Men against violence
Analysis of social awareness campaigns in Poland

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Men against violence. Analysis of social awareness campaigns in Poland

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**Abstract**  
This thesis addresses gender, masculinities and intimate partner violence in Poland. More specifically, the aim of this study is to problematize how masculinities are represented in Polish anti-violence social campaigns. Intimate partner violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women and is a major problem that affects both men and women in Poland. The study approaches violence from a feminist position, and considers men's violence to be an important element constructing masculinities. In the study, social campaigns are considered as policies which have a great potential to influence existing masculinities types and to introduce new, non-violent models of being a man. With the use of Bacchi’s “What’s the problem represented to be?” method and an intersectional perspective on gender and masculinities, Polish anti-violence campaigns are analysed to find out if they reproduce and/or challenge any social assumptions regarding men’s violence. The study found that even though campaigns challenged some of the existing masculinities types, they also referred to existing discourses of men as protectors, providers and fighters. Final conclusions underline the need for awareness social campaigns directed towards men and with men as role models. Refraining from the use of masculinities connected with heroism and dominance, aggression and violence is recommended.

**Keywords**  
men, violence, role model, masculinities, social campaigns
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**Introduction**

Across member countries of the Council of Europe, one-fifth to one-quarter of all women have experienced physical violence at least once during their adult lives, and more than one-tenth have suffered from sexual violence involving the use of force (Hegemann-White, 2006). Figures for all forms of violence, including stalking, are as high as 45% (Hegemann-White, 2006). Recent research commissioned by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights showed that one in 20 women in the EU have been raped since the age of 15, and more than 13 million women have experienced physical violence in the course of the 12 months before the survey (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014b). Intimate partner violence (IPV)\(^1\) is one of the most common forms of violence against women and “is a major social and public health problem that affects men and women across the globe regardless of their culture, religion and other demographic characteristics” (Ali and Naylor 2013:373). Violence is also considered an economic problem. In the EU itself in 2011 costs of gender violence were estimated at EUR 228 billion, which constitutes 1.8% of the EU gross domestic product (European Parliament, 2014).

IPV is a gendered problem (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Hearn, 1999; Hunnicutt, 2009) and a result of social norms and expectations. In case of men, violence is a learned behaviour and it still constitutes a decisive element of manliness (Hearn, 1998). That is why overcoming the gender violence problem requires men’s engagement, especially bearing in mind that perpetrators of IPV are,  

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\(^1\) Intimate Partner Violence is defined by WHO as “any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship” (L. Heise & García-Moreno, 2012, p. 89). IPV, in contrast to domestic violence, does not include elderly or minors as victims of violence.
almost exclusively, men. This assumption is not only established in literature (Hearn, 2001; Stanley, Fell, Miller, Thomson, & Watson, 2012) but also in international documents and strategies on gender equality. At a European level the European Union Commission’s Strategy for Equality between Women and Men 2010-2015 states that “gender equality needs the active contribution, support and participation of men, and policies should also address gender-related inequalities that affect boys/men” (European Comission 2010: 32). Men are the problem, men experience the problems, but at the same time they can create solutions and are a solution. This thesis shows how gender, masculinities and violence are constructed in social campaigns against IPV in the Polish setting. It looks specifically at campaigns that present men either as the problem, the solution, or both.

Outline of the study
Following the introduction, the text is divided into five main sections: theory, methodology, background, analysis and conclusions. The Theory section presents Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities which serve as the main framework for this work. It also discusses concepts of gender, violence against women, masculinities, hegemonic masculinities and patriarchy. The Methodology section provides information on methods and procedures used in this research study. Bacchi’s “What’s the problem represented to be?” approach to policy analysis is discussed. The Background chapter touches upon the problem of violence against women in Poland. By providing some statistical and legal information I briefly describe the social context in which the analysed campaigns were produced. The next chapter presents an analysis of four social campaigns - Avon Contra Violence from 2010, Avon Contra Violence from 2011, I say no to violence against women from 2014 and White Ribbon Campaign from 2010. This
study ends with a short summary and provides conclusions regarding the campaigns, with special attention to the use of men as role-models.

**Aim, research questions and delimitations of the study**

Because I am especially interested in men’s violence as an element constructing masculinities, the aim of this study will be to problematize how masculinities are represented in Polish anti-violence social campaigns. I would like to determine if the campaigns refer to any common social assumptions regarding men’s violence. As a result, my research questions are as follows:

- How are men’s violence, gender and masculinities constructed in the campaigns?
- To what extent are the existing social assumptions regarding men’s violence articulated, reproduced and/or challenged in the campaigns?

I have decided to concentrate on awareness raising campaigns because they are an explicit example of a role, which discourse has in constructing social reality. They contain pictures and facts, which usually are carefully chosen to challenge existing social problems. I have limited my research only to those campaigns, which concentrate on violence against women, as I am interested in violence and gender. Polish anti-violence campaigns were somehow a natural choice for me due to the fact, that I am Polish; and also because I have some experience in cooperation with Polish organizations and institutions which work in the area of counteracting gender violence. Moreover, I also agree with Durda and Gruszczynańska that the problem of violence against women in Poland is still relatively new in social and political debate (Durda, 2012; Gruszczynańska, 2007) and I hope this thesis will make it more visible.
Theoretical framework - gender, masculinities and violence

Social constructionism

Social constructionism states that the world is, in a great part, constructed by people during the process of coordination. It sees language as the most important tool for not only describing, but also constructing reality through representation systems (Hall, Evans, & Nixon, 1997). Reality therefore, is dependent on, and shaped by social practices, predominantly by language. This approach rejects the treatment of language as something independent and external to society. Hence, language becomes a social tool. Pioneering thoughts in this field belong to the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, whose concepts draw attention to the role of language in representation, understood as a process of producing meaning and exchange of meanings between members of society (Hall et al., 1997). Later, Michel Foucault proposed to substitute the concept of production of meaning by considering discursive practices as processes which produce knowledge. In other words, discourse produces and defines the objects of our knowledge by constructing the topic and regulating the way it is talked about. Foucault introduced a new approach towards discourse, which he understood more broadly than just passages of connected writing or speech. Discourse, according to him, is a tool used to achieve different social purposes. Some discourses take hegemonic positions and seem to be natural and objective. Nevertheless, in the eyes of a post-structural researcher, nothing is neutral, natural or objective. There is always an “unexamined way of thinking” (Foucault, 1994, p. 456) which stands behind given social concept, policy or problem. Only by its familiar character, some culturally influenced presuppositions and assumptions stay unnoticed (Bacchi, 2010).
Critical and intersectional perspectives on men and masculinities

This thesis recognizes the variety of approaches to understanding men, masculinities and men’s practices, but will mainly benefit from the interdisciplinary Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities (CSM). CSM emerged as a field of study at the beginning of the 70’s and are closely related to feminist studies. In CSM both categories - men and masculinities - are considered as social constructs and are analysed from a gender perspective. The term “critical” refers to the acknowledgment of the hegemonic (dominant) position of men in society which is the result of gender inequality (Hearn, 2004; Lykke, 2011). This differentiates CSM from so-called Men’s Studies. CSM concentrates on social arrangements which give privileges to men, and with use of such categories as masculinities, hegemonic masculinities, stratification of power between men - look for answers where and how men dominate women as a group (Hunnicutt 2009). CSM researchers recognize that to be a man, it means to follow some socially accepted patterns of masculinity and to be a part of “processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives “(Gadd 2002:62).

There is no unique and universal masculinity and that is why the term masculinities (in plural) is used. Plurality refers to different constructions of masculinities during history, as well as differences between cultures and societies. Multiple masculinities also exist simultaneously in the same society. They can be created depending on class, generation and sexuality. Some models of masculinity dominate, and are called hegemonic masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Their hegemonic position is understood as “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of
men and the subordination of women” (Connell 1995:77). Hegemonic masculinities can exist on a local, regional, and global level and they do not have to be the most commonly followed pattern. Their dominant position is often guaranteed by the fact, that they can be achieved only by a few men. Those men become symbols, “exemplars of masculinity” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:846). By definition hegemonic masculinities are not static. Some practices may be replaced by other, and as an outcome a new hegemonic masculinity may occur. Masculinities change and evolve, responding to the needs of a situation. Here lies a potential for social campaigns, especially those using men as role models. By promoting non-violent practices they can support a new way of being a man.

Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities are also subject of criticism. Some scholars criticise the omnipresence and monopoly of Connell’s hegemonic masculinities’ theory from 1995. Kalle Bergeren, in this context, writes about a feminist theory deficit which is visible through lack of reference to poststructuralism, phenomenology, intersectionality and queer theory (Berggren, 2014). Another academic expert, Jeff Hearn (2012), as an alternative to the dominance of the hegemonic masculinity frame proposes to concentrate on the hegemony of men. In his opinion the analysis of cultural representation of masculinities is equally important to studying social construction of the category “men” (Hearn, 2004). Feminist and CSM approach towards men’s violence has also been criticized for lack of individual approach and a too general explanation of the problem of men’s violence. That is why Nina Lykke, Ann-Dorte Christensen and Jørgen Elm Larsen (2011) propose to consider intersectionality as a complementary theory towards the concept of hegemonic masculinity. According to Nina Lykke
intersectionality should be used to understand different hegemonic masculinities, as power differentials may intersect and have an influence on the position of some men (Lykke, 2011). Considering this, I have decided to benefit from intersectionality as an enriching element of my research. In this study intersectionality is understood as a lens, which enables the researcher to identify various power differentials, which occur at the intersections of gender, class, race, ethnicity etc. (Crenshaw, 1991).

**Gender, violence and men**

Gender according to Butler is a “repeated stylization of the body and a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame” (Butler 1990:33). Gender norms impose restrictions both on men and women, but it is women’s agency which is most limited. One of the factors limiting women’s agency is violence by men directed against women (Fleming & McCleary-Sills, 2013). This social phenomenon is defined in a number of ways and has many names: domestic violence, intimate violence against women, family violence, partner abuse. It can be of sexual, physical, psychological or economic nature. For the purpose of this study I will refer to a broad definition of violence against women (VAW) from *The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence CETS no.: 210*. According to this international treaty violence against women (VAW) is:

(...) a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation
of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (Council of Europe 2011).

Violence is present during the socialization process of boys and young men and is used to construct specific forms of masculinities (Hearn, 1998). It is supported by culture, which accepts and often encourages the existence of violent models of masculinities. Violence against women is a specific form of men’s violence and also a specific element constructing masculinities. There is a number of theories on male/men’s violence. We can single out the theory of violence, which refers to men as being violent from their nature. Biological explanations of men’s violence concentrate on instinct and territoriality or link violence with men’s chromosome Y, or hormones - especially testosterone (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Edwards, 2006). Natural theories are mainly criticised for introducing a genetic/biological determinism of men’s violence, what may result in presenting violent men as “victims of their maleness” (Edwards 2006: 51). The next group of theories – social learning theories - concentrate on the process of socialisation of boys and young men. Aggressive behaviour patterns are said to be taught by other members of society (parents, peers etc.) as well as acquired through the process of observation (Carter, 2003; Edwards, 2006; Watson, 2007). Social learning theories also have some weak points, which are: the lack of explanation why girls are not influenced by the observation process in the same way as boys, and treatment of human beings as passive and non-reflexive actors accepting all the existing social models (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Edwards, 2006). Further, there are psychological theories of violence, which concentrate on personality disorders, anger/hostility, low self-esteem, and alcohol abuse as main causes of men’s
violence. So far no study has proved consistent relationship between the above-mentioned factors and violence (Ali & Naylor, 2013). Finally, we also have theories which mix the above mentioned positions. For example, Ferguson’s catalyst model proposes a nature–nurture compromise and unifies theories of genetic violence with social learning models. This approach treats violence as a complex phenomenon grounded in an interplay among personal, situational, and sociocultural factors (L. L. Heise, 1998).

My point of departure are feminist theories on violence. They present a variety of perspectives but have one common point: violence against women is a result of a male dominance in patriarchal societies as well as the constant struggle of men to achieve and maintain it (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Edwards, 2006). In feminism violence is a highly gendered concept as “empirical observations indicate quite clearly that violence against women is a product of a gendered arrangement; […] women are targeted in patterned ways that are distinct from other demographic groups […] precisely because of their gender” (Hunnicutt 2009:557). Violence against women is a product of social and cultural norms, and not something natural and having biological roots. That is why, according to Jeff Hearn, we should talk about men’s violence, which in contrast to male violence, is not considered as biologically determined (Hearn, 2001). At the same time, Hearn rejects the cultural essentialism of men’s violence because men have the power to control their socially learned violent behaviours (Hearn, 2001). Additionally, Dobash and Dobash state that: “men who assault their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in Western society—aggressiveness, male dominance and female
subordination— and they are using physical force as a means to enforce that dominance” (Dutton & Nicholls 2005:683).

The feminist approach does not explain why only some men are violent towards women when other are not. Starting from this point Critical Studies on Masculinities introduce an additional perspective to the problem of patriarchy - men’s dominance over other men. Power relations between men, hegemony and masculinities are said to influence men’s violence towards women. A special role is given to hegemonic masculinities, which involve a specific strategy for the subordination of women “[…] and are exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal and violent” (Howson 2005:3). Because they exist as a normative standard, men strive towards achieving them (Connell 1995). This pressure connected with fulfilling different dimensions of the masculine gender role (feminine avoidance, status and achievement, toughness and aggression, restricted emotionality, non-relational sexuality, and dominance) was confirmed to encourage men to use violence in intimate relationships (Lapsansky & Chatterjee, 2013; Smith, Parrott, Swartout, & Tharp, 2015). It was also proved that men who have hostile and negative sexual attitudes towards women, while also identifying with traditional images of masculinity and male privilege, are more likely to assault sexually (L. L. Heise, 1998). Sexual aggression, because of its character – dominance, aggressiveness, toughness, is seen by these men as an activity which validates their masculinity (Ibid). Those who attack or harm women are unlikely to think themselves deviant. On the contrary, they usually feel entirely justified and think they are exercising a right and simply follow socially accepted practices (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). The authorization of their actions comes from
an ideology of supremacy (Connell, 1995) and their violence has to be understood as conscious, deliberate actions aiming at preserving masculinity status (Hearn, 2001).
Methodology

Choice of material

Main actions designed to reach out to men are individual counselling, preventive education, information/awareness raising activities and social campaigns (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; Ruxton & Van der Gaag, 2012). This thesis concentrates on activities which have a general, not individual, character - social campaigns encouraging men to be allies of women in the fight against violence. Social campaigns (also called awareness raising campaigns) use concepts of commercial marketing and its tools to influence social behaviours. Their aim is to improve lives of individuals or of the society they live in (Hastings, 2011) and to introduce changes in social practices. In other words, change is a “product” which is “sold” with the use of marketing strategies.

Campaigns for my analysis were selected according to the following criteria:

1. They had to concentrate on violence against women.
2. Campaigns involved well-known men and presented them as role models. Role models are said to be helpful in changing existing social practices (Lapsansky & Chatterjee, 2013) and when used in campaigns they allow addressing men not as perpetrators of violence, but as supporters of prevention (Durda, 2012).
3. They had to be produced and created in Poland. My choice of Poland was driven by the fact that there is still a lack of debate and activism in the field of men’s involvement regarding work against gender violence and for gender equality. Polish men and women must be reminded that gender equality is not only a “women’s issue” (Piotrkowska & Synakiewicz, 2011) and that any kind of change in social arrangements requires full community participation. Also, the
public’s reluctance to examine the connection between violence and the dominant forms of masculinity is quite strong in Poland. This shows how masculinity as a subject for critical study remains invisible (Hearn, 2001).

Awareness rising campaigns are very diverse in character. They are multimodal (contain both text and images), rich in meaning and symbolism. The chosen material can also be produced in a variety of forms: posters, leaflets, promotion catalogues and web campaigns. I decided to focus on such campaigns, which were founded between the year 2010 and 2015 and had nationwide character. Four awareness raising campaigns fulfill the above mentioned criteria: Avon Contra Violence from 2010, White Ribbon Campaign from 2010, Avon Contra Violence from 2011, and I say no to violence against women from 2014. At the same time, what I will be working with, is a final result of a long-lasting process of campaigns production. Unfortunately, I couldn’t obtain any kind of operational material on planning, executing and dissemination of the campaigns, which influenced the process of analysis. This is explained in more detail in the next section.

