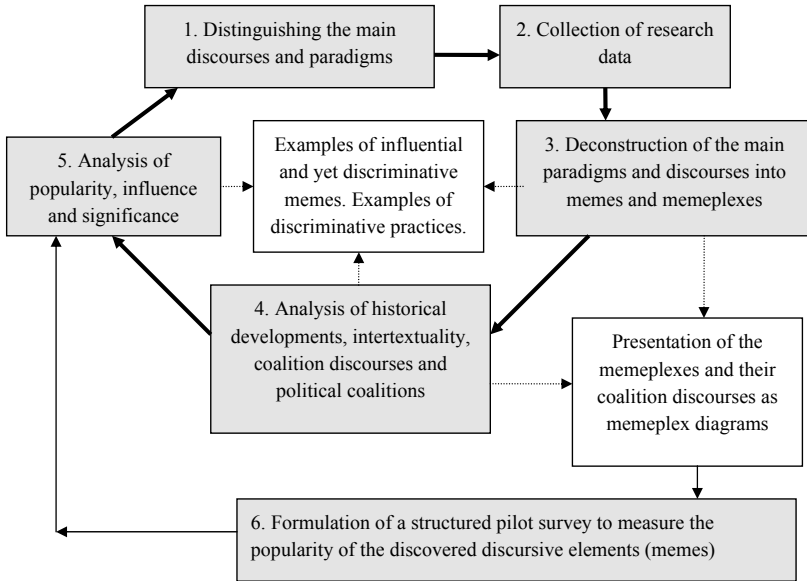
Figure 33. The Method of the Memetic Discourse Analysis.

A central output of this process was the collection of examples of those memes and memeplexes, which seemed to have established a strong position in the public administration, despite their misandric or discriminative nature. Another central output was the collection of examples of those discriminative practices, which seemed to be caused and supported by the discriminative and misandric memeplexes. After these preparations, a structured pilot survey was formulated and executed, in order to measure the popularity of the discovered discursive elements (phase 6). This however, was not the end of the heuristic research circle, since the study of the memes and memeplexes continued even after the pilot study, with the analysis of the popularity and significance of the different memeplexes.

7.1.6 Description of the research data
collected by the pilot survey

In the pilot study, the identified memeplexes were formulated into statements, which were presented in a survey. The respondents of the survey were asked to rate, how strongly they agreed with the statements on a scale from 1 (totally agree) to 5 (totally disagree). The survey measured the popularity of misandric or discriminative beliefs on three areas or discourses: The first area concerned the patriarchal oppression of women in Finland. The second area measured the popularity of sexist generalizations concerning men and women, and the third area measured the popularity of positive action and reverse discrimination policies.

The pilot survey was introduced as a "misandry test for feminists" on two mailing lists and one web forum. The mailing lists were a Finnish e-mailing list for women's studies (naistutkimus@uta.fi), and the gender equality mailing list maintained by the governmental TANE (man@kaapeli.fi). The web forum was the professional discussion forum of social workers and scholars of social work (www.sosiaaliportti.fi). Thirty respondents volunteered for the survey and were sent the survey forms. Finally, 24 survey forms were returned. 18 of the respondents were female, and 6 were male. All of the respondents identified themselves as feminists. 17 of the respondents reported that they were in the role of a public decision maker, or a political activist.

7.2 Sexism and Sexist Sciences as Discriminators of Men

7.2.1 Introduction and overview

The discourse or memeplex of sexism consists of the beliefs, concepts, stereotypes, norms and social practices that constitute masculinity and femininity. Some of these memes benefit men; some benefit women, and some only benefit the privileged alpha males and females of high social status (see 5.2.1 and 5.7.2). In the following chapters, the memes of sexism have been structured into four basic memeplexes, which are connected to each other, and which may all have some negative effects for

men in general, or for beta males specifically. The historical formulation of the *sexist stereotypes of men and women* has formed the basis for the role expectations concerning *macho masculinity* and *chivalry*, which both strengthen and reproduce the exaggerated stereotypes of men. *Maternalism* is an ideology, which cherishes the stereotype of women as perfect mothers and caretakers of children. It is based on the exaggerated stereotypes of men and women. Most of these memeplexes are also supported by sexist interpretations and branches of *psychoanalysis, sociobiology* and *brain research*.
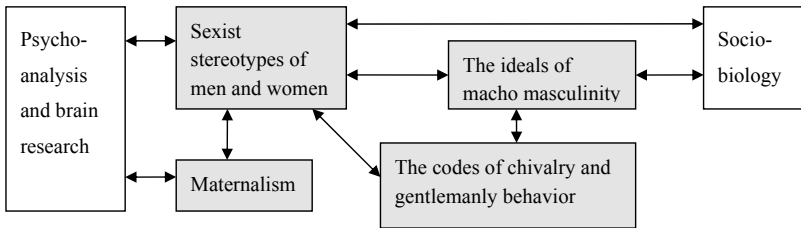
Figure 34. Sexism as a Set of Interconnected Memeplexes.

Although all of these memeplexes contain elements that work towards the superior status of men, they also contain elements that cause discrimination against men.

7.2.2 Sexist stereotypes of men and women as a cause of discrimination

The positive and neutral stereotypes of men and women act as role expectations that cause *structural gender discrimination* (see 2.1.2). Although the negative gender stereotypes do not create role pressure, they harm men and women by forming a basis for misandry and misogyny, and for the direct and indirect discrimination of the gender that is put down by the stereotype (see 5.3.1).

Ancient gender stereotypes tended to present men in a very positive manner, emphasizing men's high ability for moral reasoning and self discipline. Women, on the other hand, were stereotyped as irrational,

mentally volatile, prone towards hysteria, and having a low ability for moral reasoning (see Nousiainen and Pylkkänen 2001). This low capacity for moral reasoning was also connected to the idea that women are the more sexual gender, meaning that they have a high propensity for sexual infidelity. These stereotypes were then used as rhetoric support for the arguments on the necessity of men to control women, and to keep them at home, and outside the public sphere of decision making (see 5.5.2 and Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001). This misogynous branch of sexism, however, began to change in the 17th century, when some authors presented women as the more noble gender.[77] At first, the changes in the old stereotypes were advancements towards neutrality and equality, as the old misogynous stereotypes were gradually abandoned. The development of the discourses, however, did not end there, and the misogyny of the old discourses was partly replaced by the glorification of women and by the misandric stereotypes of men. The older stereotypes and discourses that pictured men as *tough, strong, competitive, assertive, courageous, daring and sexually potent* (see 3.1) were gradually altered in the 19th century towards a more misandric form. The idea of men as sexually potent, shifted towards the stereotype of men as the *sex crazed* gender that has difficulty in maintaining their self discipline. In a similar fashion, the idea of men as assertive, courageous and daring mutated towards the stereotype of men as *aggressive and violent*. According to Gordon, this change in the discourses of sexism can be traced from the thousands of novels of the 19th century, which "were part of a campaign to present men as barbarians whose urges had to be leashed in by the forces of decency – meaning women – if civilization were to survive."[78] This development seems to have a connection to the discourses of the Victorian society, which created the stereotype of women as sexually uninterested and therefore morally superior to the sexually overactive and barbarian men.

This stereotyping of men as brutal barbarians may be explained by the joint interests of *women* and the *alpha males* of the upper social classes: While women had an interest in ending the discrimination of women, the alpha males had the incentive to put down other men in order to distinguish themselves from the unsophisticated mob of the beta males (see

77 E.g. Marinella 1600, see Kammer 2002, p. 31

78 Professor John Gordon of Connecticut College (see Kammer 2002, p. 30).

5.7). In a similar fashion, the stereotypes of women began to change in the 17th century. Women were no longer stereotyped in a misogynous fashion as the irrational, sexually overactive, morally weak and gender. Instead, the irrationality was replaced with sensibility, over sexuality was replaced by belief in the women's lower level of sexual desire, and moral weakness was replaced with moral strength. These developments are summarized into Table 23, which shows the historical variation in the misogynous and misandric versions of the stereotypes concerning men. The central column of the table aims to show a gender neutral stereotype, which can then be varied towards misogynous or misandric representations.

Misogynous stereotype of men (1000 BCA – 1600 CA.	Neutralized and moderated stereotype	Misandric stereotype of men (starting from 19th century)
Men are mentally and physically stronger than women	Men are stronger than women	Men's larger size is a threat to ladies, and the lack of men's self discipline shows that women are the mentally stronger gender.
Men are more rational and spiritual, and less directed by nature and flesh than women (women are prone to infidelity)	Men have an equal or stronger sex drive than women	Men are the hypersexual or "sex crazed" gender, and this makes men inclined to immoral behaviors such as sexual infidelity and rape (although this does not apply to gentlemen).
Men have a higher self discipline and higher morals than women.	Morality and self discipline are not questions of gender.	Women have a higher self discipline and higher morals than common men.
Men are better at making quick decisions.	Men are assertive.	Men are aggressive and violent, on average (although gentlemen are not).
Men are courageous and brave.	Men are courageous and brave.	Men on average, are not courageous and brave (although gentlemen may be).
Men are more rational.	Men are more goals oriented and instrumental.	Men are calculative, uncompassionate and detached from emotions.
Men are not as hysterical and volatile as women.	Men do not cry as easily as women.	Men are emotionally detached.
Men are focused and determined.	Men concentrate on one thing at a time.	Men can not concentrate on several things at the same time in a similar fashion to women.

Table 23. The Memetic Drift from Misogyny to Misandry in the Sexist Stereotypes of Men and Women.

The central reasons for the memetic drift from misogyny to misandry seem to be the discourses of chivalry, maternalism, psychoanalysis, Darwinism, and sociobiology, which are all discussed in chapters 7.2.4–7.2.6. Feminism also contains elements, which have reduced the misogyny in gender stereotypes, and added some elements of misandry. These feminist memes are discussed in more detail in chapter 7.3.

7.2.3 Macho masculinity and alpha females as discriminators of men

Macho masculinity combines the ideas of men as *tough, competitive, self assured, daring* and *capable of violence*. It seems to originate from the primitive hunting societies, in which boys lived with their female relatives until they passed an explicit test of masculinity, an initiation rite, which enabled them to participate in hunting expeditions and military raids as a member of the group of adult men. An additional part of the memeplex of macho masculinity is *sexual potency and experience*. The proponents of macho masculinity, value men who have had sex with dozens of women, and who are capable of picking up almost any woman that they meet. At the same time, the machos tend to feel that their honor could not possibly endure if they found their woman cheating on them. This means that macho ideology tends to promote monogamous femininity, while being very liberal about polygamous masculinity.

Although modern society differs dramatically from the primitive hunting societies, the basic ethos of macho masculinity is very similar to what it was thousands of years ago: Men still seek to be tough, competitive, self assured, fearless, capable of violence, and able to have sex with dozens of women. Some parts of macho masculinity also seem to be promoted by women, who tend to be sexually attracted to competitive, self assured, and sexually potent and experienced males (see Notko 2000 and Laasanen 2006). Women may also promote macho masculinity by favoring tall, wealthy and powerful men in the dating, mating and marriage markets.[79] This promotion of macho masculinity tends to be strongly programmed

79 See Hitsch, Hortascu & Ariely 2004 and Buss 1999, p. 110. http://en.wikibooks. org/wiki/Relationships/How_Women_Select_Men

to women's culture, as even many feminists in their personal life prefer tough and traditionally masculine men to soft and equality oriented men.[80] All of these preferences induce macho masculinity among men, as men sense that they need to become wealthy and powerful, in order to attract women. The preferences of women, however, may vary from time to time and from country to another. There is a widely spread tendency in women to prefer men who cope well with kids (Buss 1999, p. 121–123), and this tendency seems to be a challenge to the most aggressive and competitive versions of macho masculinity.
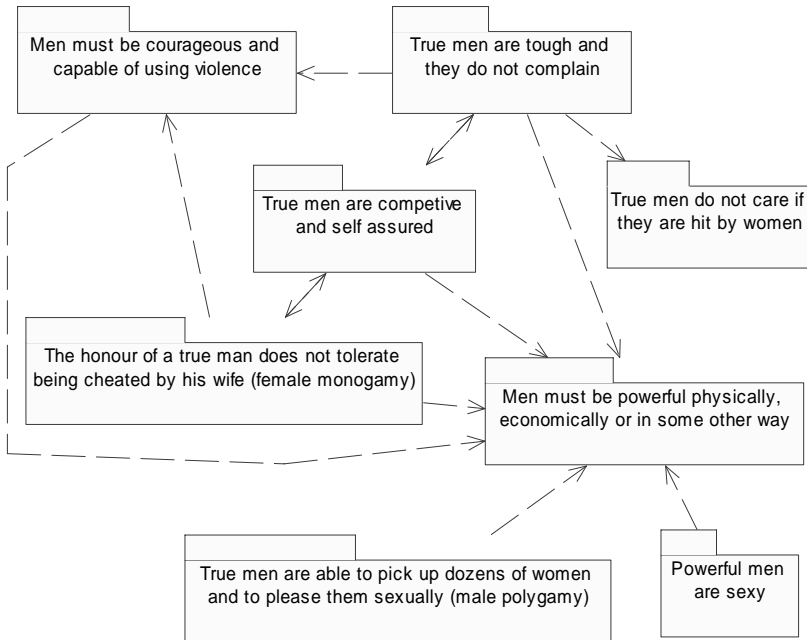
Figure 35. Macho Masculinity as a Cause of Structural Discrimination against Men.

The female promotion of macho masculinity may also appear in the way in which women expect their spouses to be *tough and sturdy*. For example, female university Students in the USA tend to initiate physical aggression against their boyfriends most often for the reason that 1) they

80 Kitzinger & Wilkinson 1993, see Keskinen 2005, p. 58

do not believe that they can hurt men; 2) they expect that the men do not care about slaps and punches, and do not retaliate.[81] These beliefs pressure men into the role of a sturdy macho male, who considers women's violence against men as funny and insignificant. This idea of the macho men or "true men" laughing at female violence appears in several Hollywood movies, in which the heroes consider violent and furious women as charming.

7.2.4 Chivalry and gentlemanly codes

The earliest medieval codes of chivalry in Europe, mostly emphasized military courage and feudal loyalty, or gender neutral mental virtues such as honesty and fearlessness. This means that they were ideologically very close to the ideals of macho masculinity. The ideas of respecting and protecting the women were recorded as small and almost hidden remarks in the long lists of the virtues of the knights.[82] It seems that the chivalrous idea of *men as the protectors of women* was brought to the European knights by the Maures, as the Arabic culture had developed a strong culture of chivalry already in the 5th century.[83] In this culture the idea of protection appeared in the tradition of harems (harim), which were originally a synonym for a sanctuary – a place where women could be safe. The Arabic knights had also very clear codes of war, stating that the violence against civilians, especially women and children, is not acceptable. The chivalrous *respect for women* may have also arrived to Charlemagne's knights from the North, as the old Norse societies respected or even worshipped women (see 5.3.1).

In the 12th century, the connection between chivalry and respect for women was strengthened by the "Art of Courtly Love" by Andreas

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81 According to Fiebert & Gonzalez (1997), American female university Students often initiated physical aggression "because they did not believe that their male victims would be injured or would retaliate" (Fiebert 2006).

82 For example, the Song of Roland, which describes the 8th century knights serving King Charlemagne, lists 17 knightly virtues and only one of them relates to women, stating that a knight should "respect the honor of women".

83 Burckhardt 1972, see http://www.chivalrytoday.com/Essays/Salloum/Salloum-Habeeb-1.html

Capellanus (12th century), which requires that men *put on a pedestal the woman* that they love.[84] After the medieval times, the ideologies of chivalry and courtly love gradually converted towards general *gallantry*, as the highest aristocrats were no longer interested in engaging personally to wars in the 16th century (see Hoch 1979, p. 118). This meant that the men were supposed to show their chivalry by perfecting the codes of aristocratic behavior and courtly love, in the connotation of "courting the women". The Arabic tradition of chivalry, meaning the need of men to protect women at the cost of their own life, continued its existence in military discourses that promoted *conscription*. This discourse has also been strengthened by the educated upper class men of the Victorian era, who developed the ideas of chivalry and gallantry towards the ideology of *gentlemanly behavior*. These gentlemanly ideas still appear today in the fashion, in which men are expected to open doors for women, give women their seat, pay for dates, and sacrifice their own comfort and safety for women. A modern version of the sexist ideology of gentlemanship is found in John Grays "Mars and Venus Together Forever", which requires men to be masculine in a heroic and Spartan manner, while permitting their wives to concentrate on hedonistic relaxation and aesthetic beauty (Gray 1995).

The memeplex of chivalry is summarized in Figure 36, which shows the connections of chivalry to the ideals of macho masculinity (marked as grey boxes). Most of these chivalrous memes cause structural discrimination against men, in the form of role expectations. However, they are also likely to aggregate into institutionalized belief systems, in which men's lives are considered less valuable than female lives, and men's health and comfort are considered less important than female health and comfort.

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84 See http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/capellanus.html

Figure 36. Chivalry as a Potential Cause for the Discrimination of Men.

A naturalized and legitimized consequence of the discourses of chivalry is the perception of national defense as *every man's duty*. In many countries such as Finland, Sweden, Germany and Russia, all men have to go through an obligatory military training, which lasts about 6–24 months. Women do not have a similar obligation that is be enforced by police, and which results in imprisonment, if the duty is not performed properly. This form of gender discrimination against young men, also gains support from the sexist gender stereotypes, which present women as the weak and fragile creatures that are best suited for childcare, while men are stereotyped as the strong, brave, aggressive and outgoing gender, which is better suited for the Spartan life of a soldier. These stereotypes and chivalrous discourses still help in the preservation of the ancient gender roles, although most modern wars of are solved by high technology, or by persistent civil resistance, guerilla war and terrorism – and not by the conventional wars fought on military frontiers.

7.2.5 Maternalism and psychoanalysis as discriminators of men

Maternalism is an ideology, which originally started within the framework of sexism. This is the perspective of the majority of feminist scholars, who perceive maternalism as an analogical ideology to paternalism (e.g. Abbot & Sapsford 1990 p. 120; Snitow 1992, Sklar 1993, p. 45; Satka 1994, p. 75; Nätkin 1994 p. 68, and Ollila 1994, p. 55). The core beliefs in conservative maternalism are the belief in the *superiority of women in childcare*, and the belief in the *superior importance of mothers to children*. Both are connected to the conservative and sexist interpretations of psychoanalysis.

The belief in women's superior ability in childcare seems to be connected to the prehistoric and ancient traditions that pictured women as the fertile sex, which had the capacity to give birth and to breastfeed the children. These traces of ancient maternalism appeared in the clay figures of female fertility goddesses that were the most common divine figure around 10,000–3,000 BCA (Eisler 1988). The ideas of women's mystical and divine sexuality and fertility continued their existence in the worshipping of Isthar, Astarte, Aphrodite and Venus. After the influence of Christianity had institutionalized, the idea of maternalism was changed in a patriarchal fashion, diminishing the ideas of female fertility and sexuality, and emphasizing the idea of women as the morally pure care takers of children. This change in the female role may be considered as discrimination against women, since women were increasingly locked up in the private sphere, in the context of childcare and domestic work. The changes, however, were also harmful for men, as men's ability to form good relationships with their children was reduced. In the 19th century, women's superiority in the domain of childcare and custody took another step. According to Warshack and Holter, the industrialization and men's work outside the home meant that women were appointed to the home, where they were perceived as the essentially important care takers of children (Warshak 1992, Holter 1995). However, it is also possible that the misandric stereotypes of the Victorian society acted as an impetus for the improvement of women's legal status (see 7.2.2). The weakening of men's status, in the context of childcare, may be also connected to the

emergence of psychoanalysis, which emphasized the essentially important bond between the mother and the child (Warshack 1992). Another thread in psychoanalysis, which seems to have weakened men's status in the context of custody and childcare, seems to be made of the ideas of the *masculine death wish* and the idea of *men's overwhelming sexuality*.[85] These memeplexes seem to have supported the negative stereotypes of men, in such a fashion that pictured men as completely unsuitable caretakers of small children.

Conservative maternalism seems to have been revitalized in the 1970s and 1980s, when father's right activists required that men should have an equal right for custody as mothers. This led towards feminist perspectives, in which fathers were perceived as a threat to the joint interests of mothers and children. This means that conservative maternalism found allies among feminists and female psychologists. Feminists such as Ruddick began to dream about a fatherless society,[86] and some female psychologists gave strong statements about the unsuitability of men to the role of a single custodian. For example, according to Professor Annica Dahlström, "men can hurt children" and "the bizarre odor and low voices of men do not suit young children" (Dahlström 2007, see Solfors 2007). In the conversations of mothers and female social workers, the joint experiences of motherhood played an important role (Ollila 1994, Forsberg 1995). This led to the spreading of a discourse, which presented fathers as brutal villains and as threats to the well being of the mother and the child.[87] These maternalist ideas were also amplified by the feminist theory of social work, which claimed that the interests of women and children are synonymous, and that female social workers should identify with their female customers (see 7.5.5.1). The discourses of men as brutal villains were also amplified by the feminist theory of gendered violence (see 7.3.2.4) and by the misandric stereotypes of men and women (see 7.2.2).

The combined effects of these maternalist discourses in the context of custody and divorce are shown in Figure 37. The maternalist belief

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85 Although the idea of men's overwhelming sexuality originally referred to mankind (indlucind women), the ideas were easily mutated to the idea that "sex is always in men's minds" (meaning the male gender).

86 Ruddick 1989 (see Nätkin 1995, p. 68)

87 Natkin 1997, p. 195–197 (see Juttula 2004, p. 45–46)

in the superiority of women in childcare aligns perfectly with the psychoanalytical idea that mothers are superiorly important to the children. Yet, the discourses of social workers and divorcing wives also tend to work towards the idea of mothers as superior custodians, through the creation of a "villain discourse", which presents men in general, and fathers specifically, as brutal villains who pose a threat to mothers and children.
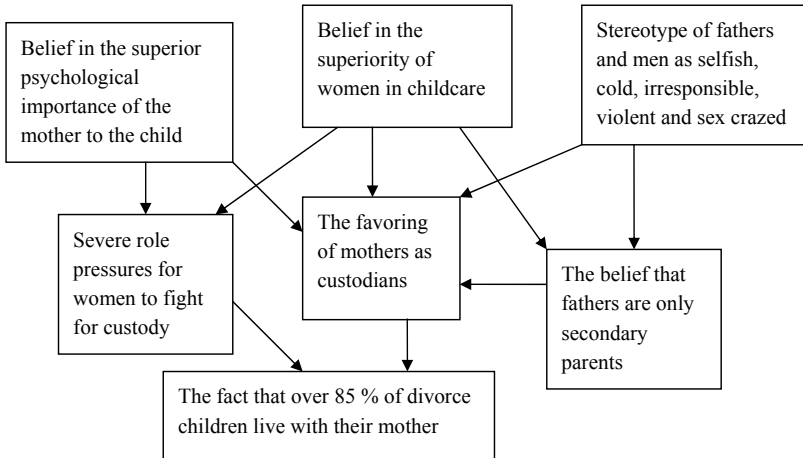
Figure 37. Maternalism as a Discriminator of Men in Custody Disputes.

These maternalist discourses have led to the widely spread belief that fathers are only *secondary parents*, whilst women have the main responsibility of childcare and the well being of children (see Warshack 1992, Vuori 2001, p.148–155, and Ailwood 2007). This idea of secondary parents also appears in the Finnish information system for handling children's dental care. In the system, the parents are stored into two fields, which are the "primary parent" and the "secondary parent". For some reason, men may be typed in as "secondary parents", even when they take alone their child for dental care, without the mother of the child. This idea of men's inferior ability to act as care takers of children, also reduces men's motivation to learn childcare tasks. This causes a feedback loop, which reduces men's abilities in childcare, and "proves" the unsuitability of men for childcare and for the custody of small children.

The maternalist discourses have also led to role pressures on women: Even in the context of divorce, women feel that they have to fight for single

custody – or otherwise, they are not good mothers. These discourses, pressures and discriminative practices together, have led to a situation in which the vast majority of divorced children still live with their mother (see 7.5.5).

7.2.6 Sexist interpretations of Darwinism, sociobiology and the brain research

Not only psychoanalysis, but also other sciences have participated in the formulation of misandric stereotypes of men – or to the exaggeration of the differences between men and women differences.

Darwinism tended to promote discourses and memes, which presented human evolution as a process of *fierce competition* and as a *brutal quest for survival*. These metaphora, which have some resemblance to the theory of functional selection (see 4.3), can easily be interpreted in a manner that pictures men as violent beasts who fight against each other and against the nature, in order to gain control over scarce natural resources. In these discourses, the "dominance of men over nature" is also easily interpreted in a fashion that man refers to the male gender, not to mankind in a more general sense that would include also women.

This Darwinist legacy is continued by the sexist branches of *sociobiology and evolutionary psychology*, which emphasize essential and genetic gender differences in masculine and feminine behaviors. In these discourses, men are easily stereotyped as the more violent, competitive and sexual gender, while women are seen as a symbol of fertility, maternal care and unviolence. For example, in their book "The Demonic Males", Wrangham & Peterson argued that men are essentially the aggressive sex, based on the fact that male chimpanzees may commit organized aggression against members of competing tribes, and based on the fact that chimpanzees are genetically closer to humans than to gorillas (Wrangham & Peterson 1997). According to Wrangham, all men are capable of this demonic violence, "no matter how nice they are". [88] However, the same book reports that among *bonobo chimpanzees* male aggression is very rare, and females are the dominant sex, although the Bonobos are as

88 For additional criticism against "The Demonic Males", see the book review by Jonathan Marks, a professional anthropologist from the University of California, http://personal.uncc.edu/jmarks/pubs/demonic.pdf)

genetically close to humans as other chimpanzees. This observation seems to be a contradiction to the generalizations of Wrangham & Peterson: If bonobos have a peaceful and female dominated society, and if they have a high genetic resemblance to humans, how come the human males are essentially "demonic", based on the observed demonic behaviors of some male chimpanzees? In a similar fashion, some sociobiologists such as Thornhill also claim that men's ability to rape is an evolutionary adaptation, which increases men's breeding success. According to Thornhill, "A guy, regardless of how he has been raised… finding a female in a real vulnerable situation… in some conditions, rapes her" (Thornhill 2000). This quotation has led simplified interpretations claiming that "All men are potential rapists" (Worden 2000).

The problem with the gender stereotypes provided by Darwinism, sociobiology and evolutionary psychology, is their lack of emphasis to cultural evolution and to the social construction of reality. Yet, these essentialist stereotypes of men and women are cognitively attractive, as they simplify things and help in the maintenance of a clear dichotomy between masculinity and femininity. The attractiveness of simple essentialist explanations is illustrated by the high popularity of the *"men have tube brains"* memeplex, which has evolved in the theoretical periphery of **brain research**. This memeplex suggests that men have a thinner corpus callosum between the left and right hemisphere of the brain, and that therefore, *men can concentrate and focus only on one task or issue at a time*. The other part of this memeplex is the idea that women have a substantially thicker corpus callosum, and therefore, *women have a much better capacity for holistic thinking and multitasking*. Yet, the empirical studies, concerning men's and women's brains, find no evidence that would support the idea of women's thicker corpus callosum (see Lauerma 1999, p. 56–57 and 2007, p. 134).

The sexist interpretations of brain research also appear in the study of testosterone. According to the sexist interpretation, testosterone is a symbol of competitiveness, aggression and violence, and low levels of testosterone are correlated with peaceful, uncompetitive and unviolent behaviors. The popularity of this thinking is revealed by the fact that the meme "testosterone poisoning" has become very popular in the media, and in unscientific discourses (see Kammer 2002, p. 55–56). This seems to be a case of memetic simplification and exaggeration, as the research

of hormones would also enable very different conclusions and stereotypes of men and women: For example, testosterone can also be linked to happiness, self assurance and competitiveness, while in some studies, low levels of testosterone have been connected with violence (Ibid, 56–59. One must also note that some female hormones may produce behaviors, which do not fully fit the classic stereotype of the peaceful and unaggressive females. Therefore, it seems likely that the sexist, misandric and essentialist interpretations of natural sciences are simultaneously a cause and a consequence of the misandric stereotypes of men that began to spread around the 19th century (see 7.2.2).

7.2.7 The sexist discrimination of men in criminal court

A highly likely case of sexist discrimination against men is the systematic favoring of female defendants in criminal courts. According to Samantha Jeffries, men tend to be prosecuted and convicted easier than women. Once convicted, they are given longer sentences with a higher probability of actual imprisonment, instead of remaining under parole. These differences remain, even if factors such as criminal records are counted out by statistical means (Jeffries 2005a). These conclusions were based on a study of 388 criminal court cases in New Zealand, with 194 males and 194 females committing serious drug, property and violence crimes between 1990 and 1997. It was found out that even controlling all other factors such as criminal history, the sex of the defendant had a significant impact on the sentences given (Jeffries 2005a and 2005b). According to Jeffries, a recent United Nations crime report also confirms this tendency for judges to treat men and women differently in courts. The lighter sentencing of women in courts is also supported by the British Home Office study "Understanding the Sentencing of Women", which shows that magistrates tend to divide the defendants into problem customers, which are usually men, and to problematized customers, which are usually female (Gelsthorpe & Loucks 1997, p. 26–29). This means that when women are charged, authorities tend to look for social explanations for criminal behavior, while in charges against men, the men are more strictly considered guilty for their actions. For example, the British courts

tend to explain female thefts with the idea that some women need to steal in order to guarantee a standard of living of their children. This argument has even been used in cases in which the women, actually, had no children. The favorable treatment of women in courts, and the bias against men, has also been acknowledged by the US Ministry of Justice, which has announced new gender-blind sentencing guidelines (see Kammer 2002, p. 85).

This discrimination of men in criminal courts is also likely to occur in Finland. According to the database of the governmental Optula research institute, men tend to get longer jail sentences than women for the same crime categories. The penalties are also much more likely to be enforced inside prison, instead of letting the convict remain under parole (see Table 24). Men tend to get 7–13% longer jail sentences in the most common crimes such as assaults and thefts. In all categories, men have a 1.5–4 times higher chance of being convicted to prison, depending on the category of the crime. These statistics, however, have the weakness of not containing information about the potential differences in the average criminal records of male and female violators of law. This means that additional studies, concerning the gender discrimination of men in Finnish criminal courts, would be required to verify the applicability of the international findings to Finland.

	Sex		Ratio
Probability of enforced conviction to prison	*male*	*female*	*(m/f)*
Theft	19 %	7 %	271 %
Fraud	8 %	2 %	400 %
Severe narcotics crime	68 %	46 %	148 %
Assault	4 %	1 %	400 %
Severe assault	38 %	19 %	200 %
Average length of conviction to prison	*male*	*female*	*(m/f)*
Theft	1,8	1,6	113 %
Fraud	2,2	2,4	92 %
Severe narcotics crime	30,7	28,8	107 %
Assault	2,9	2,7	107 %
Severe assault	15,8	15,5	102 %

Table 24. The Different Treatment of Men and Women in Finnish Criminal Courts.

Not only the gender of the defendant, but also of the victim, has an effect on sentencing. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research at Harvard University, drunk drivers who kill women get prison sentences that are 56% longer than the sentences given to drunk drivers who kill men. (National Bureau of Economic Research at Harward University, April 2000, see Kammer 2002, p. 25). This seems to be a case of indirect discrimination against the male victims of drunk drivers. It is also a case of structural discrimination against all men, since male lives tend to be considered less valuable than female lives.

These findings may be explained mostly by the discourses of maternalism and chivalry. According to the maternalist and chivalrous discourses, women are the tender and fragile care takers of others, which are unlikely to commit crimes, and which are unlikely to stand imprisonment. Women are also perceived as so invaluable for their children that their imprisonment seems to be out of the question. On the basis of chivalry, female lives are considered more valuable, which explains the harder sentences for criminals who kill women, compared to the killers of men. On the contrary, men are stereotyped as tough, reckless, daring, risk taking and aggressive, meaning that they are more likely to commit crimes and more likely to deserve a harder punishment than the fragile women. Men are also considered less important for children, meaning that their imprisonment is not objected on the basis that they have children.

7.3 Discourses of Patriarchy, Male Dominance and Reverse Discrimination

7.3.1 Introduction

The discourses of patriarchy, male dominance and reverse discrimination begin with the theory of patriarchy and male dominance, which claims that women are *the* disadvantaged and discriminated gender. From this starting point, it is possible to argue that the sole purpose of the equality policy is to advance women's status, and that public authorities should create a systematic network of double standards in order to support and favor women.
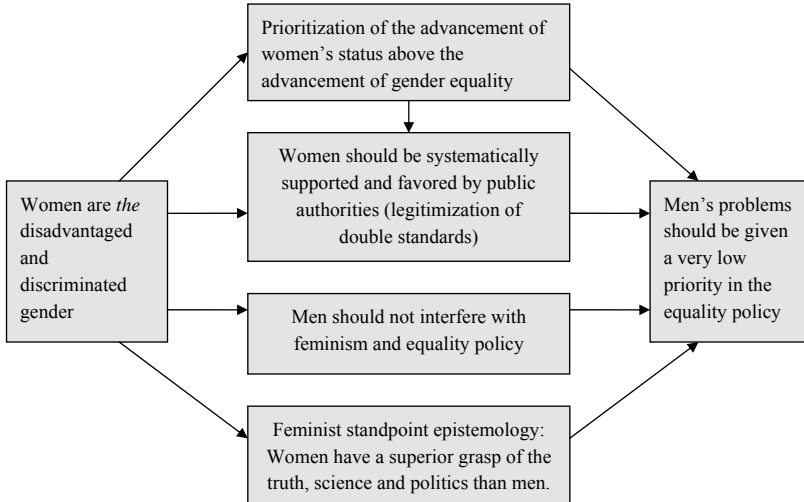
Figure 38. The Radicalized Theory of Patriarchy and its Misandric Implications.

Other political implications of the theory of patriarchy are the belief that men should not be given a chance to interfere with feminism and the equality policy, and that men's problems should be given very low priority in the equality policy. The belief in the patriarchal oppression of women also acts as the cornerstone of the feminist standpoint epistemology, which claims that women have a superior grasp of the truth, science and politics compared to men.

7.3.2 The belief in male dominance and patriarchal oppression of women

7.3.2.1 Introduction

The discourses of the patriarchal oppression of women appear in more theoretical and moderate, and in more political and radical versions. According to the theoretical version, patriarchy is a system in which men dominate women by their larger size, ownership of capital, control

of female labor and reproduction; and by the promotion of patriarchal ideology.[89] In other words, patriarchy is a system in which men control all the different resources of power. This theory of patriarchy may be presented in a less radical version, claiming that all societies tend to have a patriarchal subsystem and a matriarchal subsystem – but the matriarchal subsystem tends to be much smaller and less significant than the patriarchal subsystem (see chapter 5.6). These theoretical articulations of patriarchy may be easily converted to empirical versions, which claim that we actually live in a patriarchy, in which men control all resources of power. For example, according to Kate Millet "our society…is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once, if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political offices, finances---in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands." (see Hartman 1997, p. 103). The memetic drift from the theories of patriarchy to the radical empirical claims concerning patriarchy is shown in Table 25. In feminist and femocratic discourses, the more radical and exaggerating interpretations of the theory of patriarchy are more popular and influential than the moderate interpretations given in the left column of the table. It also seems that the empirical statements, concerning the patriarchal nature of our society, are more common than the theoretical definitions of patriarchy.

Patriarchy is a society in which the patriarchal subsystem of the society is far larger than the matriarchal subsystem.	Patriarchy is a society in which men control all the resources of power.
We live in a patriarchal society, in which the matriarchal subsystem is far less significant than the patriarchal subsystem.	We live in a patriarchy in which men control all the resources of power.

Table 25. Memetic Alterations of the Theory of Patriarchy.

The theory of patriarchy contains an embedded hypothesis about the discriminated and oppressed status of women. As chapter 4.5.2 suggests, the concentration of *all* power resources to men would most likely lead to the discrimination and oppression of women in all fields of the society and in all spheres of human life. In other words, one could conclude

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89 This definition is a synthesis of the following sources: Tolson (1977), Abramovitz (1989, p. 25), Hartman (1997, p. 103), and Tong (1998, p. 49).

that women are the oppressed and discriminated gender. Under the assumption that men control all the different resources of power in all sectors of the society, it is rational to conclude that *women should be helped, supported and favored by the public administration in all sectors of the society* – to neutralize the discrimination against women that is caused by male dominance.

However, if we assume that women control most of the power resources in the matriarchal subsystem of the society, the theory of patriarchy runs into severe problems, and the nature of women as the only discriminated gender may be questioned. This chapter presents some feminist arguments and memeplexes, which support the generalization that men have all the power in the society, and that women, therefore, are the one and only oppressed, discriminated and mistreated gender, which deserves systematic favorable treatment. As this is a study in the field of public administration, most emphasis is given to those feminist beliefs, which have gained an influential status in the public administration and in the private organizations which act in close cooperation with the public organizations.

7.3.2.2 The patriarchal nature of our culture

According to a common feminist belief, our culture is thoroughly patriarchal in its nature. In our culture, masculinity is the norm for all human beings, and women are considered as "the other", who deviate from this norm (Beauvoir 1949). According to feminist linguists, the idea of male supremacy is actually embedded in language, which therefore, has evolved into a system that oppresses women (Ortner 1974, 69, 71–72 and Cixous 1987, p. 63–65). According to Hirdman, one of the cornerstones of the gender system is the positioning of masculinity and men in a hierarchally superior position compared to femininity and women (Hirdman 1988 and 1990). These feminist beliefs also appear in several popularized and radicalized versions. For example, according to Marklund and Snickare, mothers tend to give more attention and breast feeding to male babies than to female babies (Marklund and Snickare 2006, p. 11), and "Half year old girls already know that they have to wait for their turn, while it is clear for the boys that their needs must be filled – immediately" (Ibid, p. 14). According to the feminist

discourses of patriarchy, our culture socializes young boys systematically to a competitive, demanding and selfish role, while girls are required to be quiet, nice and cooperative. Based on this paradigm, it is widely believed that our culture trains men to take up more space than women, and to patronize women in discussions in such a fashion that women have a lowered chance to speak up. These beliefs, however, are simplified exaggerations, as they ignore the strong segregation of power resources in the context of discursive power and the ability to speak up (see 6.2.6, 6.3.6 and 6.2.7.2).

It is also widely thought, that culture is sexist in a fashion that discriminates against women, by putting them into the role of a sex object. It is believed that the advertisements and products of cultural industry are full of naked and half naked women, and that female nudity is commonly used to sell goods and services on the market (see Wolf 1991). Although this belief seems to be justified in the context of magazine advertisements and outdoor posters in many countries (e.g. Hennes & Mauriz), Finnish advertisers have been relatively progressive lately, especially in the context of television commercials. Naked or half naked women have not been used in commercials except in one or two cases. In contrast to that, it is curious to see the plurality of advertisements, in which goods are sold by male nudity: A fat naked man was used by Radiolinja to sell mobile phone services, and a naked male conductor was used for the selling of margarine. In a commercial for cider, a naked man was given an eroticized gaze by a woman in a bar, and in one more commercial, a half naked man, who had only his genitals covered, was chased by a group of female soccer players, who tripped him to the ground and forced his Jenkki chewing gum out of his mouth. Despite this bombardment of the Finnish audience with commercials which reverse the gender hierarchy, most respondents to the *pilot query* agreed with the statement "Female nudity is used more often in television commercials than male nudity" (see 7.1.6).

7.3.2.3 Women are the discriminated gender in the public sphere

According to the discourses of patriarchy and male dominance, women are the disadvantaged or even oppressed gender in the *public sphere*, which

is described as a sphere dominated by male managers, male politicians, male experts, and male chairmen of associations (see Pateman 1989 and Hartman 1997). This belief in the disadvantaged status of women in the public sphere appears indirectly in the Finnish equality legislation. The purpose of the equality law is to advance gender equality and help women's status, *especially on the labor market* (Equality Law § 1). This suggests that women's status is especially weak on the labor market. In most sectors of the labor market, this belief seems to be supported by empirical statistics, which show that a very small amount of managers and directors are female. The small number of female directors supports the hypothesis of a *glass ceiling*, which prevents women from advancing to positions of power (see Wahl 1992). The statistics concerning the generally higher income of men on the labor market, also suggest that women are in a disadvantaged position. However, in some sectors of the society, such as social services and healthcare, most managers are female, at least in Finland (see 6.2.3). It is also possible that the male dominance in managerial positions is being generally reversed, at least in the public sector, in which most managers less than 45 years old are women (Tilastokeskus 2006). This suggests that a majority of the newly recruited managers in the public sector have been female, lately. Despite these findings, the majority of the respondents in the pilot study agreed with the statement, according to which "The majority of newly nominated managers in the public sector are still male". This belief aligns with the generalized discourses of patriarchy and male dominance. Therefore, it seems to enjoy wide popularity among Finnish feminists, despite the fact that it is not supported by statistics.

In a similar fashion, the discourses of patriarchy claim that schools are arenas, in which girls are discriminated by the double standards which permit boys to patronize and interrupt during class, while girls are required to stay nicely and quietly on the background (E.g. Gilligan 1990 and Bailey 1992). This feminist belief, however, is not supported by the Finnish statistics, which show that more boys than girls report feeling discriminated at school due to their gender (Bruun & al. 2002, p. 13). Yet, the majority of the respondents in the pilot study agreed with the statement, according to which 'The gender discrimination against girls at school is a greater problem than the discrimination against boys'.

