

## 9. Violence

### **UN Commission on the Status of Women**

#### **Conclusions on the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality (extract), Forty-eighth session 1-12 March 2004**

The Commission urges UN agencies, Governments, the private sector, NGOs and other stakeholders, to:

- 'encourage and support men and boys to take an active part in the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence, and especially gender-based violence... and increase awareness of men's and boy's responsibility in ending the cycle of violence, inter alia, through the promotion of attitudinal and behavioural change, integrated education and training which prioritize the safety of women and children, prosecution and rehabilitation of perpetrators, and support for survivors, and recognizing that men and boys also experience violence;
- 'encourage an increased understanding among men how violence, including trafficking for the purposes of commercialized sexual exploitation, forced marriages and forced labour, harms women, men and children and undermines gender equality, and consider measures aimed at eliminating the demand for trafficked women and children'.

### **The Council of the European Union**

#### **Conclusions on men and gender equality (extract) 30 November and 1 December 2006**

The Council of the European Union:

- 'acknowledges that the vast majority of gender-based acts of violence are perpetrated by men; urges the Member States and the Commission to combine punitive measures against the perpetrators with preventive measures targeted especially at young men and boys and to set up specific programmes for victims as well as for offenders, particularly in the case of domestic violence'.

## Introduction

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## Masculinities and Violence

'Every year some three million women will experience violence in one form or another. Rape, or the threat of it; assault, often at the hands of someone they know; intimidation through stalking; sexual abuse, either by a member of their own family or someone they know, much of it routine and known to others in the family; genital mutilation; and forced marriage.'

Trevor Phillips, Chair, Equality and Human Rights Commission

Men's violence represents a huge social problem, both in the UK and globally.<sup>489</sup> Whilst some women engage in acts of violence, men commit more serious and violent crimes than women; this gulf has been consistent over time, and is repeated in the statistics for other countries. Much of this violence – including, for instance, rape, sexual harassment and physical and sexual abuse – is inflicted on women and children (and girls in particular).<sup>490</sup> Other forms of violence – for example, football hooliganism, alcohol-related violence, rioting, racist attacks, bullying, military conflict – are predominantly directed at other men and boys. Men account for 75 per cent of all victims of homicide with rates three times that of female victims; the highest rates are for young men aged 15-29 years.<sup>491</sup> These manifestations of violence overlap in numerous ways, and there are complex and varied interconnections between them.

There are a range of ways to conceptualise the causes of male violence, including biological, psychological, role theory and cultural perspectives; however none of these appear sufficient in themselves to explain the extent and nature of such violence. What is clear, however, is that '*male*

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489. Hearn J. (1998) *The Violences of Men*, London: SAGE; and Pringle K., Pease B. (eds.) (2001) *A Man's World?*, London: Zed Books

490. WHO list more than 30 examples of different kinds of violence against women and girls, including trafficking in women, forced prostitution, rape, sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and female genital mutilation. See World Health Organisation (2002) *World Report on Violence and Health*, Geneva: WHO

491. Coleman K., Hird C., Povey D. (2006) *Violent Crime Overview, Homicide and Gun Crime 2004/2005*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 02/06, London: Home Office

*violence, sexual or otherwise, is not the unusual behaviour of a few "odd" individuals, neither is it an expression of overwhelming biological urges: it is a product of the social world in which we live.*<sup>492</sup>

Research on men and masculinities, drawing on feminist analysis, emphasises issues of power and control, and the ways in which male violence is used to establish, enforce or perpetuate gender inequalities in social structures.<sup>493</sup> Connell, for instance, argues<sup>494</sup> that many men, as members of the dominant group, use violence to sustain their position vis-à-vis women and children, and that men may also use violence to assert their marginalised masculinities against other men.

There are important connections too between gendered power relations and other dimensions of inequality, based on class, race, age and sexuality, which impact on the formation of male identities. For example, violence by men on men is more common where social exclusion is also present. Where the distribution of resources and opportunities is unequal – and felt to be unjust by the perpetrator – demonstrating toughness and a willingness to use violence can become central elements of masculinity. Some men experience a sense of being thwarted or hard done by, of having been deprived of one's perceived entitlements. In some cases, a man may inflict violence against those whom he feels are profiting by his loss, should be his inferiors, or are perceived as threatening or disrespecting his status.<sup>495</sup>

Men from black and minority ethnic backgrounds are over-represented within the criminal justice system. Explanations for this include: analyses around demographic population and age structure factors; family structures; poor life chances due to poverty; poor housing; poor educational and employment opportunities; and institutionalised racism. But despite the higher proportions of black people prosecuted and imprisoned, there are few differences in the number of offences admitted to in self-report studies; some show higher rates of self-reported offending by white respondents.<sup>496 497</sup>

Homophobic violence affects one in five lesbians and gay men, according to a recent poll commissioned by Stonewall and published in June 2008. The poll found a homophobic crime or incident had been experienced by 12.5 per cent over the past year and 20 per cent over the past three years. Three in five of the victims reported that they had been attacked by someone they did not know who was under the age of 25, with most homophobic offenders aged 16-20.<sup>498</sup>

The ways in which men and boys develop their sense of being male, and how they construct their own versions of masculinity, are critical to their propensity for violence. The mechanisms through which male identities are formed and develop through life are a complex interplay of cultural identity, personal and community influences.

Many men and boys are seduced by pervasive and damaging ideas and images, fuelled by the media and by peer groups (among other factors), of what being a 'real man' is about: being rich, successful, handsome, powerful and obeyed or 'respected', physically strong, unemotional. Masculine identities are constructed that value displays of power, sexual conquest, homophobia, violent expressions of masculinity and negativity towards education. Simultaneously, women and girls are trivialised and objectified, and views supportive of sexual exploitation and domestic violence may develop. These can contribute to violence, as challenges to men's status or dignity are responded to by some men with force as they try to maintain or shore up a sense of masculine entitlement.

492. Cowburn M., Wilson C., with Loewenstein P. (1992) *Changing Men: A Practice Guide to Working with Adult Male Sex Offenders*, Nottingham: Nottinghamshire Probation Service

493. Ferguson H., Hearn J., Holter Ø.G., Jalmert L., Kimmel M., Lang J., Morrell R. and de Vylder S. (2004) *Ending Gender-based Violence: A Call for Global Action to Involve Men*, SIDA, Stockholm. Available at: [www.sida.se/content/1/c6/02/47/27/SVI34602.pdf](http://www.sida.se/content/1/c6/02/47/27/SVI34602.pdf)

494. Connell R. (1995) *Masculinities*, Cambridge: Polity

495. There is however no inevitable connection here. For example, in the case of child sexual abuse, there is no relation to social disadvantage or loss of entitlement.

496. Sharp C., Budd T. (2005) *Minority Ethnic Groups and Crime: findings from the 2003 offending, crime and justice survey*, report 33/05, London: Home Office

497. Armstrong D., Hine J., Hacking S., Armaos R., Jones R., Klessinger N. and France A. (2005) *Children, Risk and Crime: the on track youth lifestyle surveys*, Home Office Research Study 278, London: Home Office

498. Nicolas A., Kershaw C., Walker A. (2007) *Crime in England and Wales*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 11/07

The contexts in which different forms of violence take place are also significant. In general, women are at greatest risk of violence from men they know, and women and girls are the most frequent victims of violence within the family and between intimate partners.<sup>499</sup> Men are most at risk from other men, and the place where they are most likely to be assaulted is on the street.<sup>500</sup>

Alcohol is a factor in the murder of 50 per cent of men by men.<sup>501</sup> Often these are the result of quarrels between unrelated, predominately white young men, unpremeditated, and frequently precipitated by relatively trivial events.<sup>502</sup> The occurrence of violence following alcohol consumption by young men led Tomson<sup>503</sup> to call for consideration of the '*combination of a masculine social identity and heavy group drinking and the importance of male honour in much social interaction that leads to much violent behaviour*'.

Historically, violence suffered by men has met with highly visible, public order responses, whereas there has been reluctance to interfere in the privacy of home and family life; only relatively recently has there been an increasing focus by governments and agencies on violence against women. Nevertheless, this public/private divide fails to recognise the relative lack of safety of women in both private and public spheres.

Despite the extent of male violence, it is also important to remember that the vast majority of men are not violent towards others. Although there is much public concern currently about violence by and among young men, most are not involved, and the quieter contribution of the majority of young men to the safety and well-being of others is generally unacknowledged. The vast majority of men of all ages do not commit acts of violence against others, and the complex dynamics of why some men do not engage in violent behaviour, whilst others do, are poorly understood and require further research. This should be of great significance in constructing strategies for reducing men's violence, both in relation to work on broad violence prevention (e.g. media campaigns, legal reform, education and support for children and families), and on specific project intervention with those who use violence.

## Legal and policy context

In recent years there have been repeated criticisms, particularly from women's organisations, of the Government's failure to adopt an integrated, strategic approach to ending violence against women,<sup>504</sup> which recognises that violence against women is both a cause and consequence of women's continued inequality.<sup>505</sup>

In 2008, the Government Equalities Office published a cross-departmental narrative on this issue ('Tackling Violence Against Women').<sup>506</sup> This highlighted that tackling violence against women is one of the priorities set out by the Ministers for Women in 2007 (See 'Men, boys and policy', page 28) and the action taken in recent years against domestic violence, forced marriages, sexual offences, human trafficking and rape.