**Policy analysis and WPR approach**

Policy analysis was developed in 1950 in the United States as an answer to the question of choosing right policies for existing problems. Laswell, one of the founders of the policy analysis, indicated three basic principles for policy analysis - it should be problem oriented, cross-disciplinary and normative. According to Walker “critical policy analysis is less a methodology than a pair of critical glasses that researchers look through to reveal the values and policies of the process of policy-making” (Walker 2009: 89). Australian researcher Carol Bacchi developed a form of policy analysis called “What’s the problem represented to be?” or WPR
approach. It puts a different pair of lenses into the glasses of a researcher – that is poststructuralism. The method differs from the original one by how it approaches the question of “problems”. If they are treated as objective, already existing and defined in the conventional method; in Bacchi’s eyes “problems” are shaped and defined by the policies. This process is called “problematization” and its final result is a new representation of what is problematic (Bacchi, 2010). In other words, she sees policies as not only addressing and responding to problems but also as defining/constructing them in discourse. Discourse in WPR approach is defined as “relatively bounded, socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what it is possible to think, write or speak about a given social object or practice” (Bacchi 2010: 63). There are different types of discourses present at the same time, but some of them take a hegemonic position and are treated as something natural/neutral and stay unnoticed. WPR helps to find them. One may ask why is it important to look at the polices from the WPR perspective? If the problem is defined in a given way, that is according to the hegemonic discourse, interventions resulting from such policies may have “uneven effect on specific groups” (Bacchi, 2010). WPR approach gives therefore opportunity to look at the problem from a different perspective and to track down what stays behind.

I have decided to choose the WPR approach because I consider social campaigns as a form of policy, understood as a course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern (J. E. Anderson, 2002; Bacchi, 2009). Moreover WPR approach suggests that attention is paid to policies because they ‘tell us what to do’ (Bacchi 2009: 34). Social campaigns are planned activities and programmes which contain proposals of what to do or what
to avoid doing. Because “WPR approach facilitates a form of critical thinking that extends well beyond the study of government and public policy” (Bacchi, 2012: 22–23) it can be used to study all types of campaigns, irrespectively of which kind of institution, governmental or not, prepared them. Bacchi proposes to apply a list of six questions to a given policy:

1. What’s the “problem” represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the “problem”?
3. How has this representation of the “problem” come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the “problem” be thought differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the “problem”? Consider discursive effects and lived effects.
6. How/where has this representation of the “problem” been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Since I couldn’t access information regarding the process of the campaigns planning (my requests directed to the company were left without any answer), I had to omit question number three in my analysis, which is about the genealogy of the problem and reflexion on practices and processes through which the understanding of the “problem” has emerged (Bacchi, 2012). The same relates to question number six, which concentrates on dissemination and production of the problem. Four remaining questions have been applied. The first one, referred in the text as Q1, was used to identify the problem in every campaign. I checked if a campaign had
many problems represented at the same time and if it had one or more solutions of
the problems. When looking for the answers to the second question (Q2) I had to
identify the hidden presuppositions or assumptions, understood as a deeply rooted
cultural values, which were taken-for-granted when the policy was created. When
working on this question, I followed Bacchi’s recommendations to concentrate on
binaries, categories and key concepts. Question number four (Q4) helped me to find
out what was not mentioned in the campaigns and what was left unproblematic.
When considering question number five (Q5) I concentrated on how identified
problem representations restricted what could have been said about men’s violence,
how it could influence understandings of the problem on the side of the receiver of
the campaign (Bacchi 2012).

I do not limit myself to use Bacchi’s WPR approach to analyse only texts. I
will also use it when working with visual images. The reason for that is
multimodality of the campaigns. Campaigns contain both text and images – which
are equally important. Every visual sign used in the campaigns “connotes a quality,
situation, value or inference which is present as an implication or implied meaning,
depending on the connotational reference” (Hall, 1973:12). Images are part of
campaign’s discourse, they shape the limits of how men are seen and contribute to
the understating of the role of men in violence against women. Pictures of role
models were carefully chosen not only to support, but also to create the given
representation of a problem. They interact with the text and thus cannot be left aside.

**Situating the researcher**

It is important to ask oneself a question if a man is able to conduct a research
which argues against the dominant position of men (Pease, 2013). My answer is
yes. Although I was raised in a society that rests on the ideology and structures of patriarchy, I do recognize that men and women are unequal and that distinct norms of behaviours for men and women are socially constructed. This means that gender is created through patterns of social interactions, not determined biologically (Connell, 1995). By saying this I take a pro-feminist position and I am not only aware of the existence of institutionalised privileges of men and differences/inequalities among men but also costs of masculinity (Hearn, 2001).

I have not been exposed to the problem of domestic violence, in other way than just by contacts with the victims – by phone mainly. They were Polish women living abroad, who, in their desperate look for help, decided to contact me as their consular representative at the Polish Embassy.

I turn to social constructionism as a theory of knowledge and I support a critical approach towards knowledge as objective truth. The “researcher always produces a story of which she or he is a part” (Lykke 2011:5) and makes subjective judgements when choosing the problem, designing research, collecting data, etc. (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Moreover, personal experiences are framed in terms of pre-existing discourses (Talbot, Bibace, Bokhour, & Bammberg, 1996) and what we know is a product of our culture. Therefore, the extent of objectivity of every study, including this one, is always limited and the positioning of a researcher is needed.
Background: violence against women in Poland

In this chapter, I concentrate on the Polish context of violence against women. I will briefly describe how the problem is regulated in Polish law and present a set of statistics with the aim to ensure a better understanding of the environment which affected the shape of the campaigns.

I shall start with explaining, that violence against women in Poland is still a relatively new topic in political and social debate (Durda, 2012; Gruszczyńska, 2007). Protection of women against violence in Poland is regulated both by international and national legal instruments at the same time, as the Constitution of the Republic of Poland recognizes international ratified conventions as a part of the national legal system. International legal acts ratified by Poland include first and foremost Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 34/180 of 18 December 1979. On 12 April 2015 Poland ratified the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention) which entered into force on 1 August 2015.

National legalisation concerning VAW is dispersed in a number of national legal acts such as Penal Code, Act on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Family and Guardianship Code, Code of Criminal Procedure. There is no unique definition of VAW in Polish law and the term Domestic Violence is used predominantly. According to the article 207 § 1 of Polish Penal Code:
Whoever mistreats a close person mentally or physically, or another person being in a permanent or temporary state of dependence upon the perpetrator, a minor, or a person who is vulnerable because of his mental or physical condition shall be subject to the penalty of imprisonment for a term between 3 months and 5 years (*The Penal Code of 6 June 1997, 1997*).

A different definition can be found in *the Act on Prevention of Domestic Violence*. According to article 2.2 domestic violence is:

A single or repeated intentional acts or omissions that violate the rights or personal interest (of the closest relatives or other cohabiting persons or these keeping house together), which in particular put these persons at risk of losing life or health, which humiliate them or constitute an assault on them, limit their freedom, including sexual, cause harm to their physical or psychological health, and cause suffering and moral abuse to persons suffering from violence (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2010).

This definition enumerates sexual, physical and psychological violence and refers both to one-time and multiple incidents.

*The Act on The Prevention Of Domestic Violence* requires the Polish Government to prepare the national programme for counteracting violence in families. Such a programme was created and accepted in 2006. It presents a 10-year long perspective. The institution responsible for the implementation of the programme is the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. This ministry is also the main source of statistical data regarding domestic violence in Poland. Statistics of
the Ministry of Justice (responsible for courts and prosecutors) and Ministry of the Interior (responsible for the Polish Police) concentrate on other forms of violence. There is also additional information coming from the national and international studies conducted by NGOs, academics, international organizations and institutions.

When discussing statistics regarding the VAW, it is important to remember that very often victims of violence do not report it. The reasons for this might be very different: shame, pain, fear of being subject of inappropriate treatment, lack of confidence in the national system of prevention and care. All this makes the official statistics underestimated (J. F. Anderson & Kras, 2008; Gruszczyńska, 2007). From the website of the Polish Police we can learn that number of interventions of police in cases regarding domestic violence, as well as the number of victims of domestic violence, are decreasing. But according to Polish NGOs actively involved in the monitoring of this area, the decrease is a result of a change in registration procedures. In 2005 there were 96.773 interventions, in 2007 the number was 81.403 and in 2011 it was 70.867 (Polska Policja, 2015). The same data shows that women are 8 times more often victims of domestic violence than men. This is presented in Table number 1.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of victims</td>
<td>139.747</td>
<td>132.796</td>
<td>134.866</td>
<td>113.546</td>
<td>76.993</td>
<td>86.797</td>
<td>105.332</td>
<td>97.501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>81.985</td>
<td>79.811</td>
<td>82.102</td>
<td>70.730</td>
<td>50.241</td>
<td>58.310</td>
<td>72.786</td>
<td>69.376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Adopted from Polish Police Statistics (Polska Policja, 2015).*
Table number 2 shows that men dominate in statistics as the perpetrators of domestic violence.