7.3.2.4 The oppression of women in the private sphere

The radical version of the theory of patriarchy claims that women are severely oppressed in the private sphere. According to this radical line of thinking, our society is a patriarchy and this makes men likely rapists and perpetrators of violence against women. The patriarchal culture is also assumed to make fathers cold and distant patriarchs in the context of the heterosexual family. For example, according to Ward, *"Fathers rape Daughters within the family; men rape women at work, in their homes, on the streets, in cars and car-parks. As long as the male principle has power to rule, at home, in the schoolyard, in the streets, at work, in culture, then we will have rape. Rape is the end result of the dehumanized authoritarian social structure called patriarchy, through which the Son becomes Father by rejecting his Mother and thereby gains unfettered access to the Daughter* (Ward 1984, p. 201, see Seel 1987, chapter 11). This idea of men as rapists, aligns with the theory of patriarchy and with Freud's theory of incest, which claims that incest is a common form of behavior and that only cultural constraints limit men from doing it. (Sariola 2007, p. 43.) Yet, it does not enjoy support from the statistics concerning the sexual abuse of children by their parents: According to a survey done with Finnish school children, only 0.2% of female respondents reported having been abused or harassed by their biological father (Ibid, p. 44). Despite the weak connection to empirical evidence, several cases of mass hysteria against incest have occurred in Norway (Bjugin), Germany (Münster), and the USA in the 1980s and 1990s. (Ibid p. 43; see also Niskasaari 1999).

The feminist theory of gendered violence, suggests that women and girls are not only commonly sexually abused by men, but also 80–90% of the victims of intimate partner violence are female. This belief appears in dozens of statistics and fact sheets published by women's organizations, governmental organizations, and charity organizations. Yet, these statistics seem to be strongly filtered, in such a fashion that only the highest percentages of female victims are published. Table 26 shows all the figures concerning the proportion of women out of the victims of intimate partner violence or interspousal violence that were found on the Internet in August 2005. The search was performed using Google, with the Finnish search terms "naisten osuus" and "naisiin kohdistuva väkivalta" (proportion of women, and violence against women).

Publisher	**Source** (in English) and notes about the authority of the publication	**Women %** out of victims	**Source**
Amnesty International (2005)	Violence against women in figures / Intimate partner violence	90 %	Not given
Amnesty & al (2005, p.43)	"Friidu – the rights of girls and women. Training material for young women". The authority of this publication is increased by the fact that two U.N. organizations have participated to its production.	90 %	Not given
European Women's lobby (2005, p. 11)	Guide for Young women for reaching gender equality in Europe.	98 %	Not given
Labor Academy (2005)	A guide for those who encounter domestic violence.	90 %	Not given
Naisasialiitto Unioni (2005)	The political program of Naisasialiitto Unioni aims to end "domestic violence, meaning the violence against women and children". This definition implies that men make up 0 % of the adult victims of domestic violence.	100 %	Not given
Professional Institute of Hämeenlinna (2005)	Collection of the abstracts of student's theses.	90 %	Not given
Saari & al (2005)	Gender Mainstreaming Dictionary / Violence against women. The dictionary has some official status, as it is recommended to readers by a link from the web pages of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.	90 %	Not given
Stimulus (2005)	Writing in student's magazine "Stimulus" of the University of Kuopio.	80–90%	Not given
Takala & al (2005, p. 7)	Figures concerning violence against women (chapter 1 in a report provided by a task force nominated by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health).	90 %	Yes
University of Tampere (2005)	Weekly web magazine of the faculty of journalism.	90 %	Unclear

Table 26. Femocratic Figures Concerning the Gender Distribution of Intimate Partner Violence.

These statistical figures – which were almost always presented without scientific references – give women the subject position of an innocent victim, while men are pictured as guilty perpetrators. Yet, the statistics are in sharp contrast with several other Finnish statistics, which suggest that the proportion of women out of the victims is something like 40–70% (see 6.3.4). The belief in the 90% meme is also a deviation to international large sample studies, which suggest that about 45–60% of victims are women (see Straus & Gelles 1986, and Tjaden & Thoennes 2000 and Fiebert 2005). The table above seems to lend strong support to the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution, which claims

that those memes that are simple, attractive and coherent with popular paradigms tend to outnumber and replace their rivals – no matter, what the correspondence of the memes is with the empirical findings.

Due to the dominance of the "90 % of victims are female" meme in the media, the majority of respondents of the pilot study also agreed with the statement, according to which "The vast majority of hospitalized victims of intimate partner violence in Finland are female". This statement, however, is not supported by the data collected to the Hilmo register of the Finnish STAKES institute. For example, the data from the years 2002–2003 suggests that 65% of the victims have been male (STAKES 2005). As the statistics concerning the gender distribution of intimate partner violence have proven somewhat anomalous to the feminist theory of gendered violence, a new approach to the study and prevention of violence has been adopted by feminists and femocrats of the UN, EU and the USA. According to this new approach, the target of interest, study and public policy is no longer intimate partner violence or domestic violence, but *violence against women*. After these change of concepts, it is relatively easy to conclude that 100% of the victims of this violence against women are female. The discourses concerning the violence against women have a very strong rhetoric power, as most women object to this violence, and as the discourses also hail the chivalrous gentlemen of the welfare states, suggesting that all effort should be put towards the prevention of this crime against humanity.[90] This tends to lead to double standards concerning the intimate partner violence against men, as the chivalrous men of the welfare states are not so interested in protecting men from the violence of women (see 7.2.4 and 7.5.3).

The discourses of patriarchy and male dominance are also commonly used for claiming that men do not perform their share of domestic work and childcare, and that women have a *double burden* in hetero-sexual families, in which both parents work on the labor market (e.g. UNIFEM 2008). Due to this belief, the official goal of the Finnish social policy is to increase the amount of time that men spend on childcare and domestic work. For example, according to the Ministry of Social

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90 *Hailing*, see Althusser 1971, p. 174. *Crime against humanity* is an expression that is used to characterize the violence against women in the U.N. discourses. In more conventional legal discourses, crimes against humanity refer to crimes against for example ethnic minorities, taking the form of massacres and systematic extermination.

Affairs and Healthcare, the more active involvement of men in domestic work and childcare would help women's status on the labor market (STM 1999, chapter 4.1). These conclusions are usually presented in a normative manner, hinting that men *should* spend more time on domestic work and childcare. In some countries such as Spain, entire laws have been written to oblige men to do more homework. These policies, however, are not based on solid data on the availability of free time to men and women in welfare states. For example, in most western welfare states, men with small children seem to have less free time than women with small children (see 6.3.5). Yet, the public policies pressure men into doing more domestic work and more childcare, which would lead to an increasingly disadvantaged status of the men, assuming that the amount of free time is used as a measure of the equal status of men and women in families. The idea of women's double burden is also so popular in Finland, that the majority of respondents of the pilot study agreed with the statement, according to which "Women in families with small children tend to have far less free time than the men in these families". According to Eurostat, Finnish men with small children have approximately one minute more free time per day, compared to women and another study suggests that men in general tend to have 73 minutes less free time per day, compared to their spouses (see 6.3.5).

7.3.2.5 Summary of the radical theory of patriarchy

According to the radical discourses of patriarchy and male dominance, men have *the* power and women are *the* oppressed gender. This paradigm leads to the conclusion that women should be favored by reverse discrimination policies in all sectors of the society, and that the sole purpose of the equality policy should be to advance the status of women. It has also led to a situation, in which most feminists cannot understand that white heterosexual men can be also discriminated due to their gender (see Holter 2000 p. 76, and Holter 2003).

Although the status of women is exceptionally good in Finland and in other modern welfare states,[91] the discourses of women as the oppressed gender, make sense from the point of view of interest group ideology: If women are presented as *the oppressed gender*, they will be able to cumulate

91 See Lopez-Claros and Zahidi 2005, p. 8.

enough discursive, moral and symbolic resources of power, so that they can demand 1) favorable changes to legislation and 2) favorable treatment from the officials of the welfare state, in all contexts. This is precisely the same strategy that all interest groups tend to use when they try to advance their status (see Nousiainen 2007 and chapter 4.5). This need for all interest groups to present themselves as discriminated and mistreated is connected to the welfare state ideologies, which suggest that public officials should try to locate disadvantaged groups in order to help them (4.9.3). After an interest group has managed to "monopolize" the discriminated status as its own property and "trade mark", it is likely to defend this resource of discursive power by using information filtering, biased statistics, crude simplifications, lobbying, and propaganda. Yet, it is important for the interest groups to try to withhold an image of scientific reliability. In the case of the feminist women's movement, this credibility is gained through the works produced in the field of women's studies.
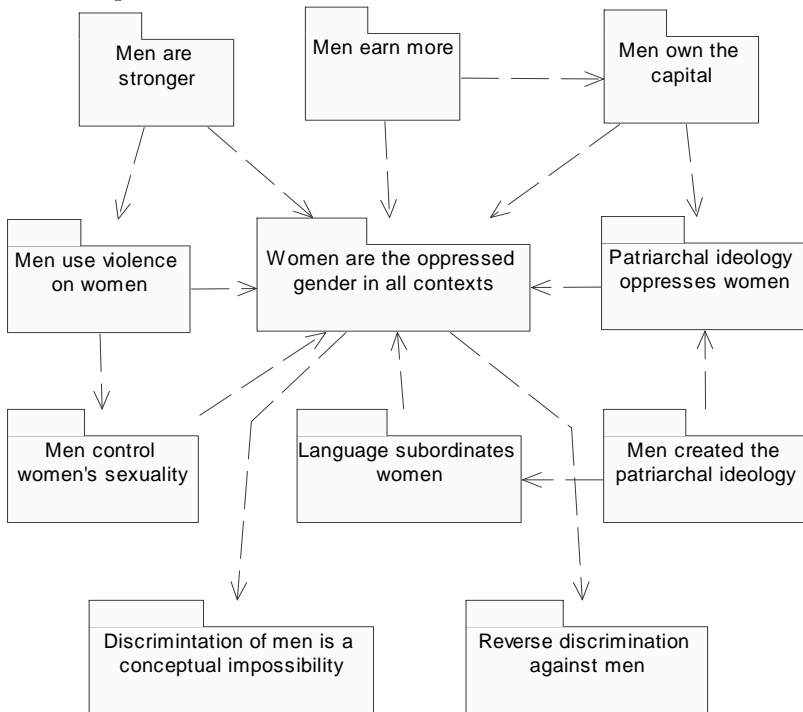
Figure 39. The Theory of Patriarchy in its Radical Form.

Although several points in the logic of interest groups support the radicalized generalization concerning the overwhelmingly patriarchal nature of our society, many feminist scholars of women's studies criticize the theory. For example, according to Rubin, the theory of patriarchy is too deterministic, as it does not take into account the potential ending of patriarchy as a result of continuous reforms and social improvements. (Rubin 1975, p. 168.) Several Nordic feminists such as Carlsson–Wettenberg and Hagenman criticize the theory of patriarchy for presenting women as impotent subordinates of the gender system and as subordinates of the linguistic gender dichotomy.[92] This criticism against the exaggerated interpretation of the theory of patriarchy is also shared by postmodern feminists, who consider men and women as capable of renegotiating the gender system and its various representations.[93] The postmodern feminists such as bel hooks also emphasize the plentitude of simultaneous and possibly controversial forms of marginalization, and criticize all large and simplified theories that present women as *the* oppressed social group in all contexts.[94] Despite all of this criticism, the discourses of patriarchy and male dominance seem to be popular among the main stream feminists, as is indicated by the responses of the pilot study. The theory also seems to enjoy wide popularity in the discourses of the United Nations and the European Union, as the official discourses of equality policy seems to contain all the conclusions that align with the theory of patriarchy. These discourses and conclusions are described in more detail in the following chapters.

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92 Carlsson – Wettenberg 1992, p. 34, 37 and 46; Hagenmann 1994, p. 332

93 About the renegotiation of the gender contract see Hirdman 1990 p. 78 and Rantalaiho 1994 p. 9–28.

94 Hooks 1990, p. 27 (see Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 262).

7.3.3 Feminist equality policy as a conclusion from the theory of patriarchy

7.3.3.1 Promoting the status and power of women instead of equality

During the history of first wave feminism in the 19th century and liberal feminism in the 20th century, the *promotion of equality* and the *promotion of women's status* meant almost the same, as women were so severely discriminated. However, at the end of the 20th century, the legislation in most countries has been changed in such a fashion that women are already formally equal to men, and the direct and indirect discrimination of women is forbidden. This has lead to a situation in which feminists, in some cases, need to prioritize between *promotion of equality* and the *promotion of women's status and power*. A large number of feminists have solved the problem of prioritization by considering the concept of equality as somewhat outdated. This perception is based on the observation that equality is commonly used as a "smokescreen" for promoting the interests of men at the cost of women, and that equality is something that all political parties promote, meaning that feminists can not distinguish themselves from the political mainstream simply by promoting equality (see Holli 2000). Another objection of equality is semantic, as equality has been interpreted as a synonym for the similarity of men and women. According to the difference theory, the common interpretations of equality have lead to a world, in which women try to be equal to men by being similar to men, which is against the interests of women. These two arguments have led to a situation in which the promotion of equality has almost disappeared from the more radical feminist discourses, and it has been replaced by an emphasis on the advancement of women's status and power. This low emphasis on equality has led to a situation in which feminists are commonly perceived as the only opponents of gender equality in the modern society (Holli 2000).

Another somewhat misandric response to the problem of prioritization has been the perception of women as the discriminated sex on the *aggregate level*, if all sectors of human life are counted together. From this point of view, all advancements of women's status could be seen as an advancement of equality, on the aggregate level. This argument can

be used for legitimizing the discrimination of men within the sphere of femininity. For example, according to Ann Snitow, it is understandable that feminists do not want to help men gain a better position in custody disputes, as this is one of the only contexts in which women are in a privileged position (Snitow 1992, see Warshack 1992, p. 22–23). This argument is not approved of by the male friendly feminists, who demand that men and women should be *equal in all sectors of life*, and that the discrimination of men, in those sectors where it appears, should be ended as well as all discrimination against women.[95]

The prioritization of the interests of women over anything else, also appears in the final report of the Peking conference of the United Nations, which states that the empowerment of women should be given *first priority* in the equality policy of governments (U.N. 1995, see Pentikäinen 2002, p. 76). If we take this statement literally, it means that the empowerment of women should be seen as more important than anything else – including gender equality. This literal interpretation, which seems to be supported by the selfish core of feminism, means that the empowerment of women is more important than the advancement of gender equality in all contexts, including the matriarchal subsystem of the society. According to this reasoning, women's empowerment in the context of custody disputes is more important than the advancement of gender equality. Although this conclusion may sound somewhat bizarre, it is still embedded into the international discourses concerning the advancement of women's status. The prioritization of women's interests over equality, also appears in the Finnish equality legislation and equality policy. According to the Finnish equality law, "the purpose of this law is to prevent gender discrimination and to advance gender equality, especially by advancing the status of women on the labor market" (Finnish Equality Law 1986 § 1). In this text, gender equality and the advancement of women's status are given an equally high value. However, the legislation and the application of the equality law are based on legislative preparation texts, in which the main purpose of the equality law is clearly the advancement of women's status (Finnish Government 1986, 1§). This has led to a situation, in which the first priority and almost the only goal of the equality policy in Finland is

95 For example, Finnish equality feminists such as Rosa Meriläinen and Päivi Räsänen have suggested that the society should stop the discriminative practices that put Finnish men in a disadvantaged status in the context of men's obligatory military service.

to advance women's status (see Varanka 2007, p. 226). This means that there are actually two competing discourses of equality policy inside the texts of public administration: The *radical feminist discourse* is based on the belief in the patriarchal oppression of women in all sectors of life, while the *legalist European discourse* is based on the idea that men can also be the discriminated or disadvantaged gender in some contexts.

	Radical feminist discourses on equality policy	Legalist European discourses on equality policy
Underlying assumption	Women are the oppressed gender.	Both genders may be discriminated in certain contexts.
First priority in equality policy	Advancement of women's status.	Advancement of equality and the removal of gender discrimination.

Table 27. The Alternative Discourses Concerning the First Priority of Equality Policy.

The legalist European discourse appears in the double strategy of EU, according to which equal opportunities and special *programmes to advance women's status* are not sufficient to ensure gender equality, meaning that actually *all administrative decision making should take gender equality into account* (Kangasharju 2007, p. 8). In these discourses, the administrators speak of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, in such a fashion that the expression "disadvantaged gender" is context sensitive, and may also refer to men (Ibid, p. 8). This gender mainstreaming principle has been recorded to all the program plans of the European Social Fund. The differences between the legalist European discourses, compared to the relatively radical feminist discourses of the UN, can be understood by the fact that women's status in the European Union is clearly better than in the majority of the member states of the UN.

Although the programme plans and resolutions of the Supreme Court emphasize gender equality, most lower level administrative discourses clearly prioritize the advancement of women's status over anything else. For example, according to Pentikäinen, feminists have interpreted gender mainstreaming *mostly as the inclusion of the female point of view into all decision making* (Pentikäinen 2002, p. 87). This seems to ignore the fact that in some fields of activity, such as social services and healthcare, it is often the male point of view which is missing from decision making. This may

lead to a biased way of interpreting and applying gender mainstreaming, converting gender mainstreaming into a tool for advancing women's interests instead of advancing equality. This bias, however, is explicitly objected by equality feminists like Pentikäinen and Borchorst, who claim that the male point of view should be taken into account in female dominated fields of policy formation, such as the formulation of equality policies (Pentikäinen 2002, p. 93 and Borchorst 2001, p. 178–9). The feminine bias concerning gender mainstreaming may easily appear also in public administration when policies are formulated. For example, the foreign ministry of Finland makes the integration of the female point of view to all human rights activities as *priority number one* (see Räsänen 2002, p. 118). This implicitly means that when the human rights of fathers and men are discussed on an international level, it is more important to listen to feminist experts than to masculist experts or father's rights organizations, as the inclusion of the female point of view is more important than the inclusion of the male point of view.

The contents of the memeplex which prioritizes women's interests over gender equality are described in Figure 40.
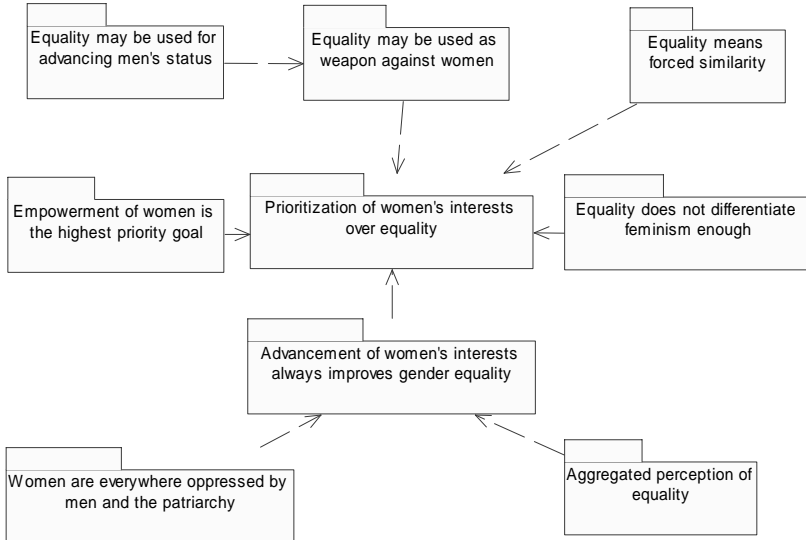
Figure 40. Prioritization of Women's Interests over Equality.

7.3.3.2 Reverse discrimination of men
and the systematic favoring of women

The idea of women as the systematically oppressed gender tends to lead to the political conclusion that the sole purpose of the equality policy is to advance the status of women. If the oppression of women is perceived severe and systematic in all sectors and contexts of human life, this is likely to lead to the memeplex of reverse discrimination, and to the systematic favoring of women and femininity in all contexts and sectors of human life. The following table shows, how the moderate and egalitarian ideas of positive action (1) tend to mutate to more radical and misandric ideas of the systematic favoring of women in all contexts (2 and 4).

1. Positive action policy, in favor of the gender which is in a disadvantaged position in a specific context.	2. Positive action policies, discourses and practices that systematically favor women in all contexts of human life (as women are assumed to be *the* disadvantaged gender).
3. Reverse discrimination of the gender, which is in an advantaged position in a specific context.	4. Systematic reverse discrimination of men and systematic favoring of women in all contexts of human life (as women are assumed to be *the* disadvantaged gender in all contexts).

Table 28. From Positive Action to the Systematic Reverse Discrimination of Men.

The positive action policies in favor of the gender, which is in a disadvantaged position, are strongly supported by welfare state ideology and equality feminism. They hardly enjoy any support at all from sexism, since sexists tend to believe that men and women are suitable for very different roles, and therefore, it is not the task of the public administration to apply positive action policies. However, it is also possible for the sexists to support the systematic favoring of women (cell 2), as women are commonly considered the *weaker gender* in the sexist discourses. These sexist discourses hail the chivalrous gentlemen, who recognize that they should protect women and give them special treatment systematically in all contexts.

The tendency of feminists to demand special treatment and protection from chivalrous gentlemen appears especially in American feminism. According to the novelist Anne Rice, the women's movement, when she

joined it, *"was about power, earning the same pay for the same job. Now it's about protection. We are saying that we want to be allowed into a man's world, but we can't take it. You have to protect us."*[96] The American discourses of feminism have also merged with sexism in a coalition discourse that requires that the chivalrous gentlemen put women up on a pedestal. These ideas that require special and privileged treatment for women are also connected to the discourses that present women and female lives as more valuable than men and male lives (see chapter 7.4.5).

The various feminist, chivalrous and popularized discourses of the systematic favoring of women are also reflected in the official discourses of equality policy. Most equality laws contain paragraphs that permit positive action or affirmative action, meaning the favoring of the under-represented or disadvantaged gender (see 2.1.3). These laws, however, can be applied in a biased manner by perceiving women as the only disadvantaged gender – counting out the chances of positive action in favor of men. This interpretation of positive action seems to be relatively common in the gender equality discourses in the USA and in the United Nations, where the disadvantaged gender is almost always assumed to be the women, and where equality laws and pacts are usually named in such a fashion that the name itself shows that the purpose of the legislation is to improve the status of women, and not to advance gender equality in a broader sense. Under the assumption that women are the disadvantaged gender, it is also possible that the magnitude and strictness of positive action raises to the level of reverse discrimination, as women have no fear of unfair treatment due to reverse discrimination, if they know that all reverse discrimination will be targeted only against men. It seems that this chain of reasoning has led to a situation, in which affirmative action in the USA appears in stricter forms than in the European Union. For example in Finland, where the equality law permits positive action in favor of both genders, the discussions about the favoring of male teachers in female dominated schools have diminished the interest of Finnish feminists in strict forms of positive action. –The Constitutional Court of Europe has also implied that all positive action policies must be carefully defined, implemented and monitored so not to cause discrimination against any individual citizen (see 2.1.3). In USA, however, the affirmative action

96 Rice, Anne (1994) Interview by Julia Reed, "The Burden of Proof," VOGUE, Jan. 1994, at 32 (see Goines & Popovicá 1994)

policies may lead to a more explicit discrimination of those job applicants who belong to a social group that has an official status as an "privileged group", in contrast to the officially recognized disadvantaged groups (see 2.1.3).

Although the European legislation and public administration do not favor strict forms of reverse discrimination, it is still possible that public opinion demands that women are given systematically some favorable treatment in all sectors of the society. For example, according to some profeminists, we should develop a systematic gender bias in favor of women, in order to advance gender equality.[97] Such a gender bias is practically synonymous to the development of subtle double standards in favor of women in all fields of human life. According to masculist authors, this is likely to lead, for example, to the (reverse) discrimination and demonization of men in the media (but not women), protecting women from domestic violence (but not men), discrimination of boys at schools, and to the general promotion of misandry (but not misogyny) in our society. This shows that the memeplex of reverse discrimination can cause widely spread discrimination against men, even if it is probably hard to win law suits based on this discrimination. Chapter 7.5 gives more examples of popular double standards in favor of women, while chapter 8 shows real cases of reverse discrimination, in which men have been intentionally discriminated with a feminist motive.

The complete memeplex for the reverse discrimination against men is illustrated in Figure 41. The core memes of reverse discrimination are positioned at the central area: "Reverse discrimination of men in all areas of the society", "Positive action needs to be implemented in strict forms of reverse discrimination", and "Women should be favoured in all contexts". These core memes are indirectly connected to the memeplexes of welfare state ideology (top of the figure), traditional sexism (lower left hand side) and misandric feminism (lower right hand side).

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97 Kim Meyer, member of the Finnish Profeministimiehet (2006, writing on man@kaapeli.fi mailing list).
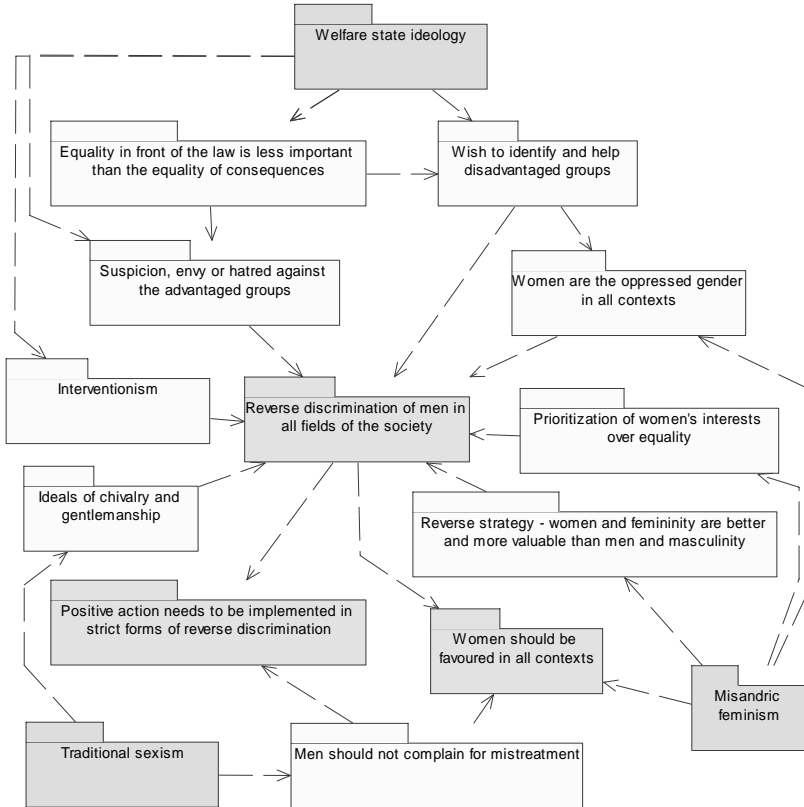
Figure 41. The Memeplex for the Reverse Discrimination of Men.

The memeplex of reverse discrimination may also have connections to the memeplex of gender mainstreaming (see 2.2.3). According to the more moderate interpretations, gender mainstreaming means that the perspectives and interests of both genders are always taken into account in all political and administrative decision making. For example, the equality programs of the European Social Fund systematically speak of *the disadvantaged* or *the underrepresented* gender suggesting that also men could be in a disadvantaged status in some contexts (see Kangasharju 2007, p. 8). Despite these high level policy papers, it is still common for gender mainstreaming to be interpreted as a synonym for taking women's

opinions and interests into account in all decision making (see 2.2.3). This interpretation is very close to the idea that all decision makers should develop a systematic gender bias in favor of women.

7.3.3.3 Separatism and the exclusion of men from equality policy

The original meaning of feminist *separatism* was the opposite of political *reformism*, which meant the cooperation between feminists, political parties and governmental bodies. The separatists were afraid that too much cooperation with the state – and with men – may obscure the interests and visions of women, and allow men to even patronize women in the field of feminism. This original form of separatism evolved to the belief that men should stay out of feminism, as only women may know how it feels to be discriminated (Koivunen & Liljeström 2004 p. 16–18 & 26). This conclusion has been supported by profeminists, who have considered feminism as a women's project, and who have voluntarily left themselves in the role of supporters, and not as the shapers of feminism. This is also the reason why profeminists call themselves profeminists instead of feminists.

The idea that men should not interfere with feminism may sound tolerable to men, assuming that feminism is defined and perceived as the interest group ideology of the women's movement. This perception, however, has been invalidated by the double strategy of the women's movement. According to this strategy, women's movement is simultaneously separatist and reformist: It acts as a separated movement which belongs to women only, but it simultaneously attempts to integrate to the state and represent itself as a responsible movement that advances gender equality in general, not just the status of women.[98] In modern welfare states, the reformist thread has been so successful that feminism has become almost synonymous to the equality policy (see Borchorst 2001, p. 178–9). When we count together the memes "men should stay out of feminism" and "feminism is synonymous to equality policy", we reach the memetic conclusion that *men should stay out of the equality*

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98 According to Marx, it is the tendency of all rising classes to present their own (selfish) interests as synonymous to the general benefit of the entire society (Marx 1845-6, p. 27 and 35–37, see Mitchell 1973, p. 144–145).

policy. This form of memetic reasoning has created a wide spread belief that men have no role in equality discourses, except for the role of the defendant, who should feel guilty of the collective sins of men against women.[99] The limited role of men in equality discourses is also supported by several influential profeminists such as Connell and Hearn, who claim that men's right activists, father's right activists and all "regressive groups of men" should be kept out of the equality policy due to the fact that their opinions could be harmful for the advancement of women's interests.[100] In the USA, this policy first appeared in 1980, when men's right activists were not permitted to hold a workshop concerning the ways in which women oppress men (Parrish 1992). According to Hollstein, this profeministically motivated exclusion of men from the equality policy is driving men's right activists towards radical anti-feminism, at least in Germany (Hollstein 2006).

According to some Nordic feminists like Anette Borchorst, women are already in a very strong position in the formation of the equality policy. Therefore there is no risk that the equality policy would be converted into a male project against women, by permitting men to participate in its design. Also, the equality policy is an increasingly large area within politics, affecting more and more directly the lives of men. Therefore, it would be odd if men were not allowed to participate in its design, applying their own male point of view to the topic (Borchorst 2001, p. 178–9).

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99 Jokinen 2002, p. 240; see also Lindqvist 1986, p. 73–81 and Sauri 1998, p. 18.

100 According to Connell's report to the United Nations, father's right groups pose *"explicit opposition to gender equality measures"* (Connell 2003, p. 9). According to the Finnish Profeminist Men, which is an organization in which Hearn has played a very important role, father's rights and men's right activists are *"reggressive groups"* (see the FAQ on www.profeministimiehet.net). This argument about the need to keep the wrong kind of men out of the field of men's studies also appeared in the web pages of the "Critical studies of men", in an article by Arto Jokinen.
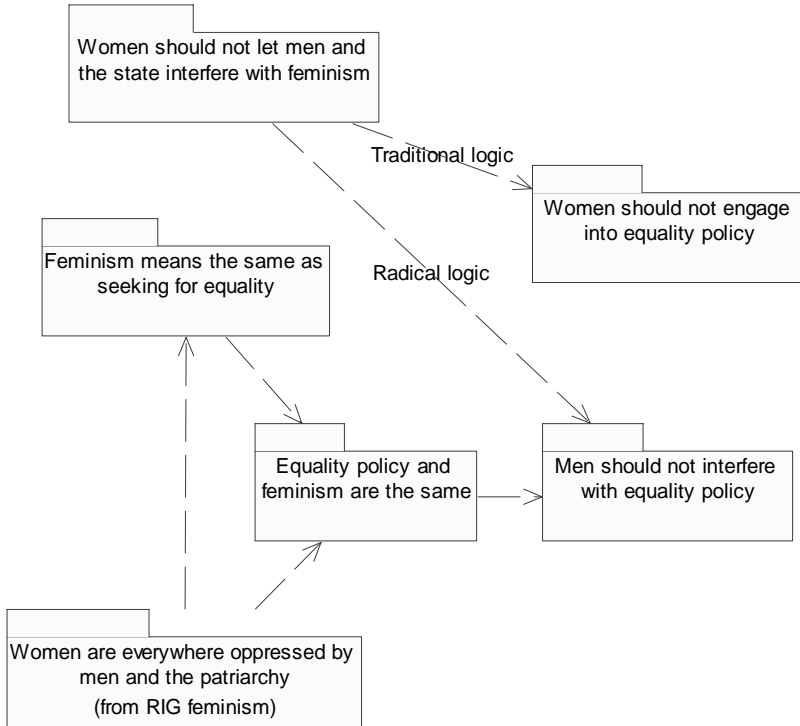
Figure 42. Men should not Interfere with the Equality Policy.

7.3.3.4 Ignoring men's problems in equality policy

Men's equality problems may appear in the form of direct, indirect and structural discrimination. According to some influential branches of feminism and women's studies, women are *the* disadvantaged and discriminated gender and therefore white heterosexual men can not really suffer from direct or indirect discrimination (see 7.3). The only form of discrimination against men that has been recognized in the feminist discourses is *structural discrimination*, meaning the traditional gender roles which demand men to express very masculine behaviors, and which make it difficult for men to take up feminine professions, tasks or roles. Although even the CEDAW treaty 1979 emphasized the need to fight

against rigid *gender roles*, the emphasis in feminism shifted in the 1980s away from the gender role theory, towards theories of patriarchy and male dominance (see Edley & Wetherell 1995). This change in feminism, led to the perception that women are *the* discriminated gender, and therefore, men's equality problems are of relatively low significance. The collision of the new, radical forms of feminism appeared particularly strongly in the context of parenthood. The father friendly equality feminism of the 1960s and 1970s was largely replaced with the theory of patriarchy, which claims that *"Fathers rape Daughters within the family"* (Ward 1984, p. 201) and that *"fatherhood must be smashed or more precisely dropped bit by bit into the ocean"* (Hearn 1983, p. 51). The new radicalized feminists also created utopias of a father free society (e.g. Ruddick 1989). These developments in radical feminism seem to have had some effects on the equality policy in welfare states, and in other countries. The discussions concerning the bad status of fathers in the context of divorce have been labeled as regressive and therefore, have been cut out of the agenda of the official equality policy. In other areas in which men have equality problems, these problems have also been mostly nullified or ignored. As a consequence, the role of men in the equality policy has been reduced to the role of a defendant, and to the role of an assistant for the project for advancing women's status. These developments are analyzed below, using Finnish public policy documents and insider information from the equality organs as research data.

In Finland, the central public sector actors in the field of the equality policy are the Finnish equality council (TANE), and the Equality Unit of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Inside TANE, there is a Subdivision of Men's Issues (SMI) and inside the Equality Unit there is one dedicated person, Jouni Varanka, who is responsible for men's equality issues. The analysis of the "male friendliness" of the Finnish equality policy can be started by studying the history of TANE (Kumpumäki 2006). According to the history, TANE has created the SMI year 1988. The three "male friendly" discourses that TANE has promoted are the *advancement of father – child relations, the helping of violent men, and the raising of men's gender awareness* (Kumpumäki 2006). The advancement of father-child relations has occurred in the work of the SMI, which produced a Report of the Paternity Task Force (STM 1999). This report does not fully ignore

the bad status of divorced men, since the problems of men are described in one chapter (Ibid, chapter 5.1). However, the SMI distances itself from this theme, by stating that it has analyzed the status of fathers mainly from the perspective of the *best interests of the child* (Ibid, introduction). This means that the potential overpower of mothers and female social workers, and the potential discrimination of male customers, is given low value in the report (see also Sund 2007, p. 64). After the devaluation of this discourse, the SMI analyzes the improvement of men's status from a more feminist perspective, emphasizing the importance of *men's increased effort in childcare and domestic work.* (Ibid, 1.2). This argument is based on the idea that the increased work effort of men will help those mothers who wish to advance their careers, and it will also indirectly improve men's chances of winning custody disputes by improving men's capacity to take care of children. As a consequence, the report does not contains any proposals for improving the status of divorced men, or for performing research which would confirm whether men are at a disadvantaged status in the context of divorce or not (Ibid, summary of conclusions). These lack of proposals concerning father's status in divorce seem to have clear connections to the radical feminist memes, which perceive father's right groups as "explicit opposition to equality measures" (Connel 2003, p. 9).

The pro-male initiatives of TANE, concerning *the helping of violent men*, are related to the reduction of men's violence against women. In order to help this goal, TANE has funded the Miessakit association for the maintenance of the "Lyömätön linja", which is a telephone service for men who wish to end their violence against their female partner. Although this service helps some men, who have been violent to women, the primary beneficiary of this service still seems to be women. The theme concerning the helping of male victims of domestic violence is completely absent in the proposals of TANE.

The third pro-male theme of TANE has been to *increase men's awareness of gender issues*. Based on this goal, TANE began the e-mailing list man@kaapeli.fi in 1997, and nominated Bert Bjarland from the Profeminist Men's association as a moderator for the list. In the introductory mail of this list, Bjarland presented the list as a forum in which men could discuss "the unbearable lightness of being a man" (Bjarland 1997). This e-mail, together with several consequent mails concerning men's privileged status

and women's disadvantaged status, seems to reveal a fundamental motive for the list: It was a place for men to recognize their own privileged status as men, and for starting to change their thinking in such a fashion that women's status could be improved. In 2006, TANE closed down the list, based on the argument that the list had "fulfilled its purpose" (Kumpumäki 2006, p. 18). However, if one studies the archives of the list, it is possible to see that the list was closed down during a phase of active discussion, in which several scholars of gender issues, together with former members of the parliament, had taken an increasingly active role in the list (see http://www.kaapeli.fi/hypermail/man/).

Out of these three "pro male" discourses of TANE, the *fatherhood discourse* produced a proposal for entitling fathers to an extra 21 days of paternity leave. This proposal seems to benefit men and women equally, as men can gain important mental and practical skills by taking care of their children. At the same time, the mothers may reduce the duration of their maternity leave and return to paid labor, which enables better opportunities for career advancement and increases in salary. In the discourse concerning *helping violent men*, the primary beneficiary seems to be the women, against whom the men have been violent, although the men can also gain help from the "Lyömätön linja" telephone service. In the theme concerning the raising of men's gender awareness, both men and women seem to have been beneficiaries, although the original target of the man@kaapeli.fi list seems to have been the helping of the status of women. In summary, the three pro-male discourses of TANE did not produce any initiatives that would improve the status of men independently, without legitimizing this improvement of men's status by the simultaneous positive effects to women.

After studying the discourses and proposals of TANE, it is worth taking a look into the paradigm of the Equality Unit of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (Equality Unit). According to Varanka, the unit perceives itself as an office, which only implements those policies that are determined by the equality program of the Finnish government, and by the international treaties that appear on the level of the EU and the UN (see Varanka 2007, p. 226–227). This interpretation undermines the capacity of the Equality Unit to interpret various and partly contradictory higher level policies in an active manner. For example, the programme

plans of the European Social Fund usually speak of "improving the status of the disadvantaged or underrepresented gender" in a gender neutral way, not emphasizing that this gender is always the women (Kangasharju 2007, p. 8). This belief in the modest role of the Equality Unit as a passive "implementer" has led to a situation, in which the Equality Unit interprets that the *practically only goal of equality policy is to advance women's status* (Varanka 2007, p. 226), although alternative interpretations and policy formulations would be completely possible. Varanka suggests that men should accept this fact that the purpose of the equality policy is to advance women's status, and try to advance men's status from this predetermined point of view. He suggests, for example, that men should improve their status in divorce by doing more domestic work and childcare during their marriage, easing the life of their spouse and therefore reducing the chances of divorce (Ibid p. 232). The obsession of the equality unit with the advancement of women's status is revealed by an incident, in which the equality unit had formed a task force for creating an "equality barometer" for measuring men's status in Finland. One of the proposed measures was the time that men spend doing domestic work and childcare. As the measure was supposed to measure men's good status, the implications of this measure would have been that the more men work at home, the better their status is (Varanka 2005, see also Orwell 1945).

This analysis of Finnish equality policy shows that equality officials have not produced any initiatives to improve men's status, unless these proposals would have been likely to also improve women's status as a side product or as a primary consequence. Among those themes that are missing from the initiatives of the official equality policy are the *ending of the discrimination of men in the context of men's obligatory military service and the advancement of men's status in the context of divorce*. Both are themes which are likely to have an effect on most Finnish men. Several other themes that are not handled in the official equality discourses are described in chapter 8, which analyzes the complaints of men, concerning the discrimination of men.

7.3.4 Epistemological and methodological conclusions from the theory of patriarchy

7.3.4.1 Feminist stand-point epistemology

According to the moderate and relatively complicated version of feminist stand-point epistemology, disadvantaged groups are experienced in perceiving the world through two alternative paradigms, discourses or frameworks: The paradigm of the hegemonic or dominant groups, and through the paradigm or stand-point of their own. This gives the disadvantaged and discriminated groups an epistemological advantage (see Harding 1991, Haraway 1991 and Ronkainen 2004). This means that women, as members of a disadvantaged and discriminated group, are able to perceive the world through the paradigm of the hegemonic patriarchal ideology, and simultaneously from their own discriminated and disadvantaged stand-point. This is assumed to give women an epistemological advantage, compared to men. This version of stand-point epistemology is very close to the idea of feminine and masculine biases presented in chapter 5.4: If one single person is able to perceive the world through the femininely and feministically biased perspective, and alternatively through the masculinely and masculistically biased perspective, he or she is able to reach a higher degree of objectivity than those who look at the world only from one specific paradigm or stand-point. These complicated and moderate memes of stand-point epistemology, however, tend to be simplified into a radicalized and popularized version, which claims that *women have a superior epistemological capacity* compared to men, and therefore, women have a higher capacity in the fields of *science*, *truth, morality and politics* (see Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 258–9 and Ruotsalainen 1991, p. 24).). The existence of these radicalized memes is verified by the writings of postmodern feminism, who claim that stand-point epistemology tends to reverse the gender hierarchy, by claiming that women are more valuable and important than men (Ibid. 2004, p. 259). The radicalized interpretation of stand-point-epistemology is connected to the belief that women's feelings and writings are a more reliable source of information than the results of quantitative studies that have been performed in a hard "masculine" and "hard" manner. These

ideas, together with their widely spread influence in American faculties of women's studies, have been described by Christina Sommers, who poses severe philosophical criticism against the stand-point epistemology (Sommers 1994, p. ww).