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499. WHO Fact sheet N°239, *Violence against Women*, Revised June 2000

500. Coleman K., Hird C., Povey D. (ibid.)

501. Brookman F., Maguire M. (2003) *Reducing Homicide: A review of the possibilities*, Home Office online report 01/03

502. Polk K. (1994) *When men kill: Scenarios of masculine violence*, Cambridge University Press

503. Tomson S. (1997) *A top night out: Social protest, masculinity and the culture of drinking violence*, *British Journal of Criminology* 37, 90-102

504. Kelly L., Veitch J., *Making the Grade – 2007*, The third annual independent analysis of UK Government initiatives on violence against women, End Violence Against Women

505. Coy M., Lovett J., Kelly L. (2008) *Realising Rights, Fulfilling Obligations: A template for an integrated strategy on violence against women for the UK*, End Violence Against Women Campaign.

506. Government Equalities Office (2008) *Tackling Violence Against Women: A cross-government narrative*, [www.equalities.gov.uk](http://www.equalities.gov.uk)

The publication of 'Tackling Violence Against Women' is the first time that any UK government has attempted to bring together policies across a number of areas. However, the emphasis on criminal justice responses obscures the connections between education, poverty, mental and physical health and socio-economic factors. The document so far falls short of showing how Government will address these gaps.

In 2007, the Home Office announced a new range of Public Service Agreements (PSAs), putting emphasis on reducing and tackling the most serious crimes, such as rape and sexual assaults. The introduction of the Gender Equality Duty and the publication of departmental Gender Equality Schemes is also encouraging many departments to look at how gender, and specifically violence against women, impacts on their work. At local level, new indicators on domestic violence and sexual offending have been included as part of the new National Indicator Set for local government.

In addition to legislation and policy initiatives set out in the specific sections below, cross-government action plans have also been established, especially for domestic violence; sexual violence and abuse and human trafficking. Collaboration on initiatives has been particularly fruitful where it has involved not only government departments responsible for criminal justice and law enforcement, but also those with a welfare remit (e.g. the Department of Health and Department for Children, Schools and Families) and NGO experts. But this approach tends to be the exception; most initiatives in this field only engage criminal justice and law enforcement departments. This continues to give rise to concerns among practitioners that there is not enough emphasis on violence prevention.

Notably, 'Tackling Violence Against Women' highlights the importance of developing what it calls a 'men's agenda' and states that: '*Over the last year, the Government has also been working hard to get more men involved as a powerful lobbying force to challenge the culture and behaviour that enables – and excuses – violence against women*'.<sup>507</sup> Apart from welcome support for the establishment of the Coalition on Men and Boys, initiatives under this heading have so far been limited.

## Specific issues

### Domestic violence

The Government defines domestic violence as '*Any incident of threatening behaviour, violence or abuse (psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional) between adults who are or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality*'<sup>508</sup>... *Whatever form it takes, domestic violence is rarely a one-off incident. More usually it's a pattern of abusive and controlling behaviour through which the abuser seeks power over their victim*'.<sup>509</sup> Some critics argue that the use of the term 'any incident' is not helpful, on the basis that it masks one of the defining features of domestic violence i.e. that it is a pattern of behaviour rather than an incident.

Whilst domestic violence has a high rate of under-reporting,<sup>510</sup> the statistics nevertheless show the scale of the problem:

- On average, two women a week are killed by a male partner or former partner.<sup>511</sup>
- 89 per cent of those suffering four or more incidents are women.<sup>512</sup>

507. Government Equalities Office (ibid.)

508. This includes issues of concern to black and minority ethnic (BME) communities such as so called 'honour-based violence', female genital mutilation (FGM) and forced marriage.

509. [www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/reducing-crime/domestic-violence](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/reducing-crime/domestic-violence)

510. When professionals working in child protection, health and other social care settings routinely ask about domestic violence, this dramatically increases the amount of violence disclosed. See Hester M., Pearson C. (1998) *From Periphery to Centre – Domestic Violence in Work with Abused Children*, Bristol: Policy Press

511. [www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/dv/dv01.htm](http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/dv/dv01.htm)

512. [www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/dv/dv01.htm](http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/dv/dv01.htm)

- One in four women and one in six men will be a victim of domestic violence in their lifetime, with women at greater risk of repeat victimisation and serious injury.<sup>513</sup>
- The Children and Family Court Advisory Support Service (CAFCASS) reports that domestic violence is an issue in 75 per cent of the public law workload and 65 per cent of the private law caseload.<sup>514</sup>

Men who are using violence outside of intimate relationships, and are already responding to perceived threats from others with violence, have an increased likelihood of using domestic violence,<sup>515</sup> but the range of men using domestic violence is far broader than this group. Prevalence studies<sup>516 517</sup> indicate that domestic violence occurs across all class, race, age and social status, and explorations of incidence demonstrate that it varies significantly with gender – men commit the majority of incidents. However, the dominant pattern of male violence towards women can mask other much less common forms, including: women’s violence, violence in same-sex relationships, and in relationships where both the woman and the man use violence.

Women who have experienced domestic violence find that, post-separation, their capacity to establish lives free from abuse can be further compromised by ongoing child-contact disputes.<sup>518</sup> Exposure to domestic violence also has damaging consequences for children, affecting their development and emotional well-being; research consistently shows that children living with domestic violence have much higher rates of depression, trauma and behavioural and cognitive problems than other children.<sup>519</sup> The impact is exacerbated when the violence is combined with alcohol or drug misuse.

Women’s Aid and Refuge, the two biggest national domestic violence charities, have long campaigned for better protection for women and children experiencing domestic violence, through: improved criminal and civil justice system responses; the provision of safe housing; support services; and prevention work. The last ten years has seen significant progress on some of this agenda.

Policy on domestic violence has largely focused on the criminal justice system: policing, prosecution, the identification of risk and multi-agency structures to respond to this risk. For example, the Sexual Offences Act 2003 modernised the legal framework for sexual offences and made it easier for prosecutors to meet the legal requirements for proving their case.<sup>520</sup> The Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004 also created a number of new powers to strengthen the case brought by victims.<sup>521</sup> The ‘National Domestic Violence Delivery Plan’, published in 2005, is seeking to: reduce the number of domestic violence-related homicides; reduce the prevalence of domestic violence; increase the rate of reporting for domestic violence; increase the rate of reported domestic violence offences that are brought to justice; and ensure that victims of domestic violence are adequately protected and supported nationwide. To achieve these outcomes, the Government has committed itself to,

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513. Mirrlees-Black C. (1999) *Domestic Violence: findings from a new British Crime Survey self-completion questionnaire*, Home Office Research Study 191 London Home Office

514. Figures based on 11 months rather than a year.

515. Gondolf E. (2002) *Batter Intervention Systems*, SAGE

516. Richardson J., Coid J., Petruckivitch A., Chung W. S., Money S., Feder G. (2002) *Identifying Domestic Violence: cross section study in primary care*, *BMJ*, Feb 2, 324 (7332):274

517. Mooney J. (1993) *The Hidden Figure: Domestic Violence in North London, Findings of a survey conducted on domestic violence in the north London borough of Islington*, Middlesex University, Centre for Criminology

518. Humphreys C., Thiara R. (2002) *Routes to Safety: Protection issues facing abused women and children and the role of outreach services*, Bristol: Women’s Aid Federation of England

519. Humphreys C., *Relevant Evidence for Practice*, in Humphreys C., Stanley N. (2006) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection*, Jessica Kingsley

520. For example, the new laws have limited the circumstances in which a victim’s previous sexual history is admissible in court for rape trials.

521. For example, breaking a ‘non-molestation’ order is now a criminal offence, and anyone convicted of doing so could face a prison sentence of up to five years.

among other things, building more capacity within the domestic violence sector, improving the way the criminal justice system responds and better supporting victims and managing perpetrators through the criminal justice system.

In relation to children affected by domestic violence, recent guidance<sup>522</sup> has stressed that with the Children Act 2004, lead responsibility now lies firmly with local authorities. Interventions should be available in every area to: identify and protect children from further harm; promote children's well-being, achievement and self-esteem; co-ordinate agency responses and share information appropriately; inform children and parents/carers about healthy relationships and the impact of violence and abuse; and ensure that services for children/young people affected by domestic violence are systematically planned in each local council area. While there has been broad agreement about the standards and services needed, the availability of services remains patchy. Work is needed on implementation, with incentives for local authorities to commission an appropriate range of services responsive to local need as well as make the links to adult protection policies and procedures.

In practice, policing has improved through the provision of specialist domestic violence officers and the higher profile given to domestic violence within the police, although this is not consistent across the country. Following on from pilot projects like 'Domestic Violence Matters' in the London borough of Islington<sup>523</sup> and the work of Co-ordinated Action Against Domestic Abuse (CAADA),<sup>524</sup> the role of Independent Domestic Violence Advisers (IDVAs)<sup>525</sup> has been developed and IDVA services are being rolled out across England and Wales. IDVAs' primary role is to support medium to high risk victims of domestic violence, promote risk management and facilitate access to legal remedies. Closely linked to IDVA services are Multi-agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs),<sup>526</sup> Specialist Domestic Violence Courts<sup>527</sup> and a network of Sexual Assault Referral Centres.