Table 2. Number of perpetrators of domestic violence in Poland in years 2008-2015.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86.568</td>
<td>81.472</td>
<td>83.390</td>
<td>71.914</td>
<td>51.531</td>
<td>61.450</td>
<td>78.489</td>
<td>76.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>3.942</td>
<td>3.926</td>
<td>3.981</td>
<td>3.471</td>
<td>3.522</td>
<td>4.440</td>
<td>5.301</td>
<td>5.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>82.425</td>
<td>77.326</td>
<td>79.204</td>
<td>68.248</td>
<td>47.728</td>
<td>56.755</td>
<td>72.791</td>
<td>70.484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minors</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Adopted from Polish Police Statistics (Polska Policja, 2015).*

As it was already mentioned above, the presented data is considered as a partial information on the scale of the VAW in Poland. Violent behaviour towards women in a non-domestic environment is even less visible in Polish statistics, especially because there is no gender segregation of the data. There are also some types of violent behaviours, which are not visible in any statistics. For example, the scale of sexual harassment and mobbing at work is still relatively unrecognized in Poland, although according to some global indicators 40-50% of women experience sexual harassment at workplace (Piotrowska 2011: 136). It is, therefore, necessary to consider data which comes from national and international studies. In 2004 *International Violence Against Women Study* was conducted in Poland by the *European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control* together with the *United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research and Statistics Canada*. It showed that the indicator of victimization of Polish women amounts to 6% every year. This means, that 6% of women in Poland experience physical or sexual violence. In 2011 the total number of adult women in Poland was 16.400.822. It gives us
approximately 984,000 victims. This number is more than 10 times higher than the number of cases officially registered by Polish Police. The same survey indicated that 35% of Polish women experienced physical and/or sexual violence at least once during their whole life (Gruszczyńska 2007:4).

More recent data comes from the EU-wide survey prepared by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights which was published at the beginning of March 2014, showing that 19% of Polish women who were older than 15 years experienced physical or sexual violence from partners or non-partners. 37% of all Polish women older than 15 years experienced psychological violence (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014a). Additionally, the Polish Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) report from 2012 shows that every fourth Polish man and every third Polish woman knows in person or casually a woman who was beaten by her husband (Kowalska, 2012). From the above-mentioned data we can draw the following conclusions: first, violence against women is present in Poland. Second, all the data indicates that main perpetrators of domestic violence are men.
Men against violence - analysis of Polish anti-violence campaigns

In this chapter, I will present the analysis of four Polish social campaigns focusing on men’s violence against women. With the use of the WPR approach, I will study how the problem of men’s violence is constituted in the campaigns. For the sake of clarity every campaign is presented separately. As a result, this chapter has four main sections. Every section starts with a short introduction of a campaign. Next, the materials produced for the campaign are discussed and Bacchi’s four questions are applied when analysing texts and images. Focus is put on the identification of common cultural assumptions in the campaigns, and on effects which they caused. I will not go through each of Bacchi’s questions separately, but will discuss the problem as a whole and use references in parentheses to signal when each question was answered (Q1, Q2 etc.). When studying the images, I start with a brief description of a role model and later describe the way he had been presented. I also use intersectional approach to see how sexuality, race, and class intersects in the proposed image of a role model. Each section ends with a summarizing discussion of how the problem of gender and violence is represented in the campaign.

Praying for dignity - Avon Contra Violence campaign from 2010

Avon Contra Violence Campaign (ACV) was initiated in the USA in 2004 as a part of the CSR of a company. Four years later it was launched in Poland. The aim of AVC is to present the problem of domestic violence and make society aware of it. Since 2008, all Avon campaigns in Poland have been prepared in collaboration with the Blue Line Foundation² and Foundation Feminoteka³ and year by year they

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² Original in Polish: Fundacja Niebieska Linia.
³ Original in Polish Fundacja Feminoteka.
had a different character. The only common point for all of them, except their goal, is the nomination of an ambassador or ambassadors of the fight against domestic violence. In 2010 for the first time Avon decided to use men as role models.

The campaign from 2010 was titled “Help us to help”⁴. Images of the ambassadors were used on Avon website (Figure 1) and in Avon catalogues (Figure 2). They are presented below (Avon, 2010):

![Figure 1. Image number one – web banner (Avon, 2010).](image1.png)

![Figure 2. Image number two – Avon catalogue (Avon, 2010).](image2.png)

The text on image number one says⁵: “Help us to help” (blue font) and “Join the great campaign for a dignity” (capital, grey letters). “Together we can change the world. Profit from the sale of the products with the symbol of infinity is

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⁴ Original in Polish: “Pomóż nam pomagać”.

⁵ Original version in Polish: “Pomóż nam pomagać. Przyłącz się do wielkiej kampanii o godność. Razem możemy zmienić świat. Cały zysk ze sprzedaży produktów ze znakiem nieskończoności przeznaczony jest na walkę z przemocą domową”.

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dedicated to the fight against violence”. Below the text there is an address of the website of the campaign given. On the right-hand side the logo of Avon Contra Violence campaign is visible. ‘Help us to help’ is a call for action directed to broad audiences. People, presumably both men and women, are encouraged to join the campaign for dignity. They can do this by buying products with the infinity logo. Through this action, they will donate money to the fight against violence. Those who ask for help are Ambassadors (“help us”) hence, they are also people who are involved in the fight for dignity.

The idea of a fight for dignity requires a separate consideration. The meaning of human dignity is socially constructed in accordance with some particular cultural and historical contexts. There is no single meaning of human dignity, but rather different definitions which are culturally determined in each society (Shultziner, 2003). Fighting for dignity may mean many things. It can refer to fighting for equal rights for women. It may as well refer to women’s dignity understood as femininity, maternity and complementarity towards men. Finally, it may be just a battle for honor or respect – to ensure that a woman has the right to be in a position prescribed by society. Founders of this campaign define dignity by enumerating factors which destroy it: domestic violence, harm, suffering and humiliation of women in the eyes of their children. This can be learnt only from the material printed in the catalogue. When just looking at the web banner, the recipient cannot decipher that.

There are two men and two women visible in image number one. The woman visible on the left side of the photo is Jolanta Kwaśniewska, former First Lady. The second female ambassador is an actress Katarzyna Zielińska. The man
on the far right is Robert Korzeniowski, a Polish sportsperson, a racewalker who won four Olympic gold medals. Korzeniowski is photographed in a sitting-like position. He is leaning forward and his arms rest on his tights. His hands are clenched and raised in front of his face, almost in a praying like pose. He is smiling and looking directly into the viewer. He is wearing a t-shirt and a scarf. On his hand we can see a bracelet – Avon contra violence. The second man is Andrzej Krzywy, the leader of a well-known Polish pop-rock group – De Mono. He is photographed in exactly the same position as Korzeniowski, only the way he keeps his hands together is different. His eyes are also directed towards the viewer. Krzywy is wearing a bomber jacket, white t-shirt and the same bracelet as Korzeniowski. He looks calm and self-confident. His body posture was probably chosen to better expose a bracelet which he is wearing, and he also looks like a praying person. A bracelet traditionally is not considered a typical male jewellery, at least in Poland. Moreover, the bracelet which Avon promotes is a symbol, of the fight against domestic violence. Not all men have the courage to show their involvement in this kind of “activism”, even though the masculine norm is to be brave, bold, and courageous (Katz, 2006). From the text we may conclude, that the role of men in the fight against violence is limited to financial support, but when we look on images of Andrzej Krzywy and Robert Korzeniowski we can see that fundraising is not the only purpose of the campaign. Buying and wearing a bracelet is also a way of showing an ongoing commitment to the fight against violence.

Image number two presents two pages of the Avon catalogue. Pictures of Korzeniowski and Krzywy, visible on page number 94, are exactly the same as
already described. That is why I will move straight to the analysis of the text from page number 95. The text, reading from top to bottom, says⁶:

Join the Big Campaign for Dignity. Every day more than 2 thousands women experience domestic violence. Every day thousands of children are witnesses to the humiliation of their mothers. Every 2 days a woman dies as a result of so called house disputes. By wearing the symbol of infinity you show that you are not indifferent to suffering and harm. And that, just like us, you do not accept violence in any form. Together we can change the world! (bold) By buying a product bearing the symbol of infinity you support the Big Campaign for Dignity. All profits are dedicated to the fight against violence.