Even within mainstream feminism, the radicalized interpretations of stand-point epistemology have met with strong criticism. According to some postmodern feminists such as Haraway, it is naïve to believe in the purity, innocence or objectivity of disadvantaged social groups (Haraway 1991, p. 191).[101] Therefore, one can argue that men have a right to their own masculine or masculist stand-point epistemology, which is no less valuable than the feminist stand-point epistemology (Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 260). According to Riley, the stand-point epistemology tends to be connected to the belief in the authenticity of women's feelings, experiences and writings. This belief is fallacious, as even women's feelings and experiences are culturally shaped and formed (Riley 1988, p. 100).[102] In the field of scientific methodology, stand-point epistemology has also been criticized by feminist empiricists, who claim that women should not abandon the existing principles and methods of scientific research. Instead, they should elaborate the traditional methods and perspectives of science with a feminine point of view, and replace the androcenrism of traditional male science with gender sensitivity (Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 255). Despite this criticism against the simplified and radicalized manifestations of stand-point epistemology, some profeminist sociologists even consider the female stand-point as somehow more valuable than the male stand-point, or consider women's feelings as a more reliable source of information than men's feelings. For example, according to Kimmel and Kaufman, men often report feelings of powerlessness, but these feelings are somehow biased and unjustified, since the society is actually patriarchal (see Kimmel & Kaufman 1994).

The radical interpretation of standpoint epistemology appears in Figure 40, which also shows its connection to the radical theory of patriarchy, and to the prioritization of revolutionary action over moderate scientific analysis.

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101 See Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 276.

102 See Koivunen & Liljeström 2004, p. 277
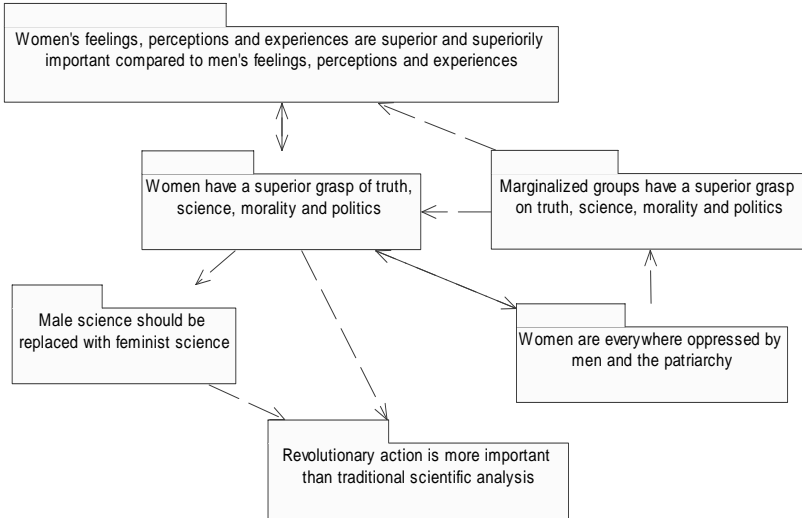
Figure 43. Feminist Standpoint Epistemology in its Radical Form.

7.3.4.2 Replacement of analysis with feelings, bogus and revolutionary action

The promotion of stand-point epistemology has lead to the tendency of many feminists to prefer female feelings, intuition and "progressive" actions to the scrutinous scientific analysis of social problems. This has led to the idea that all women are actually specialists in issues concerning discrimination against women, and that the academic study of gender should not follow the rules of the traditional "male science". As Christina Sommers has noted (see 3.4), this has led to sloppy quantitative generalizations based on small samples and qualitative studies, and to the presentation and circulation of very strong statements without any scientific references. For example, the idea of the discrimination of girls at American high schools was presented by Gilligan as a simple truth without any empirical reference (Gilligan 1990, see Sommers 2001, p. 17). In a similar fashion, a wide group of feminist activists claimed that the rate of domestic violence in the USA spurts up during important

national football matches (Sommers 1994, p. 189–191). The reasons for this peak in men's violence against women were hypothesized to be the appearance of cheerleaders, which positioned women as "servants of men", or the rush of testosterone to male bodies due to the excitement of the game (see Kammer 2002, p. 50). When these claims were inspected, no empirical evidence whatsoever was found to support it (Sommers 1994, p. 189–191). This belief in the harmful effects of a rush of testosterone during matches has mutated into several variations of urban folklore that are spread around by feminists on web forums and mailing lists. For example, in the Finnish academic mailing list for women's studies, Doctor Kaarina Kailo claimed that the violence rates against women spurt up during important hockey matches (Kailo 2007). This statement was given without any scientific reference to empirical studies or statistics. Another wild belief that is circulating among feminists is the belief that Scandinavian male satanists have killed dozens of babies in their rituals. This meme has been promoted, for example, by Professor Eva Lungren of the University of Uppsala (Guillou 2001, p. 367–71 and Rubar 2005). No scientific or legal evidence has ever been found to support the claims of Lundgren.

Another Finnish example of the tendency of feminists to ignore scientific references to empirical material is shown by six Finnish doctors of women's studies, according to whom "gender is the most significant factor that discriminates people in Finland" (Nousiainen & al. 2004, p. 7). This statement means that an average woman in Finland should be more discriminated than an average Finnish gypsy. That is very hard to believe as the discrimination of gypsies is so common and severe that gypsies are not even allowed to enter restaurants in some cities in Finland.[103] Yet, the publication of these doctors presented the statement as a very strong generalization, without any scientific reference. Even if the scholars of women's studies give references to empirical material, they sometimes confuse hypotheses and research results, as the traditional concepts such as "theory", "hypothesis" and "testing" belong to the hard masculine science, which is disliked by many scholars of women's studies. For example, in her presentation in the seminar "Stopping violence against women", Leena Väisänen claimed that empirical research by Babcock & Miller (2003) proves that *women, who are violent against their spouse, but not against their children, use violence only in self defence* (Väisänen 2006,

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slide 3). When the research report of Babcock and Miller was checked, it revealed that this was just a hypothesis derived from the feminist theory of domestic violence, and that the actual empirical data did not give any support to this hypothesis.

The sloppy research methods and laziness in the study of reference materials have lead to a situation in which fallacious generalizations and statistical figures may emerge, gain popularity and remain popular despite a lack of proper empirical evidence. These "noble lies" (Sommers 1994, 188–208) are socially attractive despite their weak connection to empirical reality, as they may be used for *changing the society* or for *advancing the status of women*, which are both high priority goals of feminists and scholars of women's studies. This process, in which the feminist pieces of urban folklore are created, seems to align perfectly with the synthetic theory of cultural evolution, which claims that simplified, exaggerated and socially attractive memes are likely to be successful in the cultural evolution (see 4.8.1). The prioritization of *changing the society* over scrutinuos scientific analysis is supported by feminist standpoint epistemology, which emphasizes feelings, and by radical feminism, which emphasizes revolution over analysis and reforms. For example, according to five feminist professors at the University of Massachusetts: *"The feminist classroom is the place to use what we know as women to appropriate and transform, totally, a domain which has been men's … Let us welcome the intrusion/infusion of emotionality – love, rage, anxiety, eroticism – into intellect as a step toward healing the fragmentation capitalism and patriarchy have demanded from us"*.[104] The prioritization of feelings and revolutionary action over scientific analysis is apparent in the manner in which some American faculties of women's studies base the degrees of students: 60% of the grade is based on exams and the rest is based on the way in which students have managed to do "outrageous" or "liberating" actions outside the campus, or written diaries or formed consciousness raising groups (see Sommers 1994, p. 88). This emphasis on "anxiety" and "outrageous acts" is connected to the way in which the Marxist ideology perceives anger and rage as positive elements in the changing of societies (see Holmes 2004).

104 Margo Culley, Arly Diamand, Lee Edwards, Sara Lennox and Catherine Portuges in "The Politics of Nurturance", in Gendered Subjects: The Dynamics of Feminist Teaching (Culley & al. 1985).

A potential misandric consequence of this appreciation of revolutionary anger is the hatred against "the patriarchs", meaning the men. This may lead to hate speech and hate crimes targeted against men (see 7.5.3). The entire memeplex, which leads towards the prioritization of unscientific bogus and revolutionary action to scrutinuous scientific research, is presented in Figure 44.
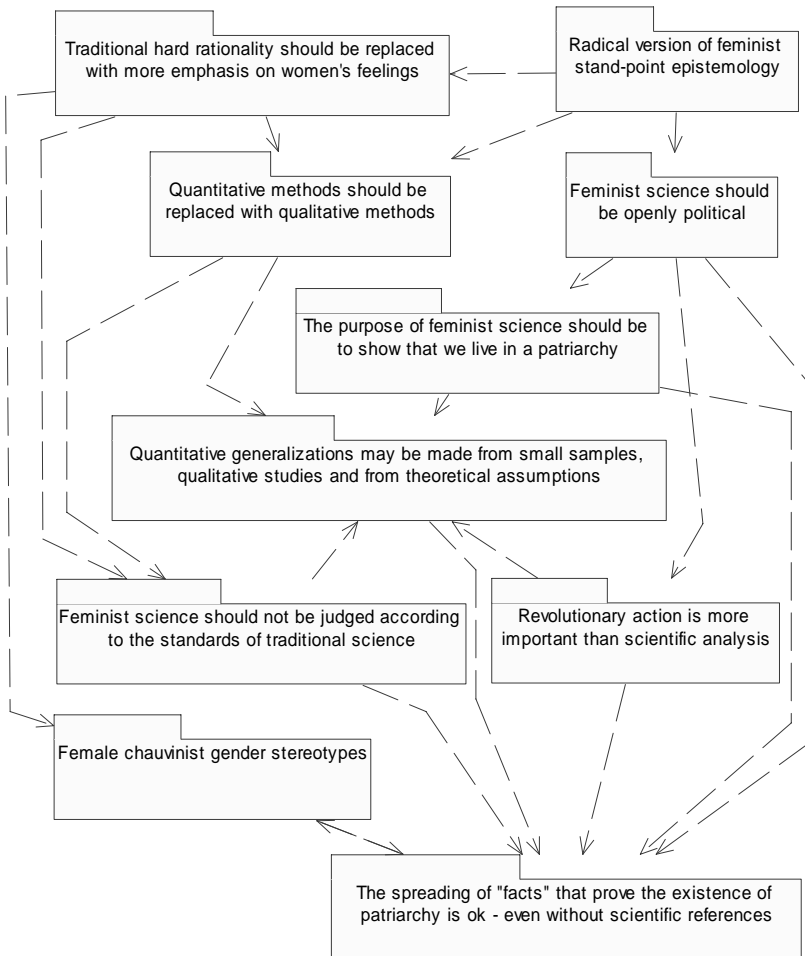
Figure 44. The Replacement of Science and Analysis with Feelings, Bogus and Revolutionary Action.

It is important to notice, that the radicalized interpretation of feminist stand-point epistemology and the radical interpretations of the theory of patriarchy form a tautological circle: 1) as we live in a patriarchy, women's feelings and the feminist way of performing science produces a better grasp of the truth than the traditional masculine science. 2) As we live in a patriarchy, the purpose of feminist women's studies should be to show people that we live in a patriarchy so that women could be liberated, 3) As the traditional rules of performing science must be revolutionarized, it is perfectly acceptable to spread filtered, mutated and simplified statistics and qualitative stories that support the theory of patriarchy. 4) Based on this substantial evidence created by women's studies, we can conclude that we live in a patriarchy.

7.4 Putting Women and Femininity above Men and Masculinity

7.4.1 Introduction and overview

Reverse strategy is a feminist strategy for reversing the gender hierarchy (Kuusipalo 2002, p. 220). According to the discourses of the reverse strategy, women and femininity should be appraised as much as possible, while men and masculinity are positioned as free targets for criticism. Although the reverse strategy is basically a feminist strategy, it also enjoys wide support from the old misandric stereotypes of men, which picture men as competitive, violent and sex crazed (see 7.2.2). It is also supported by the maternalist discourses, which emphasize the superiority of women in childcare due to their loving, unselfish and caring nature (see 7.2.5). Chivalry also contains elements for putting women on the top of the gender hierarchy, and for putting down the average men, who are claimed to pose a threat to the ladies (see 7.2.4). These sexist discourses are supported by profeminist discourses and the academic *critique of men*,[105] which use a concept of hegemonic masculinity as a negative stereotype of men.

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105 Critique of men, a synonym for the critical studies of men.

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┌─────────────────────┐
│ Old and sexist      │
│ traditions          │
│ of psychoanalysis   │
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┌──────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Glorification of │          │ Criticism against    │
│ women by the     │          │ men by the radical   │
│ maternalists     │          │ feminists and the    │
│                  │          │ promoters of the     │
└──────────────────┘          │ feminist difference  │
                    1         │ theory               │
                              └──────────────────────┘
          ┌───────────────────┐
          │ The demonization  │
          │ of men and the    │
          │ glorification of  │
          │ women             │
          └───────────────────┘
┌─────────────────────┐       ┌──────────────────┐
│ Glorification of    │       │ The profeminist  │
│ women and criticism │       │ "critique of men │
│ against stereotypic │       │ and masculinity" │
│ men in the memeplex │       └──────────────────┘
│ of chivalry         │  2
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┌───────────────────────────────────┐   ┌────────────────────────┐
│ Popularized and sexist branches   │   │ The discourses of      │
│ in sociobiology, and the study of │   │ patriarchy and male    │
│ hormones and brain structures     │   │ dominance              │
└───────────────────────────────────┘   └────────────────────────┘
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Figure 45. The Demonization of Men and the Glorification of Women as a Coalition Discourse.

The difference in the sexist and the feminist branches that demonize men and masculinity is that the traditional sexist branches are more essentialists in their nature. They perceive men's demonic nature as something that is caused by genes and testosterone. The feminist version of this demonization of men and glorification of women is a more social constructionist venture. Yet, it leads to similar simplistic generalizations concerning men and women as the sexist discourses. For example, it seems easy for the maternalists and ecofeminists to find a consensus of the loving, caring and responsible nature of women – and about the belief that men represent an opposite to this stereotype (e.g. Vaughan 2007, see arrow 1). In a similar fashion, it is also easy for the conservative sexist gentlemen and the profeminist scholars of the critique of men to find a consensus about the belief that men are more often violent towards women than vice versa, and that all men should act in a gentlemanly fashion towards women.

As the sexist memeplexes of maternalism and chivalry have already been discussed in chapters 7.2.5 and 7.2.4, this chapter concentrates on the analysis of the appearance of the reverse strategy in feminism, equality policy, contemporary sciences, and in the products of cultural industry and media.

7.4.2 All men pose a threat to women in the form of rape and violence

7.4.2.1 Overview

The feminist memeplex that characterizes all men as a threat to women and girls in the form of rape and domestic violence is based on essentialist and social constructionist arguments. The essentialist arguments are grounded on sexist discourses and interpretations within sociobiology, psychoanalysis and the study of the male hormones and the male brain (see 7.2.6). They also appear in the form of essentialist ecofeminism, which has a high resemblance with the sexist discourses of maternalism (see 7.2.5). The social constructionist arguments are based on the theory of patriarchy (see 7.3.2), which has led to the stereotype of men as tyrant, violent and possessive patronizers, and to the symbolic idea that all men rape women by their codes and by their male gaze.
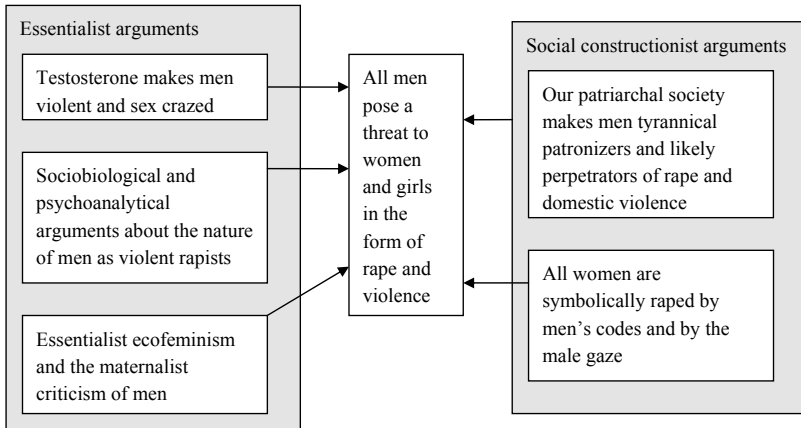
Figure 46. The Construction of the Memeplex Claiming that Men Pose a Threat to Women.

This chapter concentrates on the description of the essentialist and social constructionist arguments within feminism, and on the analysis of official discourses and discursive practices that have derived from the feminist discourses.

7.4.2.2 The essentialist arguments

Although the majority of scholars in the field of gender studies seem to object biological explanations, the theoretical periphery of feminism seems to gladly adopt all kinds of research results that support belief in the nature of men as violent rapists. For example, according to Wrangham, his book "The Demonic Males" is actually a feminist venture.[106] This suggests that essentialist criticism against men is generally considered coherent with the core ideas of feminism. In a similar fashion, the belief that testosterone is a poison also enjoys wide popularity in the theoretical periphery of feminism: According to the Feminist Dictionary (1985), "until now it has been thought that the level of testosterone in men is normal, simply because they have it. But if you consider how abnormal their behavior is, then you are led to the hypothesis that almost all men are suffering from "testosterone poisoning".[107]

This criticism against men is also supported by essentialist ecofeminism, which is based on the idea that the women, due to their womb and breasts, are closer to nature, reproduction, caring and altruistic love, while men are essentially more distanced from love, caring and unselfishness (Razak 1990, p.168). Some ecofeminists also use psychoanalytical arguments for explaining why boys gradually become detached from emotions, and why they distance themselves from feminine virtues such as love, caring and unselfishness (e.g. Vaughan 2007). Psychoanalytical arguments are also used by those feminist scholars of incest, who claim that biological fathers cause a threat to their daughters in the form of incest and rape. Although this argument is partly social constructionist, it is also based on the psychoanalytical idea that sexuality is such a strong force in the life of man that incest is actually a natural principle, which is only disguised and barely controlled by the habits, traditions and norms of our society (see 7.2.5). The essentialist arguments about men's tendency to rape their daughters are amplified by misinterpretations concerning the sociobiological theories that point out the interest of men in younger females. These theories are commonly misinterpreted as a proof of

106 In an inteview by Wendy Cavenett, Richard Wrangham claimed that the book is essentially a "feminist venture" (http://www.thei.aust.com/isite/btl/btlindemonic.htm).

107 See Dabbs, J.M. Jr. (1998) Testosterone and the concept of dominance. Behavioral & Brain Sciences 21:370–371.

men's tendency to have sexual attraction towards girls who have not yet reached their puberty, although the sociobiological theories clearly point towards the interest of men in fertile women (see Sariola 2007, p. 43). This misinterpretation gains support from the statistics showing that the majority of men, who are suspected of sexual abuse of children, are biological fathers. Although this may be true for the *suspects* of abuse, it does not prove anything of the actual perpetrators of incest: One must recognize that the majority of accusations concerning incest appear in the context of divorce, which means that the accusations contain a very subjective and potentially biased element (Ibid, p. 44). Despite the fallacy of equating suspects with convicts, the Finnish Governmental Optula Institute claimed in 2006 that "The typical perpetrator of sexual abuse against children is the father", based on statistics concerning suspects (Ibid, p. 45). This statement is likely to give the impression that biological fathers pose a threat to their daughters in the form of sexual abuse, although only 0.2% of surveyed 9th grade Finnish girls reported that they had been victimized by the sexual abuse of their biological father (Ibid, p. 44, see also Sariola 1996).

7.4.2.3 The social constructionist arguments about the threat that men pose to women

The social constructionist version of the "all men are rapists" meme is partly based on the idea that men and the patriarchal ideology symbolically rape women. For example, according to a database containing famous quotations "All men are rapists and that's all they are. They rape us with their eyes, their laws, and their codes."[108] This quotation contains the idea that all men symbolically rape women with their *male gaze*, which places women into the role of a sex object. The idea of all men as symbolic and cultural rapists is also embedded in the discourses which present pornography as violence against women (E.g. Dworkin 1981, part IV). According to this argument, all men, who enjoy pornographic materials, are symbolic rapists who exploit women. Although these discourses present men as symbolic rapists, they tend to also support the mutated

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108 Quotation from Marilyn French. Aquired 2008-02-25 from http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/marilynfre108276.html

and simplified interpretation, according to which, *all men are rapists* – detached from the context of symbolic rape. Despite the attractiveness of generalizing all men as symbolic rapists, the main argumentation concerning men's tendency to rape women comes from the *theory of patriarchy*. As noted before, the radical theory of patriarchy claims that our patriarchal culture and our patriarchal power structures make men rapists.[109] Although this idea can be interpreted very moderately, suggesting that the patriarchal culture induces rape, a more simplified and therefore more attractive interpretation is to generalize that *all men are potential rapists*, due to the fact that we live in a patriarchy.

The feminist discourses concerning men's violence against women and girls are more complicated, as they combine several elements from the theory of patriarchy and the critical study of men and masculinity. According to one thread in the theory of patriarchy, the violence of men against women is instrumental in a fashion that benefits men: Men can subordinate their wives and daughters simply by the threat of violence, and if that is not enough, men can force women into an obedient role with actual physical violence. In this system, men believe that they have the right to act as the head of the family (a patriarch), and violence is an instrument for achieving this goal (see Lundgren 2004). These discourses of patriarchy and male violence seem to have a high resemblance with the descriptions concerning a relationship between a normal woman and a man who has a narcissist personality disorder. The narcissists have an inflated self confidence and need for admiration. They are unable to feel empathy, and have a high need to feel superior. This potential linkage between narcissism and interspousal violence has also been found by the victims of this violence (see Klemi 2006, p. 95). Despite this likely connection of the narcissist disorder and domestic violence, the feminist scholars of domestic violence tend to generalize the stereotype of a narcissist man to all men in general. According to these discourses, men's violence against women can be characterized as "patriarchal terror", although some more moderate scholars of domestic violence have tried to question this hypothesis (e.g. Piispa 2002).

The idea that all men are violent is also supported by Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity (see Connell 1995). The theory may be interpreted in such a fashion that hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of

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109 E.g. Ward 1984, p. 201 and Collard & Contrucci 1988, p. 1 (see Leahy 1998)

masculinity in a statistical and discourse analytical sense: Dominance means that the hegemonic masculinity is a hegemonic discourse or hegemonic memeplex. It is more common, popular or influential than rival discourses or memeplexes that construct masculinity (see Jokinen 2003, p. 14–15). According to the more radical Gramscian interpretation, hegemonic masculinity means dominant masculinity, which means the masculinity of those men who have gathered power and who use power to subordinate others. Under this interpretation, it is forgotten that in some societies the chivalrous or gentlemanly masculinity may be on a hegemonic status in the discourse analytical sense. It is also possible that in some cultures, pacifist and care taking masculinities dominate in the sense that they are more common than others (see Edley & Wetherell 1995). The ignoring of this discourse analytical interpretation of hegemonic masculinity tends to lead to simplified conclusions of the tyrant nature of common men. It also leads to the perception that violence is a masculine trait. For example, according to Husso, "violence is a masculine behavior, even if a woman fights like a man" (Husso 2001, p. 60).

Hegemonic masculinity is caused by the patriarchy (Connell)

Hegemonic masculinity means the most **common** or most influential discourse of masculinity (Jokinen)

Hegemonic masculinity means a set of representations of masculinity, which are connected to the valuation of male power and patriarchal gender hierarchy (Connell, Jokinen)

Homo-social pressures and homo-phoby (Jokinen)

Most men represent or imitate hegemonic masculinity, meaning the aggressive tyrant masculinity.

Men's ability to use violence is appraised as a central part of masculinity in many cultural products and discourses (Jokinen).

Most men are aggressive tyrants, which mean that they are also likely rapists and perpetrators of violence.

Figure 47. The Misandric Interpretation of Connell's Theory of Hegemonic Masculinity.

Although the texts of Connell and Jokinen do not explicitly contain the conclusion that most common men represent or imitate the aggressive and tyrant representations of masculinity, this conclusion is easily made within the critical studies of men: Although hegemonic masculinity is only a theoretical concept, most empirical studies in the critical studies of men seem to the lead to the conclusion that almost all men value and imitate this hegemonic, aggressive and tyrant form of masculinity (see Rojola 2004).

On top of the theories of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity, feminism also contains the theoretical periphery, which contains biased statistics, misandric stereotypes and urban legends. An example of a biased statistic is given by the European Women's Lobby, which claims that 98.5% of domestic violence is the violence of men against women (Women's Lobby 2005). This same idea also appears in the political programs of women's organizations, which may contain the idea that all perpetrators of domestic violence are male (e.g. Naisasialiitto Unioni 2005). An example of a misandric urban legend is the story, according to which domestic violence rates always jump up during football matches. This feminist legend, which was originally created in the USA, has no connection to empirical reality. Yet, it appeared widely in the media in the USA, and still continues its existence in informal discourses (Sommers 1994, p. 189–191, Kammer 2002, p. 48–51). It also appears in a Canadian version, according to which domestic violence rates jump up during ice hockey matches. This Canadian version was e-mailed to the Finnish e-mailing list for women's studies in 2006 by a professor of women's studies.[110] These examples show that feminist discourses act as a breeding ground for statistics and stories, which can be used for the reproduction of the stereotype of men as a threat to women and girls in the form of rape and violence.

7.4.2.4 Official discourses and practices in public administration

The feminist theory of domestic violence is based on the older *radical feminist theory of patriarchal violence*, which has been renamed and slightly

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110 In order to protect the privacy of the distributor of this feminist legend, the name is not given here. However, it is possible to verify this piece of information by checking the archives of naistutkimus@uta.fi.

modified into the *feminist theory of gendered violence* (see Nikula 2005). A third discourse in the context of domestic violence is the discourse of *ending the violence against women*, which is especially popular in the context of the United Nations. These three feminist discourses have reached a hegemonic position in the public administration, within the programs and organizations for ending the violence against women. For example, according to Hagenman-White, the feminist paradigm concerning domestic violence has become so popular in Germany that nobody remembers any longer, what existed before it (Hagenman-White 1998, p. 180). According to Keskinen, the feminist discourses of domestic violence have reached a hegemonic status in most European countries (Keskinen 2005, p. 101). The same seems to also apply to the USA and the United Nations.

The hegemonic status of the feminist discourses means that alternative paradigms and anomalous statistics, concerning intimate partner violence, are likely to be silenced and filtered out. Out of the statistics indicating that 6%–92% of intimate partner violence is men's violence against women (see 6.3.4), only the ones that support the hegemonic feminist discourse are published in official documents and web services. For example, the American Family Violence Prevention Fund (2008) claims that "In 2001, women accounted for 85 percent of the victims of intimate partner violence" despite the fact that even some feminist scholars have concluded that women account for only 60% of the victims, based on interviews with 15.000 Americans (see Tjaden & Thoennes 2000). However, due to its political attractiveness, the figure of 85% has spread very widely around the world, and also in Finland (see chapter 7.3.2.4). The filtering of statistics is partly intentional and voluntary, as there is a strong social pressure towards research reports, which are coherent with the official paradigm of domestic violence. For example, when Kennedy and Dutton performed a study that showed that more men than women are victimized by intimate partner violence, they published only the data on the victimization of women (Kennedy & Dutton 1989, see Silverman 1996). This filtering of data leads to biased statistics, which picture men in a maximally negative manner, although several other statistics would give a totally different picture of the gender distribution of intimate partner violence (see 6.3.4). Also in Finland, the feminist paradigm of gendered

violence has led to discourses which give men the subject position of a guilty perpetrator, while presenting women as the innocent victims. A typical argument that promotes this discourse is that only a small fraction of domestic violence or partner violence is women's violence against men. This argument appears even in the political program of the Finnish government, according to which:

> "A small minority of the victims of domestic violence and partner violence are men." (Finnish Government 2005, p. 23.)

The first part of the statement claims that only a small minority of the victims of *domestic violence* are men. This is a confusing and tautological statement, as a majority of domestic violence seems to be violence against children.[111] Therefore, it is no wonder that adult men make only a small minority of the victims of domestic violence. The second part of the statement claims that only a small minority of the victims of *partner violence* are men: This is not supported by the Finnish National Victimological Survey, according to which 1.6% of men and 1.2% of women were victimized by the violence of their partner in 2003 (Sirén & al. 2007, p. 4). Based on this figure, it seems misandric to claim that men make up only a small proportion of the victims, while giving the impression that the vast majority of the perpetrators of domestic violence and partner violence are men. Even if we combine domestic violence and partner violence together, we gain figures that show the high percentage of men among victims. In 2003 in Finland, 1.8% of men and 2.3% of women seem to have been victimized either by domestic violence or by partner violence (Ibid, p. 4). This means that 44% of the victims were men. Other Finnish survey studies, measuring domestic violence and partner violence, are difficult to find (see 6.3.4).

The hegemonic feminist paradigm of domestic violence has led to several administrative double standards. For example in Finland, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health has stated that only 10% of intimate partner violence is women's violence against men (Finnish

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111 According to Heiskanen, 10.6% of a random sample of Finnish women have experienced violence from their present male partner (Heiskanen 2006, p. 21). When this is contrasted with the fact that 76% of Finnish teenagers have reported victimization to physical violence by their parents (Sariola 1996), one can conclude that violence against children is clearly likely to be more common than intimate partner violence against women.

Government 1.6.2004). Based on this biased figure, the ministry has advised maternity nurses to survey pregnant women systematically with a questionnaire, whether they have been victimized with domestic violence (Ibid). In this questionnaire, women's own violence against men and children is not asked at all (Ibid, attachment 14). It is also notable that the spouses of the pregnant women are not given a chance to fill in a similar questionnaire. This means that men's violence against women and children is actively screened, while women's violence against men and children is nullified and ignored in the practices of maternity nurses. A similar discourse and memeplex concerning men's violence and women's innocence is also embedded in empirical studies like the Finnish "Faith, hope and battering", in which only men's violence against women was studied. In most of these studies, the context of violence is not checked in order to see, whether the female victims of violence had actually initiated physical violence themselves. Due to the lack of sensitivity to the context, the governmentally supported studies concerning violence against women tend to present women as innocent victims, while men are given the subject position of a guilty perpetrator. The lack of attention to the statistical connection of alcohol consumption and intimate partner violence also seems to be an integral part of this discourse. This seems to be caused by the historical fact that the feminist paradigm of domestic violence wanted to challenge the older paradigm of "family violence" (see Peltoniemi 1984). Due to this active questioning and challenging, it is no longer politically correct to point out the connection of alcohol consumption and social problems to domestic violence. The only politically correct "root cause" of domestic violence is the fact that we live in a patriarchy, and that our patriarchal culture makes men violent. The idea of such "root causes" of the violence against women appears in the discourses of the United Nations, in the context of ending violence against women (e.g. Erturk 2006, summary).

The official instructions and statistics that the ministries of Social Affairs and Health send to the municipal social service organizations are likely to amplify the discourses that demonize men and glorify women in these organizations (see 7.5.5). For example, according to Vuori, family professionals such as social workers and psychologists tend to emphasize the importance of mother–child relations, while perceiving the father as

a potential threat to this symbiotic dyad (Vuori 2001, p.148–155). It is also common that the social workers indirectly encourage the customers in the production of a "villain discourse" which pictures all men as irresponsible, selfish, violent and possibly also sex crazed villains.[112]

Although these feminist discourses have also gradually achieved a superior position in Finland, they are not in such a strong hegemonic position as in most other EU countries. For example, the governmental STAKES institute has published articles which pay attention to the fact that 40% of the perpetrators of severe assaults against their spouses lately have been female in Finland (e.g. Karlsson 2005). The Finnish government has also refused to create special routines, practices or organs for handling the violence against women, in a manner that would put male and female victims of violence in a substantially different position, although such policies and organizations for ending the violence against women have been proposed by the United Nations and by Finnish women's organizations. This suggests that there is still some resistance against the feminist paradigm of domestic violence in Finnish society. A significant factor for the lack of the popularity of the feminist discourses seems to be the Finnish union for the organizations that arrange support to victims of domestic violence (Ensi- ja turvakotien liitto). This organization has strictly refused to participate in the discourses which picture men as guilty perpetrators and women as innocent victims. For example, the project manager of this association, Hannele Törrönen, has written several articles on women's violence, and of women's tendency to patronize (matronize?) their family (E.g. Törrönen 2001). She has also participated in the creation of the web site www.vaiettunaiseus.fi, which contains statistics and research reports that are anomalous to the hegemonic feminist paradigm. Due to the existence of these critical voices which challenge the feminist discourse of domestic violence, it seems reasonable to conclude that in Finland the feminist discourses of domestic violence have less influence on the public administration than in the USA and in the EU, in general. Yet, the existence of official instructions, statistics and administrative routines, that picture men as the perpetrators and women as the innocent victims, show that the feminist paradigm has also had a notable influence on the way in which men and women are treated in the context of domestic violence and intimate partner violence in Finland.

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112 *Villain discourse*, Natkin 1997, p. 195–197 (see Juttula 2004, p. 45–46).

7.4.3 Men are irresponsible and selfish pigs

7.4.3.1 Feminist and maternalist discourses

The feminist and maternalist stereotypes of men and women, present women as the altruistic and responsible caretakers of other people, while men are characterized as irresponsible, selfish and unloving (e.g. Vaughan 2007). In some maternalist discourses, men's sex crazed nature and men's tendency towards sexual infidelity is also added to the stereotype (see chapter 7.2.5). These feminist stereotypes are also strengthened by the villain discourses promoted by mothers and family professionals. A typical product of such a villain discourse is the belief in the commonness of "dead beat fathers", who first abandon their family, and then refuse to pay their child support payments. The idea of men as selfish pigs also appears in the feminist discourses, which claim that men do not do their share of domestic work and childcare and that this causes an unfair double burden onto women (see 7.3.2.4).

7.4.3.2 Popular discourses and attitudes

The feminist and maternalist "villain discourses" that severely criticize men have gradually established a strong position in modern culture. For example, the discourse of the epidemic of "dead beat fathers" seems to have appeared in the speeches of TV host Bill O'Reilly, Senator Evan Bayh, and president candidate Al Gore.[113] Yet, these discourses are based on very shaky evidence, which has been achieved mainly by interviewing divorced women. Other statistical sources have shown, that men clearly abandon their spouse less often than women, and that divorced men tend to pay their child support, unless they are unemployed (Braver 1998, see Baskerville 2002, p. 27). According to Kammer, the American culture, in general, contains a popular belief and attitude, according to which, men tend to be selfish pigs that cause problems in human relations due to their immature and selfish behaviors. For example, in the context of divorce and other break-ups of relationships, people may commonly suspect that most relationships break up due to the behavior of men (Kammer 2002, p. 82).

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113 See Baskerville 2002, p. 27

The popularity of discourses concerning the selfish and irresponsible nature of men seems to also apply to Finland to some extent. This was evaluated in a brief study in which I used Google to count the frequencies of some misandric and misogynous memes on the World Wide Web. In order to raise the validity of the results, the googling was done in the Finnish language, as in the English language sentences like "all men are pigs" could be part of a wider sentence such as "not all men are pigs". Another delineation of the study was the disregarding of such hot topics like "all men are rapists", as it seems that most hits by Google referred to a meta discussion concerning the claimed misandry of some feminists. A third choice was to use primarily casual grammar, in order to collect people's personal opinions. However, in the context of violence, the casual grammar produced only a couple of hits, which made me also check the frequency of the meme presented in formal grammar. In order to reduce speculative hits pointing to metadiscourses, the statements were also tested adding the word *that* ("että") in front of the statement. The amount of these hits was then subtracted from the total hits of the statement. The results of this pilot study are shown in Table 29:

Search terms	Translation in English	Men	Women	Ratio
miehet/naiset on eläimiä	men/women are animals	9	1	
että miehet/naiset on eläimiä	that men/women are animals	1	0	
Net result for "men/women are animals		*8*	*1*	*8,0*
miehet/naiset on sikoja	men/women are pigs	1500	7	
että miehet/naiset on sikoja	that men/women are pigs	235	0	
Net result for "men/women are pigs"		*1265*	*7*	*180,7*
Miehet/naiset on seksihulluja	men/women are sex crazed	4	0	
että miehet/naiset on seksihulluja	that men /women are sex crazed	0	0	
Net result for "men/women are sex crazed"		*4*	*0*	*---*
kaikki miehet/naiset pettää	all men/women cheat	101	7	
että kaikki miehet/naiset pettää	that all men/women cheat	6	4	
Net result for "all men/women cheat"		*95*	*3*	*31,7*
miehet/naiset ovat väkivaltaisia	men/women are violent	212	142	
että miehet/naiset ovat väkivaltaisia	that men are violent	5	6	
Net result for "men/women are violent"		*207*	*136*	*1,5*

Table 29. The Relative Frequencies of Some Demonizing Memes.

The study revealed that in Finland, the misandric stereotype of men as "pigs" seems to be 180 times more common than the misogynous idea of women as pigs. The stereotype of all men as sexually infidel cheaters is 32 times more common than the idea of women as cheaters, based on the googling. Surprisingly, the idea of men as violent is only 1.5 times more common than the idea of women as violent, which means that about 40% of the complaints concerning violence appear as complaints against women. This seems to be in line with the statistics concerning the incidence of severe assaults among cohabiting partners, and statistics concerning the fear of intimate partner violence in Finland (see 6.3.4).

7.4.3.3 Official discourses

The idea of the irresponsible and selfish nature of men also appears in official discourses. As shown above, the discourses of "dead beat fathers" have also permeated the official and political discourses. This has had a strong effect on the legislation in USA. In Finland, the idea of men as "irresponsible and selfish pigs" appears in a campaign by Liikenneturva, which is the Finnish governmental organization for promoting traffic safety. Liikenneturva, found out that 85% of the deaths in traffic are caused by men. The organization launched an advertising campaign, in which about 100 men and no women at all, were standing on a highway shouting "I, me, myself!" symbolizing the selfish and irresponsible behavior of male drivers. The campaign was not judged discriminative against men by the Ethical Council of Advertising, as the *majority of irresponsible drivers are male*, according to a survey study performed in 2003 (Resolution 24/2005).[114] The resolution, however, does not tell whether 51% or 100% of the reckless drivers are men. Instead, it emphasizes that almost 85% of the deaths in traffic are caused by male drivers. When this 85% is compared to the fact that men do 70–80% of all driving (Ibid), we may note that there is a relatively small difference in the distribution of deaths caused by men and women, per distance driven. This means, that the statistics do not actually prove a substantial difference in men's and women's attitudes and driving habits. Based on this analysis, it is not

114   http://www.kauppakamari.fi/kkk/palvelut/Mainonnan_eettiset_ohjeet/fi_FI/ MEN_lausunto_24_2005/

justified to place all the blame of selfishness and irresponsibility on men. Therefore, the demonization of men in this campaign seems to be close to structural discrimination against men (see 2.2.1), raising of hatred against a group of people (see 2.1.6), and negligence of the authorities in their duty to advance gender equality (Finnish Equality Law § 4). This campaign may have also led to direct discrimination of men, as policemen may create a belief system that perceives all female traffic violations as less severe than they are, and all male traffic violations as more severe than they are. In practice, this could mean that men receive stricter penalties from police than women do (see also 8.3.4).

7.4.4 The valuation of women and femininity above men and masculinity

7.4.4.1 Reverse strategy in feminism

The feminist difference theory has produced discourses in which women and femininity are valued higher than men and masculinity. According to Kuusipalo, these discourses represent the *reverse strategy* in feminism (Kuusipalo 2002, p. 220). The term reverse strategy is based on the idea of reversing the gender hierarchy. This reversing appears commonly, for example, in the feminist stand point epistemology (see 7.3.4.1). The reverse strategy also has strong connections to maternalism and ecofeminism, which both glorify women's altruistic, loving, caring and responsible nature.[115] It is also supported by all the discourses that demonize men, as it is obvious that women are the superior gender, if men are characterized as violent, sex crazed, selfish, irresponsible and unloving (see 7.4.2 and 7.4.3). Reverse strategy also appears in cultural feminism, which praises women's cultures, and perceives them as a positive alternative to men's competitive and hierarchal cultures (see Alcoff 1988 and Kuusipalo 2002, p. 212–4).

Although several theories and branches in feminism criticize men and masculinity or glorify women and femininity, the idea of putting women and femininity above men and masculinity in the gender hierarchy

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115 Maternalism, chapter 7.2.5, ecofeminism, see wwww and Vaughan 2007

seems to be also based on memetic mutations and on the accidental recombination of memes. For example, it seems typical that feminists combine elements from equality feminism and feminist difference theory, in a way that produces the reverse strategy. The difference theory contains several memes claiming that women are better than men in several ways and in several tasks – especially in the domain of human relations, morality, holistic thinking, unselfishness etc. Yet, equality feminism contains the idea that men are not essentially better than women in any tasks. When these memes are slightly mutated and then combined together, we can easily conclude that *women are superior to men in many ways, but men are not superior to women in any ways.*
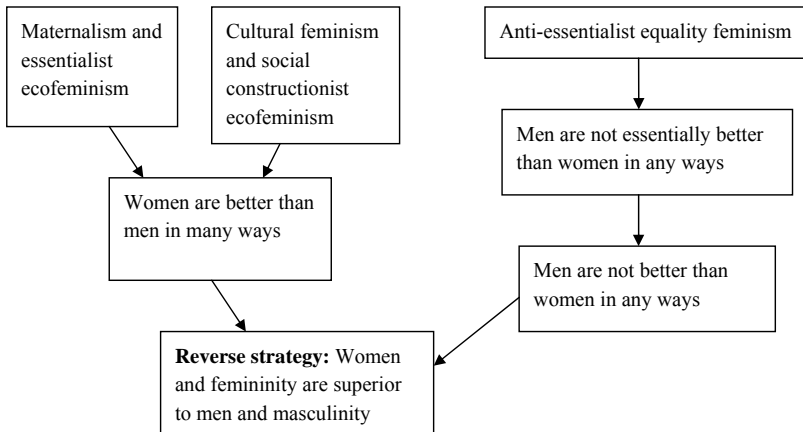
Figure 48. The Rhetoric and Memetic Basis of the Reverse Strategy.