The result of all this activity is a steady rise in the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in bringing perpetrators of domestic violence to justice, with the successful prosecution rate for domestic violence rising from 46 per cent in 2003 to 69 per cent by December 2007.<sup>528</sup> The message from Government has been that domestic violence is a crime and that offenders will be brought to justice, and this is vital if we are to create a climate of intolerance for domestic violence. However, there are limitations to this approach if improvements in criminal justice response are not matched by improvements in the response of other agencies (e.g. housing, children's services and the voluntary sector). The criminal justice system is used by a minority of victims and is just one mechanism to address domestic violence. Other options, like prevention work, have not seen the same levels of investment.

It remains the case that most perpetrators of domestic violence are not brought into the criminal justice system. There is a significant role for health and social care agencies in engaging with perpetrators of domestic violence, both in terms of prevention work but also in holding these men accountable for their behaviour. Research on help-seeking behaviours of men using domestic violence found 71 per cent of domestic violence perpetrators had been to their GP.<sup>529</sup> But at present there is no coherent strategy for primary care on how to recognise or respond to men who may be using violence towards partners.

522. LGA, ADSS, Women's Aid, CAFCASS (2006) *Vision for services for children and young people affected by domestic violence*, London: Local Government Association. This multi-agency guidance was produced by and supported by the Department of Health, Department for Children, Schools and Families, and the Home Office

523. <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/r91.pdf>

524. <http://www.caada.org.uk/aboutus.html>

525. <http://www.caada.org.uk/aboutus.html>

526. <http://www.caada.org.uk/toolkits.html>

527. <http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/dv/dv018.htm>

528. Government Equalities Office (ibid.)

529. Hester M. et al. (2006) *Domestic Violence Perpetrators: Identifying Needs to Inform Early Intervention*, Bristol: University of Bristol/Northern Rock Foundation/Home Office

Recent research by Cleaver<sup>530</sup> in six English authorities, looking at child protection responses in relation to children exposed to domestic violence, found that half of the referrals to social services which were subject to an assessment were re-referrals.

When a family is subject to social work intervention in relation to domestic violence, there is all too frequently little or no involvement of specialist domestic violence agencies. Cleaver's research also found that, where initial child protection conferences were held, domestic violence services were represented in only five per cent of cases and referral to a domestic violence agency happens in 20 per cent of cases. Mostly these will be referrals to services for the victim. While there is little research on engaging the perpetrator in such settings, it seems likely that this happens infrequently.

## Child abuse

There is a considerable scholarship exploring how child abuse has been defined and explained over the decades.<sup>531</sup> Indeed, the term 'abuse' is contested, with many authors preferring what is considered to be the broader concept of 'maltreatment'.<sup>532</sup> The relative contribution of factors such as poverty, poor housing, health inequalities, individual psychological characteristics and family dynamics have been discussed and debated. There is also literature exploring how gender matters in relation to understanding the causes and consequences of maltreatment. The literature is extensive in relation to child sexual abuse.

The vast majority of surveys across the world over the past 20 years suggest that men and boys perpetuate about 90 per cent of child sexual abuse, and reveal little or no correlation between child sexual abuse and the class, ethnicity or sexuality of perpetrators; the centrality of gender as a factor is, however, clear.<sup>533</sup> The majority of children who are sexually abused are girls,<sup>534</sup> but recent research has shown higher levels of abuse to boys than in previous studies. UK data also highlight the high proportion of incidents perpetrated by brothers and stepbrothers (as well as by fathers and stepfathers) within families.<sup>535</sup> It is important, however, to differentiate between offending by adults and by young people. Many young people who display sexually harmful behaviour do not go on to offend as adults. A significant number of young abusers also have a learning disability, and the management of their behaviour needs to take this into account.

Statistics on other forms of child abuse tend to be less clear-cut in terms of gender. In relation to physical abuse, women seem to constitute at least 30 per cent of abusers of children, rising to at least 50 per cent for emotional abuse.<sup>536</sup> However, figures such as these are influenced by the greater amount of day-to-day contact that women have with children (and therefore the greater opportunities they have to offend). They also ignore the severity of the violence, which tends to be more serious when inflicted by male perpetrators.

The contribution men make to the neglect of their children is often poorly understood within policy and practice. Mothers are frequently considered and treated as 'neglectful', whereas the notion of the neglectful father is often absent. Yet men may neglect their children in a range of ways, including by withholding financial and material resources and failing to work with the mother in providing childcare. Men can also contribute to mothers' neglect in direct and indirect

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530. Cleaver H. et al. (2006) *The response of child protection practices and procedures to children exposed to domestic violence or parental substance misuse*, London: DfES

531. See Parton N. (2007) *Safeguarding children: a socio-historical analysis*, in Wilson K. and James A. (eds.) *The Child Protection Handbook* (3rd edn), Edinburgh: Bailliere Tindall

532. See, for example, Cawson et al. (2000) *Child Maltreatment in the United Kingdom*, London: NSPCC

533. Pringle K., *Child Abuse*, in Flood M., Gardiner J.K., Pease B., Pringle K. (2007) *International encyclopedia of men and masculinities*, London: Routledge

534. Kelly L., Regan L., Burton S. (1991) *An Exploratory Study of the Prevalence of Sexual Abuse in a Sample of 18-21 Year Olds*, London: Polytechnic of North London

535. Cawson P. et al. (ibid.) and Cawson P. (2002) *Child Maltreatment in the Family*, London: NSPCC

536. Pringle K. (ibid.)

ways. The links between domestic violence, maternal depression and the neglect of children are increasingly understood by researchers.<sup>537</sup> However, it tends to be women who are held responsible by being categorised as neglectful or failing to protect their children. Meanwhile, fathers are not engaged with or held responsible in the same way (see 'Fatherhood', page 65).<sup>538</sup>

Current understandings of, and approaches to, child abuse – and child sexual abuse in particular – draw heavily on feminist engagement with the issues in the 1980s and 1990s in the UK and the USA, which emphasised the harms to women and children from violent and abusive men. The core analysis sought to highlight the linkages between various forms of abuse, such as pornography, rape, domestic violence and sexual abuse,<sup>539</sup> and to explain men's disproportionate involvement in such activities as arising from men's desire to maintain power and control over women and children.<sup>540</sup>

Whilst these principles remain central, the complex issues involved have been explored further in a number of ways. There has been recognition of the abuse perpetrated by women, although this remains at a much lower level than by men. There has also been growing evidence of a significant overlap between men who abuse their children physically and/or sexually and men who are abusive to their partners;<sup>541</sup> this has important implications for co-ordination and information-sharing between different service responses.

Another issue which has received greater attention is that of children affected by witnessing violence within the family, particularly to mothers. Children are increasingly regarded not just as 'silent witnesses' to this violence, but as social actors with their own perceptions. An important focus for research is understanding children's coping strategies, and how services can assist children – particularly when both boys and girls are reluctant to engage with formal sources of support.<sup>542</sup> Girls, for example, often use friendship networks as sources of support, more so than boys.<sup>543</sup>

At service level, Scourfield's research<sup>544</sup> found mainly negative discourses among social workers about men, who tended to be regarded as a threat, as no use, absent or irrelevant (although on occasion the fathers were regarded as more capable than a 'failing' mother). Interestingly, there were different constructions of men who were sexually abusive to children, and men who were violent to women. The former were regarded as operating according to predictable behaviour and attitudes: *'we should assume that multiple offences will have been committed; these offences are deliberate and planned and involve the 'grooming' of children; abusers will minimise and deny their abuse, so are generally not to be believed, whereas children are always to be believed if they apparently disclose abuse; you should not expect abusers to change their behaviour, at least not without intensive specialist therapy'*.<sup>545</sup> In contrast, men's physical violence towards women was interpreted in various ways, including mainstream feminist accounts based on men's power and control over women, and more traditional explanations of violence such as mutual hostility in a couple, or alcohol as the primary cause.

537. See Daniel B., Taylor J. (eds.) (2005) *Child Neglect: Practice Issues for Health and Social Care*, London: Jessica Kingsley

538. Milner J. (1996) *Men's Resistance to social workers* in Fawcett B., Featherstone B., Hearn J., Toft C. (eds.) *Violence and Gender Relations: Theories and Interventions*, London: SAGE; Scourfield J. (2003) *Gender and Child Protection*, Basingstoke: Palgrave; Ashley C., Featherstone B., Roskill C., Ryan M., White S. (2006) *Fathers Matter: Research findings on fathers and their involvement with social care services*, London: Family Rights Group

539. Kelly L. (1988) *Surviving Sexual Violence*, Cambridge: Polity

540. Featherstone B., *Gender and Child Abuse* in Wilson K., James A. (eds.) (2007) *The Child Protection Handbook* (3rd edition), Edinburgh: Bailliere Tindall

541. Hester M., Pearson C., Harwin N. (2000) *Making an Impact: Children and Domestic Violence*, London: Jessica Kingsley

542. Mullender A., *What Children Tell Us*, in Humphreys C., Stanley N. (2006) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection*, London: Jessica Kingsley

543. Fuller R., Hallett C., Murray C., and Punch S. (2000) *Young People and Welfare : Negotiating Pathways: Summary of Research Results*, Report to Economic and Social Research Council

544. Scourfield J. (2003) *Gender and Child Protection*, London: Palgrave Macmillan

545. Featherstone B., Rivett M., Scourfield J. (2007) *Working with Men in Health and Social Care*, London: SAGE

Given the evidence, particularly in relation to child sexual abuse, that men pose a greater threat to children than women do, there is a policy tension between promoting men's greater involvement as carers for children – e.g. in nurseries, family centres, children's centres, health projects, social work settings – and ensuring effective protection for children. Whilst there are potential benefits for children, women and men themselves in increasing men's involvement in caring, effective strategies must be in place at policy and practice levels for protecting children from all forms of abuse (see section on 'Work', page 45).<sup>546</sup>

## Rape and sexual assault

The current definition of rape in law is that framed in the Sexual Offences Act 2003, which came into force on the 1 May 2004. This defined consent as: '*if (s)he agrees by choice, and has the freedom and capacity to make that choice*'. In the offences of rape, assault by penetration, sexual assault and causing a person to engage in sexual activity without consent, a person is guilty of an offence if they act intentionally; if the other party does not consent to the act; and if they do not reasonably believe that the other party consents.