The above text explains the purpose of the campaign and complements image number one. It informs about domestic violence and defines the victims as women. The text explains also the symbolism of the jewellery, which represents engagement in the fight for dignity. Although both men and women are visible in the photo, the text is directed to women only. The Polish equivalent of the English verb “to be indifferent” is used in a feminine form. This changes the concept of the campaign entirely. In case of the first image, we could presume that ambassadors were role models, here their presence has a different character. Interestingly Avon products with the symbol of infinity are not even mentioned as possible gifts for

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men. As a result, the fact that Krzywy and Korzeniowski are wearing bracelets becomes meaningless, if not strange due to the ambiguous approach towards male jewellery.

Although the whole campaign is about VAW, violence is mentioned only once in the text – as something that is fought against, and as the purpose of the fundraising action. The campaign does not say anything more about it. One can have an impression that the main goal of the ACV campaign has been hidden behind the slogan “big campaign for dignity”, which is the main problem (Q1). Even the size of the font used to inform about domestic violence is smaller and capital letters are omitted. The campaign does not refer to men’s violence either, both in the text and through images. Probably it is the result of the public’s reluctance to talk about domestic violence. The subject may be left aside also to attract more male supporters, as generally talking about violence to women is avoided by men (Hearn, 1999). This might explain why there is no information on perpetrators (Q4) of the violence and no clear signal whose dignity is at stake. Violence against women is hidden behind the “domestic violence” term even though the campaign encourages fighting against all types of violence against women, not only in a domestic sphere. Referring to domestic violence in Poland is more accepted than talking about VAW in general (Q2). Avon Contra Violence Campaign from 2010 constructs men as smiling and non-aggressive. Masculinity is not built on health, muscularity and youth, as Krzywy and Korzeniowski represent both young and old, strong and non-muscular men acting to eliminate violence against women. Their static bodies and praying like positions are in sharp contrast with the stereotypical model of a “real man”, who needs to be in combat, preferably alone. Korzeniowski and Krzywy
representations are nonaggressive, moreover both men co-operate with women to ensure their dignity. By doing so, they resign from their dominant position and act towards empowerment of women (Q5). They support the action against domestic violence and show the engagement through a visible symbol.

**Real men - Avon Contra Violence campaign from 2011**

The ACV campaign from 2011 was called “Real men”\(^7\). It was the first Avon campaign which used solely male ambassadors. Every invited man was, at that time, a well-known person in Poland. Images of four ambassadors were used in point of sales materials, in public relations activities and on posters. The following four posters (Figures 3 to 6) will be analysed in this subchapter (Avon, 2011):

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\(^7\) Original in Polish: “Prawdziwi mężczyźni”.

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*Figure 3. Poster number one (Avon, 2011).*

*Figure 4. Poster number two (Avon, 2011).*
I will start the analysis with some common characteristics of the posters and later move on to describe each one separately. All posters are graphically identical, they have a white background, images of the ambassadors are placed on the left side when on the right side text is visible. The text is printed in blue or black colour. The upper blue text contains two lines. The first line is the same on every poster and says “A real man”\(^8\). It refers to men who are real and at the same time it suggests, that there are also men who are not real. According to the Oxford Dictionary when the adjective “real” is placed before a noun it gets a different meaning than just not invented and existing. The adjective defines the noun as “having all the important qualities that it should have, to deserve to be called what it is called” (Oxford University Press, n.d.). Also in Polish, the adjective “prawdziwy” has an attributive character and can be replaced with such words as authentic or typical. A real man, therefore, has some specific characteristics that

\(^8\) Original in Polish: „Prawdziwy mężczyzna”.

\(\)
everyone expects him to have. In this part the campaign refers to the social construction of men and masculinities. Moreover, it makes use of the existing discourse of a “real man”, who is “an exemplar of masculinity”. The second line of the text in blue differs from poster to poster and defines a “real man”. The text in black font stays exactly in the same form on every poster and refers to domestic violence. It says⁹: “Domestic violence is sign of weakness” and clearly presents perpetrators of domestic violence as weak men. Moreover, those who use domestic violence are not considered as being manly, because a “real man”, as we learn from the second line of the text, defends, takes care of, worries about and protects his loved ones. Through such approach, the authors of the campaign reject domestic violence as a way of validating masculinity. Immediately below this text there is always the name and surname of an ambassador. This kind of signature not only helps to identify a person on a poster, but also gives a clear signal, that he fully endorses the statement. It also makes the campaign more reliable as those who support it are not anonymous.

When we leave text aside and consider only images of the ambassadors we can notice that all of them are presented in almost the same position. They stand firmly with legs slightly separated, their backs are straight with shoulders down and arms crossed. Although ambassadors do not stand in a full frontal position they face the viewers and look straight into them. Their gaze is very strong and direct. We can almost hear them saying – “I am looking at you”. There is no smile on their faces and the seriousness is omnipresent. They look somehow intimidating and very self-confident. Their muscular bodies seem to be ready for a combat in defence of

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⁹ Original in Polish: „Przemoc domowa jest oznaką słabości”.
their statements and to fight against men who beat women. This “ready for action” position is also represented by rolled up sleeves which symbolize not only readiness for hard work, but also a rigid one – for a fight presumably. It is interesting also to examine the ambassadors’ clothes more closely. All four men are wearing white shirts in combination with jeans. Although it is not very well visible, they also wear a blue bracelet – the Avon Against Violence symbol. The white shirt is not only considered as the most elegant one, but is also a symbol of a status/class. The division between white and blue collar workers comes to mind. Even though the shirt is combined with jeans, which introduces a slightly casual look and tempers high class whiteness of the shirt, the notion of the top class man/gentleman symbolism remains. Just below the image of the ambassador three different logos can be found. The first one is the logo of the Blue Line Foundation – which provides 24h telephone help for victims and witnesses of domestic violence. The second logo belongs to Feminoteka, Polish feminist NGO, the biggest in Central Europe. The third logo is Avon Against Violence symbol.

The first poster presents Krzysztof Diablo Włodarczyk, a Polish boxer and then WBC Cruiserweight World champion. The blue text on poster number one says: “A real man protects loved ones”\textsuperscript{10}. This statement defines a “real man”, as a man who protects loved ones. The verb “to protect” is used in an active form, which gives this man the agency to act. When we look at Włodarczyk’s image we see a young and strong man. He holds his head straight and his eyes are directed towards us. Włodarczyk’s folded arms and firm position send the signal – I am sure of what I know and what I say. On textual level poster number one characterizes a “real

\textsuperscript{10} Original in Polish: “Prawdziwy mężczyzna chroni najbliższych.”.
man” through protection. This paternalistic approach, which dominates in society, is clearly visible. Being the protector of the family is one of the most common tasks socially prescribed to a man (Connell, 1995). The use of a verb “to protect” also suggests that there is someone threatened and probably weaker who needs help. In the case of hegemonic masculinity this position is always reserved for a woman. Also, according to the text a man should protect “loved ones”. Loved ones can be defined as those who are near and loved. Men’s power still resides partly in the family and the institution of fatherhood (Hearn, 1987). “Historically, fatherhood is both a means of possession of and care for young people, and an arrangement between men. It has been and still is a way for some men of living with, being with, being violent to, sexually abusing, caring for and loving particular young people (those called ‘your own’), and a way of avoiding connection, care and contact with other young people” (Hearn 2001:9).

Visually, by use of Włodarczyk’s image, the poster defines a “real man” as strong and ready to act. The bodily performance is a constitutive element of masculinities (Connell, 1995) and, therefore, the appointment of Włodarczyk to represent a “real man” was not accidental. However, such a choice was also a risky one, bearing in mind that in Poland a wife-beater is called a lady’s boxer.11 Bringing into play a sportsman as a role model also requires consideration. According to Jeff Hearn, discussion about violence would be incomplete without concentrating on a sport, which often is a major public arena of legitimated, sometimes severe violence (Hearn, 2001). Sport has an influence in creating and changing boys, young men, and men and it is often a pre-eminent activity for

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11 Original in Polish: damski bokser.
establishing masculine identity (Hearn, 2001). Sport is therefore also an area where the fight against men`s violence should take place. The authors of the campaign most likely try to enter this field with the use of a famous and admired sportsman.