The appearance and popularity of the feminist reverse strategy, may be evaluated by asking feminists to list the positive feminine characteristics or positive elements of women's culture. This list is likely to be relatively long. When the respondents are asked to list the positive characteristics of men or positive elements of men's cultures, the list is likely to be very short or empty. This hypothesis, however, has not been tested in a systematic manner, although the hypothesis has received some tentative evidence from a few interviews and e-mail discussions with Finnish scholars of women's studies. The popularity of the reverse strategy can also be deduced from the fact that Sandra Bem's idea of androgyny has lost a large part

of its popularity within feminism: The theory of androgyny contained the idea that people can learn some valuable feminine and masculine skills, in a fashion that makes them androgynously skilled (Bem 1974). In the more modern feminist discourses, the idea of "positive masculine skills" is almost absent, and the theory of androgyny is criticized, as it contains too much emphasis on "andro", meaning the masculine. Even such proponents of difference theory, who claim that they promote a theory which perceives men and women as equally valuable, tend to glorify femininity without saying anything positive about men and masculinity (e.g. Näre 2004). The appearance and popularity of the reverse strategy in feminism has also been noticed by Finnish sociologists like Jallinoja (2004).

7.4.4.2 The reverse strategy in popular discourses and in public administration

As noted in chapter 7.2, sexism contains many elements that put women and femininity above men and masculinity: The misandric stereotypes of men, the maternalist glorification of women, and the chivalrous tendency of men to put women on a pedestal. These discourses have formed successful coalition discourses with the feminist discourses over the last centuries. For example, according to Lucretia Marinella, women have *inherent nobility and excellence that men do not have* (Marinella 1600). This belief is reflected in sexist songs and poems, which glorify women and girls, and position them above men and boys. For example, according to an old rhyme, little girls are made of "Sugar and spice, and everything nice" while little boys are made of boisterous and somewhat filthy substances. It is also relatively common that the lyrics of popular songs picture men as clumsy, brutal and uncivilized, while women are presented as beautiful and divine beings in a romantic sense.[116] These discourses of the superiority of women, contain clear connections to the older sexist discourses of the beastly and barbarian nature of men (see 7.2.2). The core ideas of these traditional and more modern versions

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116 A good example is the Finnish song "Rökäleitä mökäleitä" which criticizes men and presents women as "beautiful paintings and poems" (lyrics Nuotio & Reponen)

of the reverse strategy have been condensed into the statement by Lady Nancy Astor: *"I married beneath me, all women do."*[117]

This reverse strategy also appears in the organization cultures of female dominated groups and organizations, such as the social service organizations. These organizations tend to combine maternalism, misandric psychoanalysis, and feminism, in a manner that produces a negative stereotype for men and a positive stereotype for women (see chapter 7.5.5). Another example of the appearance of the reverse strategy seems to be the school system, where the belief in the superiority of femininity over masculinity seems to be caused mostly by feminism and not by maternalism. According to Sommers and Kammer, the American school system has began a feministically motivated war against boys and men, in such a fashion that positions women and femininity as the new norm for the pupils at schools (Sommers 2001, Kammer 2002, p. 37, 53 and 91). According to Sommers, special days and excursions are organized for girls, so that they get a chance to know the labor market and business organizations, while boys are required to stay in the classroom and feel guilty (Sommers 2001). Although this practice is not a very severe case of reverse discrimination, it shows the valuation of girls over boys, and the general dislike of masculinity by the school system. Some more concrete examples are given by male teachers, who feel uncomfortable about the new norms and values of the schools and educational organs of the government. For example, according to Wade *"Feminine behavior is the model; it is the standard by which all children's behavior is judged… During one assembly, the headmistress of this primary school asked the children: "What does the color blue make you think of?" A little girl, who answered 'flowers' was praised. A boy, who enthusiastically answered 'Chelsea' [an English soccer team, whose color is blue] was given a pained look and told to think again."*[118]

The feminist discourses, which present men and boys in a negative manner and present girls and women as the norm of humanity, seem to also appear within the Finnish school system. According to Arno Kotro, a teacher, writer and masculist, the feminist paradigm about the superiority of femininity over masculinity is systematically taught

117 Lady Nancy Astor (1879–1964), see Kammer 2002, p. 33

118 Alexander Wade, a teacher in training, in The Spectator (UK), September 2, 2000 (see Kammer 2002, p. 91)

to new teachers during their training. This paradigm and the materials distributed to teachers, present boys and masculinity in an very negative manner, leading to the conclusion that women, femininity and women's cultures are superior to men, masculinity and men's cultures (Kotro 2007, p. 162). The same has been observed by children's psychiatrist Raisa Cacciatore, who claims that the Finnish school system has developed a severely misandric atmosphere and paradigm (Cacciatore, see Kotro 2007, p. 162).

7.4.5 The belief in the superior value of women's lives, safety and comfort

7.4.5.1 Feminist discourses

Hardly any feminists claim that women are more valuable than men. Yet, some feminist discourses suggest that the loss of female lives is worse than the loss of male lives, and that feminine suffering is more severe than male suffering. For example, according to Hillary Clinton, *"Women have always been the primary victims of war. Women lose their husbands, their fathers, their sons in combat. Women often have to flee from the only homes that they have ever known. Women are often the refugees from conflict and sometimes, more frequently in today's warfare, victims. Women are often left with the responsibility, alone, of raising the children." (Clinton 1998).* This discourse suggests that even if a man dies or gets maimed in a war, the ones who suffer more from this death or maiming are the women. This means that male deaths are considered less significant than the mental pain that women have to face, due to the death of their father, husband or son. (Kammer 2002, p. 83)

In some cases, the feminist discourses – in the theoretical periphery of feminism – claim that men have to be chivalrous and gentlemanly towards women, as women deserve it due to their inherent dignity and excellence. This thread of feminism seems to be actually 400 years old, as one of the first feminists in the world, Lucretia Marinella, wrote the following: *"It is an amazing thing to see in our city the wife of a shoemaker, or a butcher, or a porter dressed in silk with chains of gold at the throat, with*

pearls and a ring of good value… and then in contrast to see her husband cutting the meat, all smeared with cow's blood, poorly dressed, or burdened like an ass, clothed with the stuff from which sacks are made … but whoever considers this reasonable, because it is necessary that the lady, even if low-born and humble, be draped with such clothes for her natural excellence and dignity, and the man less adorned as if slave, or a little ass, born to her service" (Marinella 1600, see Kammer 2002, p. 31).

These discourses of women's superior dignity and excellence, continued in the discourses of the Victorian society, and in the early maternalist women's movement, which both have a clear connection to feminism. Although the equality feminism of the 1940s to 1960s questioned the superior value of women, the feminist difference theory and stand-point epistemology revived it once more in the 1970s and 1980s. Due to this trend in feminism, it is no longer uncommon to make statements of the superior value of women in magazines. For example, a Canadian woman, who works in public relations, gave the following statement in an interview in the National Post of Canada: *"Of course men have to pay and buy you presents. Men have to spoil you. You have to be spoiled. If you don't think you're a princess, you're not going to be treated like one. You have to make sure you know – and they know – you're a princess. This is my feminism. It's the new feminism to say, "I'm expensive. I need lots of attention. I need men to bend over backwards for me".*[119] According to this thread of "princess feminism", women have such inborn nobility and excellence that men must devote a lot of their time in protecting women, and ensuring their comfort. The idea of women as princesses, who need constant protection and comfort, is also illustrated by the statement by the novelist Anne Rice. According to Rice, the women's movement, when she joined it, *"was about power, earning the same pay for the same job. Now it's about protection. We are saying that we want to be allowed into a man's world, but we can't take it. You have to protect us."*[120]

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119 Interview of a 26 year old Canadian woman, in an article by Rebecca Eckler (National Post of Canada 2000-08-26, see Kammer 2002, p. 119).

120 Rice, Anne (1994) Interview by Julia Reed, "The Burden of Proof," VOGUE, Jan. 1994, at 32 (see Goines & Popovicá 1994)

7.4.5.2 Popular discourses and the media

Popular discourses and texts in the media gain their idea of the superior value of female lives, partly from feminist difference theory and radical feminism, and partly from the sexist discourses of maternalism, chivalry and the gentlemanly pedestal treatment of women. Due to this attractive coalition discourse between feminism and sexism, the American media seems to emphasize the appalling nature of women's suffering and female deaths, whilst male suffering and the loss of male lives are not presented as an equal "crime against humanity". For example, according to the study of Boyce (1994), Canadian newspaper headlines tend to highlight and point out female suffering more strongly than male suffering. The volume of the study was 2000 newspaper articles, in which the headline of the story was compared to the content. This same phenomenon has been detected by Jack Kammer, who reports that statistics are commonly interpreted and headlined in the news in a "feminacentric" manner, hinting that women's suffering is more severe and important than male suffering. For example, an article which reported that 82% of all employees killed at workplace were men in 1987, was provided with a headline stating that "732 women were murdered on the job." (Kammer 2002, p. 85). In a similar fashion, the Washington Post reported that 115 girl babies and 158 boy babies were killed in the USA 1997. The story, however, was given the headline "A Matter Of Violent Death and Little Girls" (Ibid, p. 85).

7.4.5.3 Official discourses and practices

The higher value of women, compared to men, appears in the common discourses of chivalry, which have been described in chapter 7.2.4. According to these discourses, men should sacrifice their lives in order to save women and children, for example, in serious accidents and catastrophes. The thread of chivalrous sexism especially appears in the context of war, as male soldiers and officers tend to put a lot of effort into protecting and rescuing female soldiers (see Farrell 1994). Not only the soldiers, but also the generals and politicians do their best to avoid loss of female soldiers in wars, which makes this kind of chivalry a part

of the public administration (see Kammer 2002, p. 25). This chivalrous valuation of female lives above male lives also appears in court practices. For example, in the USA, drunk drivers who have killed a woman tend to get a 56% longer sentence than drunk drivers who have killed a man.[121]

The prioritization of female lives and women's welfare seems to also appear in the distribution of funds for the prevention and curing of women's cancers, compared to the prevention and curing of typical men's cancers. According to Kammer, the US department of health spends significantly more money on the prevention and curing of breast cancer than for the prevention and curing of prostate cancer. This difference still remains, even if the budgets are divided by the amount of deaths for breast cancer and prostate cancer. The department of health spends 13.000$ per year per each breast cancer death, while using only 6.000$ per year per each prostate cancer death.[122] Arithmetically, this would lead to the conclusion that female lives are considered to be at least two times more important than male lives. This prioritization of female lives and female health above men's lives and men's health seems to also appear also Finland. The Finnish public healthcare has been arranging free of charge screenings for breast cancer for women for several decades. Similar screenings for men, to detect early appearance of prostate cancer, are not arranged, even though economically feasible and scientifically reliable methods would be available (Petäys 2007, p. 110).

The superiorly high value of female lives can also be deduced from the superior attractiveness of mutated memes that exaggerate the losses of female lives. For example, a study of violence – of all violence, not just domestic violence – was conducted in a poor, inner city Philadelphia neighborhood (Kammer 2002, p. 215). Twelve percent of the perpetrators of injuries to women were male domestic partners. However, when the Surgeon General Antonia Novello said correctly that *"one study found violence to be the leading cause of injury to women ages 15–44 years"*, it was misinterpreted and then quoted by a pamphlet of feminist activists in the following manner: *"findings by the Surgeon General reveal that domestic violence is the leading cause of injury to women between ages 15 and 44, more common than automobile accidents, muggings*

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121 National Bureau on Economic Research at Harward University 2000 (see Kammer 2002, p. 25).

122 Men's Health Network, Washington DC (see Kammer 2002, p. 20).

and cancer combined." This pamphlet was then quoted by Newsweek, which gave the mutated meme more credibility and transformed it into common knowledge (Ibid, p. 215). The mutated version has even spread to Europe, where a Parliamentary Assembly stated that *"Statistics shows that for women between 16 and 44 years of age, domestic violence is thought to be the major cause of death and invalidity, ahead of cancer, road accidents and even war."*[123] In the discourses of the European Council, this mutated meme also appears in a form, in which the age limits have been completely removed. According to European Council, *"It is estimated that more women in Europe die or are seriously injured every year through domestic violence than through cancer or road accidents."*[124] The extremely exaggerated nature of this meme is revealed by the fact that in Finland, 174 times more women die of cancer than of domestic violence (www.stat.fi, see Takala & al. 2005, p. 6). The rapid exaggeration and spreading of this meme seems to suggest that in our culture, female suffering and the loss of female lives are, in an essentialist sense, considered more appalling than male suffering and the loss of male lives.

7.5 Double Standards that Lead to Discrimination

7.5.1 The origins of the misandric and discriminative double standards

In the introduction of this chapter, the sources of misandric double standards were located into sexism, feminism, radical welfare state ideology, and the sexist branches of science such as psychoanalysis and sociobiology. In the previous chapters, these discourses and memeplexes have been deconstructed into smaller memeplexes and elements. This enables us to draw a more detailed picture of the discriminative double standards and their origins. The most influential memeplexes that induce double standards in favor of women are *chivalry and alpha bias*, the feminist perception of *women as the discriminated and oppressed gender*, and the welfare state ideology for giving special treatment to such social

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123 Parliamentary Assembly, Recommendation 1582 / 2002 (see Takala & al. 2005, p. 6).

124 Council of Europe, Recommendation 1450 / 2000 (see Takala & al. 2005, p. 6)

groups which have been *officially classified as disadvantaged*. All of these memeplexes may be used for supporting dozens of double standards that favor women and discriminate men – even in the public administration. On a more detailed level, it may be seen that other sexist memeplexes such as macho masculinity, maternalism and the sexist stereotypes of men also have their misandric and discriminative implications that actualize into double standards in favor of women. In a similar fashion, some feminist memeplexes like the reverses strategy and the theories of gendered violence and social work are also likely to support double standards that favor women. The radical belief in the justified anger and rage of the oppressed groups also has its specific effects that work towards general misandry, especially when combined with the sexist and feminist discourses that support misandry.
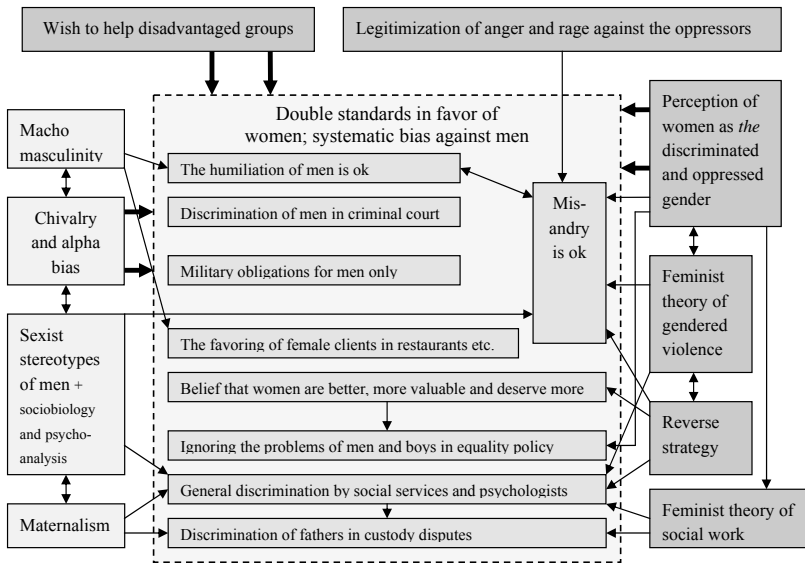
Figure 49. The Emergence of Misandric Double Standards and Discriminative Practices.

7.5.2 Summarizing and explicating
some double standards described so far

7.5.2.1 Sexist double standards
that also gain support from feminism

In chapter 7.2.7, the **discrimination of men in criminal court** was described as a sexist phenomenon. However, it also contains connections to feminism. For example, in the USA, feminist activists and lawyers have lobbied the Federal Judicial Circuits to such an extent, that the 9th Circuit pities the fact that the discrimination against men in courts has been removed by the new Guidelines that have been given to courts: *"If women received lesser sentences prior to the implementation of the Guidelines, and now their sentences more close approximate those given to men, the Guidelines would have had a disproportionately harsher effect on women than on men. In other words, while many defendants receive longer sentences under the Guidelines than previously, women's sentences may have increased more than those of men."*[125] This shows that feminist memeplexes can be used for arguing against the removal of the discrimination against men. It also shows that the feminist paradigm may contain a subtle double standard, according to which the advancement of gender equality is a positive thing – but only, if it leads to the advancement of women's status.

Although **men's obligatory military service** was introduced as a tradition that is mostly supported by patriotic and chivalrous gentlemen (see 7.2.4), it is also supported by women in general. According to a survey of the Finnish population, 79% of Finnish women consider the present system as superior to any alternative system, while only 68 % of men support the present system, in which the military service is obligatory for men, but voluntary for women (MTS 2007, p. 8). The link from feminism to the military obligations of men is controversial: Some equality feminists consider men's obligatory military service to be a violation against the principles of gender equality,[126] however some others claim that women already have the burden of having to give birth

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125 Gender Bias Task Force 1993, p. 181 (see Kammer 2002, p. 84).

126 E.g. Rosa Meriläinen, member of Finnish parliament (see Meriläinen 2005).

to children, and therefore, men's obligatory military service is merely a fair, balancing factor.

7.5.2.2 Feminist double standards
that also gain support from sexism

Feminism contains memeplexes that tend to lead to the *ignoring of men's equality problems* in the equality policy (see 7.3.3.4). This tendency of not seeing men's problems as equality problems is supported by chivalrous gentlemen, who like to prioritize women's comfort and female lives over men's comfort and male lives (see 7.4.5). It also gains support from the ideals of macho masculinity, which require that men do not complain "too easily", since complaining and the search for comfort are seen as feminine behaviors (see 7.2.3).

In a similar fashion, the feminist belief in the *higher value of women compared to men* (7.4.5.1) also gains support from sexism, in the form of the chivalry and gentlemanly codes (7.2.4).

7.5.3 Misandric double standards

7.5.3.1 The humiliation of men is ok

The double standard concerning the humiliation of men, means that the public humiliation of men is widely approved in the modern society, while the public humiliation of women in the media is considered as grossly old fashioned and retarded. The humiliation of men appears in four forms: 1) humiliation as an initiation rite, 2) moderate forms of humiliation as a continuous test of masculinity, 3) humiliation as a social punishment for those men, who deviate from traditional masculinity, and 4) humiliation as a feminist punishment for men.

An example of humiliation in the sense of an *initiation rite* is given by the pennalism that occurs in the army. New recruits are commonly placed in humiliating situations by the older and higher ranking men. For example, they may be ordered to stand in line dressed in pyjamas and

a gas mask, or to crawl on the floor shooting "dust poodles" with their toothbrushes. There are also many examples of the ways in which the sexist culture teaches men to tolerate humiliation on a constant basis. An example of this appears in the snow-board culture, in which young men are encouraged to make themselves vulnerable to verbal humiliation (see Willis 1984, p. 40–41 and Mikola 2003, p. 48–51). Another example are the sexist and boisterous traditions, which encourage men to engage in humiliating and yet somewhat courageous and daring situations, and then to face public laughter without caring about it (e.g. the Jackasses and the Extreme Dudesons). This pressure on men to tolerate humiliation and to "stay cool" under humiliation, also appears in the cultures of black men, who are often placed in humiliating situations by the police (see Edley & Wetherell 1995, p. 112). The socialization of men to constant humiliation also appears in the nasty nicknames that men give to each other – and then expect that the ridiculed man stays cool and learns to appreciate the new humiliating nickname. Another typical example is made of the public presentation of "best home videos" on television, which often present men and boys in very humiliating situations, making fun of them. In many cases, the man who is laughed at, is suffering from severe pain due to some wrong assessment or decision. Yet, this painful situation is presented as something to laugh about. Similar humiliation of women is not as common on the home video shows (see Kammer 2002). This all means that men who tolerate moderate humiliation are usually considered masculine in a positive sense, while women who tolerate public humiliation are considered as old fashioned and retarded (as they do not fight for their feminist right, not to be humiliated). This double standard is likely to reproduce the existence of the humiliation of men on a constant basis, while the humiliation of women is likely to be rooted out by the equality officials of the welfare states.

An example of the humiliation of men, as a *social punishment* against men who fail to meet the standards of traditional masculinity, is shown by Malcolm George, in his writing "Skimmington revisited" (George 2002). He describes the history of the old sharivari rituals, which were used to humiliate the men who had been beaten by their wives, and therefore proven not to meet the requirements of proper masculinity. In these common medieval rituals, the beaten husband, sometimes along with his wife, was seated backwards on a donkey. While riding

the donkey, the man was humiliated by a mob of his neighbors, relatives and fellow citizens, shouting and banging cattle drums. These rituals, although not an official punishment against the beaten husband, were quietly approved by the authorities as the breaking of the natural order between the sexes was seen as harmful. In Great Britain, the sharivari tradition appeared in the verbal ridiculing of men who had been beaten by their wife: These men were labeled as "Mr. Skimmington" after the skimming stick, which was a typical weapon used by wives for beating their husbands. The effects of the sharivari tradition and the skimmington metaphora still existed in late 19th century literature, in which men used skimmington terminology and were seriously afraid of being humiliated, if they reported having been abused by their spouse (George 2002). The stereotype of a ridiculous husband, who can not defend himself against his wife, still exists in cartoons such as "Victor and Clara" and in Finnish comedies such as "Pekka Puupää".

The humiliation of men also has connections to feminism, in the form of feministic jokes and cartoons of men, who are shown as disgusting and ridiculous creatures who "deserve" bad treatment and misfortune. For example, Aro & Sarpavaara (2005) analyzed "Internet jokes" that were passed through the Internet from person to person. Such jokes were collected from the students and personnel of the faculty of women's studies at the University of Tampere. A large proportion of these jokes were clearly misandric in their nature, and made fun of situations, in which men were in painful or humiliating situations. An example of such a joke is a cartoon screen presenting a fat and ugly man at the doctors, having his penis and testicles squeezed between the glass plates of a "pappography" device. Another connection between feminism and the humiliation of men is the tendency of some feminists to call masculists "sissies" or "fags" on web discussion forums. The logic behind this kind of behavior, which is clearly against the principles of the mainstream feminist ideology, is probably based on the fact that masculists and men's right activists are stereotyped as "homophobic chauvinists" by many feminists. Therefore, the calling of masculists as fags is seen as a tactical maneuver to win a debate. This original logic, however, is easily forgotten, when the "masculists are fags" meme spreads to new discussions. As a consequence, the "masculists are sissies" may gradually establish itself as a dominant meme among web writers, who consider themselves as

feminists. An example of this "masculists are sissies" appeared after the publication of the "Men without equality" book in Finland 2007, when a feminist columnist gave the description that the male authors of the book are whining like sissies.[127]

When identifying the precise connections of the humiliation of men to other memeplexes, one clear case is the macho masculinity, which requires men to be tough, meaning that they can tolerate ridiculing and moderate humiliation (see 7.2.1). The connection of the humiliation of men to misandric feminism may be found in the stand-point-feminism, which encourages women to trust their feelings – including the feelings of anger towards men (see 7.3.4.2). It also appears in the memeplex of the reverse strategy, which is partly based on the creation of very misandric stereotypes of men (see 7.3.3.2). The joy that women may get out of the humiliation of men is also probably connected to the theory of patriarchy, which presents men as the oppressors of women (see 7.3.3). This idea of oppression may be easily used as a legitimization for making all men the free targets for ridiculing, humiliation and mistreatment, especially when connected with the idea that the advancement of women's status is more important than the advancement of equality (see 7.3.3.1). This meme is also connected to the double standards, according to which the demonization of men is progressive, and that violence against men is ok, especially if it is perpetrated by women (7.5.3.2–7.5.3.3).
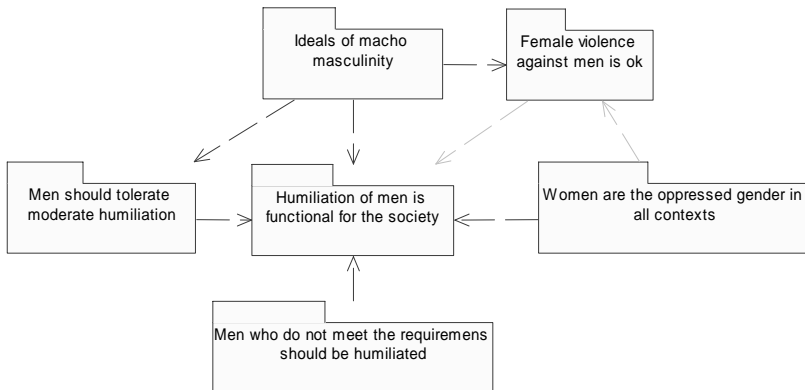
Figure 50. Humiliation of men is functional for the society.

127 Sari Pullinen, Etelä-Saimaa Magazine

7.5.3.2 Severe criticism against men is progressive, whilst criticism against women is old fashioned

During the ancient period and late medieval times, male philosophers and scholastics presented women as a somewhat demonic gender: Women were pictured as ruthless seducers of innocent men, sexually hyperactive, and morally immature. As described in chapter 7.2.2, these stereotypes gradually shifted during the 19th century to the opposite extreme, so that the demonization of women became very unfashionable, whilst severe criticism of men became increasingly popular and "progressive". In the 20th century, the older discourses that criticize men and masculinity have gained support from those feminist discourses and public campaigns, which have present men as violent and sex crazed (see 7.4.2.4) or as selfish and irresponsible (7.4.3.3). These campaigns seem to express a double standard, as similar shaming and severe criticism of women would not be possible within the discourses of the public administration.[128] For example, the Finnish traffic safety campaign, that gave the impression that all selfish and irresponsible car drivers are men, is analogical to an imaginary campaign of traffic safety that gives the impression that only women crash cars in parking places. In both cases, the misandric or misogynous generalizations can be connected to the statistics of insurance companies. Yet, both campaigns can be interpreted as hate crimes, meaning the raising of prejudice and hatred against men or women. The connection of public campaigns to hate crimes is even clearer in the context of racism: According to Finnish statistics, about 60% of the rape crimes in the capital of Finland, during 2006 and 2007 have been committed by men who belong to ethnic or racial minorities (Helsingin Sanomat 2008). Yet, it would be considered as a hate crime to launch a public anti-rape campaign, giving the impression that only foreigners commit rape in Finland. This kind of protection for women and ethnic minorities from prejudicious generalizations is a privilege that white, heterosexual Finnish men do not enjoy in Finland. On the contrary, men seem to be a free target for all misandric stereotypes and generalizations. Examples of these stereotypes are the stereotype of *meat eating heterosexual men* (Rahkonen 2006) and the stereotype of *fat middle*

128 The idea of impossibility in this context is related to Foucault's theory of genealogy and to Bourdieu's idea of a doxa, which prevents unorthodox discussions.

aged men (see Mäkelä 2007, p. 192–195), which are both presented in a very negative manner.

The double standards, concerning the acceptance of the demonization of men, are also illustrated by the fact that the feminists are actively trying to convert all campaigns and discourses that would blame women, into campaigns and discourses that would support problematized women. For example, the health officials in Finland have not commenced campaigns against women's violence against children, although the majority of violence against children is perpetrated by women (Sariola 1992, p. 825). In a similar fashion, women's violence against fetuses, in the form of alcohol consumption and fetal brain damage, has not led to campaigns that would blame women for this violence, although 100% of the perpetrators of this violence are female.

7.5.3.3 Misandric promotion of violence against men and boys

This chapter concentrates on the discourses, which present women's violence against men as harmless, funny or justified, and which present violence against men, in general, as something natural. Some of these discourses are clearly sexist or feminist in their nature, whilst others combine sexism and feminism together in order to encourage violence against men, or to legitimize and naturalize it.

The *sexist discourses* that encourage women to be violent against men, rely on the idea of macho masculinity, meaning that men have to learn to cope with women who slap them "harmlessly" on the face (see 7.2.3). The sexist discourses also draw from the sexist and pennalist traditions of the ridiculing and humiliation of men, and from the sexist discourses which demand that *men must learn to cope with ridiculing and humiliation* (7.5.3.1).

The *feminist discourses* encourage women to be violent against men in three fashions, which are the psychological argument, the radical left wing argument, and the radical feminist legitimization of women's counter actions and revenge. According to *the psychological argument*, women should learn to show their aggressive feelings in order to avoid burying them deep within (see Sperberg & Stabb 1998). This showing

of aggression easily leads to verbal assaults against men, but these assaults are mostly seen as therapeutic and important for women's well being. This seems to create a double standard, as verbal assaults against women are usually considered as a crime against human rights within the feminist discourses concerning violence against women,[129] while women's verbal assaults against men are considered as therapeutic. The belief in women's right to express their anger, may also be used as a retrospective legitimization for the spontaneous slaps and punches that women may have given their spouses due to anger or frustration. It is very easy for people to find retrospective legitimizations for their own behavior. Once these retrospective legitimizations have evolved, they may also be used as a way for legitimizing constant routines and practices of mild forms of violence against men. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the studies about the motives of women's violence. According to the study by Fiebert and Gonzales, the two most common reasons for milder forms of women's violence against men are 1) frustration and anger, when men are not perceived to pay enough attention to the woman, and 2) the belief that the slaps and punches can not possibly harm the man (Fiebert and Gonzales 1997). With this thinking, the slaps and punches are just a natural expansion of interspousal discourses, and they can be legitimized by the right of the women to express their anger. This thinking also gains support from the stereotype of men as tough and sturdy, which tends to make women believe that their milder forms of violence are harmless and insignificant.

According to the *radical left wing argument*, oppressed classes and disadvantaged social groups should see anger and rage as valuable tools for their own empowerment, and for the changing of the society (see Holmes 2004). This line of reasoning also appears within radical feminism, which has strong connections to radical left wing ideologies (Ibid). This valuation of women's anger, may also be used as a tool for legitimizing women's "outrageous acts" against men (see 7.3.4.2), including some illegal acts of

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129 E.g. the feminist training material "Friidu" (Puhakainen 2004) for school girls defines violence in such a fashion that it includes verbal assaults in the definition (p. 44). Then, this violence is defined as a crime against human rights (p. 43). This means that verbal assaults against women are considered as a crime against human rights. In an equivalent booklet "Fredi", the verbal assaults against boys are not mentioned as a violation against human rights.

anger and rage, as the radical feminists are not always satisfied by the legal and political ways of changing the society. This may lead to hate crimes against men. For example, according to the newspaper Dagen's Nyheter, an armed feminist group attacked the customers of a Swedish sex club in 2005 (Kellberg 2005). In another case, a group of women raped a young man by inserting an object into his anus, stating that they want to show men, how it feels to be raped (Carlqvist 2004). This belief in justified hatred and rage against male oppressors may also indirectly appear in the official equality policy: The Finnish Council for Gender Equality (TANE) arranged a seminar, in which one of the key-note speakers was Sheila Jeffries, who is known for her radical recommendations, according to which women should not cooperate with men, since men represent the "enemy" (Jeffries 1981). This creates a double standard, as it has been the policy of TANE to be very cautious, in order to avoid giving the chance to speak to men, who are suspected of misogynous ideas.[130]

The third argument for women's violence against men also comes from the radical feminist tradition. According to this discourse, women are violent against men almost only in self defence or due to their desperate situation, which has been caused by the long lasting patriarchal violence the woman has been suffering (e.g. Renzetti 1999, see Keskinen 2005, p. 84). This argument may appear in a moderate memeplex, which claims that *women should not remain passive when victimized by men's violence*, and instead, they should contact police or social workers, or file for a divorce when assaulted. However, the more radical versions of this memeplex encourage women to retaliate to men's violence, sometimes even suggesting that women should kill the men who are violent to them.

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130 Jarmo Lindhlom has reported by e-mail that he was not given a chance to speak at a seminar organized by TANE (Lindholm 2006 at man@kaapeli.fi). This potential policy towards censoring men's right activists seems to be connected to the influential position of Jeff Hearn, Arto Jokinen and Bert Bjarland as gender equality experts in the context of TANE: Jokinen is a student of Hearn in the field of men's studies, and Bjarland belongs to the Profeministimiehet association, in which Hearn has been one of the founders. On the web forum of Profeministimiehet, a FAQ explicates that the association is not a part of the men's right movement, which is a "regressive movement". The same idea was found in an expert statement to TANE by Arto Jokinen, which suggested that the Anglo-American pro-male branch of men's studies is something that should be avoided, when developing studies on men in Finland (Jokinen 2005, acquired from the pages of the network of Critical Studies of men in Finland).

(E.g. Dworkin 1991). This right for women to retaliate also appears in the Finnish popular culture. For example, a Finnish pop group called PMMP, which has a strong feminist background, recently recorded a song and a music video, in which they sing "if you hit me, I will kill you" in their own campaign to stop violence against women.

These sexist and feminist discourses, which legitimize and naturalize violence against men, seem to have been manifested into several television programmes, movies and advertisements, which present women's violence against men as something legitimate and natural, whereas men's violence against women is presented as an extremely serious crime. For example, Walt Disney added two extra episodes to Tom Sawyer, when it was filmed. Both episodes contained female to male violence in an "entertaining" context (Kammer 2002, p. 98–99). Misandric humor is also common on American TV shows, although the law forbids hate speech and the raising of hatred against social groups. For example, the talk show hostess Roseanne began her national television career by saying, 'Did you hear the one about the woman who stabbed her husband 37 times?' The joke was presented in a manner that suggested that the 37 stabs were just right for the man, who deserved them (Kammer p. 85). In another case, a cartoon screen presented an angry woman who was waiting for her husband to return home late at night. On the wall, she had a set of three weapons, each connected to a tag giving instructions about the proper usage of the weapon. (E.g. the gun had the label "lipstick on collar"). Even if these movies, advertisements and comics are seen as nothing but jokes and signs of good humor, we must note that all the products of cultural industry are connected and based to the social reality (Näränen 1995, p. 54). They capture the most popular discourses and memes that are circulating around in general public discourses, while they simultaneously tend to amplify these discourses.

Another example of the naturalization and legitimization of female to male violence is shown by the Finnish Nicorette ad, in which a young woman kicks, beats and crashes the male faced cigarette creature in a manner that presents this violence as completely acceptable. The double standard of this commercial is revealed by the fact that it would be almost impossible to imagine a Nicorette ad, in which a man would kick and beat up a female faced cigarette figure. This shows that men

are considered as legitimate targets for violence, while violence against women is considered so serious that it can not be joked about. A third example of the legitimization of female violence appears in the recurring intro of the soap opera "Desperate Housewives", in which a man makes a woman cry, and the woman retaliates by punching him so hard that he falls down and gets a black eye. The idea of the justified nature of female violence against men, provided by the cultural industry, has also reached younger women in the USA: In a study of Follingstad, Wright, & Sebastian (1991), female college students were found to be two times more likely to assault their dating partner than male students (see Fiebert 2006). In Finland, the likelihood of young women to beat up their boyfriends may be even 14–17 times higher than the likelihood of young men beating up their girlfriends (6.3.4).

7.5.4 The favoring of female clients in recreational services

7.5.4.1 The sexist favoring of female clients and the alpha bias

Restaurants, night clubs and gyms may favor women, by giving them special discounts or privileges. Women, for example, may be permitted free entrance to a night club, a lowered age limit to enter a restaurant, or a discount on the monthly fee of a gym. These discriminative practices are explained in chapter 8.3.3 in more detail. This favoring of female clients can be explained by chivalry, traditions of macho masculinity, sexist gender stereotypes, and by the theory of alpha males and females.

In most cultures, alpha males are synonymous to *rich* (and handsome) males, while alpha females are synonymous to *beautiful* (and rich) females (see 5.7). Most restaurants, night clubs and gyms have an incentive to attract alpha males and females into their clientele, as these alpha clients will then attract other people to the restaurant, nightclub or gym. Due to the traditional asymmetry in the construction of men's and women's alpha position, it is financially rational for restaurants, nightclubs and gyms to keep general prices high and then give discounts to women: This pricing model is likely to increase the amount of alpha females and reduce the proportion of beta males among the customers. The theory of alpha females and alpha males also explains the tendency of restaurants

and nightclubs to set a relatively high age limit for entrance (e.g. 24 years), while the unofficial policy of the restaurants is to permit much younger women to enter. This policy is financially rational, as it reduces the proportion of young (and less rich) beta males among the customers, whilst increasing the proportion of young and good looking alpha females in the clientele.

The *sexist stereotypes* of men and women, together with the ideals of macho masculinity, present men as the chasers of women, while women are given the subject position of a passive or somewhat resistant target. These memeplexes support the idea that men have to invest in the chasing of women, before they can be rewarded by the love (and sex) of the women. Due to this cultural legacy, men are still socialized into the habit of paying more for dates, dating services and party evenings than women. At the same time, women have learned to expect favorable treatment in the context of dating and nightclubs. This means that the special discounts and privileges for women are just a continuation of a long tradition. These female expectations for preferential treatment are also amplified by the discourses of chivalry, which make it natural for women to expect that they are treated like princesses (see 7.4.5).

7.5.4.2 The feminist motive for favoring women as users of recreational services

According to the theory of patriarchy, women are the disadvantaged gender. Therefore, it is natural that the private public administration should systematically favor women, for example, by arranging free swimming hall entrance to women on certain days or hours at public swimming halls. This idea of the disadvantaged status of women can also acts as a motive for feministically oriented private associations and organizations, to favor female clients, for example, by giving special discounts.

On top of this general motive, it is also possible to argue that men are the patronizing gender that tends to take all the space from the women. This radical feminist argument may also contain the idea that women require situations, in which they are protected from the sexualized 'male gaze'. Based on these arguments, it is possible to claim that girls and

women should have special facilities and events arranged which are forbidden for boys and men.

The actualization of these discourses into concrete discriminative practices is described in chapters 8.3.3.3 and 8.3.4.4 in more detail.

7.5.5 The discrimination of men at the core of the matriarchy

7.5.5.1 Introduction

The core of the matriarchy in welfare states is likely to be constructed around childcare, maternity healthcare, support for single mothers, and the social services in general. Due to the historical segregation of the society, all of these functions and areas are likely to be dominated by female professionals, managers and employees. Maternity healthcare and social services are also mentally at the core of the sphere of femininity, since maternity, childcare and caretaking activities in general are mentally connected to the idea of femininity (see 5.6.1). Statistics from Finland show support to the concentration of all power resources to women, in those organizations that operate in the sphere of femininity (see 6.2).

The purpose of this chapter is to show that matriarchal organizations tend to combine memes from many different sources in a femininely and feministically biased manner, creating double standards that put men in a disadvantaged position. As shown in chapter 5.4, this accumulation of bias is mostly unintentional, and only partly caused by the intentional activities of women's organizations. The main sources of biased, misandric and discriminative memes are sexism, the welfare state ideology, feminism and the general feminine bias, which is caused by female dominance in the core of matriarchy.

The following chapters analyze the representations of these memeplexes and biases in social service organizations and in the maternal guidance centers. In these organizations, the clearest contexts where discriminative double standards appear are in divorce and custody, parental guidance, and domestic violence.

7.5.5.2 Double standards caused by maternalism and the feminine bias

A likely reason for the discrimination of men in custody disputes is made of *sexism and maternalism*, which picture men as the breadwinners and mothers as the care takers of children. When this model is applied to divorce, it is likely to lead to a recommendation that men continue the breadwinning after the divorce (paying child support payments to mothers), while the mothers continue the care taking of children as single custodians. Even after the invention of "joint custody", this sexist model tends to lead to a system, in which women are recommended as the primary custodians (lähihuoltaja) in divorced families in which the parents have agreed on joint custody. In the 1960s and 1970s, most feminists and gender equality activists criticized the sexist discourses and practices that presented women as the natural and essential custodians of children (see Kurki-Suonio 1999, p. Kurki-Suonio 354–355). In Finland, several scholars of law and several administrative committees drew attention to the sexist discrimination of men in the handling of divorce and custody:

> *"The marriage laws do not position either of the sexes above the other, when making decisions concerning custody at court. In practice, however, children are normally given to the mother, and according to dominant sex roles, the mother is privileged to custody even then, when the father would be equally or even more suitable to take care of the children." (Governmental committee 1970: A 8, p. 101)*

> *"It is evident that the belief in children belonging to the custody of the mother is still the dominant way of thinking among courts and the social sector. Mother is the "natural" custodian and guardian of children, outside the context of the nuclear family. Therefore, the chances of the father in gaining custody are generally very limited. The privileged status of the mother may be passed only with very strong special arguments." (Saarenpää, Mattila & Mikkola 1972, p. 56)*

> *"In 1976, based on several complaints from men, the parliamentary ombudsman reacted to the fact that certain social councils (responsible for custody issues) were biased against men and did not give them*

an equal chance to get the custody of their children." (Kurki-Suonio 1999, p. 419)

This sexist discrimination of men still appears in the gendered practices of social workers, who tend to recommend custody to the mother even if the mother and father, objectively thinking, are equally capable custodians (Antikainen 2004, p. 3). According to Antikainen, the main argument concerning the superiority of women in custody seems to be the belief that mothers are better at the organization of the daily routines that are needed for children's welfare (Ibid). This maternalist argumentation is also apparent in the conclusions of court judges, who often base their decision to give custody to the mother on arguments such as "due to the young age of the mother, it is in the best interests of the child to be given to the custody of the mother" or "as the child is still very young, she needs a lot of maternal care" (Saikkonen vs. Saikkonen 2006, p. 9).