Deciding whether a belief is reasonable is to be determined with regard to all the circumstances, including any steps the defendant has taken to ascertain whether the complainant consents. In some circumstances, attributes such as disability, intoxication or youth may imply that it was not reasonable to believe there had been consent.

This is a major change in the law, and the Act abolishes the so-called 'Morgan' defence of a genuine though unreasonably mistaken belief as to the consent of the complainant. It means that the defendant has the responsibility to ensure that the other party consents to the sexual activity at the time in question. It will be important for the police to ask the offender in interview what steps he took to satisfy himself that the complainant consented.

The British Crime Survey 2006/07 states that five per cent of all women have been raped (or suffered attempted rape) and 24 per cent have been sexually assaulted.<sup>547</sup> Nearly all victims of rape are women, and in most cases the perpetrator is known to the victim, with only 11 per cent of serious sexual assaults committed by strangers.<sup>548</sup>

Rape and sexual assault are frequently part of the range of abusive behaviours that characterise domestic violence; they are also increasingly part of young men's violence towards women. Women aged 16-24 are almost four times more likely to have experienced sexual assault in the last year than women aged 45-49<sup>549</sup> and the proportion of rape victims under 20 years old has been increasing.<sup>550</sup>

While most men have not raped or committed serious sexual assault, many do, and many have attitudes that collude with justifications for rape. The ICM survey of just over 1,000 men and women<sup>551</sup> found that more than one-quarter (26 per cent) of those asked said that they thought a woman was partially or totally responsible for being raped if she was wearing sexy or revealing clothing, and more than one in five (22 per cent) held the same view if a woman had had many sexual partners. Similarly, more than one-quarter of people (30 per cent) said that a woman

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546. Cameron C., Moss P., Owen C., (1999) *Men in the Nursery: gender and caring work*, London: Paul Chapman; Pringle K., *Men and childcare: policy and practice*, in Popay J., Hearn J., Edwards J. (eds.) (1998) *Men, Gender Divisions and Welfare*, London: Routledge

547. Povey E., Coleman K., Kaiza P., Hoare C., Jansson K. (2008) *Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Crime in England and Wales 2006/07*, Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England and Wales 2006/07

548. Finny A. (2006) *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: findings from the 2004-05 British Crime Survey*, Home Office Online Report 12/06

549. Finny A. (ibid.)

550. Finny A. (ibid.)

551. ICM (2005) *Sexual Assault Research Summary Report*, London: Amnesty International UK [http://www.amnesty.org.uk/uploads/documents/doc\\_16619.doc](http://www.amnesty.org.uk/uploads/documents/doc_16619.doc)

was partially or totally responsible for being raped if she was drunk, and more than one-third (37 per cent) held the same view if the woman had failed to clearly say 'no' to the man.

Most of the treatment programmes for sex offenders are geared towards child abusers rather than men who rape women, although recent approaches have endeavoured to encompass various forms of sexual offending. There is some evidence<sup>552</sup> that a greater proportion of rapists, as opposed to child abusers, are in denial and probably less inclined to elect for treatment. While the benefits of programmes to treat sex offenders have been demonstrated,<sup>553</sup> evidence for their effectiveness in relation to rapists is so far lacking.

The Government produced its 'Action Plan on Sexual Violence' in April 2008. The current low levels of provision of specialist support services for victims of rape and sexual assault was highlighted, with commitments to address this with up to £1m funding for Rape Crisis centres. The Government approach on the whole, however, mirrors that taken for domestic violence and similarly leaves prevention work under-funded. In contrast, initiatives in the USA, like Washington-based 'Men Can Stop Rape'<sup>554</sup> and initiatives to reduce sexual and physical violence by young people through the 'safe dates' projects have shown some success, but do not have a UK parallel.

## Pornography

Pornography can be defined as '*sexually explicit media that are primarily intended to sexually arouse the audience*'.<sup>556</sup> 'Sexually explicit' representations include images of female or male nudity or semi-nudity, implied sexual activity and actual sexual activity. Pornography may be accessed through books, films, and more recently, the internet. In general, men are significantly more likely than women to view pornography frequently, to be sexually aroused by it and to have favourable attitudes towards it.

Some commentators suggest that pornography can have some positive effects, for example by challenging restrictive sexual mores, promoting sexual pleasure and developing education. They tend to reject accusations of obscenity and calls for censorship, arguing that male and female viewers of pornography interpret such images in diverse ways and that pornography should not be automatically associated with sexism or violence.<sup>557</sup>

Others believe that pornography portrays sex and sexuality – and women in particular – in highly abusive, objectifying and degrading ways. They argue it is violent, coercive and harmful – and becoming even more so – to those who participate in its production, within an increasingly profitable and mass-market industry.<sup>558</sup> Connections are also made with wider economic, racial and geographical inequalities which push vulnerable people into becoming involved.<sup>559</sup>

Although the impact of pornography remains contested, research on extreme pornographic material has demonstrated increased risk among adult men of developing pro-rape attitudes, beliefs and

552. Grubin D., Gunn J. (1990) *The imprisoned rapist and rape, Internal report*, London: Department of Forensic Psychiatry, Institute of Psychiatry

553. For example, a recent meta-analysis of 69 studies showed 37 per cent less sexual recidivism among treated offenders over control groups, although further work is required to clarify what works for whom and under what circumstances. See Losel F., Schmucker M. (2005) *The effectiveness of treatment for sexual offenders: A comprehensive meta-analysis*, Journal of Experimental Criminology, No. 1

554. <http://www.mencanstoprape.org/>

555. [http://www.nrepp.samhsa.gov/programfulldetails.asp?PROGRAM\\_ID=84](http://www.nrepp.samhsa.gov/programfulldetails.asp?PROGRAM_ID=84)

556. Malamuth N. (2001) *Pornography*, in Smelser N.J., Baltes P.B. (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 17, Amsterdam/New York: Elsevier

557. Strossen N. (1995) *Defending Pornography*, London: Simon and Schuster

558. Jensen R. (2007) *Getting Off: Pornography and the End of Masculinity*, Cambridge, MA: South End Press

559. Kelly L., Regan L. (2000) *Sexual exploitation of children in Europe*, Journal of Sexual Aggression, 6 (1-2)

560. Itzin C., Taket A., Kelly L. (2007) *The evidence of harm to adults relating to exposure to extreme pornographic material: a rapid evidence assessment*, London: Ministry of Justice

behaviours and of committing sexual offences.<sup>560</sup> Other studies have also highlighted correlations between the use of pornography and sexual violence.<sup>561 562</sup> The Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill contains a new offence of possessing violent and extreme pornographic material.

Child pornography (or as some prefer to call it, 'child abuse images') is a visual record of the sexual abuse of a child, and it is increasingly conceptualised as a form of child sexual abuse and exploitation.<sup>563</sup> Consumption of child abuse images, largely by men, continues to fuel demand, which is satisfied through the further abuse of children.<sup>564</sup> Despite attempts to close down dissemination channels in the UK, such images remain very prevalent on the internet, hosted in particular by sites overseas which are beyond the reach of UK legislation.

As well as women and children, men are also harmed by pornography; it has been argued, for instance, that pornography promotes myths of male sexual readiness and penis size.<sup>565</sup> Concern is also focusing on the impact on boys and young men of their growing consumption of explicit images (especially via the internet), in a world where children are beginning adolescence and puberty earlier, sexual exploitation is increasing and sexual imagery and pornography is increasingly 'normalised'. Seeing extreme behaviours may trouble or disturb, encourage experimentation or promote sexually aggressive attitudes and practices. Pornography also helps teach and reinforce sexist and unhealthy notions of sex, relationships and masculinity.<sup>566</sup>

## Prostitution

In addition to the potential impact of pornography, prostitution may help to promote or facilitate the normalisation of rape or sexual coercion or violence against women. The researchers in one study<sup>567</sup> found a correlation between high levels of pornography use and higher levels of use of prostitutes. Fifty-four per cent of men who frequently used women in prostitution admitted to having committed sexually aggressive acts against non-prostitute partners, compared with 30 per cent of the less frequent users.