The text on the second poster says: “A real man cares/worries about his loved one”. The blue statement differs from the previous one only by the change of a verb. This time a “real man” is defined by “caring for” and “worrying about”. I have decided to use two different verbs in my English translation, as the Polish verb “troszczyć się” has a double meaning, and presents a mixture of action – to care for - and feelings – to worry about (to feel anxious or troubled about actual or potential problems). The verb is used in an active form, what encourages a man to act. The poster presents Marek Włodarczyk, a Polish TV, film and theatre actor living in Poland and Germany. He is 60 years old and played in 81 German and Polish TV and film productions all together. Włodarczyk is the oldest among the four Ambassadors, but he is also a strong looking man. When we compare his posture with images presented on the other posters, we can see that there is a slight difference in how he is looking at the viewer. By leaning his head a bit to his left side he seems to stare. He is almost looking for eye-to-eye contact, he is provoking. The question which could come from his mouth would be: “You have something other to say?”. On textual level, the poster presents a “real man” as a caregiver. It is a well-known form of discourse. Those men who are able to support families are “fulfilling a primary cultural duty for men and projecting their masculinity for their community” (Fleming and Mccleary-Sills 2013:7). But, at the same time, the use of the verb “troszczyć się” – meaning “to worry about” - challenges a restricted

12 Original in Polish: „Prawdziwy mężczyzna troszczy się o najbliższych”.

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emotionality, which is likewise one of the characteristics of the socially accepted portrait of a real man and defining element of anti-femininity (Smith et al., 2015).

The text on poster number three says 13: “A real man looks after his loved ones”. Through this statement a “real man” is defined as a man who looks after his loved ones. To “look after” means to provide for the needs of others. In Polish the verb “opiekować się” can also mean attending physically, mentally and also emotionally and giving commitment to the nurturance, growth and healing of that other (Ellefsen, 1996). The person visible on the poster is Robert Kudelski, a Polish TV series actor. Similar to other Ambassadors, he is presented in a standing position with his legs slightly separated. He appears to be a physically strong man. There is no smile on his face and seriousness is well visible. In case of Kudelski’s poster, the concept of a “real man” refers to the socially existing model of a man as a provider. Being the provider generally gives more legitimacy for social dominance (Cikara, Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2008) and at the same time places some restrictions on the roles of women (Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003). But attending physically, mentally and also emotionally is a form of a non-traditional look at the male gender roles. Men’s avoidance of caring is one of defining characteristic of ‘being men’(Hearn, 2001; Vandello & Bosson, 2013) and ACV seems to challenge it.

The last poster contains the following text 14: “A real man defends his loved ones”. The new verb describing a “real man” is “to defend”. The relation to an attack and a need of protection from harm or danger is obvious. Similar to poster

13 Original in Polish: “Prawdziwy mężczyzna opiekuje się najbliższymi”.
14 Original in Polish: „Prawdziwy mężczyzna broni swoich najbliższych”.
number one, Saleta’s poster bases on the discourse of man as a protector. The poster presents Przemysław Saleta - former boxer and kick-boxer who finished his career in 2012. When we look at him, we can once more see a muscular man. He is standing straight, with his arms folded and his head up and slightly back. This can be interpreted as a signal of defiance. He could be saying: “Go on, I dare you”. Again a sportsman (kick-boxer) promotes an active “fight” against domestic violence, which complies with the existing discursive position of man as a protector.

In the ACV campaign from 2011 the problem of violence against women is linked to the concept of “a real man” (Q1). Construction of masculinity in ACV campaign from 2012 differs depending on whether we concentrate on text or images, but the overall impression is as follows: domestic violence is seen as not being manly but violence and aggressiveness in defence of a weaker person are accepted (Q2). The weak are women and children who need men’s protection, defence, carrying and worrying about. This approach does not undermine the existing system of patriarchy (Q5). It only modifies it. Women are still not treated as partners but as subject of male protection. Unfortunately, men’s violence is left unproblematic, as seeing men’s role in protecting and defending women make it difficult to draw attention to violent masculinities (Q4). The campaign uses role models of different age, profession, family status and experience. As far as professions are concerned, fighters are presented next to actors. The choice of the ambassadors seems not to be random. Boxers and kick-boxers stay closer to the ideal, hegemonic type of masculinities and may be more convincing for sports fans,
and men who admire strength and combat. Actors, on the other hand, can reach broader audiences, but seem to be less “real man” when compared to boxers.

I say no to violence against women – TVN campaign from 2014

I say no to violence against women\(^1\) is a relatively new initiative of the Polish TV station TVN. It was started on 25 November 2014, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, in a TV program – Good Morning TVN\(^2\) dedicated to a problem of VAW in Poland. The campaign created in cooperation with the Blue Line Foundation is based on a very simple idea. Known people, men and women, could decide to be photographed with a slogan and to publish their photo on the website of TVN. The gallery contains 31 images including 10 pictures of men. They are presented below – Figures 7-16 (TVN, 2014):

\(^1\) Original in Polish: Mówię nie przemocy wobec kobiet.

\(^2\) Original in Polish: Dzień Dobry TVN.
As it can be observed the main idea of every photo is very similar – almost all “models”, except one from picture number 10, are photographed in a standing position with a white A4 piece of paper on which a text is printed. Some slogans were used more than once. The text “#enoughviolence”\textsuperscript{17} appears in pictures number: 5,6,7,8,9 and “Do not yell at me”\textsuperscript{18} is visible on pictures number: 4 and 10.

\textsuperscript{17} Original in Polish: “#dośćprzemocy”.
\textsuperscript{18} Original in Polish: “Nie krzycz na mnie”.
Picture number 1 presents Andrzej Polan, a chef and host of the culinary programme Poland With Taste\textsuperscript{19}. The text on his card says: “I do not allow violence in my surroundings!”\textsuperscript{20} This exclamation sentence is a very clear signal of total rejection of violence of any kind. Polan’s physical outlook, as well as his rolled up sleeves influence the interpretation of the slogan he presents. It is Polan who does not give his permission for violence to be present in his surroundings. He takes a decision which refers to other people. The initiative is on his side and as a man he is in control of the world which surrounds him. The verb “nie pozwalam” is in active form therefore a man once more becomes an acting site, while victims of the violence, presumably women, are passive. The male dominant position and paternalistic approach is clearly visible. The person from picture number two is Bartek Jędrzejak, a popular weather forecaster. Text on his card says: “It is never too late to say enough!”\textsuperscript{21} The text is directed to victims of violence and encourages them to stop being victims. Victims are persuaded to act, to “say: enough”. These words in the hands of a man undermine the paternalistic approach towards women, victims of violence. They are not treated as a subject of protection, but as beings with their own will to act. Jędrzejak wears casual clothes, black jumper and white t-shirt. He does not look muscular but rather like a regular guy. When we look at Jędrzejak’s face we can a see a grin, rather than a smile. Picture number 3 presents a fashion designer, Jakub Bartnik, the winner of a TV contest - Project Runway and Joanna Przytakiewicz – a fashion designer. The text printed on Bartnik’s card reads as follows: Do not hit me!\textsuperscript{22} This sentence, when presented by a man in a campaign

\textsuperscript{19} Original in Polish: “Polska ze smakiem”.
\textsuperscript{20} Original in Polish: “Nie pozwalam na przemoc w moim otoczeniu!”.
\textsuperscript{21} Original in Polish: “Nigdy nie jest za późno by powiedzieć dość!”.
\textsuperscript{22} Original in Polish: “Nie bij mnie!”.
against domestic violence, causes a bit of confusion. These are the words of a victim. Bartnik’s photo gives additional possibilities for interpretation. Words visible on his card may refer to him directly or to other men. As a result, a shift from violence against women to violence among men is made. Bartnik’s slogan reminds us that men can be, and also are, victims of IPV - but very often are not seen as “proper victims” of violence. This role we might say is socially prescribed for women.

Next person (picture number 4) is Maciej Maleńczuk, a famous Polish musician. He is wearing a blue shirt with an unbuttoned collar. A medallion is visible on his neck. The text on his card says: “Do not yell at me”\(^{23}\), yet he looks like screaming. His posture is aggressive and dynamic. He points his finger at a viewer, making him an indicated receiver of his massage. Maleńczuk reacts with aggression against aggression. It is a completely different position, than the one presented by Bartnik, who “kindly” asks to not to be beaten. The aggressive posture of Maleńczuk gets even more noticeable when we compare it with Radek Liszewski (a songwriter and DisoPolo singer) from picture number 10, who presents the same slogan. He sits on a sofa and supports his elbows on his tights. He looks very calm and static.