These maternalist arguments seem to construct a large part of the informal organizational culture of the social service organizations, although the official guidelines of the social service organizations emphasize the importance of fathers in the life of children. For example, according to Forsberg, it is not uncommon for social workers to perceive fathers as incompetent custodians, who are actually "big children" themselves, requiring maternal care and supervision (Forsberg 1995, p. 143–144). The maternalist ideology is also present in the tendency of social workers to maintain a glorified perception of maternity, in their discourses with female customers (Kuronen 1994, p. 116–126). This feminine bias in social service organizations seems to be mainly based on maternalism, but it can also be fuelled by unintentional feminine bias, and by the professional ethics of social work.

Due to the unintentional feminine bias, the female social workers seem to be at relaxed ease with their female customers. According to Kuronen, most of the discourses seem to be conversations between "two mothers" who can easily create a mental bond with each other (Ibid). A similar bond with male customers is not created as easily. Instead, social workers may characterize their male customers as "enclosed" or "strange", due to the fact that spontaneous conversation is more difficult between a female social worker and a male customer (Forsberg 1995, p. 143–144). In many cases, the social workers also refer to their male customers without

a name, calling them "the father" or "the Moroccan" in their reports, while female customers are referred to by their full name (see Sund 2007, p. 69). The creation of this kind of feminine and maternalist bias against men is actually supported by the professional ethic of social work, which requires that social workers identify with their customers, trying to understand their motives, behaviors and interests (Forsberg 1995 and Kitunen 2007). Although this principle of social work seems egalitarian and rational on the surface level, it may induce indirect discrimination against men, as the vast majority of social workers are female, and as women contact social service organizations more commonly, in the context of family problems and divorce, than men. [131] It is likely to be very difficult for female social workers to treat the wife and husband of a divorcing couple in an equal manner, especially if it is the wife who first contacts the social workers.

7.5.5.3 Welfare state ideology as a potential discriminator of men

Radicalized welfare state ideology and the professional ethics of social work may lead to indirect discrimination of men in the context of divorce and custody. According to the radicalized, left wing interpretation of the welfare state ideology, social groups can be divided into disadvantaged and privileged groups. Based on this dichotomic thinking, one can then conclude that it is the task of the state and municipalities to help the members of the disadvantaged groups by creating a systematic bias in favor of the disadvantaged groups. This means, in practice, that reverse discrimination is applied against the members of those social groups that are dichotomically categorized as privileged (see 5.8.3). This line of argumentation is also likely to lead to the perception of the privileged social groups as "oppressors" of the disadvantaged social groups. This is likely to induce hatred and rage against the members of the privileged groups. For example, the Marxist tradition contains an element which encourages the members of disadvantaged groups to value their own rage, as this rage can be converted into the changes of the society (see 5.8.3). If these arguments

131 See Forsberg 1995, p. 142 for the dislike of men towards social services, and Tjaden & Thoennes 2000 for the reluctance of male victims of domestic violence to contact healthcare or other authorities.

are connected to the assumption that women are the disadvantaged gender and that men are the privileged gender, the memeplex of the radical welfare state ideology is likely to induce reverse discrimination and female hatred against men. This discrimination and hatred may appear in an intersectional manner, in such a fashion that women, homosexuals and ethnic minorities are perceived as disadvantaged, while heterosexual men of the ethnic majority are perceived as the privileged group, which is a free target for all criticism, hatred, and reverse discrimination.

These radicalized elements of the welfare state ideology are easily connected to the professional ethics of social work, which encourage social workers to identify themselves with their customers and with disadvantaged social groups in general. If women are assumed to be a disadvantaged social group, the professional ethics of social work are likely to pressure social workers towards the favoring of women in custody disputes. This form of memetic reasoning is likely to amplify the maternalist and feminist bias that was described in the previous chapter.

7.5.5.4 Discourses of patriarchy and the feminist theory of social work

Until the 1980s, most feminists wanted to end the maternalist discrimination of men in the context of custody and divorce. Even the CEDAW treaty for ending all discrimination against women contains a chapter that demands the weakening of the traditional roles that present women as the primary caretakers of children.[132] However, the raise of the father's movement seems to have made feminists much more suspicious against the "new men", who show an interest in childcare and custody (Snitow 1992, see Nätkin 1995, p. 68). After the changes in the legislation that gave American and European men the chance for joint custody after divorce in 1970s and early 1980s, several feminists have claimed that joint custody is just a Trojan horse that is used for introducing continuous *patriarchal influence and control* to the lives of divorced women.[133] It

132 CEDAW 1979, article 5. The introduction or the convention also emphasizes that the domestic sphere is not only meant for women.

133 Natkin 1995, p. 68. An example of the feminist hostility against joint custody is found in a writing by Savolainen 1990, which stated that joint custody is a Trojan horse

seems no coincidence, that the paradigm of feminism and women's studies shifted in the 1980s away from the gender role theory – which emphasized the right of men to become more active and influential in the context of childcare and custody – towards the theories of patriarchy and male dominance (see Edley & Wetherell 1995). According to these newer discourses, women are the one and only discriminated gender in our patriarchal society (7.3). Based on this argumentation, men's equality problems, in the context of custody, are either nullified, or given a very low priority in the official equality policy (see 7.3.3). According to a very typical argument, men's problems in the context of divorce and custody are mainly caused by the men themselves, and could be most easily solved, if men began to show more interest towards domestic work and childcare (e.g. Varanka 2007). Based on this radical feminist legacy, the equality officials have not taken the removal of the potential discrimination of fathers onto their agenda. This discrimination of men is not even actively researched by the scholars of women's studies, although some scholars in social work have pointed out the maternalist, femininely biased and discriminative practices of social service organizations (e.g. Antikainen 2004, p. 3). The reluctance of equality officials to work towards the reduction of discrimination against men in custody disputes is also supported by those feminist discourses, which suggest that childcare and custody are the only areas in which women dominate, and therefore, it is not in the interests of women to give up this power too easily (Snitow 1992, see Warshack 1992, p. 22–23).

The discourses of patriarchy and male dominance also induce discrimination against men and fathers due to their tendency to create a very negative stereotype of the tyrant and violent "hegemonic masculinity", which is often assumed to be the most common form of masculinity that men express. In these discourses, men's expressions of paternal love towards their biological children are perceived as patriarchal gestures, which work towards the patriarchal possession of children by their fathers. For example, according to Hearn *"Most importantly, the notion of fatherhood must be smashed or more precisely dropped bit by bit into the ocean. Parenting yes, childwork yes, crèches yes, but fatherhood is the most pernicious part of the whole mess.* (Hearn 1983, p. 51.) Although

that is used for introducing paternal influence and control to the lives of divorced women (see Sariola 2007, p. 41).

Hearn seems to promote men's involvement in childcare, he perceives fatherhood as something extremely negative: Something that cannot be reformed by the appearance of "new men" and "new fathers". Instead, the monstrous institution of fatherhood needs to be completely destroyed and revolutionarized. When these radical feminist discourses are connected to maternalist discourses, they form a basis for the belief that misandry is completely ok, and that it is actually a *rational and realistic approach towards men* (E.g. Kramare & Treichler 1985). In the context of social work and family professionals, this line of argumentation is likely to strengthen the negative stereotypes of men. This hypothesis seems to gain support from studies, in which the discourses of family professionals have been analyzed (e.g. Vuori 2001, p. 148–155). In these discourses, mothers are commonly pictured as the primary parents, while fathers are placed into the subject position of a somewhat incompetent secondary helper. In many cases, the discourses of family professionals even picture fathers as outsiders, who pose a potential threat to the well being of the symbiotic dyad that is made of the mother and child (Ibid, see also Lehtonen 2003). These discourses seem to have a clear connection to the theory of patriarchy and the feminist study of domestic violence, which both picture women and children as collective victims of the selfish, patronizing, aggressive, and violent men (see 7.3.2.4). The findings of Vuori, also suggest that the "villain discourses" (Natkin 1997, p. 195–197), have actually managed to establish a relatively influential position in the organizational culture of social service organizations.

This connection between feminism and the discriminative double standards in social work appears even stronger in the feminist theory of social work, which claims that the basis of all social work should be the *shared feelings of femininity between the social worker and the customer*.[134] This means that female social workers are encouraged to create a special bond between themselves and their female customers. In the context of divorce and custody, this theory encourages social workers to apply a feminine and feminist bias in favor of the divorcing wife, and against the interests of the divorcing husband. From a legal point of view, such a bias in favor of women is against the laws concerning the fair administrative treatment of customers by the public administration (e.g. the Finnish

134 Brook & Davis 1985, Hanmar & Statham 1988, Dominelli & McLeod 1989, Phillipson 1992, and Forsberg & al. 1992 (see Forsberg 1995, p. 113).

Hallintolaki). The feminist theory of social work also claims that *mothers and children have joint interests* (see Kuronen & al. 2004, p. 16). This idea is based on the sexist and feminist interpretations of psychoanalytical discourses, which emphasize the symbiosis of the mother and child during infancy. This belief in the joint interests of women and children may lead to severe discrimination against men by social workers, as the laws concerning custody require that the decisions concerning custody should be made according to the *best interest of the child* (see Kurki-Suonio 1999, p. 225–227). If mothers and children are assumed to have joint interests, one can deduce that the interests of children can be found out by interviewing the mother. This very easily leads to the conclusion that it is in the best interests of children, to be given to the custody of the mother – if the mother wishes so.
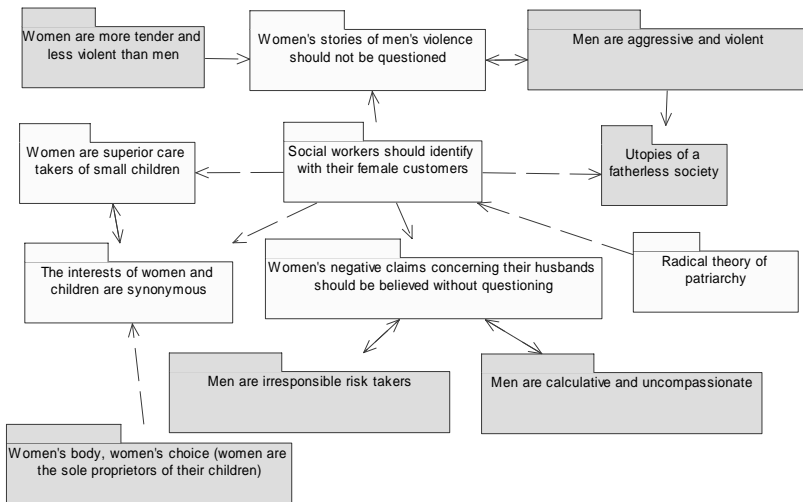
Figure 51. The Feminist Theory of Social Work and its Connections to Maternalism.

In summary, the feminist theory of social work tends to put women and children into the subject position of *the customer*, while the father is presented as a potential threat to the well being of this customer (see Kuronen & al. 2004, p. 16). The feminist theory of social work also has indirect consequences: The strong identification of social workers with their female customers is likely to lead to feminine bias in the

interpretation of men's and women's family issues, and to the tendency of social workers to believe everything that their female customers say. This is likely to amplify and support the villain discourses that divorcing women commonly apply to their ex-husbands.

The results of the feminist theory of social work are found in many reports and recommendations, written by social workers in the context of divorce and custody settlements. For example, it is possible that children are recommended to the custody of the mother "as the granting of custody of the children to the mother will reduce her risk of problematic consumption of alcohol" (see Sund 2007, p. 64). Similar arguments are not used for granting custody to fathers, who have problems with alcohol. The anti-male bias can appear in any case and any kind of custody dispute. Although it is especially typical that social workers recommend custody to the mother of small children, it is also possible to find recommendations written by social workers, claiming that puberty is such a difficult phase in a girl's life that it is recommended that custody is given to the mother (Ibid, p. 65). Similar arguments are not used in favor of men. This seems to suggest that the female social workers tend to identify themselves too strongly with their female customers.

The radical feminist discourses that present men as a threat to women and children have also led to a situation, in which social workers tend to believe the accusations that divorcing wives target against their husband, without giving the men a chance to defend themselves, or to present their own version of the developments and incidents. This also applies to accusations of rape, domestic violence, sexual abuse and incest. At least in Finland, this has led to several cases, in which the social workers have broken the law concerning criminal investigations, as the social workers have listened to accusations, believed them, and acted on the basis of the accusations, without giving the suspect a chance to defend himself. In Finland, the peak in false incest accusations against men appeared in the 1980s, right after the legislation had permitted men's joint custody in 1984 (Sariola 2007, p. 41). Based on these problems, the governmental STAKES Institute in Social Affairs and Healthcare had to give new instructions to municipal social services, reminding them that the laws concerning criminal investigations also apply to social work, and that all accusations of incest must be investigated by the police, not by the social workers (Taskinen & al. 2003).

7.5.5.5 Discrimination of male employees at the core of matriarchy

In social service organizations, not only male customers can be discriminated. Male employees may also face gender discrimination. Such discrimination would be a logical consequence of the fact that social service organizations are matriarchal, and therefore are likely to develop a femininely and feministically biased organization culture. In a femininely biased culture, it is likely that male social workers are pressured towards the more masculine jobs, while women wish to protect the maternalist core of social work from male intruders. This means that men are subtly pressured towards the more 'masculine' tasks, such as social work with male alcoholics – and not some more feminine work with female customers, or with families (see Holter 2004). This pressure meets the definition of gender discrimination, in those cases in which the man would like to do some tasks that belong to the 'feminine core' of social work. If men attempt to enter the feminine core, they are likely to face strong resistance, especially if they question some old femininely biased traditions, policies or routines of social work. In these cases, the treatment of male social workers is likely to resemble the treatment of female policemen during the last millennium, as male social workers are still as rare as female police officers used to be. In general, the male intruders, who try to change old femininely biased traditions of social work, are likely to be labeled as difficult and uncooperative – just as ambitious women are labeled in male dominated organizations, if they try to change old traditions in the core of masculinity. This feminine bias of social service organizations, however, is matched with a strong feminist bias. This means that all male social workers, who wish to question the demonizing stereotypes of men that appear in feminist discourses, are likely to be perceived as unprofessional, old fashioned or chauvinist (see Kitunen 2007, p. 113–114 and 118). Although these findings are not sufficient for proving the existence of widely spread discrimination against men in social service organizations, they are sufficient for making an explicated hypothesis, according to which social service organizations, in general, tend to discriminate male customers and male employees far more commonly than female customers and employees.

7.5.5.6 Summary

Since the connections from memeplexes to each other are very complicated and numerous, the purpose of this chapter is to summarize them into one single figure. The arrows in Figure 52 represent the rhetoric and memetic arguments, which give support from one memeplex to others. Due to the plurality of connections, the wish to help disadvantaged groups and the perception of women as the discriminated and oppressed group are not connected by an arrow to every one of the double standards that discriminate against women. Instead, they are connected to the general idea of the creation of double standards in favor of women, and the systematic bias against men (see the thick arrows and the grey box in Figure 52).
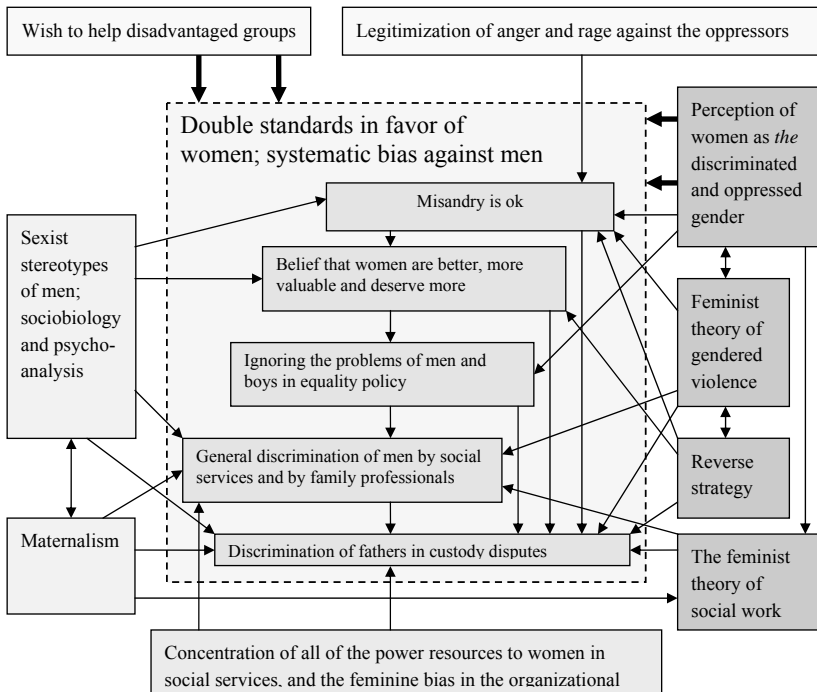
Figure 52. Memetic Causes for the Discrimination of Men in Social Service Organizations.

7.6 Results of the Pilot Survey

7.6.1 Introduction

In order to deepen the preliminary perception of the popularity of some misandric memes – acquired by the qualitative discourse analysis presented in chapters 7.2–7.5, a pilot survey was targeted to a group of Finnish feminists. The research sample was described more closely in chapter 7.1.6.

7.6.2 Popularity of some sexist memes

The study did not reveal any significant popularity for sexist memes that require men to act in a gentlemanly fashion, sacrificing their own comfort in the favor of women. Yet, some sexist statements enjoyed popularity among the respondents. These statements (memes) are summarized in the Table 30:

The results show that a substantial proportion of the feminist respondents fully or to some extent agreed with sexist memes belonging to the memeplexes of chivalry, macho masculinity or maternalism. For example, the **chivalrous** idea of men as the protectors of women was supported by 15% of the respondents. Some role expectations towards **alpha male or macho masculinity** were supported by more than 20% of the respondents. These expectations related to the wish that men should be able to *use violence* for defending women (26 % support), and that men should have the same or *higher level of education* than their female partner (21% support). Some respondents also felt that men, who use cosmetics and jewellery, and who frequently check their looks from the mirror, are unmasculine in a negative sense (21% support). Even wider support was found for the **maternalist meme**, according to which *"Women in general, are more caring than men, and can better sense the needs of small children than men"* (36 % support). This statement can be interpreted as an essentialist statement, as the term "sense" that appeared in the original Finnish statement could also be translated as "instinctively sense".

Statement	Respondents who agree (%)
Women in general, are more caring than men, and can better sense the needs of small children than men.	37 %
Men should be able to use violence, if necessary, to defend the life or safety of their female partner.	26 %
It is good, if a man is at least as highly educated as his male partner.	26 %
Women are clearly less competitive than men.	22 %
Women are usually more sensitive and can better sense the needs of other people than men.	21 %
I feel that men, who use jewelry and cosmetics, and who check their appearance often at the mirror, are somewhat unmasculine in a negative sense.	21 %
Women are clearly less aggressive than men.	17 %
Women are usually clearly better than men in care taking and childcare tasks.	16 %
Successful men, who have managed to reach a notable status, feel positively masculine to me.	16 %
Men should protect women from dangers and discomforts.	15 %
If I were single, I would try to find a tall and wealthy man, or at least these characteristics would be among my most important criteria.	13 %
Mingy men are hopelessly unromantic and uninteresting.	13 %
Women are better fit as custodians of small children than men.	11 %
A man who continuously complains about the discomforts of his life, feels negatively unmasculine to me.	11 %
I promote such gentlemanly behaviors, according to which women should always be rescued before men, when there is an emergency.	11 %
Men are rather prone to violent and aggressive behaviors due to testosterone.	10 %
I do not respect those men who lack education, property and success.	10 %
Women are usually more responsible users of money than men.	6 %
Women are usually more responsible than men.	6 %
Men usually concentrate too much on one task at a time. Therefore, it is impossible for most men to take care of children and other household duties at the same time.	6 %
Men should be able to tolerate some discomfort and harms, so that they could offer comfort and welfare to their female partner.	5 %
Women are weaker and more vulnerable than men and therefore men should be especially protective and considering towards women.	5 %
Romanticism is essentially something that men should give to women.	5 %
Women usually have a higher ability to control their sexual desires than men.	0 %
Women are morally and spiritually on a higher level than men, due to the fact that men are so strongly guided by their sexual desires and violent instincts.	0 %

Table 30. Popularity of Some Sexist Statements among the Feminist Respondents.

Despite the small sample of the survey, it is possible to form a preliminarily supported hypothesis that a relatively large minority of feminists promote sexist discourses, which may cause at least structural discrimination against men. Some of the maternalist memes, promoted by some of the respondents, may also cause direct and indirect discrimination (see 7.2.5 and 7.5.5.2).

7.6.3 Popularity of the memes
concerning the patriarchal nature of the Finnish society

In the section concerning the status of women in Finland, most statements enjoyed wide popularity, despite the lack of scientific evidence for the statement (or despite the existence of contrasting scientific evidence).

The vast majority of the respondents believed in several statements about the patriarchal nature of the Finnish society, although these statements are not supported by empirical evidence – or are contrasted by it. For example, 95% of the respondents believed that women (in families with children) have notably less free time than their spouses, despite the statistics that show that the men in these families have only one minute more free time per day (see 6.3.5). These widely spread misconceptions, concerning these supposedly patriarchal nature of our society, seem to support the memetic model of sociocultural evolution, which claims that the popularity of memes is caused more by their political attractiveness than by their match with reality (see 4.8). It must also be noted that the vast majority of the respondents were teachers of women's studies. This means that we can estimate that the less academic feminists would support scientifically questionable statements, even more commonly than the respondents of this survey.

Statement	% who agree
The majority of women are engaged in paid work outside the home. In addition to that, they do most of the domestic work. As a result, women in Finnish families (that have children) have notably less free time than Finnish men.	95 %
The vast majority of the victims of such domestic violence, that has caused severe injuries, are female in Finland.	91 %
The salaries of women in Finland are less than 90% of the salaries of men, when comparing identical or similar jobs.	80 %
When managers or directors are recruited for the public sector, the majority of the chosen ones are still male.	80 %
The Finnish school system discriminates girls, as the teachers do not give positive feedback to girls as easily as to boys, and because the system requires girls to be "nice". This discrimination is more severe and more common than the discrimination that is potentially targeted against boys.	67 %
Finnish TV commercials discriminate women, by presenting women far more often performing traditional domestic tasks (such as cooking) than men.	52 %
Finnish TV commercials discriminate against women, by showing naked or half-naked women in commercials far more commonly than naked or half-naked men.	50 %
Men are a very privileged group, compared to women. This is the case in all sectors of life, even in Finland.	50 %
In modern wars, women and girls tend to suffer more than men and boys.	47 %
Interspousal violence means practically the same thing as men's violence against women.	27 %
In Finland, most murders and killings of children (in families) are committed by men.	16 %
Men pose a threat to the safety of women and children.	16 %
In Finland, more domestic violence against children is perpetrated by men than by women.	5 %

Table 31. Beliefs about the Finnish Patriarchy.

7.6.4 Policy recommendations

The statements and beliefs, concerning the patriarchal nature of the Finnish society, seem to have a clear connection to the way in which the respondents promoted some policies that would potentially improve women's status. The popularities of these policies are given in the table below:

Statement	% who agree
Public authorities should write such equality plans, so that clearly more women than presently would be hired for directorial positions in all areas of the public sector.	74 %
The equal division of domestic work and childcare is such an important principle that it should not be given up in any circumstances.	63 %
Men, who live with a female partner, don't do enough domestic work. The officials should launch campaigns to increase men's usage of time for domestic work.	53 %
The determination, anger and even rage of women are positive phenomena, as they empower women to change the society and to stop the subordination of women.	45 %
The society should actively defend women and children from the violent nature and sexual traits of men.	40 %
The claims that men are widely discriminated in Finland are somewhat misogynous, as they are commonly used to hide the severity of women's problems and women's bad status.	35 %
Men should understand their own privileged status and stop complaining about the rare instances in which they face some minor forms of discrimination, or in which they are at a somewhat worse status than women.	32 %
I feel that there is no need to ask the spouses of pregnant women whether they have been victimized by the violence of their female partner (although pregnant women are systematically interviewed to find out, whether they have been victimized).	25 %
Men are privileged in many ways compared to women. Therefore, positive action should be systematically used in all sectors of the labor market and public policy - and in all issues that relate to the status of men and women, in general.	22 %
I feel that it is completely alright if some companies give women discounts on a gym, boat cruises, horse racing arenas or in a restaurant - based on the sex of the female customers.	21 %
The women's part in this life is so hard that the women have deserved all the possible comforts that their male partners can possibly provide them in their personal life.	16 %
Men should bear collective guilt about the fact that women's status is as bad as it is in our society.	16 %
The discrimination against women is so common that it should be balanced by public policies that systematically and widely favor women in Finland.	15 %
According to newspapers, there have been instances in Sweden, in which some feminists have assaulted or raped men in order to get men to understand how it feels to be raped or assaulted. Although these actions are illegal, I believe that the people that committed them had good reasons to do what they did.	11 %
It is important that the maternity guidance centers remain an institution, which is purely targeted towards women.	11 %
The most important task of the "Men's crisis centers" should be to help violent men to lean away from their violent traits - so that women and children could be guaranteed a safe family life.	10 %
The oppression of women is such a severe phenomenon even in Finland that sometimes even illegal means can be used to fight against it.	6 %
All men should feel guilty about the fact that they can reap the benefits of a society in which women are oppressed.	6 %
In fact, it would be just right if men would face some discrimination for a change, as women have already been discriminated against for thousands of years.	5 %
The key to a better world is that men should change fundamentally, while there is no special need for women to change themselves.	5 %

Table 32. Political Statements Supported by the Respondents.

The respondents seem to give strong support to the systematic favoring of women – without exceptions. For example, 74% of the respondents recommend that more women should be hired to managerial and directorial positions in the public sector, although over 50% of the younger managers in public administration are already female. In a similar fashion, the equal division of domestic work is perceived as a primary value without exception by 63% of the respondents. This would that men should do 50% of the domestic work, even if their spouse is unemployed or works part time. In order to support this principle, 53% of the respondents recommended that public officials should launch campaigns that promote men's increased time usage in domestic work.

The strong beliefs concerning women's disadvantaged and oppressed status (see 7.6.3) seem to also have led to the conclusion that men should not complain, if they face gender discrimination: 32% of the respondents supported the statement "Men should understand their own privileged status and stop complaining about the rare instances, in which they face some minor forms of discrimination, or in which they are at a somewhat worse status than women." Some 21% of the respondents also feel that it is completely alright for gyms, horse racing arenas, boat cruise companies and restaurants to give discounts to female customers, based on their gender. This can be seen as an extended interpretation of the positive action principle – leading to a public policy that would permit the discrimination of men.

7.6.5 Conclusions

Due to the small sample of the pilot survey, it is not possible to make generalizations about the entire group of people who identify themselves as feminists. Yet, the results offer the chance to draw preliminary conclusions, which can be used as hypotheses in additional studies. The first conclusion (or hypothesis) is that sexist memes that belong to the memeplexes of chivalry, macho masculinity and maternalism, enjoy popularity among a notable minority of feminists. This gives support to the idea that sexist and feminist memes can – and actually do – form coalition discourses.

Another finding is the substantial popularity of beliefs on the patriarchal nature of our society. These memes, although not supported by solid empirical evidence, continue their popularity and seem to lead frequently to policy proposals and perceptions, according to which the discrimination against men is a relatively rare and insignificant phenomenon – and that men should not complain about it.

The results may also be interpreted by concentrating on those respondents, who did not agree with the statements. These respondents can be seen as potential allies to men and masculists.

7.7 The Coalitions behind Misandry and Discrimination

7.7.1 Introduction and overview

Paradigms and coalition discourses may be interpreted as mental constructions. However, they are also easily connected to the promoters of the paradigm. This chapter analyzes the social groups and interest groups, which seem to promote certain misandric and discriminative discursive elements and which seem to create occasional alliances with each other, producing policies which work against the interests of men. The most significant groups are described in the figure below. Each group is shown with its typical misandric or discriminative ideology or motive. Alliances are shown with arrows.
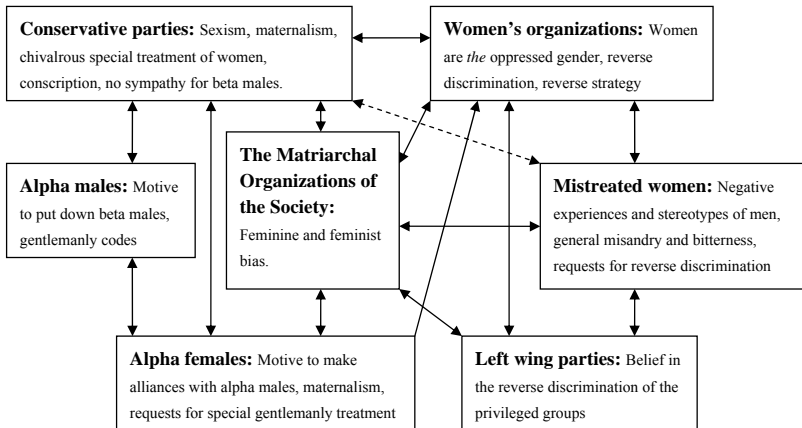
Figure 53. The Coalitions of Misandry and Discrimination.

On top of the interest groups that consist of men and women, we may also identify the matriarchal and femocratic subsystem of the society as an "interest group", which consists of organizations that have an interest in defending such ideologies that ensure the viability, growth, and expansion of the organizations within this matriarchal cluster (see 5.6.3). As the empirical evidence presented in this chapter is relatively modest, this chapter should be interpreted as an empirically elaborated hypothesis – and not as empirical proof for the model presented.

7.7.2 Conservative parties

Conservative parties, in general, tend to promote ideologies, which are more sexist than the left wing ideologies. They promote, for example, the traditional nuclear family in which the man is the breadwinner (see Faludi 1991). In most Nordic countries, this has been revealed by political debates concerning childcare at home vs. childcare at daycare centers: The conservative parties have been more eager to promote subsidies to housewives, who take care of their children at home, while the left wing parties have promoted public daycare services (see Bergqvist, Kuusipalo & Styrkársdóttir 2002, p. 152–171). The sexist ideology of the right wing does not only harm women. Men may also be harmed by this conservative sexism. This appears, for example, in the way in which the conservative parties promote nationalism and conscription, and the chivalrous special treatment of women in the context of military service. For example, in Finland, the right wing parties tend to promote the continuation of the present system of national defense, which is based on men's obligatory military training – and on women's voluntary military service.

The right wing parties also tend to be unsympathetic against the "beta males", meaning the uneducated, unemployed and lower class males. This means that the conservative parties do not recognize the problems of lower status men as gender equality problems, or as any real social problems, which would require action from the part of the society. According to the main stream conservative thinking, the male suicides, alcoholics, homeless and unemployed should accept their own responsibility for their bad status. Of course, this harsh ideology may also be applied to lower status women. However, the conservative ideology has produced several maternalistic volunteer organizations, which have specialized in helping low status women (see Ollila 1994, Saarinen 1994 and Ailwood 2007). Similar conservative activity to help low status men is found more rarely. This means that conservative parties seem to have a stronger bias against beta males than against beta females. This seems to also appear in court, as the conservative judges seem to have a tendency to favor female suspects, which means the same as systematic discrimination of male defendants (see 7.2.6). This link between men's discrimination and conservativism seems to also appear in the maternalist and chivalrous discrimination of men in the context of custody and divorce.

7.7.3 Alpha males and alpha females

Alpha males and alpha females refer to the high status men and women, which have been described in chapter 5.6. The financially powerful alpha males tend to support conservative parties, which do not "waste" money on helping the low status men and women. The high status alpha males benefit from distinguishing themselves from the beta males, as this discrimination emphasizes their own superior status and attractiveness in the eyes of alpha females. The alpha males may put down beta males by stereotyping them as uncivilized barbarians, who pose a potential threat to the ladies (see 7.2.2). In the context of equality policy, alpha males are often so high up in the hierarchies of power, that they feel they cannot really loose anything by giving special gentlemanly treatment to women, or by promoting positive action policies that favor women.

The alpha females are a group which consists of wealthy and good looking women. The wealthy alpha females tend to vote for conservative parties for the same reasons as the alpha males. They may also promote such conservative welfare state policies, which direct public subsidies to housewives or to the wealthier families who wish to hire a nanny or a cleaning lady. The physically attractive alpha females have a motive to support sexism and the traditional gender system, since sexism forms a structural framework in which the alpha females may cash in on a maximum reward for their sexual power (see 3.5, 4.5.3 and 5.7). This group of women may also develop ideologies, which combine sexism and feminism, in the manner described in chapter 7.4.5.1.

7.7.4 Mistreated women

An important group behind misandric ideologies and coalitions consists of women, who are disappointed at men due to their personal experiences. This group has a psychological motive to project their own disappointments to ideologies which put all the blame on men. They may also perceive themselves as mistreated by men, and therefore, feel that they need to activate politically against the discrimination of women by men. This group, therefore, is likely to adopt feminist ideologies, which support their own "villain discourses" concerning men and masculinity,

or conservative and sexist ideologies which suggest that women are the weaker casket, which needs protection and special treatment (see 7.2.4–7.2.5). It is also obvious that divorced women, who have custody disputes with their ex-husbands, are likely to promote ideologies which always suggest custody to the mother. A typical response for working class women for mistreatment by men is to engage into discourses that picture men as animals or as irresponsible children (see Edley & Wetherell 1995). For the more educated women, a likely reaction to mistreatment is the adoption of feminist memeplexes – and the filtering and twisting of these memeplexes, in such a fashion that the more radical interpretations of each memeplex are selected (see chapters 4.4–4.6).

7.7.5 Left wing parties and feminist parties

As described in chapter 5.8.3, the left wing parties are likely to perceive the society as a struggling field, in which the privileged social groups put down the disadvantaged groups, unless the state and municipalities make public interventions. This ideology encourages social groups to present themselves as disadvantaged and encourages politicians and public officials to search for disadvantaged groups, whom they could serve. This means that the left wing parties may be more willing to support the discourse of women as the severely disadvantaged group, and *men as the privileged group*. This logic may also lead to demands for the systematic favorable treatment of women in all sectors of the society.

Traces of these memes may be found in the policies of the *Swedish Social Democratic Party*, which has declared itself as a feminist party. According to the political programs of the party, the society suffers from "könsmaktstruktur", which means that women are systematically discriminated by the gender system, which gives men a dominant and privileged status (Laxen 2006, see also Rubar 2005). In Sweden, there is also the *Feminist Party* (Feminist Initiativ), which has proposed that men's salaries should be reduced in order to reach gender equality in regards to salaries (Rosenberg 2005). One of the leaders of the party has also proposed a special tax for men, due to the fact that most of the perpetrators of rape and domestic violence are men (Schyman 2004).

Both of these proposals seem to be relatively misandric suggestions, especially the latter, as a special tax for men would also punish those men who have not been violent to women. In Finland, the *Left Wing Coalition* (Vasemmistoliitto) does not draw such a clear picture of women as the disadvantaged gender and men as the oppressors. However, its political program contains the conclusion that '90% of the perpetrators of domestic violence are men'.[135] This figure does not align with the statistics concerning domestic violence, which show that about 50–70% of the perpetrators of interspousal violence are men, and that majority of the perpetrators of domestic violence against children are women (see 6.3.4). This indicates that the party is ideologically vulnerable to the exaggeration of the discriminated status of the disadvantaged social groups.

The Finnish *Green Party* has also declared itself as a feminist party. The study of its political program did not reveal any traces of misandric ideas.[136] Instead, it declared that the green feminism is also a liberation movement for men. The program was very careful not to put excessive blame on men in issues such as domestic violence. The well being of men after divorce, and the children's right to maintain contact with both parents after divorce were given emphasis in the program. The Finnish social democratic party did not have links to any gender equality programs on its web pages.

Due to the very impartial nature of the discourse analysis described above, we may not draw wide conclusions concerning the general misandric nature of the left wing parties. In Sweden, some misandric themes seem to be popular among the left wing and feminist parties, whilst in Finland, the traces of misandry in the political programs of left wing and feminists parties are relatively few.

7.7.6 Women's organizations

Although the term *women's organization* is often used to refer to feminist organizations, women have also founded charity and volunteer

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135 E.g. the political program of the Finnish Left Wing Coalition, see http://www.vasemmistoliitto.fi/politiikka/ohjelmat/

136 http://www.vihreat.fi/fi/system/files?file=periaateohjelma2006.pdf

organizations, and women's divisions into the political parties. All of these women's organizations have some elements of women's interest group ideology embedded in their discourses and ideologies.

Most women's *charity and volunteer organizations* seem to have a historical connection to conservative and maternalist ideologies of the late 19th and early 20th century (see Saarinen 1994 and Ollila 1994). This means that their ideologies tended to emphasize gender difference, and women's special abilities in the domain of childcare, responsible care taking tasks, and morality. This early history of women's organizations is also strongly connected to the activities of the upper status "alpha females", who acted as founders and leaders in the early philanthropic organizations and campaigns (Saarinen 1994). This maternalist legacy has left its traces in the organizational cultures of these charity and volunteer organizations even after many of them have been integrated into the welfare state apparatus, making the volunteers into employees of the welfare state (see Rantalaiho 1994). This history suggests that women's volunteer organizations tend to connect maternalism to welfare state ideologies, in a fashion that easily leads to a stereotype of women as the more responsible, unselfish and peaceful gender, while men are perceived as the more selfish, competitive and capitalist gender, which does not understand human needs and human welfare as well as women.

The *feminist organizations* tend to promote the feminist paradigm, which appears in antisexist braches, and in branches that emphasize gender difference (see 5.5). According to the synthetic theory of cultural evolution, feminist women's organizations are likely to form opportunist coalition discourses with all possible allies, in order to advance their agenda. For example, the discourses of gender difference connect well with the ideologies of conservative and maternalist women and with alpha females in general. They also give support to the "villain discourses" promoted by mistreated women. Yet, the discourses of gender difference may be used for alliances with sexist men and alpha males, who are vulnerable to such rhetorics, which picture women as the weaker gender, which needs constant protection and special treatment. For example, in the Finnish discussions concerning the right of women to participate to military training, the pacifist feminists made an alliance with the

conservative men, in order to prevent the "militarization" of women (see Holli p. 2001, 245).

However, the antisexist branches of feminism also focus on the interests of women. Even if men's obligatory military service is against the ideology of the antisexist feminist organizations, these organizations have been passive in making formal initiatives for ending this discriminative practice. In a similar fashion, the antisexist women's organizations have been passive in the reduction of gender discrimination against men in the context of custody. The basis for this passivity seems to be connected to the idea that women's dominant position in childcare and custody is one of the only strongholds of female dominance and therefore, this power should not be given up too easily (Snitow 1992, Warshack 1992, p. 22–23).

7.7.7 The Matriarchal Organizations of the Society

The matriarchal organizations of the modern welfare states are likely to appear in the field of childcare, social services, healthcare, equality policy, and the protection of women and children. Due to the strong female dominance among the employees, managers and professionals of these organizations, they are likely to create a femininely biased organization culture, which establishes the female stand-point as the cornerstone of the informal organizational culture – even if the official organizational culture may be seemingly gender neutral and unbiased against men. On top of this natural and mostly unintentional feminine bias, the matriarchal organizations also form a matriarchal organizational cluster, which intends to ensure its organizational existence and resources, by forming ideological coalitions with potential political and administrative allies.

The matriarchal organizations connect to the conservative parties, for example, through the labor unions of the care taking sector. These organizations have been traditionally led by women from conservative parties in Finland. This means that some matriarchal organizations have a legacy of maternalist and sexist discourses, which emphasize the care taking abilities and moral responsibility of women. Recently, however,

the matriarchal labor unions have been more closely connected to the left wing parties, as the labor unions have began to perceive their members as severely underpaid employees, who would benefit from more "left wing" style interest group activities and rhetorics. (During the earlier decades, the legacy of the charity and volunteer organizations maintained a discourse that was critical towards selfish interest group activities such as strikes in hospitals). At the same time, the matriarchal labor unions have approached feminist organizations, which offer them rhetoric support for the raising of the salaries on underpaid, female dominated fields of organizational activity. The feminist discourses have also challenged the strict fiscal policies of the welfare states since 1980s, claiming that the society can manage without budget savings from the female dominated sectors like healthcare, social services and education. This means that most women in matriarchal organizations are beginning to perceive feminism as their ideological ally, while the "hard and masculine" ideologies, connected to budget cuts, are beginning to look like an ideological enemy (see Julkunen 1994).

Due to these interests of the matriarchal organizations and their employees, the matriarchal subsystem of the society is vulnerable to the creation of a systematic maternalist and feminist bias in its organization culture. This means that the matriarchal organizations are likely to prioritize women's interests over gender equality (7.3.3.1), perceive men's problems as relatively insignificant (7.3.3.4), call for special treatment for women (7.3.3.2), and construct negative stereotypes for men and masculinity (7.4). Some evidence of this kind of ideological development is found in the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs, in the municipal social service organizations, and in the education of new teachers for the school system, as is shown by the examples given in the previous chapters (e.g. 7.5.5).

7.8 Summary

The most discriminative memeplexes within *sexism* seem to be the *negative stereotypes of men*, maternalism and the *chivalrous pedestal treatment* of women, which is also related to the tendency of upper status men to

discriminate the lower status beta males. The ideals of *macho masculinity* also tend to produce structural discrimination against men in the form of role expectations.