Another study<sup>568</sup> revealed the peak age for buying sex is 34, with men aged 20-40 counting for the majority. Most are employed, around half are in a relationship and over one-fifth have children. The report also discussed the issue of the trafficking<sup>569</sup> of women for sexual exploitation with men who had used prostitutes. Several young men interviewed were aware of the issue of trafficking and made distinctions between trafficked women and non-trafficked women. Worryingly though, only seven per cent of the men interviewed indicated that knowing a woman had been trafficked would deter him from having intercourse with her. In fact, many interviewees believed that paying for sex meant it was always consensual and so could not be rape, even in cases involving trafficked victims. This study by the Women's Support Project also found that 12 per cent of their interviewees

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561. Cowburn M., Flood M., *Pornography*, in Flood M., Gardiner J.K., Pease B., Pringle K. (2007) *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, London: Routledge

562. Malamuth N., Addison T., Koss M. (2000) *Pornography and sexual aggression*, *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 11, Allentown, PA: Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality

563. Healy, M.A. (1996) *Child Pornography: An International Perspective*, Stockholm: World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

564. Carr, J. (2004) *Child Abuse, child pornography and the internet*, London: NCH

565. Brod H. (1990) *Eros thanatized*, in Kimmel M. (ed.) (1990) *Men Confront Pornography*, New York: Crown

566. Flood M., *Boys, Sex and Porn: New technologies and old dangers*, speech at conference on *Whatever Happened to Child Sexual Abuse?*, London: BASPSCAN and Nottingham Trent University, 29 November 2007

567. Macleod J., Farley M., Anderson L., Golding J. (2008) *Challenging men's demand for prostitution in Scotland*, Women's Support Project ([www.womenssupportproject.co.uk](http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk))

568. Coy M., Horvath M., and Kelly L. (2007) *It's just like going to the supermarket, Men Buying Sex in East London*, London: CWASU/London Metropolitan University

569. The Government defines human trafficking as 'the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of people, by means of threat, use of force, abuse or other forms of coercion, for the purposes of specified exploitation'. It signed The Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings, on 23 March 2007

felt that rape of a prostitute or call girl was not possible, and 22 per cent explained that, once he pays for it, the customer is entitled to do whatever he wants to the woman he buys.

In 2006, the Government published a strategy on prostitution, to be used by local areas to develop their own responses to prostitution, including: preventing people from being drawn into prostitution; providing support for people who are already involved and want to find a way out; and tackling the demand for prostitution.

In 2008, it launched a six-month review to look at what more could be done to address demand. Ministers have been examining both the Swedish model (where legislation to criminalise men paying for sex has been introduced) and the Dutch model (where a liberal attitude is taken, and ‘tolerance zones’ have been established).

In September 2008, the Home Secretary announced plans to shift legal responsibility onto those who pay for sex when the prostitute involved has been forced into that role.<sup>570</sup> The police will also be given powers to close brothels for a period of three months, even without evidence of anti-social behaviour or use of Class A drugs. A change in the law regarding kerb-crawlers will also mean that they could be prosecuted after a first offence, rather than as a result of persistent action.

The findings of a recent government-backed poll<sup>571</sup> suggested there is public support for criminalising the purchase of sex; 58 per cent of men and women support making it illegal to pay for sex if it will help reduce the numbers of women and children trafficked into the UK for sexual exploitation. The research also showed differences between women and men; a clear majority of women found both paying for sex and selling it unacceptable (61 per cent and 65 per cent respectively), but men were much more equivocal, with just 42 per cent and 40 per cent respectively finding it unacceptable. Younger people were more likely to find paying for sex and selling sex unacceptable (64 per cent and 69 per cent respectively).

It has been argued,<sup>572</sup> however, that toughening up the laws alone is likely to make little difference, given that tackling prostitution is time consuming and not a police priority in many locations. Instead, it has been suggested that more effort should be put into helping women to address the problems they face (e.g. drug abuse, homelessness, poor mental and physical health) and providing constructive routes out of prostitution.

Moreover, the success of any government-led initiatives may be limited as long as wider attitudes towards women and sex go unchecked. For example, the ‘Safe Exit’ project has highlighted the sexualisation of popular culture, evidenced by the rapid growth of lap- and pole-dancing clubs, striptease acts, ‘lads’ mags’, etc. They hold that this *‘normalisation of commercialised sex implicitly supports and promotes paying for sexual services as a legitimate form of leisure and entertainment’*.

#### Home Office poster campaign to tackle male demand for prostitution

A poster campaign to raise awareness of the exploitation and trafficking of some women among men who pay for sex was launched in May 2008 by Home Office Minister Vernon Coaker, as part of the Government’s review into tackling the demand for prostitution. The posters were piloted in men’s toilets in pubs and clubs in Westminster and Nottingham. They were supported by online advertising, with additional advice on the UK Human Trafficking Centre’s ‘Blue Blindfold’ website. ([www.blueblindfold.co.uk](http://www.blueblindfold.co.uk))

570. *New prostitution rules will protect trafficked women*, Home Office press release, 22/09/08

571. The survey was conducted by Ipsos-MORI between 11 and 12 June, and 29 and 31 August 2008 among a nationally represented sample of British adults aged 18+. Results are based on 1,012 respondents and 1,010 respondents respectively. See *Harman: sex trafficking changing attitudes to prostitution*, Cabinet Office press release, 04/09/08

572. Professor Roger Matthews, ‘Help women to quit street prostitution’, *Guardian* letters, 24/09/08

## Harassment

Under the Protection from Harassment Act 1997, it is an offence for a person to pursue a course of action which amounts to harassment of another individual, and that they know or ought to know amounts to harassment. Under this Act, the definition of harassment is behaviour which causes alarm or distress. This Act can provide for civil remedies, a jail sentence or restraining order backed by the power of arrest.

Harassment can include physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct. In addition, while the conduct must be unwanted by the recipient, it does not necessarily have to be that the harasser has a motive or an intention to harass. However, the harasser must know or ought to have known that their behaviour would amount to harassment.<sup>573</sup>

Sexual harassment in the workplace is often assumed to be behaviour that takes advantage of a position in order to try to coerce someone into sexual intimacy. In fact, sexual harassment may be committed by peers as well as by 'superiors' and of course the harassment may be same-sex and is not necessarily about trying to force sexual intimacy. An older American study found that 25 per cent of cases of sexual harassment include some reference to a man trying to persuade a woman into sexual relations with him, but in less than five per cent of cases did the harassment involve a bribe or threat for sex.<sup>574</sup>

In 2006, the Equal Opportunities Commission reported eight per cent of calls about sexual harassment in the workplace being from men, though they believed that reporting by men was low.<sup>575</sup> Some cases include homophobic abuse where the man was seen as not buying into the 'macho' behaviour and culture of the workplace.

Sexual harassment is about enforcing gender norms and keeping someone in their place. It seeks to make them feel embarrassed, uncomfortable, vulnerable and intimidated and reduces a person to their perceived sex role; it is not generally about sex. Sexual harassers<sup>576</sup> seek to enforce gender roles and usually target those who defy what is perceived as the norm. The behaviours of sexual harassment are less behaviours of seduction and more of rejection, humiliation and control.

This raises questions for service provision both in terms of support to victims and in terms of programmes to tackle perpetrators' behaviours. Any attempts to tackle sexually-harassing behaviour again need to understand the nature of sexual harassment and address the causes and attitudes to gender, identity and status that enable it.

## Stalking

Stalking is defined as two or more events of harassment causing fear, alarm or distress, by phone calls, texts and letters, or loitering outside home or work, or by damaging property. Stalking is a criminal offence. The vast majority of stalkers are male<sup>577</sup> and the most common victims of stalking are female. Analysis of the large-scale British Crime Survey (BCS) shows that 19 per cent of women, and 12 per cent of men, have experienced stalking at some point in their lifetimes.<sup>578</sup>

Stalking often happens within the context of domestic violence after the end of relationship. It may also occur between people who may be relative strangers to one another or have come

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573. <http://www.respect.gov.uk/members/article.aspx?id=7944>

574. Fitzgerald L. quoted in Goleman D., 'Sexual harassment: it's about power, not lust', *New York Times*, 22 October 1991

575. 'Sexual harassment of men revealed', *The Observer*, 25 June 2006

576. Berdahl J. (2007) *The sexual harassment of uppity women*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92 pp 425-437 and Berdahl J. (2007) *Sexual harassment: protecting social status in the context of gender hierarchy*, *Academy of Management Review* 22 pp 641-658

577. Purcell R., Pathe M., and Mullen P.E. (2001) *A Study of Women who Stalk*, *American Journal of Psychiatry* 158:2056-2060

578. Walby S., Allen J. (2004) *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: Findings from the British Crime Survey*, Research Study 276, London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate

into contact only briefly for some ordinary professional or social reason. Patterns of victimisation vary for men and women. In the BCS survey, 37 per cent of cases of aggravated stalking (with additional violence) against women were by an intimate, 59 per cent by other acquaintances, and seven per cent by strangers. Among men, eight per cent were intimates, 70 per cent other acquaintances, and 30 per cent strangers.

A common feature is that the stalker attempts to take or regain control and assert a connection that is denied or rejected by the victim, or seeks to punish the victim for this rejection. Where the stalker and stalked had been in an intimate relationship, stalking behaviour can escalate to serious physical and sexual violence. In a recent study<sup>579</sup> into seven domestic homicides, patterns of stalking behaviour were present. The authors of this study and others<sup>580</sup> call for this type of coercive control to be taken seriously, whether or not there is history of physical violence.

Stalkers in intimate partner situations are often in denial, angry or depressed at the end or imminent demise of a relationship. There is no excuse for stalking behaviour and the escalation of violence that often follows. Promotion of counselling and support for men around relationship breakdown and the acceptability of seeking such help, may also reduce the incidence of stalking and other dangerous behaviours.

### **Forced marriage, 'Honour' crimes, and female genital mutilation**

Certain forms of violence against women are more commonly reported in black, minority ethnic and refugee communities, such as forced marriage, so-called 'honour' crimes and female genital mutilation (FGM). These forms are often overly and mistakenly associated in the public mind with Islam, whereas they are seen across a range of communities and religious backgrounds.