Five remaining men present cards with the same words: “#enoughviolence”. This short slogan refers to violence in general. It seems to be the most neutral slogan and that might explain why it is the most popular one. On picture number 5 we can see Maciej Prokop, a journalist and TV presenter. Photograph number 6 presents

\(^{23}\) Original in Polish: “Nie krzycz na mnie”. 
Tomasz Kot, a popular Polish cinema and TV actor. Both images are similar. Prokop, as well as Kot, smile naturally. They seem to be very comfortable in what they do. They look friendly, calm and static. Next photo, number 7, shows Dawid Kwiatkowski, a young Polish pop singer. Kwiatkowski is the youngest among all men. His style is very informal, yet very modern, and in line with trends. A smile is visible on his face. In photo number 8 we can see Thomas Anders, who constitutes half of the popular pop duo- Modern Talking. Anders definitely is the oldest man among all role models. He is dressed in black clothes and looks serious, but not frightening. The last photo, number 9, presents Marek Kąkolewski a policeman and “media face” of Polish Police. He is wearing a police uniform which makes his presence in the campaign official, not private. As a result the character of the statement he presents changes. It stops being a private statement of a public person and becomes an official rule. Kąkolewski’s posture (straight and firm) and mimics (confident, serious face) send a signal that he will stand for the words he presents.

In *I say no to violence against women* campaign the problem of violence against women is linked to the phenomenon of violence itself (Q1). The campaign does not create one model of masculinity. There are role models (pictures number 1 and 4) who refer to the existing expectations towards men like: action, aggression and power (Q2). At the same time Jakub Bartnik (image number 3) and Bartek Jędrzejak (image number 2) challenge the violent model of masculinity by leaving aside the patriarchal approach towards women and introducing the question of violence against, and among, men. What is left behind are women (Q4). If not by
the title of the campaign, on the basis of slogans and pictures, it would be difficult to say of what kind of violence we are informed.

**Knights of the White Ribbon – White Ribbon Campaign from 2010**

*The White Ribbon Campaign* is a global movement which was started in Canada in 1991. It unites men who combat violence against women. The white ribbon is a symbol of a pledge never to commit, support, or remain silent about violence against women (Kaufman, 2000). According to one of the authors of the project – Michael Kaufman – the main goal of *The White Ribbon Campaign* is to make men more aware about their behaviour and encourage them to challenge other men, who might be violent towards women. In Poland this initiative was launched in 2009. There still are and were many individual organizations who support it, but I would like to concentrate on the project initiated in 2010 by the Polish Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment Ms Elżbieta Radziszewska in cooperation with European Union of Women Section Poland, and Women`s Rights Centre24.

During this project, a special double-sided leaflet has been produced. It was titled “Men against violence - join us!” On page number one the recipient (Figure 17) of the material is informed what he can do to join the movement of men against violence (Europejska Unia Kobiet - Sekcja Polska, 2010). When translated to English it says:

*If you:*

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24 Original in Polish: Centrum Praw Kobiet.
• see that a woman is molested by another man (physically or verbally) on the street, in a club or at a party,
• hear screaming and rows “behind the wall”,
• have noticed that your (female) work colleague, neighbour, or a familiar person bears marks of violence, or you suspect that she is a victim of physical or psychological violence

react, help!

Figure 17. First page of a leaflet (Europejska Unia Kobiet - Sekcja Polska, 2010).

The language of the first part of the text is very direct. Grammatical construction of second singular person - “you” is used to make the message more personal. The text says about physical and verbal violence, but only such, which is exclusively directed towards women and by men only. It finishes with a call for action (an imperative form is used, hence exclamation mark) and gives 7 examples of what can be done:
• Inform the police or call the national hotline for abused women, the Blue Line Foundation, Centre for Women’s Rights or LaStrada.

• Give their telephone number to a woman which experiences violence. Tell her that she may count on you.

• Rebuke a man who behaves inappropriately towards a woman in your presence. Show that you do not accept any form of violence against women.

• Do not laugh at sexist jokes. They often lead to physical violence.

• Talk with other men about violence against women. Share the information from this leaflet at work, among your friends, in your family, or in church.

• Never justify those who commit violence.

• Support organizations combating violence against women.

In bullet number one and two a man is not required to respond individually to the violence which happens to a woman. He may offer help by calling the police or a specialised organization and inform what he saw/heard. A man may also take the initiative and give telephone numbers of organizations helping victims of violence. The decision about what to do with the problem is therefore placed in hands of other people – police, an expert or the victim herself. Especially the fact, that a victim is given the possibility to accept or reject help means that a woman is given an agency and stops being a protected subject. She is the one who decides what to do. This represents a change in approach to the victims of violence, who generally are treated as subjects of protection and fall under male dominance. In these two sentences the gender stereotype of a man as a protector is challenged.

The third bullet proposes to take action against another man, who behaves inappropriately towards a woman. This is more typical behaviour for a “real man”
than two previously described, as it is about protecting a woman, and fighting in her honour and in her presence. But there is only one problematic question. A unique definition of what does it mean to “behave inappropriately” does not exist. If a “real man” is described by a culture as a dominant and his “real wife” as a submissive would battering of wife be treated as inappropriate behaviour? Rebuking means to act verbally and not with physical violence. In this context, a man rebuking another man has to present his negative opinion about violence against women. He becomes someone else than a protector, he acts as a role model. By this the campaign influences the discursive model of man as a protector.

In the fourth bullet men are reminded that sexist jokes normalize violent behaviours and therefore are asked to depreciate them. Not laughing at sexist jokes might not be an easy challenge since it requires standing alone, especially in a male group. “Some men who become visible anti-violence allies or who speak up about the disrespectful behaviour of other men may encounter sceptical, negative, and/or homophobic reactions from their male peers”(E. a. Casey et al. 2013:231). The text touches upon an important question - male peer support. Much of information about how to be a man comes from being with other men in groups (Hearn 1999). Male peer groups are therefore something more than just form of social integration. They are source of information and support. Peer pressure regarding unacceptability of domestic violence is promoted by the campaign. In sentence number five language is mentioned as a tool for action. This approach is contradictory to the existing notion of a man who does not talk but acts. Also, the subject of violence against women in Poland is still relatively new in public domain. The analysed text relates to this situation and promotes the discussion and debate as a new social practice.
The leaflet requires men to talk about violence against women in different private and public settings. A man who talks against violence becomes a role model. And, as mentioned before, role models are important in men’s lives.

Sentence number six refers to the phenomenon of tolerating violence against women by men. Men who do not use violence against women very often do not react against it, they decide not to interfere. The explanation for this tolerance is the fact, that even though they do not enforce the existence of the patriarchal system through the use of violence, they still benefit from it. Their privileged position does not enforce them to fight against the subordination of women (Connell, 1995). Avoidance of the subject is easier than fighting against it or actively supporting it. The last sentence on the first page of the leaflet is bolded and directly refers to action as a method of prevention. The discourse of man as protector is used once more. On page number two (Figure 18):

Figure 18. Page number two of a leaflet (Europejska Unia Kobiet - Sekcja Polska, 2010).
the reader may find some basic information about violence against women in Poland. Statistical data is given in the first part of each sentence, and followed by information which makes the raw data more appealing to the reader. The first sentence says: “2 in 5 respondent women have been raped or experienced other form of sexual violence. This may occur to your girlfriend, wife, mother or daughter!”. The text directly appeals to men’s responsibility for the well-being of the nearest women in his life. The gender stereotype of man as a protector of family members and women is used to fight against violence. The second bullet provides information that 90% of perpetrators of sexual violence stay unrecognised and is followed by a simple request that women need men’s help. This sentence refers to male bonding and normalization of violence against women. The next bullet informs that the number of women who die as a result of domestic violence increases. It calls for the reaction of a man if he observes that anything wrong is happening in his neighbourhood (next door). This action may “save the life” of a woman. The following sentence tells about number of women who experience sexual harassment at work (40%) and also calls for action. The penultimate bullet refers to human trafficking of women and indicates that thousands of them have a connection to Poland. The author of the leaflet wants to approach the problem of violence form the patriotic position by mentioning the origin of victims. Polish men shall take care of Polish women. This kind of approach to the subject might have been dictated by the willingness to make the subject of human trafficking more local, personal. But it may result in leaving those women, victims of human trafficking, who are in Poland but not Polish without any help. The last sentence underlines the need for the engagement of men fighting violence against women.
There also is an additional component of the campaign. It is called *Distinction of the White Ribbon*. Distinction is an award in a contest organized for men working in the public sector, police, prosecutor offices, justice and media, but also for those who are employers or public persons. Candidates may be proposed by every single person. They must be men “who are engaged in a social, charity work with a mission to help women, and who carried out a significant service by helping women and by reacting to all forms of violence and discrimination against women” (Centrum Praw Kobiet, 2013). Candidates are later verified by two men who may, upon the agreement of the candidate, conduct a social research regarding the nominee. Laureates are given a symbolic title of a *Knight of the Order of the White Ribbon*. The first nominees in 2010 have been decorated by the Plenipotentiary and they were mainly actors or TV personalities. The ceremony had a symbolic character and referred to the medieval times, when a king with his sword nominated a person to be a knight (Figure 20). Each member of the brotherhood has also a right to use a gorget, which was specially designed for the project (Figure 19) and can be worn in a form of a pin.