The most influential feminist memeplexes that induce discrimination against men are *reverse strategy* and the systematic bias against men (SBAM). The reverse strategy is a memeplex that glorifies women and criticizes men, in a fashion that reverses the gender hierarchy, putting women, femininity and women's cultures at the top. According to the reverse strategy, women are caring, loving, unselfish, peaceful and responsible, while men are quite the opposite. This idea of reverse strategy tends to lead to the negative stereotyping of men as competitive, aggressive, violent, patronizing, selfish, unloving, and irresponsible. The SBAM memeplex is based on the theory of patriarchy, which categorizes dichotomically women as *the* disadvantaged gender and men as *the* privileged gender. Based on this assumption, which ignores the contexts and sectors in which men are the disadvantaged gender, the SBAM memeplex contains the following memes which are all biased against men: 1) The advancement of women's status is by far the most important goal of equality policy, 2) the solving of men's equality problems should be given a low priority in the equality policy, 3) in order to improve women's status, public authorities should systematically support, help and favor women, 4) the female point of view should be taken in account in all public decision making, but , the male point of view should be treated with suspicion. The SBAM memeplex gains rhetoric support from the radicalized welfare state ideology, which divides social groups sharply into the privileged and the disadvantaged. This exaggerated dichotomy makes it impossible to see men's equality problems as something irrelevant, while the radicalized welfare state ideology supports the idea that women (the disadvantaged gender) should be systematically supported and favored by the public administration.

The appearance of the misandric and discriminative memes in sexism, welfare state ideology and feminism seems to follow the synthetic theory of the sociocultural evolution. In almost all cases, the discriminative and misandric memes seem to be produced by memetic mutations, simplifications, exaggerations, recombinations, and misinterpretations of some more moderate and complex memes. For example, the idea that

"men have all the power" is a simplified and radicalized conclusion of empirical results, which give a much more complicated picture of the distribution of power to men and women (see chapter 6). In a similar fashion, the *reverse strategy* can be accidentally produced by combining memes from the feminist difference theory, which claims that women are better than men in many ways, and equality feminism, which claims that men are not essentially better than women in any ways. Another hypothesis that gained support from this chapter was the idea that sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology form opportunistic *coalition discourses*. For example, the idea of reverse discrimination appears in feminism and welfare state ideology, but it also gains support from sexism, in the form of the special gentlemanly treatment of women. In a similar fashion, the reverse strategy gains rhetoric support from sexist maternalism and chivalry, and from the sexist interpretations of sociobiology and psychoanalysis. Alpha males also have a motive for creating a demonizing stereotype of the brutal and barbarian beta males. Yet, the reverse strategy is also supported by several branches of feminism such as radical feminism, cultural feminism, gynocentric epistemology, standpoint epistemology, ecofeminism, lesbian feminism, and the neo-maternalist discourses of feminism.

The appearance of SBAM and reverse discrimination was also analyzed in the context of official policy texts. This led to the conclusion that SBAM has had a substantial effect on Finnish legislation and on the Finnish equality policy, to the point at which double standards and mild forms of reverse discrimination against men are systematically used. For example, the preparatory texts of the Finnish equality law explicitly state that women are *the* disadvantaged gender, and the law itself is strongly focused on fighting against those forms of discrimination, which mainly work against the interests of women. In the Finnish equality policy, very few initiatives have been made in order to remove gender discrimination against men. In some cases, the prioritization of women's interests over gender equality is explicitly written into the resolutions of equality officials, who may easily perceive that "the purpose of the equality law is to advance women's status, especially on the labor market". A similar prioritization of women's interests over gender equality also appears also in the discourses of the United Nations, which aim to improve the status

of women, but which contain no policy proposals for ending the direct and indirect discrimination against men (e.g. U.N. 1995).

The misandric and discriminative memes of sexism, welfare state ideology and feminism can be used for producing rhetoric support for several double standards that discriminate against men.
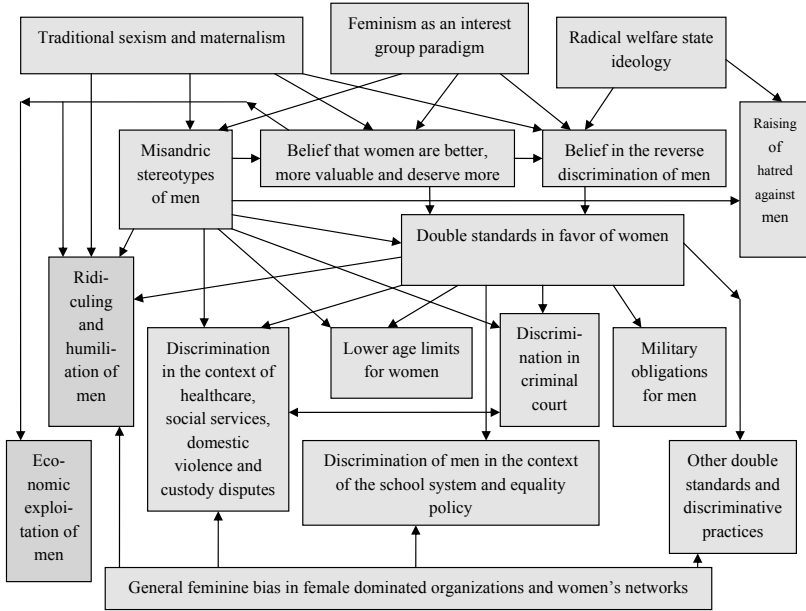
Figure 54. The Appearance and Causes of the Discrimination of Men.

Due to the wide and iteratively expanded research data, the causal arrows in Figure should be interpreted as an elaborated and preliminarily supported hypothesis – and not as an empirically tested and proven hypothesis.

When analyzing the evolution of discrimination against men from the perspective of power and political coalitions, we may notice that misandry and discrimination are supported by a coalition of men and women, both from the right wing and the left wing. The *left wing women* tend to carry feminist memes, which present femininity as somehow superior to the 'competitive and selfish' masculinity. In these discourses, masculinity is seen as analogical or synonymous to the hard and instrumental capitalist

ethos. The *left wing in general*, including men and women, tends to promote welfare state ideologies and discourses, which legitimize the preferential treatment of those groups which have been classified as categorically disadvantaged. Since feminist and official discourses picture women as *the* disadvantaged gender, the promotion of positive action and reverse discrimination tends to appear systematically in favor of women, and against the interests of men. The *right wing women* tend to promote conservative and maternalist ideologies. This right wing maternalism has found a memetic connection to the left wing feminists and to the reverse strategy, according to which, women are superior to men, in general. The *right wing men* tend to be conservative and nationalist, in a fashion that supports chivalrous and gentlemanly treatment of women. This makes the conservative men allies to all women, who want to maintain a sexist system, which gives special benefits to women (such as paid dates and special treatment in criminal courts), or extra obligations to men (such as men's obligatory military training).

8 Gender Discrimination, According to the Complaints Sent to the Finnish Equality Ombudsman

8.1 Hypotheses, Research Data and Method

8.1.1 Hypotheses

According to the general theory of gender discrimination, all modern welfare states are segregated in such a fashion that female employees have a higher risk of being discriminated in the patriarchal subsystem of the society, while male employees are at a higher risk in the matriarchal subsystem. When this general hypothesis is combined with the empirical data, concerning the delineation of matriarchy and patriarchy in Finland, we may predict that in Finland, male employees are at risk of being discriminated by the matriarchal organizations in social services, equality policy, healthcare, cultural services, restaurants and hotels, whilst female employees are at risk of being discriminated in the organizations within defense, police, industry, trade, transportation, construction, mining and agriculture, and in the "neutral" or debatable fields such as finance and education, in the context of career advancement to the managerial positions (see 6.4)

When applying the general theory of gender discrimination to the discrimination of male and female customers of organizations, the theory suggests that the matriarchal cluster will discriminate male customers more likely than female customers, while the patriarchal cluster is more likely to discriminate female customers. However, due to the mechanisms of alpha discrimination, the patriarchal organizations such as courts and police are likely to discriminate lower status males, who are suspected of crimes, while the matriarchal organizations such as philanthropic charity organizations are likely to discriminate those lower status females, who operate in the context of prostitution and porn industry (see 5.7).

According to a hypothesis concerning the female friendly nature of the welfare states, we may predict that the organizations of the Finnish welfare state have adopted somewhat feminist and female friendly organization cultures, lowering the chances of women to face gender discrimination

in the public sector, compared to the private sector (see Hernes 1987 and 1988). This hypothesis, concerning the female friendly nature of the welfare states, is contrasted with a contrary hypothesis, according to which it is precisely the private organizations, which seek for the efficient usage of human resources, and therefore, avoid such discrimination of women that would lead to the inefficient usage of human resources (e.g. selection of less competent male managers instead of more competent female managers). The hypothesis, concerning the female friendly nature of welfare states, may also be rephrased in a form that presents the welfare state organizations as femocratic, feminist and somewhat biased against men. According to this hypothesis, the proportion of men out of the complainants is far higher in the public sector than on the private sector, and feminism can be identified as a likely motive of the discrimination of men in many cases.

The chapter also intends to evaluate the hypothesis, that reverse strategy and the SBAM memeplex can be identified as likely causes for the discrimination against men, at least in some cases (see 7.8). It is also hypothesized that in several cases and themes of discrimination, sexism and feminism can be simultaneously identified as potential or likely causes for the discrimination against men, based on the analysis of coalition discourses (5.5.1 and 7.5) and discriminative coalitions (7.6).

8.1.2 Target and context of the study

The study intends to find a higher understanding of the themes and reasons of discrimination in the context of a modern welfare state, taking Finland as an example. This understanding is produced by descriptive statistics, which illustrate the frequency of different themes, contexts and causes of gender discrimination that appear in the research data. The statistics are also used for giving answers to the question concerning the relative frequency of discrimination against men compared to women, in the different themes, contexts and sectors of the society. A central purpose of this chapter is also to evaluate the validity of the hypotheses presented in the previous chapter. The term *evaluation of the hypotheses* means a process, in which the empirical findings are compared to the hypotheses and to some alternative explanations, in order to gain a

rationally justified opinion of the validity of the hypotheses, compared to alternative explanations. The term deviates from the statistical testing of hypotheses, in its recognition that the statistical significance (p) is not a sufficient factor for guaranteeing the validity and objectivity of results. In the evaluation of the hypotheses, more emphasis is given to the reading and interpretation of the research data from several angles that make it possible to produce alternative hypotheses and interpretations during the research process, giving the reader a chance to compare the interpretations that support the hypothesis with some alternative interpretations (see Ronkainen 2004).

The practical target of the study was to collect, record, and classify all cases of discrimination, which were reported to the Finnish equality office between the years 1997 and 2004, and which were then resolved by the ombudsman. The Finnish equality ombudsman is a public institution, the purpose of which is to monitor the manner in which the equality law is followed by Finnish organizations. The equality ombudsman receives and handles complaints and information requests from citizens and from other authorities. In some cases, the purpose of the ombudsman is to create a formal statement, which will assist the complainer sue the discriminator, or to decide about not pressing charges. In other cases, the ombudsman acts as an information provider, which gives general advice concerning equality law and existing prejudices, including the previous statements of the ombudsman. In some cases, the ombudsman acts in order to stop the discrimination without advancing the case to the court.

8.1.3 Research data and method

The original research data consisted of 1147 complaints and requests of action that were sent to the ombudsman's office during 1997–2004. Out of these, a subset was chosen in order to concentrate only on those 800 cases that could by classified as clear cases of suspected gender discrimination. The research data was then classified in such a manner that enabled the evaluation of the hypotheses, as all the discriminators were classified to the patriarchal or matriarchal cluster, based on the gender distribution of employees and managers.

The method of the study was a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches: The majority of the cases that were recorded to the research data were analyzed using a quantitative approach, which used the diario summary of each case as its basis. Some interesting cases, however, were checked from the complete statements of the ombudsman, in order to allow for a qualitative and legal analysis of the case. The raw data that was recorded to the research data was then typified, according to a scheme that was meant to support the connection of the data and results to the theoretical models, and to the hypotheses derived from them. After this classification, the research data was supplemented with information concerning the field of activity of each of the organizations that had acted as potential discriminators in the complaint cases. This allowed for the connection of the case to the gender distribution of each specific field of activity. The fields of activity and the gender distribution of employees, within each field, were based on the data of Tilastokeskus (see 6.2.2).

8.1.4 Classification of customers and outcomes

The initial research data consisted of all information requests and complaints of discrimination that had been sent to the ombudsman between 1.1.1997 and 31.12.2004, and which had been marked to the diario of the office as summary markings by the secretaries of the office. This data included all traditionally mailed and faxed requests and complaints of action from the year 1997, and also all e-mailed requests and complaints from the beginning of year 2001. The "information requests and complaints of discrimination" are referred to as "cases" from here on. These cases were typed into a computer database by the researcher, over approximately six days of work in the bureau of the ombudsman.

The outcomes of the cases were classified using an adjusted version of the classification used by the secretaries of the ombudsman's office. The original classes of the outcomes were "No action required", "Not against equality law", "No authority", "Cancelled", "Information given", "To be resolved in court" "Conflicts with equality law" and "Assumed discrimination". The problem with this classification was its rough and arbitrary nature, which especially appeared in the categories of "Information given" and "No authority". Some cases that created an

obvious assumption of discrimination had been classified as "Information given", particularly if the customer had reached an agreement with the discriminator, or if the discriminator had changed its discriminative policy. This class was also sometimes confused with the category of "No authority", as there were cases in which the ombudsman would have had authority, but which were directed to some other authority, such as the Equality Council of Advertisement. The adjusted classification of outcomes contained the classes shown in Table 33.

Class	Explanation	Explanation
1a	Double issue	Appearance of an already recorded case as a duplicate instance
1b	Not related to gender	Cases in which a person suspected discrimination, which was not based on gender or parenthood
1c	Information request with no suspicion of discrimination	Requests for advice concerning the interpretation of legal paragraphs, such as the gender quota paragraph in a manner that revealed no suspicion of discrimination.
1d	Untargeted complaint containing no request for action	Frustrated and fuzzy complaints about the inequality of people in Finland, together with general criticism against the authorities.
1e	Weak link to gender	Potential but unlikely connection to gender or parenthood.
2a	No discrimination	Neither gender was put in a disadvantaged position and the case revealed no discrimination concerning pregnancy, maternity or parenthood.
3a	No authority	Ombudsman concluded to have no authority, although case was clearly related to gender and although it contained a complaint.
3b	Transferred	A gender related case, which was transferred to another authority
3c	Cancelled	The customer cancelled the case.
3d	Uncompleted	Those cases which had no recorded outcome and no completion date.
3e	Information given	Potential discrimination cases, in which information was given instead of a formal statement.
4a	Positive action	The summary referred to positive action (9§4).
4b	Seems to be discrimination	Cases in which either gender seems to have been put in a disadvantaged position, but which were not explicitly classified as discrimination by the ombudsman.
4c	Discrimination with a good cause	Complaints of men's obligatory military service, which factually puts men in a disadvantaged position, but which is not illegal according to the Finnish equality law.
5a	Stated discrimination	Cases classified as "discrimination" or "assumed discrimination" by the ombudsman.
5b	Court confirmed discrimination	Cases which had been confirmed as discrimination in court.

Table 33. The Classified Outcomes of the Cases.

The senders of the complaints and requests for action were shown by two fields of data, which were the sender and the customer. The sender referred to the representative of the customer, in those cases that were sent by a lawyer or some other representative. The original *customers* of the cases were recorded to the research data and classified as "men" (N=374), "women" (N=597), "both genders" (N=2), "transsexuals" (N=2) and "unknown" (N=172). The category of unknown consisted of cases sent by collective bodies such as municipalities, associations, organizations and courts, and those private persons whose first name was too hard to classify (mostly refugees and immigrants).

8.1.5 Delineation of the primary research data

Those cases which did not have a clear outcome relating to gender discrimination (1a–1e) were omitted from the research data. This omitted data is shown in Table 34:

	Male	Female	Unknown	Both	Transs.	Total
1a Double case	9	7	1	0	0	17
1b Not gender issue	76	46	42	0	2	166
1c No discrimination suspected	7	11	85	0	0	103
1d No request for action	0	1	0	0	0	1
1e Weak link to gender or parenthood	7	7	0	0	0	14
Total	99	72	128	0	2	301

Table 34. Outcome Classes, which were Excluded from the Research Data.

The double issues were mostly requests for the hurrying up of the handling of an existing issue. The cases that did not relate to gender were mostly cases, in which the customer felt discriminated or unjustly treated based on unemployment, age, sexual orientation, or geographical location. These cases were classified mostly as "no authority" by the ombudsman, and returned to the customer with a suggestion of contacting the Minority Ombudsman, the Ombudsman of the Parliament, or the Ministry of Employment. The higher percentage of men within this outcome class suggests that men are not as well aware of the purpose of the equality law and the equality ombudsman's office as women are.

The cases classified as "no discrimination suspected" referred mostly to general information requests and to the visits of the ombudsman to

organizations. The biggest subgroup of information requests were the ones which requested general advice about equality planning or the application of the paragraphs concerning gender quotas. The cases that had a weak connection to gender or parenthood were mostly cases, in which a mother or father placed a claim about the low level of transfer payments concerning parenthood. These cases could possibly be related to gender discrimination, as the discrimination that is based on parenthood is also one form of gender discrimination, according to 7 § of the equality law. However, the summaries of these cases seemed to show that this was not the case.

After this first delineation of the primary research data, all the cases in which the gender of the discriminated person could not be deduced were omitted from the data, except for the ones which were concluded as discrimination by the ombudsman or by the court: In these exceptions, the gender of the customer was checked from the ombudsman's statement, which contained a full description of the case. Those relatively few cases, in which both genders were simultaneously discriminated (N=2), were omitted. The omitted cases are summarized in the table below:

	Unknown gender	Both genders discriminated	Total
2a No discrimination	11	0	11
3a Related to gender but no authority	6	0	6
3b Moved to another authority	1	0	1
3c Cancelled	4	0	4
3d Uncompleted	0	0	0
3e Instructions given	22	2	24
Total	44	2	46

Table 35. Cases with Uncertainty of the Discriminated Gender.

Most cases, in which there was no clear indication of the gender of the discriminated person, were related to the selection of members to public councils and decision making bodies. In this context, discrimination refers to complaints about decision making bodies, in which the 40% minimum quota for both genders had not been applied. This uncertainty reduces the validity of the gender distribution of discrimination within the final research data concerning the selection to public decision making bodies (see 8.3.6.2).

The remaining 800 cases, which were considered as the final or primary research data, are described in the chapters below. As they all contained some kind of complaint or suspicion concerning gender discrimination, they are referred to as *complaints*.

8.2 Quantitative Overview and the Gender Distribution of Complaints

8.2.1 The outcomes of the complaints

The distribution of the data according to outcome class and gender is shown in Table 37. The explanations of the outcome types are given on page 350. The most typical outcome class was "Stated discrimination", which means that the summary concluded the case as "Discrimination" or "Assumed discrimination". In this category, the proportion of men was lower (26%) than in the research data in general (36%).

Result	Men	Women	Total	Men%
2a No discrimination	82	131	213	38%
3a No authority	20	27	47	38%
3b Transferred	1	6	7	14%
3c Cancelled	25	67	92	27%
3d Uncompleted	1	3	4	25%
3e Instructions given	32	104	136	24%
4a Positive action/discrimination	5		5	100%
4b Seems to be discrimination	39	14	53	74%
4c Discrimination with a good cause	9		9	100%
5b Stated discrimination	59	171	230	26%
5c Court confirmed discrimination	2	2	4	50%
Total	275	525	800	34%

Table 36. The Outcomes of the Complaints.

This can be explained by the fact that a higher proportion of men's complaints ended up in outcome types "seems to be discrimination" (N=51), "no authority" (N=47), discrimination with a good cause (N=9), or "positive discrimination" (N=5). The relatively high proportion of men (74%) in the "seems to be discrimination" class, may be caused by the masculine or masculist bias of the researcher, or by the feminine or

feminist bias of the equality ombudsman's office, in which 90% of the employees are female. Typical examples in this outcome class related to the discounts and free services that women receive due to their gender (N=12). These were rarely stated as discrimination by the ombudsman's office, and instead, they were usually classified as "instructions given", as it is the policy of the ombudsman not to consider temporary discount campaigns as gender discrimination (all of the temporary discount campaigns mentioned in the summaries concerned discounts given to women). Another typical theme in which the researcher classified the case as "seems to be discrimination" was made of those cases, in which the ombudsman had sent the complainant a copy of a prior statement. This usually occurred for complaints concerning the policy of the National Pension's fund (KELA) not to subsidize men's medications for osteoporosis (N=10).

In the "no authority" outcome class, the men's proportion (38%) is slightly higher than in the overall research data (34%). This higher percentage can be explained by the fact that the policy of the ombudsman's office has been to not comment on the complaints within the theme of "custody and divorce", as the ombudsman does not want to interfere with the operation of the court system. This policy, however, seems to be a little biased against men, as it is one of the ombudsman's tasks to give statements to courts concerning suspected discrimination. Therefore, it is possible that the real reasons of the ombudsman for not giving statements concerning the custody issues is the lack of resources, and the wish to avoid a flood of new complaints from men. According to this logic, the practical reason for not giving statements in custody issues is the wish to focus on the labor market, and on the advancement of women's status, which are explicitly mentioned as focus areas of the equality law. This thinking can be connected to the memeplex of *prioritizing women's status over equality* (see 7.3.3.1).

The outcome class "Discrimination with a good cause", refers to the complaints of men concerning men's obligatory military service, which is only voluntary for women. These cases were classified as discrimination by the researcher, although the ombudsman's office classified them as "no authority" or "no conflict with equality law", as the Finnish equality law is not applicable to men's obligatory military service. Based on these

outcome types, the complaints were classified into four major outcome types, which are shown in Table 37:

Outcome type	Label of category	Subclasses
2	No discrimination	2a No discrimination
3	Potential discrimination	3a No authority, 3b Transferred, 3c Cancelled, 3d Uncompleted, 3e Information given
4	Either gender seems privileged	4a Positive action, 4b putting either gender in a disadvantaged position due to a good cause, 4c cases that seem like discrimination, even if the ombudsman did not specifically state so.
5	Confirmed discrimination	5a Discrimination confirmed by the ombudsman, 5b discrimination confirmed in court.

Table 37. Outcome types of the complaints.

The most subjective type is "Either gender seems privileged", as this category combines together the cases of positive action (N=5), legalized putting of either gender into a disadvantaged status based on a good cause (N=9) and those cases that indicated clear gender discrimination, although the ombudsman had not stated it clearly (N = 47). Due to this subjectivity, it is important to analyze the proportion of men separately for all complaints, complaints in outcome categories 3–5, and in the category 5, which means confirmed discrimination. Out of these percentages, each reader may choose their favorite measure for the gender distribution of gender discrimination in the research data.

8.2.2 The contexts of the complaints

The summaries of the complaints were read and classified to themes, and then the themes were organized into contexts of discrimination. After this, the summaries were re-read, and then reclassified in a heuristic process, in which increased understanding of the phenomena was used for producing improved themes and contexts (see Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 124). The five major contexts are shown in Table 38. The measures of the gender distribution of discrimination that show high values for the discrimination against men are shown in bold.

Context	Men	Women	Total	Men% of outcome type 2-5	Men% of outcome type 3-5	Men% of outcome type 4-5	Men% of outcome type 5
Discr. on the labor market	164	427	591	28 %	24 %	26 %	23 %
Discr. of administrative customers	63	46	109	**58 %**	**61 %**	**70 %**	**47 %**
Discr. of customers by enterprises	24	15	39	**62 %**	**59 %**	**89 %**	**60 %**
Discriminative legislation	10	3	13	**77 %**	**77 %**	**83 %**	----
Diverse	14	34	48	29 %	23 %	25 %	25 %
Total	275	525	800	34 %	33 %	37 %	26 %

Table 38. The Relative Frequency of the Discrimination of Men in Each Context.

If we take these figures as a valid indicator of the discrimination of men and women in Finland, we can conclude that men have a higher chance of being discriminated as customers of private and public organizations than women, and also the cases of discriminative laws seem to have a higher effect on men than on women. An alternative interpretation would be to claim that the percentage of men out of outcome categories 4–5 is such a subjective and (masculinely) biased figure that it can not be applied. However, this same argument could also be turned against men's percentage in outcome category 5, which can be biased due to the feminine bias of the employees of the ombudsman's office. Therefore, it is suggested that men's percentage of categories 3–5 is used as the best estimate, as it also fits in between the two other measures. If this selection is made, we can estimate that the discrimination of male customers is **1.5 times more common than the discrimination of female customers**.[138] In the context of discriminative legislation, we can conclude that a substantially higher proportion of men than women are discriminated by legislation, as almost all Finnish men have to enter military or civil service, while only a small minority of women seems to suffer from discriminative laws in Finland, based on the complaints sent to the ombudsman.

If we wish to question the validity of the primary research data as a picture of the gender distribution of gender discrimination in Finland, we may use some alternative studies such as the Finnish "equality barometer" as benchmarks. According to the barometer, 48% of Finnish women and 17% of Finnish men had felt discriminated against due to their gender

138 The figure 60% means that discrimination of men is 1.5 times more common than 40%, which is the figure for the discrimination of women. This means that we may say that it is 1.5 times more common.

at work, in 2004 (Melkas 2004, p. 25). This means that 26% of the employees, who have felt disadvantaged, were men in 2004. This is very close to the fact that 24% of the complaints in outcome types 3–5 had been filed by men, in the context of the labor market. This supports the idea that the complaints sent to the ombudsman are not systematically biased in a manner that would prevent their use for wider generalizations to the population.

It is possible to argue, that men claim easier than women, and therefore, more cases of discrimination against men have ended up in the files of the ombudsman, and into the research data. This argument would mean that men complain to the ombudsman more often without good cause than women, or that women underreport discrimination systematically more often than men. This interpretation gains some support from the research data, as men's proportion among complainants is higher within all complaints (34%) than in the outcome category 5 (24%). This difference, however, may well be caused by the fact that the equality ombudsman does not confirm any cases that relate to custody or men's obligatory military service as discrimination, and that the ombudsman's office is an organization that is likely to contain a feminine and feminist bias in its organizational culture (see chapters 5.4–5.5). It must also be noted that some other studies have shown that men are somewhat more reluctant to contact authorities than women with their problems (see Eräsaari 1995, p. 196 and Tjaden & Thoennes 2000, p. 49).

8.2.3 The field of activity of the suspected discriminator

The field or sector of the discriminator was classified according to the classification scheme of the statistical authorities (Tilastokeskus). However, in some cases, the high level classification was broken down into smaller fields, in order to separate male dominated and female dominated fields from generic statistical sectors. These fields were then grouped into patriarchal, neutral and matriarchal fields, based on the analysis of the horizontal segregation of the society in chapter 6.4. In several cases, the summary of the case did not contain information on the field of activity of the suspected discriminator. The gender distribution of

gender discrimination on different fields is shown in Table 39. The results cover only outcome types 3–5 (potential for confirmed discrimination).

Field of activity	Men 3-5	Women 3-5	Men% of 3-5	Men 5	Women 5	Men% of 5%
Matriarchal fields						
Cultural services	6	1	86%	4	1	80%
Hotels and restaurants	10	2	83%	2	1	67%
Social services and national pension fund	51	19	73%	14	10	58%
Healthcare	18	41	31%	9	28	24%
Matriarchal, TOTAL	**85**	**63**	**57%**	**29**	**40**	**42%**
Neutral fields						
Legislation	10	2	83%	0	0	
Media	4	1	80%	1	0	100%
Recreation and dating (excl. restaurants)	7	3	70%	0	0	
Other public and personal services	2	1	67%	1	0	100%
Labor services	4	6	40%	2	2	50%
Court system	4	8	33%	4	8	33%
Renting, cleaning, real estates	2	4	33%	2	2	50%
Third sector and personal services	1	2	33%	0	1	0%
Education (grades 1-9)	6	16	27%	4	13	24%
Public administration (other)	18	51	26%	5	19	21%
Associations (labor, charity)	1	5	17%	0	3	0%
Universities and research	4	23	15%	2	9	18%
Education (medium level & administration)	6	37	15%	2	19	10%
Neutral, TOTAL	**69**	**157**	**31%**	**23**	**76**	**23%**
Patriarchal fields						
Police and prisons	3	4	43%	1	1	50%
Telecommunications	1	2	33%	0	1	0%
Finance and insurance	4	9	31%	0	2	0%
Religious organizations	4	9	31%	3	5	38%
Technical services and b to b services	10	36	22%	2	17	11%
Trade	4	17	19%	1	6	14%
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	1	9	10%	1	2	33%
Industry	1	24	4%	0	8	0%
Associations (sports, outdoors)	0	3	0%	0	0	
Defence	0	3	0%	0	1	0%
Public administration (finance, sports)	0	6	0%	0	1	0%
Transportation	0	10	0%	0	2	0%
Patriarchal, TOTAL	**28**	**134**	**17%**	**8**	**46**	**15%**
Unspecified field	**5**	**39**	**11%**	**0**	**13**	**0%**
GRAND TOTAL	**187**	**393**	**32%**	**60**	**175**	**26%**

Table 39. The Gender Distribution of Discrimination in Different Fields.

After these classifications, the table reveals that only 17% of the complaints in outcome types 3–5 were filed by men within the patriarchal fields. However, in the matriarchal fields, the proportion of male complainants was 57% in the outcome types 3–5. This seems to give strong support to the hypothesis that the patriarchal organizations of the society are

much more likely to discriminate against women than the matriarchal organizations. It also gives support to the hypothesis concerning the higher risk of men to be discriminated by the matriarchal organizations. An alternative explanation to these findings is that there is actually no difference between the likelihood of discrimination in the patriarchal and matriarchal fields – but men and women just interpret all gender neutral discrimination (e.g. työsyrjintä) in a gendered fashion. This would mean that men, who suffer from mistreatment in the matriarchal fields, interpret all gender neutral discrimination as gender discrimination, while women in the patriarchal fields interpret all gender neutral mistreatment as gender discrimination. In order to count out this explanation, there is a need for additional studies that would ask separately for gender neutral discrimination (e.g. työsyrjintä) and gender discrimination, in a fashion that would allow the summing up of these experiences in different fields of the society.

The patriarchal, matriarchal and neutral fields contain some exceptions that are worth mentioning. In *healthcare*, which is a clearly matriarchal field, the percentage of men out of the potential, likely and confirmed cases of discrimination is only 31%. This can be explained by the fact that the vast majority of the cases occurred in the labor market, where about 80% of the employees in healthcare are female (see chapter 8.2.4). Among the patriarchal fields, police and prisons are a deviation, as 43% of the complaints in outcome types 3–5 were filed by men. This seems to support the hypothesis that policemen tend to seek for an alpha male position, in which they can favor women, and put down men, with the support of a sexist ideology (see 5.7). An alternative explanation is that men, when confronted with an authority like the police, are more willing to complain than women, as the confrontation with the authority is a situation in which the competitive side of masculinity is activated.

Among the neutral fields, the media and legislation were deviations, as 79–80% of the cases in outcome types 3–5 concerned discrimination against men. This finding seems to align with the hypothesis and findings concerning women's relatively strong control of the normative, symbolic and discursive power resources in the Finnish society (see 6.2.7.2), and with the findings concerning the relatively strong influence of misandric and discriminative memeplexes in Finnish society (chapter 7). A more

moderate version of this explanation is that there is something in the Finnish legislation and in the Finnish media that makes men feel more discriminated against than women – even if this does not mean that men are actually more often discriminated. It must also be noted that the amount of complaints in these fields was relatively low, making it necessary to avoid too strong generalizations.

On recreation and dating, which contains casinos, gyms, horse racing arenas and dating services, the proportion of men out of the complaints in outcome types 3–5 was 67%. In this field, the alpha male bias and traditional sexism seem to direct companies towards discriminative pricing and other forms of favoring women, in order to attract more women to the clientele (see 8.3.3.3).

8.2.4 Effects of the field of activity to the discrimination of employees

If we focus only on the labor market, we can define the borderline between patriarchy and matriarchy more accurately than in the context of all gender discrimination. As noted in chapter 6.2.3, the management of educational organizations and financial services is heavily dominated by men. Therefore, in the context of discrimination against employees, these fields need to be classified as parts of the patriarchal subsystem of the society, although the organizations in these fields may possibly contain a feminine and feminist bias in their informal organizational culture that affects the way in which customers are treated at the grass roots level (see 6.4).

The focus on the labor market and employees, also allows us usage weighted and adjusted measures for men's and women's propensity to be discriminated. These weightings are based on the fact that in a sector of activity, in which 80% are female, the expected proportion of women out of the discriminated would be 80%, assuming that there are no gender differences in the propensity to be discriminated. In order to take this into account, the following equation was developed for WFM, meaning the Weighted Frequency of Men's discrimination.

$$WFM = \frac{RFM/MOL}{(RFM/MOL + RFW/WOL)}$$

The meanings of the variables in the equation are the following:

RFM, Relative frequency of men discriminated, counting together male customers in selected outcome types and dividing the sum by the total amount of men and women in these types.

RFW, Relative frequency of women discriminated. This is equal to 1-RFM.

MOL, Men of labor (%)

WOL, Women of labor (%). This is equal to 1-MOL.

In this case, the WFM was calculated for outcome types 3–5, which were used to summarize the frequency of discrimination. The WFM describes the hypothetical percentage of men in types 3–5, assuming that both genders would have been equally represented in the field of activity, keeping all other factors constant. Most of the MOL figures in Table are based on the statistics shown in chapter 6.2.2. However, the figures marked with one asterisk are based on the "Teacher statistics 2003" of the Finnish Center of Statistics. According to this data, 27% of the teachers in 1st–9th grade are male, and 60% of the teachers in universities are men. In senior high school, professional institutes and professional college figures vary from 32% to 40%, making 36% a suitable estimate for this category. The figure marked with ** is based on Poliisilehti (2002/3). The figures marked with *** are interpolations in which the MOL of the wider category has been used as an estimate for the subcategories. For example, the 47% of "Public administration and defense" has been applied to all subcategories that have been distinguished from this main category. Those fields, in which there were very few observations or the percentage of men out of labor could not be found out, were excluded from the table.

Field of activity of the suspected discriminator	Men 3-5	Women 3-5	Men% of 3-5	Men of labor	WFM for 3-5
Patriarchal fields					
Industry	1	22	0 %	71 %	0 %
Transportation	2	10	0 %	78 %	0 %
Trade	1	14	7 %	52 %	7 %
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	2	10	14 %	69 %	7 %
Neutral fields					
Finance and insurance	1	7	0 %	30 %	0 %
Education (grades 1-9)	5	20	21 %	27 %*	9 %
Education (high schools, institutes and administration)	17	41	16 %	36 %*	11 %
Police and prisons	2	7	50 %	89 %**	11 %
Universities and research	13	34	19 %	60 %	14 %
Technical services and b to b services	11	43	21 %	62 %	14 %
Labor services	5	6	20 %	47 %***	22 %
Real estate, renting and cleaning services	2	5	20 %	46 %	23 %
Public administration	28	50	30 %	47 %***	33 %
Court system	7	17	36 %	47 %***	39 %
Religious organizations	5	11	31 %	38 %***	42 %
Matriarchal fields					
Hotels and restaurants	2	1	50 %	46 %	54 %
Health services	19	49	27 %	14 %	69 %
Cultural services	8	4	83 %	47 %***	85 %
Social services and national pension fund	19	17	54 %	8 %	93 %

Table 40. Weighted Frequency of Discriminated Male Employees on Each Field.

The table gives support to the hypothesis, according to which *female employees have a far higher chance of being discriminated in the patriarchal organizations, while male employees are more likely to be discriminated in the matriarchal organizations*. This finding is even clearer than the one provided in chapter 8.2.3, as now police and prisons are no longer a deviation among other patriarchal fields, and the percentages in healthcare align with other matriarchal fields. For example, in the field of social services, men's likelihood of being discriminated seems to be more than 13 times higher than the chances of a female employee being discriminated against (93% versus 7%). In cultural services, male employees seem to have almost a six times higher chance of being discriminated against (85% vs. 15%). In a similar fashion, the propensity of women to be discriminated in the patriarchal fields such as universities and research, and in technical services and b to b services, is almost six times higher than men's propensity to be discriminated (14% vs. 86%). In some other patriarchal fields such

as finance and insurance, industry and transportation, women's chances of being discriminated against seem to be infinitely higher than men's likelihood of being discriminated due to their gender.

Although the research data seems to give strong support for the hypothesis on the matriarchy as a discriminator of men and the patriarchy as a discriminator of female employees, it is also possible that the gendered interpretations of discrimination exaggerate this phenomenon (see 8.2.3).

One surprising finding seems to be the location of the religious organizations close to the group of matriarchal organizations. This, however, can be explained, when analyzing the cases of potential, likely and confirmed cases of discrimination against men. It seems that organizational positions are strongly segregated internally, so that some professions are considered part of the sphere of femininity, while others are considered more masculine. All cases of recruitment discrimination against men in religious organizations appeared in the recruitment of employees to "feminine" professions. Examples of these cases were the recruitment of *PR and communication* professionals (N=2), *organ player* (N=1) and *family advisor* (N=1). Therefore, the high proportion of men in outcome types 3–5 in the "patriarchal" church organizations can be explained by the fact that the discrimination occurred in the "feminine" professions within the field of activity.

8.2.5 The vertical segregation of the society

According to scholars of women's studies, women are the discriminated gender in the labor market, and this discrimination appears especially in the form of a *glass ceiling*, which prevents women from advancing to managerial positions or positions as leading experts (Wahl 1992). Yet, according to the hypotheses of the political wish for gender equality at the highest level of management, it would be easier for women to get into director level positions than managerial positions, especially in the neutral fields of the society (see 6.4). In order to evaluate these hypotheses, all cases of recruitment discrimination were classified according to the level of the job that was searched for. The distribution of complaints concerning recruitment discrimination is shown in Table 41.

Position and level of job	Men 3-5	Women 3-5	Men% 3-5	Men 5	Women 5	Men% 5
Director	9	22	24 %	6	16	27 %
Manager or managing professional	8	32	15 %	4	19	17 %
White collar worker (higher level)	31	58	27 %	17	33	34 %
White collar worker (lower level)	15	21	35 %	9	14	39 %
Blue collar worker	0	2	0 %	0	1	0 %
Unknown position	1	7	8 %	0	2	0 %
TOTAL	**68**	**224**	**24 %**	**37**	**116**	**30 %**

Table 41. Recruitment discrimination at different job levels.

The table seems to support the glass ceiling hypotheses, as the vast majority of discrimination against the candidates for managerial and managing professional positions appears against women (83–85%). However, the second hypothesis of the egalitarian political influence at the top directorial level also receives some support, as it is seems less difficult for women to advance to director positions than to managerial positions. These results, however, only apply to the public sector, as almost all complaints concerning director positions appeared in the public sector.

The data also shows the surprising fact that 34–39 % of the confirmed victims of gender discrimination in the group of white collar workers appeared against men. In the summed up outcome types 3–5, men's proportion of complaints was 27–35%, among white collar workers. These figures suggest that women and men have relatively equal opportunities for advancing to white collar and managerial professional status, and the gendered problems of women truly only escalate when women attempt to enter the managerial level. On the general level, the men's proportion in outcome classes 3–5 was 24%, and in confirmed cases of discrimination, 30% of the discriminated were men. The difference in these figures suggests that women complain more easily and with less cause than men (in the context of recruitment), or that men are more persistent than women in continuing their complaint, until a formal statement has been given by the ombudsman (outcome type 5).

The analysis of the consequences of the level of job to the gender distribution of discrimination may be extended by including all themes, in which the organizational level of the discriminated person is identifiable. This applies to most of the cases that appear in the contest of the labor

market, and also to those cases in which decision makers are selected to public decision making bodies, or task forces of specialists.

Position and level of job	Men 3-5	Women 3-5	Men% 3-5	Men 5	Women 5	Men% 5
Director	10	26	28 %	6	16	27 %
Manager or managing professional	10	60	14 %	5	28	15 %
White collar worker (higher level)	20	36	36 %	10	19	34 %
White collar worker (lower level)	36	92	28 %	21	52	29 %
Blue collar worker	7	28	20 %	3	15	17 %
Unknown position and level	16	89	15 %	5	33	13 %
TOTAL	**99**	**331**	**24 %**	**50**	**164**	**23 %**

Table 42. Discrimination, in General, at Different Organizational Levels.

This extended analysis confirms the findings of the more limited analysis: Women, who are entering management, have it more difficult than white collar workers, even in the director level, where the democratic control of the organization is stronger than in the middle management. Again, this finding mostly applies to public organizations. The low proportion of male blue collar workers out of the cases of discrimination can be possibly explained by the male role of the working class men: These men are likely to consider the filing of complaints to the equality ombudsman as unmasculine whining. It is also possible, that working class men are somewhat uncomfortable in the context of communication to authorities, which reduces their willingness to file complaints (see Forsberg 1994).

The low level of male complaints in the "unknown" category seems to be partly explained by the fact that the case summaries that described maternity related discrimination, concentrated on pregnancy and maternity related issues, and gave relatively little information of the organizational position of the employee.

8.2.6 Is the public sector more female friendly than the private?

According to Nordic scholars of women's studies, the welfare state may be seen as a friend or a defender of women (Hernes 1987, Julkunen

1990, Anttonen 1994, p. 206, Julkunen 2002 p. 34). This conclusion is challenged by arguments that claim that it is actually the private market which treats men and women in a more gender blind fashion, since all discrimination would mean an inefficient usage of resources (see Walby 1986, Hirdman 1990). In order to evaluate these contrasting hypotheses, the research data was classified according to the administrative type of the discriminating organization. In this classification, the state and municipalities were classified into the same type, as they are directly controlled by democratic processes. In contrast to that, autonomic public institutions such as municipal coalitions (kuntayhtymä), educational institutes and universities were classified separately, as these organizations are under weaker democratic control than the state and municipalities. Enterprises were classified into private enterprises and publicly owned enterprises to see, whether the ownership has some effect on the gendered practices of enterprises. Table 42 summarizes the potential, likely and confirmed cases of gender discrimination, according to the organizational type.