While it is important to understand the context of the abuse, practices such as these should never be justified, condoned or excused. Public policy responses that accept cultural, religious or traditional justifications for these practices breach international human rights standards.<sup>581</sup>

**Forced marriage** is different to arranged marriage in that, in a forced marriage, both parties do not give their full, free and informed consent to the marriage. A forced marriage can include a range of criminal offences and human rights abuses such as: emotional abuse; unlawful imprisonment; abduction; physical abuse; rape; enforced pregnancy and childbirth; disruption or termination of opportunities for education, career or economic independence. The reasons given by perpetrators for a forced marriage are varied and can include: securing or honouring closer family ties, perceived cultural or religious obligations, ensuring land or wealth remains in the family and safeguarding one's children from perceived negative influences or choices. However, these are rooted in male entitlement and the control of women's sexuality.

Cases mostly involve women aged 15-24 (there is some evidence that a small number of men have been coerced into marriage), and one in four is under 18 years old. Of the 300 or so cases per year reported to the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU), established by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with the Home Office, 85 per cent involve young women and 15 per cent involve young men. Campaigners suggest the actual number of cases may be much higher.

Under the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007, where a forced marriage has or is about to take place, courts are able to make orders to protect the victim or the potential victim and help remove them from that situation. The Act is part of a wider programme of work to raise awareness of the problem of forced marriages and protect women's rights in this area. For example, the FMU

579. Regan L., Morris A. and Dibb R. (2007) *'If only we'd known': an exploratory study of seven intimate partner homicides in Englishire*, Final Report to the Englishire Domestic Violence Homicide Review Group, London: CWASU/London Metropolitan University

580. Stark E. (2007) *Coercive Control*, New York: Oxford University Press

581. For example, Article 24(3) of the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child commits state parties to *'take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children'*. Similar provisions are set out in Article 5(a) of the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Marriage Unit (FMU) has provided information to victims and to social workers, police, health and education professionals and is developing statutory guidance on how to handle cases under the Act.

**Honour crimes** encompass a variety of manifestations of violence against women including: murder (termed 'honour killings'), assault, confinement or imprisonment and interference with choice in marriage 'where the publicly articulated justification is attributed to a social order claimed to require the preservation of a concept of honour vested in male family and or conjugal control over women and specifically women's sexual conduct – actual, suspected or potential'.<sup>582</sup>

The instigators of such crimes are usually male. This reflects the fact that a family's honour is judged by the behaviour and obedience or conformity of the women members of the family. However, perpetrators can include female family members. Often the whole family is aware of and colluding in, whether willingly or not, the crime. Other family members' attempts to help a victim can lead to similar violence and retribution. Male honour or entitlement is discussed elsewhere in this chapter as a factor in much male violence, and certainly is prevalent in, but not limited to, black, minority ethnic and refugee communities.

The often extremely close-knit, intricate family connections and a tradition of putting the wider family interest above individualism can be a factor both in bringing about such abuses and making it harder for young people to escape or reject them. Communities are not homogenous and many individual and families reject these practices. However, sometimes they come under intense pressure from extended family members to commit such crimes.

**Female genital mutilation (FGM)** is a collective term for a range of procedures which involve, in the World Health Organisation definition, '*the partial or complete removal of the external female genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs whether for cultural or any other non-therapeutic reason*'. FGM is usually carried out on girls aged 4-13, but in some cases it is performed on babies or young women before marriage or pregnancy. FGM has been widely condemned as violence against girl children and women, a serious public health hazard and a human rights issue. The practice is medically unnecessary, and causes enduring physical, psychological and sexual harm.

FGM is mainly practised in African countries, and sometimes in Middle Eastern and Asian countries, but it is increasing in immigrant and refugee communities in Western Europe. One recent study<sup>583</sup> revealed that nearly 66,000 women with FGM were living in England and Wales in 2001, and that over 20,000 more girls under 15 years old could be at risk.

The procedure is traditionally carried out by an older woman with no medical training and with rudimentary equipment. However, men dominate decision-making at a family and community level generally, and this includes whether or not FGM should be practised on children. Men therefore have a key role in either perpetuating or eradicating FGM. One current project ('Mobilising Men on FGM in the UK'), led by WoManBeing, is surveying the knowledge, attitudes and practices of African men, and planning appropriate interventions with men to address the issues.

FGM has been a criminal offence in the UK since 1985, and the Female Genital Mutilation Act 2003 makes it an offence for UK nationals or permanent UK residents to carry out FGM abroad, or to aid, abet, counsel or procure the carrying out of FGM abroad or even in countries where FGM is legal. However, there have been no prosecutions under the law despite more and more women presenting themselves to healthcare professionals and specialist clinics.

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582. Hossain S., Welchman L (2005) *Honour: Crimes, Paradigms and Violence Against Women*, London: Zed Books

583. Dorkenoo E., Morison L., Macfarlane A. (2007) *A Statistical Study to Estimate the Prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation in England and Wales*, London: Foundation for Women's Health, Research and Development (FORWARD)

## Violence against immigrant women

Men's violence towards women may be facilitated by the 'No Recourse to Public Funds' requirement. This is an immigration rule which means that those who are in the UK illegally, and those who may be here perfectly legally but on temporary or conditional visas, are not entitled to public funds. Public funds include benefits such as income support and housing benefit. Should a woman, who has no independent financial means and who is subject to the No Recourse rule, wish to leave a violent situation she will find it virtually impossible in practise to access a refuge or other specialist provision, as refuges work on the premise that the person's living costs are covered by their receipt of income support and housing benefit. People in the UK on student, visitor, temporary work or new-spouse visas could all be affected by this rule as are those who may be illegal migrants, trafficked victims or refused asylum seekers.

All too often the abusers in such relationships are very well aware that their victims will not be able to access help, and use this as a way to further terrorise and control them with impunity. It results in discriminatory and unequal access to justice and safety for some women, and is in breach of UK obligations to protect women within the jurisdiction from violence.<sup>584</sup>

## Violence in gay, bisexual or transgendered (GBT) relationships

There are significant gaps in our knowledge of the prevalence of violence in GBT relationships and in the provision of services for this section of the community.

A survey in the London boroughs of Greenwich and Bexley<sup>585</sup> of homophobic and domestic violence in the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community found that 29 per cent had experienced domestic violence from a partner, ex-partner or family member. More women (17 per cent) than men (nine per cent) had experienced physical violence from their same-sex partner.

While services working with men who use violence towards their male partners exist in many cities in the USA, there is very little recognition of this as a problem here. Levels of risk for heterosexual male victims are often lower than that of heterosexual women, whereas the experience of GBT male victims appears to be more similar in risk profile to that of female heterosexual victims. Sexual violence is often present as a central issue in GBT domestic violence and abuse, whereas this is not the case for heterosexual men.

The threat to 'out' remains a central weapon that GBT perpetrators can rely on as a means of control. Added to this are problems of homophobic abuse starting in the family of origin, the historic oppression of gay people by the police and a lack of specialised resources which mean that many GBT victims do not come forward for help.

## Young men, gangs, and violence

Men attempting to define their value and status through their ability to dominate other men is not a recent phenomena. For example, the 1960s saw regular bank holiday fights between 'Mods' and 'Rockers' in Brighton. However, the number of deaths of young men makes today's manifestation of youth violence a pressing problem; the murder rate for men aged 20-24 has more than doubled in recent decades.<sup>586</sup>

Young men aged 16-24 are the group most at risk of becoming a victim of violence. The British Crime Survey 2006/7 shows that 13.8 per cent of this group were victims of violent crime in the year prior to interview, compared to 3.6 per cent of all adults. While men, and young men in particular, are disproportionately affected by violence, this is not evenly distributed throughout the population.

584. Amnesty International UK (2008) *No Recourse – No safety: The UK Government's failure to protect women from violence*

585. Moran L.J., Patterson S., Docherty T. (2004) *Count me in!, A report on the Bexley and Greenwich Homophobic Crime Survey*, London: Galop

586. Dorling, D. (2005) *Murder in Britain*, *Prison Service Journal*, Vol 166, HM Prison Service

A particular focus of media concern in relation to violence has been the rising death toll among young men as result of gun and knife crime.<sup>587</sup> A recent independent review of evidence in relation to knife crime found that: knife carrying, especially amongst young men, is not unusual but there is insufficient evidence on the extent, nature, motivation, frequency and possible growth of knife carrying; children who have been victims of crime are more likely to carry knives; and children, young people and those living in disadvantaged areas are more likely to be the victims of knife offences.