*Figure 19. Gorget of Knights of White Ribbon (Osak-Rejmer, 2015).*

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26 Original in Polish: “działający społecznie, charytatywnie, z misją niesienia pomocy kobietom, którzy w szczególny sposób zasłużyli się pomagając kobietom i reagując na wszelkie formy przemocy i dyskryminacji wobec kobiet.”.
27 Original in Polish: Kawaler Orderu Białej Wstążki
Figure 20. Polish Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment, Ms Elżbieta Radziszewska nominates Conrado Moreno as knight of the white ribbon (Fajkowska, 2010).

The problem of violence against women in this campaign is linked to the protective role of men (Q1). The Polish version of White Ribbon Campaign wants to create the concept of a “new man”, but it is done through the reference to the old concept of chivalry and protection of a woman (Q2). The use of an ethos of a knight in the campaign as a whole creates a notion of women being fragile damsels. It is probably easier for men to talk and fight men’s violence against women when they can think about themselves as defenders and knights. With this approach it might be easier to face other men. Thinking about being brave and honourable may help to overcome the fear of being laughed at as a “feminist”. This romantic approach, although seeming to decipher male needs correctly, upholds men’s position of power (Q5). It strengthens benevolent sexism, which is understood as “a paternalistic ideology in which women are subordinate beings best suited for traditional, low-status roles, who need to be protected, cherished and revered for their virtue” (Cikara, Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2008: 445-446). Benevolently sexist attitudes, although they do not seem so harsh as hostile sexism, do not prevent men from violent assaults against women (Glick & Fiske, 2011). Chivalry code, to which the campaign refers, comes with the conservative world view. It requires and upholds the traditional roles of women
and ‘‘innate’’ behavioural role set (Moelker & Kümmel, 2007). Those women who break the concept of femininity are not under protection. The message of the campaign might be well defined but it upholds men’s position of power. The problem of men’s violence in general is not mentioned (Q4).
Conclusions

One of the methods to promote a new model of gender relations, and at the same time to engage men in the fight against gender violence, are social campaigns. In this study I decided to concentrate on the campaigns which use men as role models, because “a consensus is emerging that reducing and preventing violence against women requires the participation of men who can model non-violent behaviour, and hold their male peers accountable for sexist or abusive conduct” (Casey 2010:267). My choice was also motivated by the fact, that presenting men in social campaigns only as perpetrators of violence may lead to a defensive reaction (Ruxton & Van der Gaag, 2012), also in form of so-called men’s organizations and as such to limit the participation of men in the active fight against gender violence. However, when choosing role models and designing social campaigns, one should remember not to unintentionally reinforce existing cultural definition of masculinity. In Poland, during the last 5 years, there have been 4 nationwide campaigns which used known male role models. All of them were subject of analysis in this study.

What’s the problem represented to be? approach to policy analysis was used to examine the campaigns. The aim of my work was to find out how the problem of men’s violence was constructed in the campaigns. Application of Bacchi’s four questions enabled to discover which common, existing social assumptions regarding men’s violence were articulated, reproduced and/or challenged.

The analysis showed, that problem of men’s violence was represented differently in each of the campaigns:
1. In the *Avon Campaign* from 2010 men`s violence was not mentioned at all and the fight for the dignity of women was discussed instead.

2. *The Avon Campaign* from 2011 referred to men`s violence only in the form of domestic violence and was linked to the concept of a “real man”. In this context, domestic violence was defined as a sign of weakness.

3. In the TVN campaign men`s violence had more general character and was considered not only in relation to women but also men.


The “problematisation” process was built upon chosen social assumptions regarding men`s violence. The *Avon Campaign* from 2010 did not mention men`s violence at all, which is in accordance with the general reluctance to talk about violence against women. The analysis of the *Avon Campaign* from 2011 revealed that it referred strongly to already existing discourse of men as protectors, providers and fighters for social justice. A violent model of masculinity was presented in that campaign as a virtue and a “real man” was characterized as muscular, though, active, protective and ready to act/fight. *The White Ribbon Campaign* promoted the idea of men as defenders of women and brings back to life the ethos of a knight. Women were once more given a role of fragile demoiselles, unable to decide about themselves while men fought for their honour and general well-being. The TVN campaign from 2014 was much more diverse in its character, than the rest of the
campaigns, but also presented role models who exposed aggressive behaviour and promoted the patriarchal order of society.

But campaigns have also challenged some existing concepts regarding men’s violence. In Avon Campaign from 2010 male ambassadors supported co-operation of men with women. Analysis of the slogans of the ACV from 2011 revealed that it tried to create a new meaning of a “real man” by referring to man as a caregiver and a worrying human being. Moreover, it described domestic violence as a weakness, and by this totally rejected domestic violence as a factor deciding about maleness. In the TVN campaign, role models represented a variety of young and old, strong and regular men of all social classes. This diversification positively challenges the representation of a real man as a strong, young and muscular. In the same campaign women were said to be partners rather than subjects of protection, but what is even more important, violence as a negative behaviour was also presented in context of relations between men themselves. The White Ribbon Campaign proposed discussion as a method of action and criticized silent acceptance of violence against women.

All campaigns referred to violence by men in the domestic sphere. This kind of men’s violence was clearly condemned and rejected, but men’s violence, in general, and men’s violent behaviours as elements constructing masculinities were not entirely criticized. Those who planned the campaigns did not include men’s fight against their own and other “men’s affinity to violence, what is a very important contribution of men to gender equality” (Lechner 2012: 115). That is why, probably unintentionally, campaigns helped to reproduce existing hegemonic discourses on men’s violence and virtue of a “violent man”. Even though texts
include references to caring masculinities (Avon from 2011) and support cooperation of men with women, the signal sent by the images of role models overwhelmed the ideas presented in text. The campaigns promoted men as fighters for social justice and defenders of the weak. Men were placed in a position of control and they were encouraged to solve the problem between themselves, above women`s heads, hence hegemonic discourse of men as protectors was upheld.

From the intersectional perspective it was interesting to observe that all role models were white, supposedly heterosexual, economically well established, fit and rather strong-looking men. In majority, they were young, although some were more mature. Taking into account some basic data on violence against women in Poland (age of perpetrators) and recommendations regarding fight against gender violence, it can be said that the age differentiation of role models is a positive aspect of the campaigns. Young and mature role models are likely to be attractive for different audiences, from which young boys/adolescents are the most difficult to attract. Other characteristics of role models have restrictive impact on the campaigns. Heterosexual and white role models exclude ethnic and sexual minorities. High economic status (visible through clothes – fashionable, white, well fitted shirts) creates a notion of exclusivity and, what is even worse, may suggest that the rich combat violence against women, when the poor are mainly perpetrators. Fit, strong looking and ready to fight bodies of role models may create a notion of heroism and somehow intimidate those, who does not feel, in terms of body characteristics, men enough.

The concept of cooperating with men on gender equality is a key area to work with (Ruxton & Van der Gaag, 2012). Engaging men requires a multifaceted
process of awareness raising on men`s social privileged position and their social identities shaped by the ideas of masculinity. Although men are interested in gender equality more and more often and higher number of policies concentrate on them (Lechner, 2013), there is still a demand for men, on different levels, to get involved. The number of anti-violence campaigns in Poland is still low taking into account the scale of violence against women (Kicińska, 2012). Public campaigns which use male role models are even harder to find. Nevertheless, talking about violence, in any form, has to be done very wisely, because it shapes the social world (Hearn, 1999). It is very important to remember that masculinity in the campaigns must be disconnected from heroism and dominance, aggression and violence, and to recognise alternate masculinities, intersectional perspective shall also be included (Lechner, 2013). Public campaigns planned in accordance with Lechner`s words might have a true effect on deconstructing the current hegemonic masculinities based on the virtue of violence.
REFERENCES