Suspected discriminator	Men, outcome types 3-5	Women, outcome types 3-5	Men% of outcome types 3-5	Men, outcome type 5	Women, outcome type 5	Men% of type 5
State or municipalities	128	194	40 %	45	100	31 %
Autonomic public institution	7	44	14 %	2	19	10 %
Association or the church	7	29	19 %	4	12	25 %
Publicly owned enterprise	4	5	44 %	1	3	25 %
Private enterprise	39	81	33 %	8	26	24 %
Private person	0	2	0 %	0	0	------
Unknown	7	38	16 %	1	15	6 %
TOTAL	192	393	33 %	61	175	26 %

Table 43. The Effects of Organization Type on the Gender Distribution of Discrimination.

State, municipalities and publicly owned enterprises seem to be the least discriminative organizations against women, as almost as many men as women had complained to the ombudsman of gender discrimination. This supports the hypothesis, concerning the friendliness of the public sector. However, the private enterprises seem to treat women far better than autonomic public institutions. This suggests that efficient market mechanisms may reduce the risk of women of facing gender discrimination, compared to such public institutions, which are controlled

neither by democratic processes nor by market forces. It is curious that in autonomic public institutions, only 10% of the cases of confirmed discrimination appeared against men. This seems to indicate that women have a nine times higher chance of being discriminated in autonomic public institutions than men. This finding seems to confirm both of the hypotheses given above. It also draws a picture of the public autonomic institutions as organizations controlled by men's fraternity networks (hyvä-veli-verkostot), which are not well controlled by democratic processes or by the market forces.

8.2.7 Summary of the evaluation of the main hypotheses

Chapters 8.2.3–8.2.4 have already handled the effects of the horizontal segregation on the likelihood of men to be discriminated on the patriarchal, matriarchal and neutral (horizontal) fields of the society. In this chapter, the distinction between the patriarchal and matriarchal subsystems is made more explicitly and specifically, marking all managerial positions of neutral organizations as part of patriarchy, while all white collar and blue collar worker positions remain in the debatable borderlands between patriarchy and matriarchy. Another adjustment to the patriarchal vs. matriarchal subsystems is made in the treatment of customers, as all administrative decisions, concerning sports and technology, were classified to the domain of patriarchy. After this clarification, it is now possible to analyze the gender distribution of potential, likely and confirmed discrimination, using the patriarchal vs. matriarchal nature of the situation as one explaining variable, and the context of the complaint as another.

Context	Men 3-5	Women 3-5	Men% of 3-5	Men 5	Women 5	Men% of 5
Labor market						
Matriarchal context	34	51	40%	20	36	36%
Neutral or debatable	27	89	23%	13	45	22%
Patriarchal context	32	138	19%	15	64	19%
Unspecified context	3	33	8%	0	13	0%
Labor market Total	**96**	**311**	**24%**	**48**	**158**	**23%**
Administrative customers						
Matriarchal context	40	11	78%	6	4	60%
Neutral or debatable	8	8	50%	2	2	50%
Patriarchal context	5	13	28%	0	3	0%
Unspecified context	0	1	0%	0	0	
Administrative customers total	**53**	**33**	**62%**	**8**	**9**	**47%**
Private sector customers						
Matriarchal context	9	1	90%	2		100%
Neutral or debatable	5	1	83%	1	1	50%
Patriarchal context	8	10	44%	0	1	0%
Unspecified context	1	2	33%	0	0	
Private sector customers total	**23**	**14**	**62%**	**3**	**2**	**60%**
Customers of private and public organizations						
Matriarchal context	49	12	80%	8	4	67%
Neutral or debatable	13	9	59%	3	3	50%
Patriarchal context	13	23	36%	0	4	0%
Unspecified context	1	2	33%	0	0	
Customers Total	**76**	**32**	**70%**	**14**	**10**	**50%**
GRAND TOTAL	**171**	**355**	**33%**	**59**	**169**	**26%**

Table 44. Discrimination in Patriarchal and Matriarchal Contexts.

The table shows a clear and significant connection between dominance and discrimination: Men have systematically the highest chances of being discriminated in matriarchal contexts, and women in the patriarchal contexts. Although **women have a three times higher chance of being discriminated in the labor market** in general (76% versus 24%), men are discriminated almost as often as women in the matriarchal fields and contexts of the labor market, even if there are far fewer men working in these organizations (see 8.2.4). The figures concerning the discrimination of the customers of public and private organizations show that **in the matriarchal organizations, male customers have a 2–4 times higher chance of being discriminated than women:** Out of the potential, likely and confirmed cases of discrimination, 80% of the complaints concerned discrimination against men. Even if we focus only on the confirmed cases of discrimination, 67% of the discrimination appeared against men. In

the neutral or debatable organizations, over 50% of the discrimination against customers seems to appear against men.

When evaluating the hypothesis concerning the alpha discrimination of men, one can see that even patriarchal organizations tend to put male customers at an almost equal risk of discrimination as female customers, since the proportion of men in outcome types 3–5 is 36%. This finding seems to have connections to chivalry and macho masculinity, which are both basically alpha male ideologies. Additional analysis on the topic is found in chapters 8.3.3.3 and 8.3.4.4.

8.3 The Themes and Motives of Discrimination

8.3.1 Introduction to the classification of themes and motives

The complaints were divided into five different contexts, and simultaneously, divided into more specific themes in a heuristic process. The classification to themes appeared in a process, in which the goal was to find themes of highly similar cases, and yet stop the distinction of themes, when the number of cases in each theme dropped below three. The remaining cases were classified to themes such as "other discriminative treatment of employees" or "other discriminative laws".

The classification scheme for the motives of discrimination was based on the general theory of gender discrimination. According to the theory, the potential causes of discrimination are the feminine bias, masculine bias; feminist bias, masculist bias, traditional sexism, and financial pressure (see 5.9). In order to rate the significances of these biases, they were operationalized in the manner described in this chapter. It must be noted that this operationalization is merely one possible alternative, and the choices of the operationalization may have a strong impact on the results of the analysis of the memetic motives. Yet, this kind of analysis of the causes and motives behind gender discrimination was seen as a necessary exercise towards the understanding of the significances of alternative causes. After the conceptual operationalization, the likelihood of the six different causes was rated on the scale of 1 (very unlikely) to 5 (very likely) for all complaints in outcome types 3–5 (potential, likely

or confirmed discrimination). In this rating, certain default values were first given to all complaints, using the principles shown below. After that, the ratings were adjusted for each theme of complaints, changing the values to more appropriate ones for the theme. At the final stage, some individual cases, which deviated from the general ratings of the themes, were adjusted. These included the ones in which positive action was specifically mentioned as a motive and legitimization of the different treatment of men and women.

The **feminine bias** was operationalized as the general tendency of female dominated groups and organizations to create cultures, discourses and paradigms, which favor women at the cost of men. Therefore, the likelihood of the feminine bias as a potential cause of discrimination was set to 5 for all men's complaints that appeared in the matriarchal subsystem, 3 in the debatable borderlands, and 1 in the patriarchal subsystem. In a similar fashion, the likelihood of **masculine bias** was set to 5 in the complaints on the patriarchal subsystem, 3 in the debatable borderlands and 1 in the matriarchal subsystem.

The contents of the *feminist bias* appear in the form of reverse strategy and the SBAM memeplex, which suggests that women should be systematically favored in all public decisions, campaigns and policies (see 7.8). In the context of the Finnish society, the SBAM seems to be a relatively influential memeplex, as the core purpose of the Finnish equality policy is the advancement of women's status, especially in the labor market, while the removal of men's gender problems is given very low priority, or completely moved outside of the scope of the equality law. Therefore, its significance in the discrimination of men was set to 4 in all of the cases of recruitment discrimination against male candidates for managerial positions, and in all cases in which positive discrimination was mentioned as a motive. In other cases, its significance was set to 3, meaning some potential significance. Another feminist memeplex was **reverse strategy**, according to which, *women are superior to men in the fields of care-taking, human relations and morality, but men are not superior to women in any manner.* This memeplex can be used to give women normative superiority over men, and for claiming that women's superior position in the mentioned fields should be recognized, naturalized and legitimized. Therefore, it can be seen as a motivation and legitimization for the discrimination of men. Its likelihood as a motive

for the discrimination against men was set equal to 4 in the matriarchal subsystem, 3 in the neutral subsystem, and 2 in other cases.

The **masculist bias** had not taken a clear form in the Finnish society 1997–2004, and at that time the men's movement was very weak or almost non-existent. The ideology of the men's movement is relatively unclear, since men's groups such as the Miessakit association have not produced a formal program concerning gender equality. However, it is possible to condense the masculist bias into a memeplex, according to which, *men should actively defend themselves against the coalition of women and the state, as this coalition attempts to worsen the status of men in the society*. This memeplex does not take into account the fact that women, on average, are in a disadvantaged position in many sectors of the society, and therefore in many cases, the advancement of women's status would be a step towards higher gender equality. The likelihood of this memeplex was set to 3 in all cases of discrimination against women, as this kind of masculism seems to be a potential, but not a likely factor in the discrimination of women, for example, in the labor market.

Sexism was operationalized as an ideology, which promotes the horizontal and vertical segregation of the society. Therefore, sexism, as a reason for the discrimination against women, was given the same value as the masculine bias, meaning 5 in the patriarchal cluster, 3 in the neutral cluster, 1 in the matriarchal cluster of organizations, and 3 in the cases, where the sector or field of the discriminator was not known. After this initialization, the cases of recruitment discrimination were rated in such a fashion that in the case of recruitment discrimination against male applicants to managerial positions, the likelihood of sexism was put to 1, and in the cases of discrimination against female applicants to managerial positions, sexism was rated as a very likely cause (rating 5). These ratings reflect the nature of sexism as a promoter of both the horizontal and vertical segregation.

Financial pressure was rated as an unlikely cause of discrimination for all cases, based on the fact that in the largest and most common themes such as recruitment discrimination, the discriminator gains no real benefit for choosing a less competent person.

After these initializations, the ratings concerning the likelihood of financial pressure, sexism, masculism, discourses of patriarchy, and reverse strategy were reconsidered for each theme, as shown in the following chapters.

8.3.2 Labor market

8.3.2.1 Quantitative overview

Discrimination in the labor market was the most common context of the complaints. In most themes within this category, women filed more complaints than men. The most common themes of the complaints were the recruitment discrimination, wage discrimination, and the termination of work or the weakened position of the employee, which totaled 85% of the cases within the theme. Table 45 shows the distribution of the complaints according to theme and gender. The themes are shown in three groups which are **1**) typical themes, in which women seem to be discriminated more often, meaning that men make less than 31% of the cases in outcome types 3–5; **2**) themes, in which discrimination against both genders is of the same magnitude (31–69% of discrimination against men), and 3) the themes, in which discrimination against men is clearly more common, meaning that at least 70% of the cases in outcome types 3–5 related to discrimination against men. After this grouping, the themes were sorted in such a fashion that the most common themes were shown first.

Theme	M3	M4	M5	W3	W4	W5	Total 3-5	Men% of 3-5
Wage discrimination	8	0	8	33	0	27	76	21 %
Pregnancy and parenthood	0	1	0	16	2	24	43	2 %
Termination of work or weakened terms of work	0	0	0	10	0	5	15	0 %
Treatment at work	0	1	1	10	1	2	15	13 %
Sexual harassment at work	1	0	1	6	0	2	10	20 %
Multiple forms of discrimination by the employer	0	0	0	8	0	2	10	0 %
Funding of researchers	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0 %
Counteractions by the employer	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0 %
Recruitment forms	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0 %
Recruitment discrimination	28	0	36	57	0	85	206	31 %
Recruitment announcements	0	6	2	1	4	8	21	38 %
Dressings and accessories at work	1	2	0	0	1	0	4	75 %
TOTAL	**38**	**10**	**48**	**145**	**8**	**158**	**407**	**24 %**

Table 45. Discrimination on the Labor Market

8.3.2.2 Themes of discrimination, in which women formed the clear majority

Wage discrimination was a typical theme of discrimination (N=91). Out of the confirmed cases of discrimination, 27 were against women and 8 against men. The cases of wage discrimination were related to the field of activity of the employer, in such a fashion that men faced wage discrimination in social services, healthcare and schools, while discrimination against women occurred diversely, in all fields of activities. The most likely motive for the wage discrimination against women seems to be sexism, according to which men are the breadwinners, and women are the less ambitious gender. The likely motives for the wage discrimination against men are feminine bias and sexism, which together promote the favoring of women, especially in the matriarchal subsystem of the society.

Pregnancy and parenthood was a very common theme (N=48), in which almost all the complainants in outcome types 3–5 were women. The cases in this theme mostly described the termination of work contracts due to pregnancy (N=33), the weakened status of the employee after returning from parental leave (N=11), or recruitment forms, in which employees were asked about pregnancy or plans to have children (N=3). In one case, a man complained about the policy of a large corporation to pay salaries to women taking maternity leave, but not for men who take parental leave. Although men's complaints within this theme were far less frequent than women's, it seems that a large number of men may be affected by such corporate policies that discouraged men from taking paternal leave. A clear motive for the discrimination within this theme of discrimination seems to be financial, since the employers wish to avoid the costs of parental leaves and also the costs of paid absences from work that parents of young children are likely to have, taking care of sick children (rating 5). Another likely motive is sexism, as the employers assume that it is precisely the mothers who will be absent from work during the illness of children. This motive was rated as 4 in general, and 5 within the patriarchal subsystem.

The theme of *recruitment forms*, referred to cases in which the employer had asked about the potential pregnancy of the applicants for a job (N=3).

All of these cases were discrimination against women, and positioned to the outcome class 5 (confirmed discrimination). The motives of this discrimination were given the same ratings as in the *pregnancy and parenthood theme.*

Termination of work or weakened terms of work referred to all other cases (N=20), in which the work contract was terminated or the position and role of the employee was weakened. All of the potential cases of discrimination were against women, and related to temporary lay-offs (N=3) or weakened position at work (N=2). The likely motives of discrimination seemed to be partly financial (saving money by lay-offs) and partly sexist (targeting the lay-offs towards women, or weakening the position of female employees). The motives were rated as discrimination due to pregnancy and parenthood.

The treatment of employees at work contained various cases (N=19), in which primarily women complained about the unfair division of tasks and duties among the genders. For example, in one company, only female workers were required to perform cleaning tasks on top of their normal duties. In another case, women were not selected for the training of train drivers. The case of confirmed discrimination against men referred to the policy of a mental hospital to only appoint men for night shifts. In most cases, sexism could be identified as a likely cause of the discrimination. However, in one case, a man complained of the preferential treatment given to female guards in the delivery of ID cards, and the ombudsman classified it as positive action. This case was positioned to the outcome class 4 (positive action or positive discrimination) and rated as most likely to be caused by the feminist memeplex SBAM. A connection to financial reasons was also found in the case of the mental hospital, as the male nurses were used simultaneously as nurses and guards, saving the hospital the money from hiring specialized guards.

Another theme, which was dominated by women's complaints, was the *multiple forms of discrimination by employer.* The eleven cases within this theme combined complaints of wage discrimination (4), slow career advancement (3), discriminative work conditions (3), sexual harassment (3), counter actions (2), and termination of work contract (1). However, only two cases were confirmed as discrimination by the ombudsman. This indicates that it is very difficult for the ombudsman to confirm

discrimination, or even create assumptions of discrimination (as defined by law), if the employee and employer give a different version of the events, actions and motives related to the case, and if there are several subtle forms of discrimination, instead of one single and more identifiable one. The theme of 'multiple forms of discrimination' was classified as having a likely connection to sexism, and no connection to rational financial reasons was found.

Six out of the seven complaints concerning the potential cases of *sexual harassment*, were filed by women. However, the two confirmed cases of harassment were equally divided between male and female employees. The harassed woman was a worker in a flower shop, and the harassed man was a nurse at a hospital. The motives for sexual harassment were linked to sexism (rating 5), as the strong perception of gender differences makes people treat each other not as workers, but as men and women. Another cause was seen in the matriarchal or patriarchal organization cultures, which could easily promote a biased and dirty sense of humor against the gender that is underrepresented among employees. In the cases of sexual harassment against women, masculism was rated as a possible and yet unlikely reason, since sexual harassment can be seen as an attempt to nullify the potential empowerment of women (rating 2). In the cases of sexual harassment against men, the feminist memeplex SBAM was given a rating as a potential cause (rating 3). This is linked to the idea that women have the right to advance their own status by reversing the gender roles and by adopting behaviors that have been earlier typical for men only.[139] Other motives for sexual harassment were rated as very unlikely.

The cases concerning the *funding of researchers* (N=5) were mostly classified as no discrimination by the ombudsman. The case of potential discrimination was about the statistical bias against female researchers in the distribution of stipends. In this case, sexism was rated as the most likely cause of discrimination.

The four cases in the theme of *counter actions by the employer*, referred to cases in which women suspected counter actions after filing complaints of gender discrimination. These cases were all classified as potential discrimination, since the ombudsman did not find sufficient proof of

139 According to Kotro, for example, the presidential candidate Elisabeth Rehn has stated in an interview that she likes to pinch good looking young men by the rear end (Kotro 2006, the original reference to the article not found).

discrimination, as the employer and employee gave very different versions of the situation. A likely motive for the counteractions was assumed to be the masculist bias (rating 5), meaning the wish of men to defend their power position against the equality law, which could be seen as an indication of the coalition of the state and women.

8.3.2.3 Discrimination with a high percentage of male complainants

Recruitment discrimination was the most common theme of the complaints (N=352). In this theme, 42% of the 121 confirmed cases of discrimination related to the discrimination of men. Recruitment discrimination seemed to be strongly connected to the field of activity of the employer, in such a fashion that men were especially discriminated in the matriarchal fields (social services, healthcare, cultural services, hotels and restaurants) and women were discriminated in the more patriarchal fields (see 8.2.3–8.2.4). This horizontal segregation of discrimination was matched with vertical segregation, since female applicants were far more commonly discriminated when managers and directors were recruited (see 8.2.5). After these findings, it seemed reasonable that the default values set for the motives of discrimination in chapter 8.3.1 would be slightly altered for the case of upper white collar workers. At this level of work, sexism was rated as a somewhat likely cause (score 3), even for the discrimination of women in the organizations of the matriarchal subsystem of the society. When the cases were analyzed one by one, the feminist memeplex SBAM also appeared as a potential cause of discrimination against men. This appeared in a case, in which a male teacher was discriminated against, based on the exaggerated usage of positive action: In a school, where the majority of teachers were women, a female teacher was favored in recruitment on the basis of the municipal equality plan, which proposed for the advancement of women's status in the labor market. This case was confirmed as discrimination by the equality ombudsman, as positive action can be legitimately used only to help the status of the disadvantaged or underrepresented gender, and in this context, men were the disadvantaged or underrepresented gender.

The complaints, concerning discriminative *recruitment announcements*, were classified to outcome types in an unsystematic manner by the secretaries of the ombudsman's office. Cases in which the employer had promised not to repeat the discriminative announcement had been classified either as "instructions given" or as "discrimination". In a similar fashion, the recruitment announcements concerning the selection of a female gynecologist (published by private persons) were classified either as "instructions given" or "no discrimination". These cases were solved by the researcher, by classifying all cases of ceased discrimination as "discrimination", and all complaints concerning the search for female gynecologists as "no discrimination". After these classifications, the cases revealed discrimination of women in the search of candidates to traditionally masculine tasks such as chauffeur, or to various tasks in the technical field of activity. Men were discriminated typically by the announcements, which searched for women for traditionally feminine jobs such as a secretary, customer service assistant, or restaurant assistant, or to dull and patience demanding tasks like a lobby assistant or fish fillet cutter. In these cases, sexism was seen as a very likely motive of discrimination. In one complaint, the relation of sexism and the discriminative recruitment announcement was more difficult to judge. This was an announcement, in which a car maintenance company searched for a "girl" for the task of changing oils for cars. This could be seen as motivated by positive action, since the underrepresented gender in the context of car maintenance was encouraged to apply for the job. However, it could also be connected to sexism, since the culture in car maintenance workshops usually positions "girls" as sex objects, who are pinned up on the wall of the workshop. In this case, the likelihood of reverse discrimination as a cause was given the rating 4 (likely) and sexism the rating 5 (very likely).

The theme of *dressing and accessories at work* contained three complaints by men and one by a woman. The men complained about not being able to wear as casual clothing as women (e.g. shorts), and for not being permitted to wear earrings at work. The complaint by a woman concerned a case, in which a female worker had to wear a work uniform that was too large and unfitting, as there were not small enough sizes in the uniforms which had been designed for men. None of these cases was clearly classified as discrimination, and the cases of forbidding

men to wear shorts at work were explicitly stated as "no discrimination". However, all of these cases meet the criteria of gender discrimination, as men and women were put in a different position by the double standards and by the lack of suitable work uniforms. Therefore, all of these cases were rated into the outcome class 4 (either gender seems favored). It seems that the double standard concerning the wearing of shorts at work is not based on solid biological differences between men and women: The fact that men have more hair on their legs does not seem to be a legitimate argument. Instead, the cause of the double standard seems to be based on the sexist argument that women have *traditionally* had the right to show their legs at work, wearing skirts. Therefore, it is *"natural"* that women are permitted to wear shorts, while men are not. The same also applies to jewellery, as women have had the traditional right to wear ear rings, while for men there is no such long lasting tradition in Finland. The memetic cause for the discrimination of men seemed to be basically sexism, as men were not permitted to break the traditional gender roles by using ear rings at work, or by showing their legs at work. However, it seems to have also a connection with SBAM, as this positioning of men and women in a different status in the context of dressing was not seen as discrimination, even by the ombudsman. (One can argue that women are the disadvantaged sex and that the purpose of the equality law is to improve the status of women, and therefore, the complaints of men concerning sexist dressing codes are insignificant). Another potential, but more weakly connected cause for this discrimination is the reverse strategy, which gives the impression that women are better than men. (As women are better than men, and made of "sugar and spice", it is only natural that women have the right to show their legs at work).

8.3.3 Customers of Enterprises

8.3.3.1 Quantitative overview

Complaints, concerning the discrimination of customers by enterprises, appeared most often within the themes of pricing (N=13), tailored marketing (N=8) and advertisements (N=11). The table below shows that

advertisements cause more feelings of discrimination to women, while all
the other themes show that more cases of potential discrimination appear
against men.

Theme	M3	M4	M5	W3	W4	W5	Total 3-5	Men% of 3-5
Advertisements	1	0	0	9	0	1	11	9 %
Other discrimination of the customers of enterprises	0	0	3	2	0	0	5	60 %
Pricing by enterprises	0	12	0	0	0	1	13	92 %
Tailored marketing	3	2	0	1	0	0	6	83 %
Dressing standards for customers	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	100 %
Total	4	16	3	12	0	2	37	62 %

Table 46. Discrimination of the Customers by Private Companies.

8.3.3.2 Themes of discrimination, in which women formed the clear majority

The complaints regarding discriminative *advertisements* mostly concerned
cases, in which women were represented as sex objects. One advertisement,
for example, presented a female model with a text saying "Pens for all
locations", hinting that women are a potential target for penetration –
even by pens. The male complainant criticized the frequent usage of naked
men in advertisements in Finland. Naked men, for example, have been
used to sell mobile phone operators, cider, margarine, and chewing gum.
While the motivation of the usage of women as sex seems to be caused
by sexism, the memetic motive behind the frequent usage of naked men
in advertisements seems to be SBAM, as the usage of naked men can be
seen as a way of advancing women's status by reversing the gender roles.
None of these cases was clearly stated as gender discrimination by the
ombudsman. Instead, the cases were redirected to the Ethical Council
of Advertisers, which is originally a private organization. In this council,
a body of journalists and politicians handle issues based on common
sense, and not on solid legal analysis and expertise. This means that the
decisions of the Ethical Council of Advertisers may be discriminative or
systematically biased against either gender. In this case, it seems possible
that the council has been systematically biased against men, since few
complaints of the discrimination against men in advertisements ever end

in the conclusion that men have been discriminated. The reason for the ombudsman not to handle these cases is that the office does not have enough resources.

8.3.3.3 Discrimination with a high percentage of male complainants

The most common theme in the treatment of customers by private organizations was *discriminative pricing*, meaning the discounts given especially to women (N=12). This favorable treatment of women seems to be a clear case of gender discrimination. However, the ombudsman has created a policy, according to which, the gender which is the minority among customers may be favored in pricing as long as the favoring is not continuous. This policy is based on the positive action clause of the equality law of 1995, which states that temporary actions and policies, which are based on a plan to advance the substantive gender equality, should not be considered as discrimination (9 § point 4). Based on this argument, the ombudsman has not classified the discounts given to women for boat cruises, discotheques and dancing places as discrimination against men. This policy, however, may be criticized as the discounts given to women are not based on an equality plan that has been made by the private enterprises. The "temporary" nature of such discounts is also questionable, as in many cases the discounts appear either once a week (systematically) or in recurring campaigns. Based on this policy of the ombudsman, 10 out of the 12 complaints filed by men resulted in the outcome of "information given", while 2 cases were confirmed as discrimination by the ombudsman. Yet, the cases of discriminative pricing were classified to the outcome class 4 by the researcher.

One of the confirmed cases was the targeted offer by Theatre "Virus", which offered theatre tickets to young women at a special price. This could not be legitimized by positive action for the minority of customers, as the majority of the audience in theatres is already female. Another was the pricing of dating services, which had continued to discriminate against men for such a period of time that it could not be classified as temporary special treatment. Boat cruises, which were offered to

women at a 50% discount, were not considered as discrimination, as the ombudsman argued that the majority of customers among seminar, conference and relaxation cruises are men, and therefore it could be seen as positive action that women are treated favorably. In the same fashion, yearly fees for gymnastics were allowed to be sold to women at a 33% discount. Free entrance of women to restaurants and horse races were seen as no problem, and this also applied to the discounts for the prices of drinks at restaurants. This makes it seem as if the ombudsman was somewhat reluctant to classify discriminative pricing as discrimination against men. At the same time, 100% of the complaints sent by women were classified as gender discrimination. This, however, may be a coincidence as only one case was filed by a woman. This case concerned the higher prices of haircuts for women. Traces of the potential bias of the ombudsman's office against men may be found in the argumentation of statement 7/59/99. The statement concludes that "As the main purpose of the equality law is to improve women's status especially in the labor market, the ombudsman has not seen it necessary to take special actions concerning these cases". According to this logic, the equality law needs to be applied strictly, in cases concerning the labor market or discrimination against women, whereas the discrimination against men is seen as a low priority issue – especially if it appears outside the labor market. The argumentation concerning the purpose of the equality law, however, is a memetic mutation, as the real purpose of the law is "to prevent gender discrimination and advance the equality of men and women, and in order to reach this goal, improve women's status especially in the labor market" (1§). The mutation has changed the original priority, which emphasized the equality of men and women over anything else, to an interpretation that prioritizes the advancement of women's status over anything else. When the ombudsman claims that no "special actions" seem necessary to end this discriminative pricing, we must note that the removal of this discrimination would not require any other "special action" than firm statements that conclude that all cases of discriminative pricing are gender discrimination, unless based on an explicit reference to the equality plan of the company.

The strongest motive in the discriminative pricing seems to be sexism, as women are charged a higher fee for haircuts, and men are charged

more for entering restaurants, boat cruises, dating services and other places in which (the passive) women are chased by (the active) men. Based on this sexism, the financial pressures also play a large role. Yet, feminism also seems to be connected to the discrimination against men in discounts, as almost all of the pricing discrimination against men can be explained by SBAM and the biased interpretation of positive action (positive discrimination).

A relatively similar theme to the discriminative pricing is the *tailored marketing* of services that are specially designed for either of the genders. Clear examples of gender discrimination, in this theme, included two complaints concerning the "Lady Kasko" car insurance, which offered a lower fee for women than for men. The service is almost identical to the insurances given to men, and the only relevant difference is the price of the service. In another case, the company "Women's City" marketed a discount card for women only. Some men also complained about discount campaigns, in which only products targeted to women were discounted. The case of potential discrimination against women concerned the reservation of special aerobics classes for men in a gym (no entrance to women). None of these cases was clearly classified as discrimination by the ombudsman, and instead, they were categorized as "information given". The main motive in the discrimination of men and women in this theme seems to be financial pressure, which is supported by sexism in many cases. However, the feminist memeplex SBAM also seems to play a role, as companies can favor women as much as they want in their marketing, without a fear of facing consequences from the authorities (as the authorities seem to perceive that the advancement of women's status is the main purpose of the equality law). In the case concerning Lady Kasko, the reverse strategy may also play a role, as women are easily perceived as more cautious and responsible than men, based on this memeplex.

The *dressing standards* relating to customers was a theme that consisted of cases, in which men complained for not being permitted to a casino wearing shorts, while women with shorts were permitted to enter. Although these cases were classified as "no discrimination" by the ombudsman's office, they were positioned in the outcome class 4 (either gender seems favored) by the researcher. This is based on the definition

of discrimination, which states that the setting of either gender to the privileged status is gender discrimination (see 2.1.1). The motives concerning the double standards concerning dressing are similar to the ones that appear in working places: Due to sexism, male customers are not permitted to wear shorts, and due to the feminist memeplex SBAM, this is not seen as a problem, and instead, it is seen as a legitimate favoring of women.

The theme *other discriminative treatment of customers* contained two complaints concerning the higher age limits for men in restaurants. These cases were both confirmed as discrimination by the ombudsman, as well as one case, in which the rules of an apartment were changed in such a fashion that only female inhabitants were allowed. The women's complaints concerned the fact that, in restaurants it is mostly the right of the men to ask women for a dance, although men and women pay the same entrance fee. In another case, a credit company had a policy that the credit limit may not be raised for women who are on a maternity leave. These cases were classified as "information given by the ombudsman", which fits the outcome class of "potential discrimination". When analyzing the motives of these forms of discrimination, sexism seems to be the clearest cause. This particularly appears in the cases concerning the lower age limits of women in restaurants: From a sexist perspective, shaped by the alpha males and alpha females (see 5.7.2), women of the ages 16–20 should be given a very high status, while men of the same age should be seen as "kids" or "lesser men" who are of no value among the clientele of restaurants and discotheques. This sexist double standard, concerning the age limits, may also gain some support from the feminist memeplex SBAM, according to which, women are the disadvantaged gender, and therefore, they should be given favorable treatment in all contexts. The memeplex of the reverse strategy may also play a role, as it claims that women are the gender with higher morals and better behavior (and this can be used as an argument for letting young women into restaurants, while young men are forbidden entrance).

8.3.4 Administrative Customers

8.3.4.1 Quantitative overview

The discrimination against administrative customers refers to those cases, in which the target of discrimination was the *customer* of a public organization, using a wide definition of customers. In some themes, women were discriminated much more often than men, while in others, it was especially the men who faced discrimination.

Discrimination of administrative customers	M3	M4	M5	W3	W4	W5	Total 3-5	Men% of 3-5
Being represented by one's spouse against one's will	0	0	0	2	0	5	7	0 %
Other treatment of the customers of public organizations	3	0	0	3	0	1	7	43 %
Selection for public training (courses or institutions)	0	2	1	1	2	2	8	38 %
Public monetary benefits other than pensions	1	3	0	4	0	1	9	44 %
Harassment of customers in the public sector	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	33 %
Public funding of recreational activities	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	33 %
Discriminated by police	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	50 %
Healthcare customer discriminated	6	10	2	1	0	0	19	95 %
Pensions and retirement age	6	3	5	2	0	0	16	88 %
Treatment during or after divorce	7	0	0	3	0	0	10	70 %
Total	**27**	**18**	**8**	**22**	**2**	**9**	**86**	**62 %**

Table 47. Discrimination of Administrative Customers by Public Organizations.

8.3.4.2 Themes of discrimination, in which women formed the clear majority

Being represented by one's spouse against one's will is a theme that appeared only in the complaints of women (N=8). In three cases, authorities had sent personal mail to the women, using the address and name of her spouse as the receiver. Authorities that were complained about, included the social service organizations, taxation authorities, and the National Land Survey of Finland. In one case, the authorities demanded the husband's permission for a stererilization. These cases seem to be motivated by the sexist idea of men as breadwinners and decision makers, and women as the housewives, who are legally and practically represented

by their husband. No financial reasons were found for these forms of discrimination against the women.

8.3.4.3 Themes with relatively high gender parity

The theme concerning the *selection of students to schools or public courses* was a relatively common one (N=11). In this theme, potential discrimination against women appeared in two cases, in which girls were not given a chance to select carpentry and metal work in school, in a similar fashion as boys. In one case, an employment office did not select a woman for skyscraper pilot training due to the pregnancy of the applicant. In these cases, a clear memetic cause for discrimination may be found in sexism. The ombudsman also classified as discrimination, two cases in which some universities had given extra credits for those who had passed officer training during their military service. This was concluded as gender discrimination by the ombudsman, since the voluntary military service for women had only existed a short while, meaning that women had not enjoyed a similar chance to gain these extra credits as men. Sexism and masculism were rated as possible motives for this form of indirect discrimination. In the cases of discrimination against men in the selection of students for training, positive action and the feminist memeplex SBAM seemed to play a major role. In one case, a school was applying a policy which gave boys and girls separate quotas to the special class reserved for sportively talented kids, in such a manner that the quotas allowed girls to enter the sports class with less merit than boys. In another case, male actors were discriminated by officials in the selection of trainees to the entrepreneur course meant for unemployed actors. One case, in which men were not permitted to participate to the course "Women to the transportation services", appeared as positive action, as the transportation industry is so heavily occupied by men that it may be considered as an advancement of equality, if women are encouraged to the industry through special public courses.

Public monetary benefits other than pensions was a theme, in which nine cases of potential discrimination occurred. Out of these, the cases in outcome types 4–5 are described here. In one confirmed case of discrimination, women were discriminated by the manner in which a

social service organization mailed their transfer payment decisions to the husbands of the female applicants, instead of sending them to the applicants. In another case, parents were discriminated by the policy of a municipality, which did not permit the paying of parental subsidies to employees working in part time or temporary jobs. This was classified as discrimination against women, since the majority of the applicants for this specific kind of parental subsidy are women. Discrimination against men within this theme appeared in three cases, which were classified to the outcome class 4. In one case, a man complained of the policy of the municipality to give one room apartments to men who have joint custody of their children with their ex-wife, while female custodians in a similar case received municipal apartments with two rooms. This case seems to be connected to sexism, as the decision makers have reasoned that children live primarily with their mothers, and not with their fathers, if joint custody is ruled in court. In another case, a man complained of the policy of the municipality to permit free entrance to a swimming pool for women on special days, but not for men. This case was not classified as gender discrimination in the summary information, but the argumentation of the ombudsman could not be checked, since the documents describing the case were missing from the folders. A third case of the differential treatment of men and women appeared in the policy of the Governmental Fund for Regional Development (Kera), to offer investment subsidies only to female entrepreneurs. This case was not clearly classified as discrimination against men by the ombudsman, as the policy of the ombudsman is to advise organizations that temporary campaigns are not discrimination. The motive in the special free entrance for women, and the special advantages in investment subsidies, seems to be SBAM – the wish of the authorities to favor the disadvantaged gender, meaning the women.

The harassment of the customers of the public organization contained two complaints by women and one complaint by men. All of these were classified as "information given" (outcome class 3). The case in which a man felt harassed concerned the manner in which swimming halls use female cleaners in the dressing rooms of men. The complaints of women concerned the harassment of the customers during train passages (trains run by the national Finnish Railroad Company), and the harassment of female students by a teacher in a municipal school. The motive for the

potential harassment of men in dressing rooms seems to be connected to the reverse strategy, which assumes that men are the overly sexual gender – so that the presence of male cleaners in women's dressing rooms would mean harassment – while women are the less sexual gender which has higher morals, so that the presence of female cleaners in men's dressing rooms does not mean sexual harassment of the male customers (rating 5). For the potential harassment against women, sexism was also classified as a very likely motive (rating 5).

Public funding of recreational activities was a theme, which appeared in three potential cases of gender discrimination. The two complaints of women, referred to the discrimination of girls and women in the insufficient and unfair funding of horse riding and ringette. The potential discrimination in these cases seems to be connected to sexism, as the sports and teams of men and boys have traditionally been seen as more important than the activities of girls and women in the context of sports. The male complainant criticized the decision of the youth services division of a city to reserve one youth house (nuorisotalo) for women only. The most likely motive for this discrimination is SBAM, which emphasizes the need for giving special treatment to the disadvantaged gender.

The *treatment of customers by police* appeared in four cases of discrimination in the outcome types 3–5. In two cases, men felt that policemen had given them a higher traffic ticket than to a female driver, who had exceeded the speed limit by the same magnitude. The motive in this potential discrimination seems to be sexism, in the form of gentlemanly favoring of women. The two cases of potential discrimination against women concerned the disrespectful and rude treatment of female customers by the police.

8.3.4.4 Themes of discrimination, in which men formed the clear majority

The *treatment of customers within public healthcare* was a theme containing 19 cases of potential discrimination, all filed by men apart for one. In 15 cases, men complained about the policy of the Finnish National Pension Fund, which did not give subsidies for men's medicines for osteoporosis, while giving a subsidy for women's osteoporosis. The ombudsman

confirmed this as gender discrimination in two cases, and sent a copy of this statement to the other complainants. In two cases, men complained that women are provided with free public screenings for breast cancer, while men are not screened for prostate cancer. In one case, a man complained that his wife had been given a vaccination at the public vaccination center outside the official vaccination hours, while he had not been given this favorable treatment himself. The female complainant complained of the occupational health policy, according to which, women had to pay for gynecological treatments, while men were allowed to have urological examinations at the cost of the employer. The most likely reasons for the favorable treatment of female healthcare customers seemed to be sexism and reverse strategy, which can both be used for promoting the idea that more public funding should be devoted for improving women's health, compared to the improvement of men's health (see 7.4.4). Sexism may also be used for arguing that true men do not complain, even if they have health problems (see 7.2.3). Sexism and SBAM may also be used for arguing that women, who are the disadvantaged gender, should be favored in the treatment of healthcare customers (see 7.3). Yet, financial reasons were rated as the largest reason for the discrimination of men and women in the healthcare sector, pressuring the administrators and directors of finance to find out reasons for not paying too many subsidies (see 4.3).

The theme of *pensions and retirement age* contained 14 cases of discrimination against men in the outcome types 3–5, and two against women. Nine of these cases related to the policy of the Finnish National Pension Fund to give special "veteran's pension" to women, but not to men who had served at the frontier in unarmed tasks during the wars between Finland and Russia (1939–44). This was confirmed as gender discrimination by the equality ombudsman. Two other cases of discrimination concerned the fact that it used to be common that men had the retirement age of 65 years, while women retired at the age of 60. Although this policy had been noticed as discriminative a few years ago, the transition period was still going on in a manner which resulted in the continuation of the discrimination against some men. One woman complained about the lower retirement age for soldiers, compared to female office employees in the Finnish army. Another female complainant complained about not having received the veteran's pension during the war, despite having worked at the frontier. The motive for the

discrimination against men in the context of higher retirement age seems to have a strong connection to sexism (idea of men as the breadwinners). The cases concerning the granting of the veteran status to women, but not to unarmed men, may possibly be connected to sexism or to SBAM, as the initial motivation in the granting of the veteran's pension to women seems to have been in the elimination of discrimination against women, and as the memeplex of sexism supports the idea that unarmed men should not be called veterans of war.

The *treatment during or after divorce* was a theme in which mostly men complained about receiving unfair treatment by the social workers or by the courts in the handling of issues relating to divorce, custody, the right to meet the children after divorce, or the amount of payments paid to the ex-spouse. In this context, the potential discrimination of men seems to be connected with sexism, as it is one of the core memes of sexism that mothers are special to children, and that fathers should be satisfied with the role of a breadwinner (see 7.2.5). The potential discrimination of fathers, however, is also connected to the reverse strategy, according to which women are better than men in the care taking of children. In three cases, women complained about gender discrimination based on the fact that they were ordered to permit their ex husband to meet their children even though they had claimed in court that the father of the children is violent, and that the meetings of the husband and children should be organized in a controlled environment. In these cases, the motive for this potential discrimination of women was assumed to have a connection to masculism.

8.3.5 Discriminative Laws

8.3.5.1 Overview

The analysis of discriminative laws is important, as laws have an effect on everybody, and not just on an a few individuals. Their analysis is also important, as laws tend to be considered as "legal" by the usage of common sense. However, the modern legal perspective on laws recognizes the concept of a "discriminative law". This idea is based on international treaties which emphasize the priority of human rights over traditional

national legislation (Nousiainen & Pylkkänen 2001). Therefore, those laws that cause gender discrimination are also illegal, or at least, violations against international treaties. The themes in the context of discriminative laws were men's obligatory military service and other discriminative laws.

Discrimination in the context of legislation	M3	M4	M5	W3	W4	W5	Total 3-5	Men% Of 3-5
Men's military service	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	100 %
Other discriminative laws	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	0 %
Total	**9**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**12**	**75 %**

Table 48. Discriminative Legislation.

8.3.5.2 Description of the cases

Men's complaints of discriminative laws all related to the *Finnish military service*, which is obligatory for men, but not for women. The duration of the military service is 6–12 months, depending on the branch and the level of the training. However, men may also choose to replace the military service with a non-military "civil service" that has the duration of 13 months. The men, who refuse to perform the military and the civil service duty, are sentenced to prison for more than 6 months. The length of the prison sentence is equivalent to the length of imprisonment that a first time convict of young age usually receives for manslaughter in Finland (Kotro 2007, p. 77). If the length of the civil service is compared to such civil service that is sentenced in criminal court (instead of imprisonment), the 13 months of civil service are equivalent to the imprisonment of 7 years, using the general conversion principles used for converting imprisonment to civil service (Ibid p. 78). The reason for the long duration of the civil service and imprisonment is to keep these alternatives as sufficiently unattractive, so that not too many men choose them as an alternative to the military service. In a way, the imprisonment of 6 months and the civil service of 13 months indicate the "market price" for the military service, by being its substitutes.