The most common reason given by young men for committing a violent offence is self-defence, and this is also the reason most frequently given for carrying a knife.<sup>588</sup> Boys who use violence have learned that individuals in their immediate environment often have hostile intentions and may inappropriately attribute hostile intent when none may exist.<sup>589</sup> There is a paradox of young men in urban areas of high deprivation being both feared and fearful, leading to a willingness to use violence both to maintain a reputation and provide an illusion of safety.<sup>590</sup>

Often, but not always, young men who carry weapons are involved with gangs. Early research into gangs identified how they serve to bolster self-esteem in environments where marginalisation is widespread, and focused on how gangs are organised around hierarchies, how they define territory, and their distinctive cultural features (names, rituals, dress, language). Post-war research has stressed more the ways in which young men can feel blocked from achieving mainstream success in increasingly materialistic societies, leading them to retreat to exaggerated (and illusory) performances of masculine strength through violence. Understanding the intersections between exclusion, and the developing identities of boys and their peer groups, is therefore vital in order to understand how an *'aggressive street culture replaces success in other spheres of life as an expression of masculinity'*.<sup>591</sup> The links gangs have with criminal activity and organised crime (particularly drugs distribution) have also been increasingly explored.<sup>592</sup>

Whilst boys and young men are more likely to be involved in gangs and/or carry (or be threatened with) weapons, the roles that girls and young women play with and around gangs is insufficiently recognised. As well as participating in gangs, minding weapons, and acting as alibis for (male) gang members, women associating with gangs are frequently the targets of violence. Purely by associating with a gang member, they may be at risk of rape and sexual assault, as retaliation for something a boy to whom they are connected has (or may have) done. Sexual assault in playgrounds is also a worrying phenomenon whereby schools may be used as grooming grounds to attract girls to gangs. Sexual assault referral centres are also increasingly seeing teenage girls (14-15 years old) reporting sexual assault by multiple perpetrators. Under-reporting and detection is a common issue in relation to violence generally, but even more so for sexual violence occurring within a gang environment. There is a lack of specialist services looking at gender-based violence in relation to gang involvement, however, some projects are beginning to appear.<sup>593</sup>

In 2007, the Home Office launched the 'Tackling Gangs Action Programme' (TGAP), under which neighbourhoods in London, Liverpool, Birmingham and Manchester were awarded £1.5m over a six month period to develop innovative approaches to dealing with gangs. Further measures were set out in the 2008 'Violent Crime Action Plan' including attempts to: challenge the idea that weapons are glamorous; address the fear and peer pressure that drive young people to carry weapons; and

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587. Centre for Crime and Justice Studies (2007) *Knife Crime – a review of evidence and policy*, 2nd edition

588. Colman K., Hird C. and Povey D. (2006) *Violent Crime Overview, Homicide & Gun Crime*, 2004/05, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 02/06, London: Home Office

589. Barker G. (2005) *Dying to be Men: Youth, Masculinity and Social exclusion*, London: Routledge

590. Mullings C.W. (2007) *Holding Your Square: Masculinities, Streetlife and Violence*, Cullompton, Devon: Willan publishing

591. David Lammy M.P., *Youth violence is not about race*, New Statesman, 18 August 2008

592. For a more detailed summary of the research background, see Alexander C., *Gangs*, in Flood M., Gardiner J.K., Pease B., Pringle K. (eds.) (2007) *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, London: Routledge

593. Firmin C. et al. (2008) Building Bridges Project, Young People of London/Race on the Agenda (ROTA)

invest in interventions and information-sharing between agencies to identify those likely to commit serious violence. In the same year, the Home Office also launched a knife awareness campaign of adverts in women's magazines, encouraging mothers to talk about knives with their children; a new good practice guide for local agencies to help them tackle gang-related crime; and guidance for schools on how to reduce the risks of gang-related problems and how to deal with any incidents that do occur.<sup>594</sup> Despite these efforts, it has been argued that gaps in policy and practice remain. For example, there should be greater involvement of young people in the formation of policies that affect them; partnerships between community-based projects and statutory criminal justice agencies should be strengthened; and wider societal measures are required to address the cultures that foster gang membership and the carrying of weapons.<sup>595</sup>

Beyond the more public forms of violence described above, it is also important to consider young men's violence within relationships. This is an area with a dearth of information. One review of the literature found a broad range of prevalence estimates between different studies and suggested that it was hard to come to any clear conclusions about the extent of violence among adolescent partners.<sup>596</sup> In a recent survey in ten secondary schools in Scotland,<sup>598</sup> the majority of young people reported they had never experienced or inflicted physical violence within a relationship. However, nine per cent of girls reported being kicked, hit or bitten by their boyfriend, ten per cent reported their partner had tried to force them to have sex – and three per cent that they had actually done so. Young women were also more likely to report inflicting verbal and emotional abuse on their partner.

## Militarism

To address men's violence necessarily means examining its relationship with militarism.<sup>599</sup> Whilst it is beyond the scope of this report to analyse in detail the complex connections between public policy, public expenditure,<sup>600</sup> violence and the military, it is clear that the armed forces are part of the State and are organised in close association with political, economic and administrative power at the highest levels. They are concerned with both national offence and defence. They are specifically geared to the ability, actual and potential, to inflict violence and other forms of harm.<sup>601</sup> It is also the case, of course, that the military can sometimes play a specifically peacekeeping or humanitarian role, such as responding to natural disasters.

The impact of the military upon those outside the military – women, men and children – can obviously be huge. This is so in terms of direct and indirect violence on other combatants and civilians in combat areas. Research has shown too, that where troops are deployed for any length of time on active service, there is frequently an increase in prostitution and trafficking. During and after a military conflict has taken place, the levels, scale and severity of violence against women also increase within the community and may remain high for many years.<sup>602</sup>

594. For a more detailed discussion, see NCVCCO/NCVYS(2008) *Gang, Gun and Knife Crime: Seeking Solutions (Part 2)*, Speaking Out Briefing No 10

595. Firmin C. et al.(ibid.)

596. Hickman L.J., Jaycox L., Aronoff J. (2004) *Dating Violence among Adolescents, Trauma, Violence and Abuse*, Volume 5, no.2

597. Burman M., Cartmel F. (2006) *Young People's Attitudes Towards Gendered Violence*, Health Scotland

598. The survey was of 1395 respondents aged 14-18, with an additional 12 focus groups. Fifty five per cent were female and 45 per cent male.

599. Ferguson H., Hearn J., Holter Ø.G., Jalmert L., Kimmel M., Lang J., Morrell R. and de Vylder S. (2004) *Ending Gender-based Violence: A Call for Global Action to Involve Men*, Stockholm: SIDA <http://www.sida.se/content/1/c6/02/47/27/SVI34602.pdf>

600. In 2007, the UK had the second largest total (not per capita) military expenditure in the world, after the US, just above China and France, See SIPRI Yearbook 2008: Armaments, Disarmaments and National Security. <http://yearbook2008.sipri.org/files/SIPRIYB08summary.pdf>

601. WHO estimated that in 2000, while 520,000 were killed through homicide, 310,000 were killed from war-related acts. WHO (2002) *World Report on Violence and Health*, Geneva, Statistical Appendix.

602. Amnesty International (2004) *Lives blown apart: crimes against women in times of conflict*

Militarism and militaries are among the most clearly gendered of all governmental activities. Within the military, men are the vast majority of the active members and overwhelmingly dominate the higher ranks of management.<sup>603</sup> <sup>604</sup> The military provides resources for many kinds of military masculinities; these may include strongly masculinised and homophobic masculinities,<sup>605</sup> although in the UK and some other countries efforts are being made to tackle discrimination against gay men and lesbians<sup>606</sup> and to increase the status and role of women.<sup>607</sup>

The effects of military life on the lives of men in the military and their family and friends can also be severe. An issue that has been taken up in the UK and elsewhere is the links between military service and domestic violence.<sup>608</sup> For example, the one-year EU project 'Developing best professional practice for reducing sexual abuse and trafficking in militarised areas of peace-time Europe' (DAPHNE) has addressed this question in UK and France.<sup>609</sup> Additionally, institutionalised bullying, particularly of new recruits – some of whom have been driven to suicide – is an area of deep concern.<sup>610</sup> Soldiers aged under 20 are 1.7 times more likely to kill themselves than civilians of the same age, according to figures from a 2004 Ministry of Defence report.<sup>611</sup> These issues were investigated by the House of Commons Defence Select Committee in 2005.<sup>612</sup>

Other effects of military service have been highlighted. One direct set of effects is in the form of injury and mental health problems, especially after active service, for example, in Iraq. About ten per cent of UK troops airlifted out of the Iraq war zone between January and October 2003 suffered primarily from psychological problems.<sup>613</sup> A reluctance to engage in help-seeking behaviour is one pattern of young veterans.<sup>614</sup> More general effects concern the difficulties of adjusting to civilian life.<sup>615</sup> Up to 8,500 former members of the armed forces are serving sentences in UK prisons, it has been claimed. The Probation staff union, NAPO, said its figures suggested about one in every 11 prisoners used to be in the armed forces.<sup>616</sup>

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603. Higate P. (ed.) (2002) *Military Masculinities*, New York: Praeger

604. Women's military activity is also significant in particular times and places, and they may occupy key servicing or administrative positions.

605. Tatchell P. (1995) *We Don't Want to March Straight: Masculinity, Queers and the Military*, London: Cassell.

606. In July 2008, the Army joined the Royal Navy as a member of Stonewall's 'Diversity Champions' programme. These Services are working with Stonewall to promote good working conditions for all existing and potential employees and to ensure equal treatment for those who are lesbian, gay and bisexual

607. Since the early 1990s there have been significant changes in the duties of women within the UK armed forces; for instance women became eligible to serve in surface ships, as aircrew, and also in a much greater range of posts in the Army. They now form nine per cent of service personnel, and 11 per cent of officers.