The high price that men have to pay, if they wish to avoid the military service, is explained by the fact that military service is physically and mentally very demanding, and it also puts men's health at risk to some

extent. Potential risks are hearing injuries, caused by the insufficient usage of earplugs in combat exercises, and knee injuries, caused by the usage of uncomfortable kneeling positions, when instructions are given to privates by the officers.[140] Other health risks include deaths caused by the misusage or malfunctioning of old equipment – for example, men drowning into supposedly waterproof tanks, while crossing over lakes, or men dying in explosions during artillery practices. Young men are also frequently killed in car accidents as they leave the barracks for holiday, after a long period of deprivation of sleep in military exercises. The mental pressure on the men is severe, even during peacetime, as men who are used to individual thinking and human value are treated as cattle, and deprived of their privacy.[141] This mental pressure on men is considered as functional, as it acts as a test of the men's ability to tolerate mental pressure and stress. This mental pressure, however, makes a proportion of soldiers break down, or to show such symptoms of mental instability that they can not continue their training. The mental damage done to these men in the army is not compensated to the men in any manner.

Due to the disadvantaged position that the men are placed in, by the obligatory military service, the Finnish law concerning men's military service is classified as gender discrimination in this research (see definition 2.1.1). However, the Finnish constitution has a clause that states that "discrimination is not allowed without a good cause" (Finnish Constitution 2000, 6). This means that discrimination is permitted, if a good cause can be found. In the case of the obligatory military service for men, such a good cause seems to be based on the fact that it would be rather expensive to change the present system to an army that is based on paid, professional soldiers. This interpretation of a "good cause", however, is against international treaties and legal literature, according to which, economic causes can not be used as the legitimization of gender discrimination (Pellonpää 2000, 457–459, see Pentikäinen 2002 p. 81). Due to this analysis, I have classified the output of men's complaints about the military service to the category of "Either gender seems to be favored".

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140 These observations are based on my own experiences as a soldier in the Finnish army 1983–1984.

141 For example, in most barracks, the toilets have no doors in order to prevent men from escaping to toilets when "volunteers" for extra duties are searched for.

The motive for this discrimination seems to be strongly connected to sexism, which presents women as the care takers of children, while men are pictured as the breadwinners, and as the defenders of women and children. Men's obligatory military service is also somewhat connected to SBAM, as the extension of the obligatory military service also to women would harm the status of women, and as the removal of men's military service could possibly lower the safety of women or raise the tax burden of women (if a professional army were to be recruited). This connection to SBAM, however, is relatively weak as the Finnish NOW has suggested that legislators should consider totally ending the practice of men's obligatory military service. Also, in one article in the Tulva magazine of the NOW, the interviewer of the equality minister Tuula Haatainen, argued that men's obligatory military service is a form of sexist discrimination against men.

The theme *other discriminative laws* contained three cases of potential discrimination against women. In one case, a woman complained of the 14§ of the Conditioning Payment law (Kuntoutusrahalaki), which offers men and women compensation that is proportional to their income prior to the conditioning. Another case was a complaint about the fact that women can not apply to the civil service, which is an alternative for men's military service. The third case contained a complaint about the fact that the costs of maternity leave are divided between the state and the employer of the mother. The complainant wished for a system, in which the employer of the father of the child would also participate in the costs. All of these complaints by women, concerning discriminative legislation, were classified as potential discrimination (outcome type 3). Clear motives for these forms of discrimination could not be identified.

8.3.6 Diverse themes

8.3.6.1 Quantitative overview

The context "diverse" emerged as a collection of themes that did not fit under the contexts of the labor market, discrimination of customers, or discriminative laws. Out of the themes in the diverse context, the

themes concerning quotas and associations were dominated by women's complaints, while the complaints concerning gender discrimination in the media were mostly filed by men.

Discrimination in the diverse context	M3	M4	M5	W3	W4	W5	Total 3-5	Men% of 3-5
Quotas not met	1	0	1	16	0	6	24	8 %
Associations as discriminators	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0 %
Media and opinions	5	0	0	3	0	0	8	60 %
Unclear	3	0	1	4	0	0	8	50 %
Total	**9**	**0**	**2**	**26**	**0**	**6**	**43**	**33 %**

Table 49. Diverse Themes of Discrimination.

8.3.6.2 Themes of discrimination, in which women formed the clear majority

The most significant theme within the diverse context was formed of the complaints concerning the *gender quota of 40% that had not been met* in public decision making bodies. The complaints of women related typically to the decision making bodies in the fields of public finance or monetary policy (N=6), sports and recreation (N=3), technology and long term planning (N=3), military recruitment councils (N=2), and hunting and reindeer herding (N=2). The cases in which men were underrepresented among the decision makers, occurred in the field of social services (N=1) and healthcare (N=1). These figures contain only the cases in the outcome types 3–5. It seems likely that the low representation of women in the decision making bodies in the patriarchal sector was caused by masculine bias and sexism, while men's low representation in the matriarchal organizations was caused by sexism and the feminine bias.

Another theme in which women were more often discriminated was made of the *treatment of members in associations*. Two cases of potential discrimination against female members occurred in hunting clubs, which were claimed to give preferential treatment to male members. In one case, a woman complained about a sports association, which awarded more valuable prizes to men in competitions than to women. The most likely motives connected to these forms of discrimination seemed to be sexism and masculine bias.

8.3.6.3 Themes of discrimination, in which men formed the majority

Discrimination in media was a theme that was distinguished from advertisements, which was a theme positioned within the context of discrimination of the customers of enterprises. After this distinction, the complaints concerning the media mostly related to such writings, lyrics and campaigns, which were felt to put down either gender. One female complainant was offended by an article with the headline "Metal men valued highly – a hundred more metal men needed at the ship yard."[142] In another case, the complaint was about an interview in which a dance teacher told that "In dancing, it is the man who decides the pace". The third woman complained about the municipal advertising campaign with the theme "Live it up like gentlemen in Kuopio" (in Finnish: "Eläkää herroiksi Kuopiossa"). In all of these cases, sexism was rated as the most likely motive for this potential discrimination.

Men's complaints mostly referred to the negative stereotypes of men in the media (see 7.4). In one case, the complaint was about an article "Sexually infidelity is typical to all men". In another case, the complainant was offended by the lyrics of a song, which stated that "All men are pigs". A third case was a complaint about a campaign, which aimed to reduce intimate partnership violence against women, in a fashion that gave the impression that only men are violent and women are not. For all of these cases, reverse strategy was rated as the most likely motive, as this memeplex claims that women are morally superior and far less violent than men.

The theme "unknown" refers to such complaints, in which the topic of the complaint was not known (N=11). This appeared, for example, in those cases in which the summary of the complaint referred to some external decision or document, such as the statements or decisions made by the legal ombudsman of the parliament. In some other cases, the summary was so generic like "About the status of gender equality in Finland", or otherwise unclear that the topic of the complaint could not be reasoned. No potential motives for these cases were possible to identify.

142 In the Finnish language "metallimies" (metal man) refers to a male employee working in the field of the metal industry.

8.3.7 Combined themes

On top of the themes mentioned above, some cross contextual themes are also worth mentioning. One of these themes were the dressing codes, which appeared either for customers of enterprises, customers of the public administration, or for employees of organizations.

Theme	M3	M4	M5	W3	W4	W5	Total 3-5	Men% of 3-5
Dressing and accessories at work	1	2	0	0	1	0	4	75 %
Dressing standards for customers of private organizations	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	100 %
Dressing standards for administrative customers	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	100 %
TOTAL	**1**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**7**	**86 %**

Table 50. Gender Discrimination Concerning Dressing Standards.

In this combined theme, almost all cases in the outcome types 3–5 were filed by men. The dressing codes at work related to the requirement for not using shorts at work (although women were permitted the usage of shorts), or to the demand for men to wear very conservative clothes at work, while women were permitted more casual clothes. The dressing codes that discriminated against male customers of enterprises, related to the forbidding of men to wear shorts in a casino (while women were permitted to enter in shorts). The case of double standards, concerning the discrimination of the customers of the public administration, referred to the policy of school teachers to forbid boys from wearing a hat (pipo) during class, while girls were permitted to wear a scarf.

In these cases, the most likely motivation of discrimination seems to be sexism, which contains the idea that women's bodily parts should be exposed for men's looks, while men's bodies should be covered in a conservative manner. Another sexist meme that supports the double standards in dressing is the gentlemanship, which demands that men act in a gentlemanly manner, while permitting women to wear more comfortable clothes – especially if that means the exposing of women's bodies for men's gaze. These sexist double standards seem to receive some indirect support from SBAM and the reverse strategy, as the ombudsman's office did not consider them as gender discrimination. Using SBAM as an argument, one may conclude that dressing codes that discriminate against men are such a minor issue that they need not

be removed – at least, before women have gained equality in all of the more important issues. The reverse strategy may be used for arguing that women are the more beautiful gender, and therefore, it is only necessary that men are required to cover their hairy legs in casinos. Although these argumentations do not clearly fit the framework of main stream feminism, they may be seen as hang-around memes in the discourses of side-line feminists, or as coalition discourses between sexism and feminism.

8.4 Summarizing the Memetic Causes of Gender Discrimination

8.4.1 Review on the validity of the ratings on likely motives

The connection of potential motives to the cases of discrimination was a very difficult task and it may have been affected by the stand-point of the researcher in some way (see 1.4). One of the difficult motives to assess was the financial pressure. This was due to the fact that the financial pressures were most often caused by sexism, in such a fashion that the sexism of the customers or interest groups of organizations created the financial pressure for the organization to apply sexist policies. For example, the discrimination against mothers of small children by companies is caused by financial reasons, as mothers are more likely than fathers to take long parental leaves or to take care of sick children than men. This poses an economic burden on the employers of mothers with small children. This burden, however, is basically caused by sexism, which pressures women into the role of caretaker of children, while men are pressured away from this role, towards the role of a breadwinner. In this study, this dilemma was solved by classifying both financial reasons and sexism, as likely causes for the discrimination.

Another difficult motive to evaluate was the masculist bias, as this memeplexes is either rare in Finland, or it appears merged with general sexism, in those cases in which women are discriminated. Due to this evaluation problem, masculist bias was systematically rated as a relatively unlikely cause for the discrimination of women (rating 2), in all themes except for the counteractions by the employer (rating 5) and the treatment

of women after divorce (rating 4). The rating of the likelihood and significance of the feminist memeplexes SBAM and reverse strategy was easy and difficult at the same time. It was relatively easy to form general rating rules for these memeplexes, but the analysis of their significance in individual cases was more difficult. According to the general rating rules, SBAM, meaning the belief in the need of organizations to favor women in all contexts, plays at least some role in all the discrimination against men in Finland. The real significance of SBAM, however, was more difficult to estimate, except for those cases which contained explicit reference to positive action or to positive discrimination. In a similar fashion, the reverse strategy, meaning the belief that "women are better in many ways but men are not better than women in any ways" was found as a potential cause in all the discrimination of men in the matriarchal subsystem, as difference feminism emphasizes the differences between men and women and claims that women are better than men in some specific tasks – which are usually located within the sphere of femininity, and within the matriarchal subsystem of the society (see 6.4). Despite this general rule, the individual cases were more difficult to connect to the reverse strategy, meaning that the general rating was altered only in a relatively few cases and themes. For example, the potential discrimination of men in the context of divorce and custody was connected with the reverse strategy as a somewhat likely motive.

The feminine bias and masculine bias were easy to rate in a consistent manner, as they were rated in such a fashion that masculine bias was assumed to have a high relevance in the discrimination of women in the patriarchal subsystem of the society, while the feminine bias was assumed to play an important role in the discrimination of men in the matriarchal subsystem of the society. Due to these challenges to the rating of the likelihood of potential causes and motives of discrimination, the results in this chapter have a limited validity. Still, they give some tentative results of the relative significance and commonness of alternative motives.

8.4.2 The median values of motives in the different themes

In order to show the motives of discrimination in a way that differentiates between sexism against women and sexism against men, the following

analysis is divided in such a fashion that the motives of discrimination against women and against men are shown separately. The table below shows the median motive ratings for all the evaluated motives and for all the themes of discrimination.

Context and theme	Men					Women			
	Fem. bias	SBAM	Reverse strategy	Sex-ism	Fi-nan cial	Sex-ism	Mas-culin e bias	Mas-culist bias	Fi-nan cial
Labor market									
Counteractions	-	-	-	-		**5**	**5**	**5**	1
Dressing and accessories at work	3	4	3	**5**	3	**5**	**5**	2	3
Harassment at work	3	3	1	**5**	1	**5**	4	2	1
Multiple forms of discrimination	-	-	-	**-**	-	**4,5**	4	2	1
Pregnancy or parenthood	3	3	2	**4**	3	4	3	2	**5**
Recruitment announcements	1	1	1	**5**	1	**5**	**5**	2	2
Recruitment discrimination	3	3	3	3	2	**5**	3	2	2
Recruitment forms (pregnancy)	-	-	-	-	-	**5**	**5**	2	**5**
Research stipends	-	-	-	-	-	**5**	**5**	2	2
Termination of work contract	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	2	3
Treatment at work	3	**4**	3	3	3,5	**5**	**5**	2	1
Wage discrimination	3	3	3	3	2	**5**	3	2	2
Treatment of administrative customers									
Being represented by one's spouse	-	-	**-**	-	-	**5**	2	2	1
Discrimination by police	1	4	3	**5**	1	**5**	**5**	2	1
Harassment of customers	3	2	3	**4**	3	**5**	**5**	2	1
Healthcare customer discriminated	**5**	4	4	4	**5**	2	1	2	**5**
Public monetary benefits other than pensions	**4**	**4**	3	**4**	**4**	3	3	2	**4**
Other treatment of the customers of public organizations	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	1
Pensions and retirement	4	4	3	**5**	4	**4**	3	2	**4**
Funding of recreational activities	4	**5**	3	2	1	**5**	3	2	2
Selection for public training	**5**	**5**	3	2	2	**5**	3	2	1
Treatment during or after divorce	**5**	3	**5**	**5**	1	1	1	**4**	1
Treatment of customers by enterprises									
Advertisements	3	**5**	2	1	**5**	**5**	**5**	2	**5**
Dressing codes for customers	2	4	4	**5**	**5**	-	-	-	-
Other discr. of the customers	4	4	4	**5**	**5**	**5**	3	2	2
Pricing by enterprises	3	**5**	3	**5**	**5**	**5**	3	2	**5**
Tailored products or marketing campaigns	1	4	2	**5**	**5**	3	3	2	**4**
Discriminative legislation									
Men's obligatory military service	3	4	3	**5**	**5**	-	-	-	-
Other discriminative laws	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	2	2
Diverse									
Associations	-	-	-	-	-	**5**	**5**	2	2
Media and opinions	3	3	**5**	3	1	**5**	3	2	2
Quotas not met	**4**	2	3,5	**4**	1	**5**	3	2	2
Unclear	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2

Table 51. Summarizing the Memetic Causes of Gender Discrimination.

Sexism appeared among the most likely reasons in 15 themes of the discrimination against men. The usage of sexism as an argument for the

discrimination of men was based on the idea that men are the *tougher and stronge*r gender (e.g. men's obligatory military service), the *breadwinners* (e.g. higher retirement ages), the more a*mbitious and impatient* gender (not suitable for dull jobs), the *less beautiful* gender (double standards in dressing codes), the *less caring and loving* gender (treatment in the context of divorce and in the handling of parental leaves), the *more irresponsible* gender (treatment by police, and the stereotypes presented in the media), and the *sexually more active* gender (higher prices for men in dating services and in restaurants).

Feminine bias was among the most likely causes of the discrimination of men in six themes, measured by the median rating for the likelihood of the feminine bias. The themes were "healthcare customer discriminated" (by healthcare), "other public monetary benefits than pensions" (given by social services or by the National Pensions Fund), "selection for public training" (by employment agencies), and "treatment during or after divorce" (by the social services).

The feminist memeplex SBAM, according to which *women are the discriminated gender and therefore all decision makers should try to advance the status of women*, appeared among the most likely causes of discrimination against men in seven themes. This means that this memeplex can be used very flexibly to legitimize all kinds of the favoring of women, and discrimination of men. These themes were "Treatment at work" (positive action), "Other public monetary benefits other than pensions" (positive action), "Public funding of recreational activities" (positive action), "Selection for public training" (positive action), "Advertisements" (reversed gender roles, usage of nude men), and "Pricing by enterprises" (discounts to women). Although positive action, in its limited sense, is permitted only in those contexts in which women are the disadvantaged gender, the ideology of positive action may easily slip into reverse discrimination, which appears in all contexts, also in the ones in which women are the privileged or equally positioned gender.

The *reverse strategy* appeared among the most likely causes of discrimination in two themes, which were "Treatment during or after divorce" and "Media and opinions". Within both themes, the discrimination of men could be based either on the glorification of women (and mothers), or on the severe criticism of men (and fathers).

Financial motives were among the most likely causes of discrimination against men in eight themes, especially in the context of the treatment of customers of the public organizations or private enterprises. Such themes included "Healthcare customer discriminated", "Other public monetary benefits other than pensions", "Advertisements", "Dressing codes for customers", "Pricing by enterprises", "Tailored products or marketing campaigns" and "Other discrimination of the customers of enterprises". The discriminative law concerning men's obligatory military service also had a strong connection to financial reasons, as the maintenance of the system of obligatory military service saves huge amounts of money for the state compared to an army of professional soldiers.

When analyzing the motives of discrimination against women, *sexism* seems to be among the main reasons, as it appeared as the most significant motive in 23 themes, measured by median ratings. In these themes, discrimination seems to have been based on the stereotype of women, as the less ambitious gender (requiring less salary, fewer career advancements), the less technical gender (recruitment), the less intellectual gender (research stipends), the caretakers of children (risks of disturbances to career), the less important and less sportive gender (lower funding of sportive hobbies, lower prizes from competitions), and the "sex object gender" (target for harassment and to objectifications in advertisements).

Another significant motive for the discrimination of women is the *masculine bias*, which appeared among the most likely causes in 10 themes. These themes related to the discrimination of women within the male dominated fields of the society (see 6.4). *Financial reasons* appeared among the most likely motives in 8 themes. In these cases and themes, the financial benefit of discrimination was mostly based on the sexism of the society, for example, on the sexism of the potential clients, or on the sexist traditions, which positioned women as the more likely care takers of children than men. In some cases, however, financial reasons appeared with a weaker connection to sexism. In the context of the labor market, the financial reason was usually related to the attempt of the employer to avoid the costs of parental leaves, and in private enterprises, financial reasons were used in a systematic manner for reducing the need for public subsidies to citizens. The financial motives also seemed dominant in the marketing of some products to men only (e.g. aerobic), and in the usage of differential pricing for men and women (e.g. haircuts).

According to the memeplex of masculist bias "men need to actively defend themselves against the coalition of women and the state". This memeplex was difficult to identify, as it seemed to mostly merge with general male sexism. However, the connection appeared clearer in two themes. In the theme of "Counteractions", masculist bias seems to have played an important role as the employers might have wished to fight against the coalition of women and the state, trying to "beat the equality law" with the counteractions against the complainant. In the theme of "Treatment during or after divorce", the cases related to the need of women to allow their ex-husband to meet the children, despite a history of violence against children or the ex-wife. In this case, the masculist bias may be seen as a motive for demanding men the right to meet the children, and for the policy of forcing women to allow ex-husbands to have meetings with their children, despite the history of violence.

8.4.3 The appearance and frequency of the motives

The above analysis did not take the frequency of the different themes into account. Therefore, the motives, within some very small themes, may have been given a disproportionately high relevance. In order to view the relative significance of the motives from another angle, the amount of appearances for all the complaints with the outcome type 3–5 and a motive rating 4–5, was counted for all contexts.

	Reasons for the discrimination of men					Reasons for the discrimination of women			
Context	Feminine bias	SBAM	Reverse strategy	Sexism	Finan- cial	Sexism	Mas- culine bias	Mas- culist bias	Fi- nan- cial
Labor market	34	23	30	39	5	236	102	3	51
Treatment of administrative customers	44	35	25	43	35	17	6	5	9
Treatment of customers by enterprises	6	23	7	18	22	13	8	-	12
Discriminative legislation	-	9	-	9	9	-	-	-	-
Diverse	2	-	5	2	-	5	9	-	-
TOTAL	86	90	67	111	71	294	125	8	72

Table 52. Comparing the Frequency of Alternative Causes for Gender Discrimination (ratings 4-5).

If we assume that the ratings of motives are valid, we can conclude that sexism was the most frequent cause for the discrimination of women in the research data (N=294), although both the masculine bias (N=125) and financial reasons (N=72) also played an important role. For men, there seem to be five alternative and co-existing causes for gender discrimination. Although sexism (N=111) is the most significant one, all other causes also play an important role. The appearance of the feminine bias as a motive (N=86) is almost as high as the appearance of sexism. When evaluating the significance of the feminist memeplexes SBAM and the reverse strategy, we may note that they, together, formed a more common motive for the discrimination of men than sexism did alone.

Due to the problems with the validity of the ratings, it might be worth concentrating only on those cases, which were given the likelihood rating 5 (very likely) for some of the motives. This is done in Table 53, which shows that the relative frequency of the feminist memeplexes SBAM and the reverse strategy is now reduced, so that they appear as relatively insignificant causes for the discrimination against men, compared to sexism (N=74) and the feminine bias (N=66). In the causes for the discrimination against women, the relative frequency of the masculist bias as a cause, drops almost to zero (N=3), if only the cases with a rating of 5 (very likely) are summarized. In other ways, the relative frequencies of the motives resemble the ones in the previous table.

Context	Reasons for the discrimination of men					Reasons for the discrimination of women			
	Fem. Bias	SBAM	Reverse strategy	Sexism	Financial	Sexism	Masculine bias	Masculist bias	Financial
Labor market	34	2	7	38	1	194	102	3	45
Treatment of administrative customers	29	5	4	12	19	15	6	0	1
Treatment of customers by enterprises	1	13	11	13	22	13	7	0	11
Discriminative legislation	-	-	-	9	9	-	-	0	-
Diverse	2	-	-	2	-	21	9	0	-
TOTAL	66	20	11	74	51	243	124	3	57

Table 53. Comparing the Frequency of Alternative Causes for Gender Discrimination (rating 5).

In total, the study of the motives of gender discrimination and their frequencies supported the hypothesis that the discrimination of men is not

only caused by sexism: The feminine bias and some parts of the feminist ideology also seem to have a causal connection to the discrimination of men. Yet, the results of the analysis of motives may also be interpreted, in such a fashion that the masculine bias is two times more a common problem in the Finnish society compared to the feminine bias, and that sexism alone harms women substantially more than sexism and feminism together harm men.

8.5 Summary

This chapter described the results of a study, in which 800 complaints to the Finnish equality ombudsman were analyzed. The purpose of the study was to get an improved qualitative and quantitative understanding of the appearance and causes of the discrimination against men. The first fundamental finding in the study was that **33% of gender discrimination** seems to appear against men, if potential, likely and confirmed cases are counted together. This result may be compared to the results of the Finnish equality barometer, according to which **25% of those respondents**, who had felt discriminated in the labor market due to their gender, were men. These figures give a good picture of the relative frequency of gender discrimination against men. They seem to produce an anomaly to the radical feminist paradigm of women's studies, according to which, women are *the* discriminated gender. They also challenge the Finnish equality policy, which is targeted almost completely for the improvement of women's status.

   As predicted by the general theory of gender discrimination, the cases of discrimination were strongly segregated, according to the field of the organizational activity. Within the matriarchal fields of organizational activity, male employees seem to have a **3–9 times higher** chance of facing gender discrimination than female employees. In the patriarchal subsystem of the society, female employees have over twenty times higher chance of being discriminated against than male employees. The general theory also predicted that alpha males tend to treat beta males in a somewhat harsh manner, while females are likely to be given favorable treatment. The study gives some support to this hypothesis, as Finnish men seem to have a **2 times higher** chance of being discriminated in issues concerning the

treatment of customers, both by private and public organizations. Even in the patriarchal organizations, 36% of the discriminated customers seem to be men. This means that the gentlemanly favoring of women in patriarchal organizations almost balances the masculine bias that appears in these organizations.

The proportion of women out of the discriminated seems to be highest in the context of the labor market. The study finds support for the hypothesis that the public sector is more female friendly than the private sector. However, the study also indicates that private organizations are less likely to discriminate against women than the autonomous public institutes such as the municipal coalitions (kuntayhtymät ja kuntien kehitysyhtiöt) and educational institutes. This supports the hypothesis that the lack of market mechanisms, combined with weak democratic control, delegate all decision making power to men's fraternity networks in the patriarchal fields of activity.

When analyzing the reasons of gender discrimination, it seems that sexism, patriarchy and financial reasons explain almost all the cases of discrimination against women. For men, the reasons for discrimination are more complicated. Although sexism and matriarchy seem to explain a lot of the discrimination against male employees and customers, feminism is also a potential cause for the discrimination against men. Examples of feminist discrimination appear in the privileges given to female customers by public organizations and associations, and in the feminist discrimination of male job candidates. Financial reasons seem to also be a notable motive for the discrimination against men, although in most cases, it is entangled with sexism, in such a fashion that the removal of sexist attitudes would remove the financial rationality of the discrimination against men.

The study also revealed that men often complain of such issues that the equality ombudsman systematically refuses to handle. One of these topics is the Finnish military service, which is obligatory for men while at the same time being voluntary for women. Another topic is the discrimination of men in the context of divorce and custody. Misandry and misogyny in the media also formed a theme, in which most complainants were men, and which was not handled by the ombudsman, due to a lack of resources. The study also revealed that in some cases, the ombudsman uses radical

feminist rhetorics for arguing that the discriminative treatment of male customers is not actually gender discrimination. In one case, for example, the equality ombudsman did not want to state that special discounts to women are gender discrimination, based on the argument that the *purpose of the equality law is to advance the status of women, primarily in the labor market*. In another case, the ombudsman claimed that discounts to female customers on boat cruises are actually positive action, in order to advance the status of the disadvantaged gender. These findings suggest that there may be a small but systematic bias against men in the Finnish equality law and in the way that complaints are handled and classified by the ombudsman's office. This means that the research data may be slightly biased against men, and show a disproportionately low degree of discrimination against men.

9 Summary of Contributions

9. 1 Contributions to Discourse Analysis and Memetics

The first theoretical contribution of the work was the *synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution* (chapter 4), which claims that societies, cultures and organizations evolve and change due to the combined effects of economic, reproductive, coercive and cognitive selection. According to the model, the evolution of societies and cultures, on the macro level, is understood best as competition between alternative political, religious and scientific paradigms, memeplexes and discourses. On the micro level, however, evolution is a much more chaotic process, in which theoretical and complicated memes tend to degenerate into simplified, exaggerated and mutated memes. These micro level memes or discursive elements have lost their original context. They enjoy popularity, not because of their validity, but because of their social attractiveness. The macro level and micro level are interconnected, as the higher level discourses, memeplexes and paradigms act as memetic filters, which filter out pieces of anomalous data, in order to protect the higher level memeplexes from destructive changes. These processes of macro and micro level evolution are also highly dependent on the ability of social groups to cumulate power and to create discourses, paradigms and memes that serve their interests. This shaping of the discourses by social groups may be intentional, but the unintentional mutations, simplifications and exaggerations can also explain a large part of the biasing of the paradigms and discourses promoted by social interest groups.

This theory shows that discourse analysis and memetics alone, are not sufficient for describing and predicting sociocultural evolution. *Discourse analysis*, to some extent, tends to ignore the cognitive and social psychological limits of people, which drive the evolution of memeplexes (discourses) and memes (discursive elements) towards the generation of biases, due to the mutation, simplification, exaggeration, and filtering of memes. Discourse analysis is also often concentrated too much on the macro level memes like discourses, and not enough on the intertextual diffusion of small discursive elements. Due to this tendency, discourse analysis has failed to develop methods that measure the popularity and

frequency of some specific memes. The lack of emphasis on the small or "atomic" memes has also meant that discourse analysis has not developed methods for drawing out the content of larger memeplexes such as discourses and paradigms – or for showing their intertextual linkages between different discourses. The theory of sociocultural evolution, and its usage for the analysis of feminism and sexism, has shown that memeplex diagrams can act as a good tool for the deconstruction and reconstruction of discourses. In *memetics*, one of the greatest problems is the dispute between the externalists, who perceive memes as cultural elements, and the internalists, who see memes as mental constructions. The synthetic theory of the sociocultural evolution solves this problem by showing how the mental memes manifest themselves into cultural memes, which may then be interpreted by other people back to mental memes. The theory also adds sociostructural memes as a new category of memes. With these categories and concepts, memetics can be integrated with sociology and discourse analysis, making use of all advancements achieved in these fields. After this integration, it is possible to use the Marxist and Althusserian arguments to show that cultural and sociostructural memes can reproduce with very high fidelity from one generation to another, although some critics of memetics have claimed that this is impossible. The memeplex diagrams shown in chapter 7, may prove to be a useful tool in the study of memetics.

9.2 Contributions to Gender Studies and Sociology

Gender studies and sociology tend to promote a relatively popular paradigm, which perceives some social groups as dominators, while others are seen as oppressed or disadvantaged (e.g. Bourdieu 2001). The *synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution* and the *general theory of gender discrimination* show that this perspective is too simplified. The discourses, which differentiate social groups like men and women from each other, tend to lead to the horizontal segregation of the society, in such a fashion that all social groups gain spaces, niches or contexts, in which they are superior compared to other social groups. For example, the differentiation of men and women, in most cultures, has led to the dominance of men in the discourses and contexts that relate to defense, industry and trade, while women tend to

dominate in the discourses and tasks related to childcare, home, care taking, and human relations. This means that some sectors and contexts of the society may become very patriarchal, whilst others can develop a matriarchal and femininely biased culture, and a set of practices that discriminate against men. This discrimination refers not only to structural discrimination, but also to direct and indirect gender discrimination.

According to the general theory of gender discrimination, the discrimination of men and women in the sphere of the opposite gender is the main principle, but this is complicated by the tendency of alpha males and females to discriminate the lower status betas of their own gender. These processes of alpha discrimination against the betas, connect the discourses of gender studies and sociology to sociobiological discourses, which have identified several motives for alphas to put down the betas (see 5.7).

This thesis has not only developed an improved theory of gender discrimination. On top of that, it also examined the empirical validity of the theory. The hypotheses of the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution were given support by the analysis of the paradigms of sexism, feminism and welfare state ideology. All of these ideologies were found to contain discursive elements and memeplexes, which can be used for the discrimination of men, or for the raising of hatred against men. In most cases, the discriminative and misandric elements appeared in the theoretical periphery of the paradigms, just as the synthetic theory of sociocultural evolution predicted. In the main empirical study of the thesis, the general theory of gender discrimination received support by the empirical findings, which showed that men have a clearly higher chance of facing gender discrimination in the matriarchal subsystem of the society than women (see 8.2.3–8.2.4). The empirical study also gave some tentative evidence of the causal role of some sexist and feminist memes in the emergence of discrimination against men.

9.3 Contributions to Administrative Sciences

The thesis connects to administrative sciences in three major perspectives, which are the study of *power and dominance*, the study of *organizational evolution*, and the study of *public policy formation.*

The study of power and dominance in administrative sciences is a very diffuse field of dozens of conflicting definitions of power. Some definitions of power and dominance have a high resemblance with the simplified Marxist models of dominance described in the previous chapter, while others perceive power as a relation between two interactors, or as a network of dependencies between interactors. This thesis solves the problem of power by concentrating not on power, but on the resources or sources of power. According to the model, those social actors that manage to cumulate more power resources than others are able to achieve a dominant position. This means, that they gain the potential to dominate and discriminate others. According to the model, the total power resources of a social group are made of its (wo)manpower, political and managerial positions of power, social resources of power, and positions of authority (e.g. academic positions), which can all be quantitatively measured. On top of that, social interactors may also have qualitative resources such as discursive, symbolic and normative resources of power. In an empirical analysis of the distribution of these resources to men and women in Finland, it was seen that power resources are also horizontally segregated: In some sectors of the society, men have a clear dominance over all the significant resources of power, while in social services; healthcare and equality policy, women seem to control almost all the resources of power. This means that Finland is divided into a patriarchal subsystem and a matriarchal subsystem. The horizontal segregation of power also acts as a wider hypothesis: One can predict that all welfare states tend to contain a patriarchal and matriarchal subsystem. As predicted by the general theory of gender discrimination, this would also mean that all welfare states tend to discriminate women in the patriarchal subsystem, while men are at a risk of facing discrimination by those organizations that belong to the matriarchal subsystem of the society. In the context of the Finnish society, this hypothesis gained strong support in the empirical study of the complaints sent to the equality ombudsman: In male dominated organizations, the female employees were at a significantly higher risk of being discriminated against than men, and in female dominated organizations the men were at a higher risk. These findings, however, may be partly explained by the perceptions of employees. It is possible that men in female dominated organizations interpret all mistreatment more easily as gender discrimination than the female employees of

these organizations. In a similar fashion, the concentration of women's complaints of gender discrimination in male dominated organizations may be partly explained by the women's own interpretations.

The study of organizational evolution contains different branches, which emphasize economic selection, organizational cultures, or organizational learning. The problem with these traditions is that they have not gained a strong reputation, popularity and methodology in the field of administrative sciences. For example, the population ecologists (e.g. Aldrich & McKelvey) and scholars of evolutionary economics (e.g. Nelson & Winter) already created the cornerstones of the theory in the 1980s, but their ideas have not been widely applied in administrative sciences. Even after the integration of the theories of paradigms and memeplexes to the theory of organizational evolution and learning (see de Jong 1999), the ideas of organizational evolution still have not made a break through. This work may help the study of organizational evolution by creating a large and coherent theory of sociocultural evolution, which specifies the connection of memes, memeplexes, paradigms, discourses and different selection and learning processes to each other. This thesis also table tested the theory in a couple of empirical studies, showing the significance of memetic drift, mutations, simplifications, exaggerations and memetic filtering in the context of feminism and the femocratic organizations of the welfare states.

The study of the public policy formation already contains a long tradition of the analysis of the activities of pressure groups, such as lobbying, propaganda, and information warfare. This work studied the public policy formation especially in the context of equality policy, and showed that the processes of propaganda and information warfare have a high relevance in this context as the formulation of the equality policy, at least in Finland, is shaped by a corporative network of interconnected interest group organizations, which mostly promote a feminist paradigm. The thesis challenges the old rationalist paradigm of the public policy formulation by claiming that the equality policy is not created by a simple democratic process in which parties promote important issues that the voters support, and then formulate the equality policy into governmental policy papers. Instead, the Finnish equality policy seems to be formulated by women's organizations, faculties of women's studies, and by international organizations, which place pressure on the Finnish

government and ministries. Due to the non-democratic elements of the equality policy, the primary objective of the equality policy in Finland is not to advance gender equality, but to advance women's status. The study showed that the Finnish equality policy is based on the simplified discourses which picture women as *the* disadvantaged gender and men as *the* dominant and privileged gender. This feminist bias in the equality policy tends to hide the concentration of power to women, and the risk of men to face gender discrimination in the matriarchal subsystem of the society. Due to this emphasis in the improvement of women's status, the Finnish equality policy has failed to recognize men's problems, and men are invited to the formulation of the equality policy only in order to help in the advancement of women's status. This bias in the formulation of the equality policy resembles the concentration of bias into the agrarian cluster of the Finnish society in the 1970s and 1980s, when the interest group organizations of agricultural producers controlled the public policy formation, concerning the pricing of agricultural products and the public subsidies to agricultural producers.

The empirical studies contained only a relatively few examples of the feminist bias in the public administration of other countries. Yet, the results of the study can be used as a hypothesis concerning the feminist and femocratic bias in the public administration of all the other welfare states.

9.4 Implications to the equality policy on the EU level, and predictions about the future of gender discrimination in the welfare states

The study began with statistics, which show that most welfare states are advancing towards the status of a modern welfare state, meaning a society, in which women have a high share of political and managerial power and in which marriage is no longer an institution that ties women to the role of a housewife (Walby 2001). For example in Finland, this has led to a society in which women hold the presidency of the state and Supreme Court, and have 60% of ministerial positions in the government. Yet, the modern welfare states still promote the international feminist discourses, which picture women as the discriminated, disadvantaged and oppressed gender – while men are given the subject position of a privileged

oppressor. In these feminist discourses, women are also perceived as *the* (only) victims of intimate partner violence, although statistics suggest that 30–50% of the victims are male and that in younger age groups, the proportion of male victims may actually be over 50%.

If the fundamental assumption of women as *the* disadvantaged and discriminated gender is not challenged in the public administration of the welfare states, the evolution of modern welfare states is likely to lead to the expansion of the matriarchal subsystem of the society, and to the gender mainstreaming of femocracy to all sectors of the public administration. This scenario may lead to the institutionalization of double standards in favor of women in public policy, and to the spreading of feminine bias and subtle forms of misandry to most sectors of the public administration. In this scenario, women's organizations and the femocrats of the public administration nullify and ignore the discrimination and violence against men, and claim that the central purpose of the equality policy should still be the advancement of women's status – not the advancement of gender equality. However, it is also possible that the discourses of the equality policy could adopt the idea that men may also face direct, indirect and structural gender discrimination. This scenario is likely to contain the idea that the discrimination against women is a more serious issue, but that that equality policy should also aim at the locating and ending of the discrimination against men. Traces of this male friendly scenario are found in the discourses of the European Social Fund (euroopan sosiaalirahasto), which systematically speaks of the advancement of the status of the *disadvantaged gender or underrepresented gender* in each specific context – hinting that women are not necessarily *the* disadvantaged gender in all cases.

The implications and effects of this thesis to the equality policy in the welfare states may include the strengthening of the alternative male friendly paradigm of the equality policy. For example, it is possible that public administrators will realize the structural discrimination against men as a gender issue – and not just as part of the traditional gender insensitive part of the social policy and healthcare. In a similar fashion, unquestioned traditions such as men's obligatory military service may be recognized as direct gender discrimination and as a breach of international treaties, as these treaties do not permit the discrimination of any social group even when based on economic reasons. This can mean that equality laws and even constitutions may have to be changed: For

example, in Finland, the constitution permits gender discrimination "if there is a good reason". Based on such arguments, the equality laws of several European countries permit the obligatory military service of young men, as the high costs of a professional army are considered a "good reason" to put men in a disadvantaged position in the context of men's obligatory military service.

This thesis may also lead to the questioning of some unquestioned truths of the equality policy and women's studies. For example, according to a common belief, women have a "double burden", as they have to work in the labor market and simultaneously, take the main responsibility of domestic work. These discourses ignore the fact that in most western European countries, men with small children have less free time than their spouses. In chapter 7.3, some other similar myths of women's oppressed status were also identified and spotted even in official documents of the equality policy. Although such beliefs that hide the equality problems of men seem to be promoted by several feminists and scholars of women's studies, the field of feminism is very diverse and also contains male friendly branches, which question the more radical, misandric and discriminative discourses.

9.5 Suggestions for Additional Research

The study has opened several paths towards additional research, as it has presented extremely widely applicable theories and compared them to empirical reality in a couple of empirical studies. The most fruitful topics for additional research appear in the *theoretical advancement* of discourse analysis, memetics, sociology, administrative sciences and gender studies, and in the *empirical research* on the following topics.

The empirical results concerning the matriarchal subsystem of Finland and its tendency to discriminate against men require some additional studies in other countries, to confirm the hypothesis of the co-existence of patriarchy and matriarchy in modern welfare states. Such studies seem to be easiest in those countries, which have an institution such as the equality ombudsman, which records and files all complaints concerning gender discrimination. The results of Finland, showing that about 33% of the complainants are men, and that the discrimination against male employees is 3–9 times more likely than discrimination of women in the

organizations of the matriarchal subsystem, act as a good starting point. These sources of information may be combined with survey studies, which measure men's and women's feelings of discrimination: In Finland, 25% of the ones who reported experiences of gender discrimination at work were men in the governmental Equality Barometer study. These results were also strongly segregated according to the field of the employer. A third type of empirical data that should be studied to verify the results of this study, is made of the discrimination complaints and statistics collected by labor unions. For example, according to Ailus (2008), about 50% of the cases concerning the discriminative treatment against the members of the employee union Jyty, referred discrimination against male employees. This is statistically a very surprising result, since 90% of the members of Jyty are female. This indicates that the files of the labor unions could possibly reveal, that male employees in these highly matriarchal organizations have a ten times higher chance of being discriminated than female employees.

Another important target for additional studies is the discrimination of men in criminal court, and as customers of the law enforcement system in general. Although literature contains references to studies and statistics which suggest that men are systematically discriminated in criminal courts, the quality and reliability of these references and studies is not sufficient for proving that this phenomenon appears in most countries, or in most welfare states. Therefore, additional research is required.

This thesis has also shown half a dozen memeplexes and coalition discourses that promote the discrimination of men in the context of custody disputes. This forms a strong basis for the hypothesis, according to which, men are systematically discriminated in custody disputes, not only in Finland, but also in other welfare states. In order to test this hypothesis, it would be necessary to measure the attitudes, beliefs and memes of social workers with surveys and interviews, and then connect this information to the actual decisions made by these social workers in the context of custody and divorce. These studies would then continue on the footsteps of some existing qualitative studies in the field of social work, maternity care, and healthcare (e.g. Forsberg 1995, Vuori 2001, and Antikainen 2004, p. 3). However, they might also advance the topic towards a more quantitative point of view, in order to test the hypothesis concerning the effects of misandric memes on discriminative administrative practices.

Sources

The following list of sources presents the primary sources in **bold** and the secondary sources in normal text. The purpose of this distinction is to warn readers not to quote secondary sources without checking with the original source. Without this, the use of secondary references could lead to the use of tertiary references etc. causing a risk of misinterpretations and memetic mutations. Another important feature of the list of references is the marking of non-scientific sources with *italics*. These sources have been judged necessary to illustrate the development of mental and cultural representations (memeplexes), especially in chapter 7.

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