608. Mercier P.J., Mercier J.D. (eds.) (2000) *Battle Cries on the Home Front: Violence in the Military*, Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas

609. [http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/funding/2004\\_2007/daphne/illustrative\\_cases/illustrative\\_cases\\_en/09\\_military\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding/2004_2007/daphne/illustrative_cases/illustrative_cases_en/09_military_en.pdf)

610. James K. Wither (2004) 'Battling bullying in the British Army 1987–2004', *The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies*, 1. <http://www.pipss.org/document46.html> The forces helpline is at: <http://www.forces-helpline.com/>. A very recent BBC investigation in Catterick Garrison is reviewed in Russell Jenkins (2008) 'Five Army instructors suspended over bullying claims at Catterick', *The Times*, 19 September. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article4781233.ece>

611. Sarah Hall 'Army recruits more prone to suicide than civilians', *The Guardian*, 28 August 2004. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2004/aug/28/mentalhealth.politics>

612. House of Commons Defence Select Committee (2005) Third Report: <http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmdfence/63/6302.htm>. Also see 'The bullying culture of the British Army', *The Independent*, 15 March 2005 <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/leading-articles/the-bullying-culture-of-the-british-army-528493.html>

613. Iversen A. et al. (2005) *Goodbye and good luck: the mental health needs and treatment experiences of British ex-service personnel*, *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 186: 480-486. See [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/4632263.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4632263.stm)

614. van Staden L.N., Fear N., Iversen A., French C., Dandeker C., Wessely S. (2007) *Young military veterans show similar help seeking behaviour*, *BMJ*, 334:382 (24 February)

615. Higate P. (2001) *Theorizing continuity: From military to civil life*, *Armed Forces and Society*, 27(3): 443-460.

616. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/wales/7589953.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/7589953.stm)

**Tackling domestic violence in British Forces Germany**

The Domestic Abuse Forum in British Forces Germany (BFG) seeks to address the myths surrounding domestic abuse and strives to raise awareness of the long-term impact of domestic abuse.

The close relationships within the military means that friends, neighbours and colleagues are often likely to report domestic disputes by calling the Royal Military Police or by making a referral to social services. This can result in early intervention with those families where domestic abuse is an issue.

The Domestic Abuse Forum also works hard to ensure that those who wish to leave an abusive relationship know how to access support. It appears that sometimes spouses are deterred from leaving their abusive partner because of the enormity of the task given the added dimension of relocating to the UK, finding a new home, new job and new schools for their children.

Work is also being done in BFG on perpetrator programmes for those who want to change their behaviour. The conviction rates at Courts Martial in BFG for cases where domestic abuse is an issue are very low, mirroring the UK picture.

Mags Godderidge, Director of Relate, British Forces Germany and Chair of the Domestic Abuse Forum (personal communication)

**Male victims of violence**

Men are often victims of public forms of violence, such as war, political conflict and street and gang violence, as well as being the main combatants. Similarly, men can also be victims of violence in families or relationships, even though here (again) they are predominantly the perpetrators of it. Boys and men are most at risk from other boys and men, and much violence is male on male.

In terms of interpersonal violence, in the British Crime Survey 2007-2008<sup>617</sup> men had the highest risk of violent crime victimisation, but men were also most likely to be the offender (87 per cent of incidents involved male offenders). Violence against men is much more likely to be stranger violence (45 per cent of violent incidents against men, compared with 19 per cent of violent incidents against women). Conversely, 33 per cent of violent incidents against women were domestic violence, compared with four per cent of incidents against men.

In recent years, the numbers of attacks on people because of their race or religion has risen significantly. According to Ministry of Justice figures,<sup>618</sup> 41,000 such offences were committed in 2005-2006, a rise of 12 per cent on the previous year. Ten per cent of murder victims are black, well above the proportion of black people in the population (two per cent). Some seven per cent of victims are Asian and four per cent are from other ethnic minorities. Statistics such as these are also reflected in higher rates of fear of crime, which can have life-limiting implications. Nevertheless, people from black, minority ethnic and refugee backgrounds continue to have lower rates of confidence in the police, resulting in lower reporting and lower satisfaction rates where police did take action.<sup>619 620</sup>

Research on men's experiences<sup>621</sup> suggests that male victims of assault tend to regard their victimisation as 'weak and helpless'. Men's ability to admit to and recover from their abuse is hindered by male stoicism and stereotypical views among service providers of men as aggressors and women as victims.<sup>622</sup>

617. Kershaw C., Nicholas N., Walker A. (2008) *Crime in England and Wales 2007/08*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin

618. Cited in Morris N., 'Number of attacks on ethnic minorities soar', *The Independent*, 30/10/07

619. Phillips C., Bowling B. (2007) *Ethnicities, racism and criminal justice*, in Maguire M., Morgan R., and Reiner R. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, Oxford University Press

620. Yarrow S. (2005) *The experiences of young black men as victims of crime*, London: Criminal Justice System Race Unit

621. Stanko E., Hobdell K. (1993) *Assault on men: masculinity and male victimisation*, *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 33(3)

622. Flood M., *Men as Victims of Violence*, in Flood M., Gardiner J.K., Pease B., Pringle K. (2007) *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, London: Routledge

In comparison to women, who tend to internalise blame, men tend to externalise it; this may result in feelings of anger which can be a problem for others. Research<sup>623</sup> in Scotland, based on 21 men who had identified as victims of domestic violence in the 2000 Scottish Crime Survey, found that ten of these also admitted using physical violence.

This suggests that services for male victims of domestic violence have could have great value not only in increasing the safety of men, but also of women and children. Indeed, services for male victims should also be experienced in recognising and responding to men who are perpetrators.

Men are often reluctant to access social care services, and this is compounded by the lack of specialist provision dealing with male victims of crimes such as sexual assault, rape and domestic violence.

## Responses to male violence

Two main approaches to male violence can be identified. The first values 'tough' measures and immediate action, frequently driven by whatever currently is public concern. These are often targeted largely at men and boys, and reflect deeply, ingrained assumptions about the influence of, and connections with, masculinity issues (see also 'Ways Forward, page 151). Although this kind of approach is often presented as 'gender neutral' (as if that was good thing) it is often blind to the way gender, and specifically masculinities, drive much of male violence. Where we have this approach, we see tougher policing, more convictions, increased use of custody and very little preventative work. Young men become increasingly criminalised but the interplay between masculinities and social exclusion is largely unaddressed.

The second, more indirect, approach is largely aimed at supporting women – and specifically women as carers (although it is frequently presented as a whole-family response). Often such interventions do not serve the needs of women well, and men are not engaged with. As well as reinforcing gender stereotypes, this can result in an over-reliance on women to ensure that children's needs are met, and a marginalisation of the contribution from men (see 'Fatherhood', page 65).

In relation to services and support generally, there is also concern about equality of access for marginalised or minority groups. If government policies around cohesion and commissioning of services are poorly articulated or understood, then where there is a competition for scarce resources there is a real risk that economies of scale will kick in, resulting in the provision only of large-scale, generic services. Smaller specialist services meeting a very specific need to enable clients to access services in the first place, lose out. Black and minority ethnic and refugee communities, people with substance abuse and/or mental health issues, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, ex-offenders etc are all groups who may need non-statutory, specialist help, advice, advocacy and understanding of a provider to enable them to access more statutory or mainstream service providers.

## Specialist services for male perpetrators of domestic violence

Services for convicted domestic violence offenders are delivered by the Prison and Probation Service. Those outside of the criminal justice system are delivered through a mixture of voluntary sector organisations and multi-agency partnerships. To be in line with the Nation Service Standards, applicable to Prison and Probation Services and those working outside the criminal justice system, interventions must focus on risk management, structured group work with the perpetrator, and they must have a women's safety service in place. Work with men who are abusing their female partners seeks to engage attendees around gender issues, and attempts to shift their thinking about expectations of entitlements in relationships.

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623. Gadd D., Farrall S., Lombard N., and Dallimore D. (2002) *Domestic Abuse against Men in Scotland*, Scottish Executive: Edinburgh

There is a lack of research as to the difference, if any, between men attending the services outside and inside the criminal justice system. However, men attending the services that are not the requirement of a criminal sanction are rarely doing so on a wholly voluntary basis. Often they are referred to such services by statutory children's services and increasingly via the family courts. Even where there is no involvement of statutory agencies, the men are often under pressure from partners and others to end their use of domestic violence.<sup>624 625</sup>

In relation to services for convicted domestic violence offenders, all Probation Service areas in England and Wales are running accredited domestic abuse treatment programmes. One approach is called the Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme (IDAP) and another is the Community Domestic Violence Programme (CDVP). There is a third domestic violence programme called Healthy Relationships (HR), which is currently available in five prisons.

Following the roll-out of the accredited domestic violence programmes, the numbers of domestic violence offenders coming before the courts quickly outstripped the available places, leaving long waiting lists for offenders to start these programmes.<sup>626</sup> Some probation areas have reduced waiting lists by reducing the numbers of offenders eligible for these programmes, by restricting access to only those assessed as high risk. While this may be understandable when faced with high levels of demand, the impact on the safety of victims, and what is available for those who fail to get on programmes, is concerning. Levels of resourcing for these programmes – and specifically for the women's safety services (whose funding is separate) – are not meeting the need.

Perpetrator programmes outside the criminal justice system often provide routes into services that enable men to self-refer themselves. Having a self-referral route can enable partners and others to make concrete demands on perpetrators to address their behaviour and contribute to the safety of those at risk.<sup>627</sup> These programmes can take referrals from a range of agencies (e.g. Children and Family Courts Advisory and Support Service (CAFCASS), Child Protection Agencies, Relate etc. This seems a vital component of a co-ordinated approach to domestic violence that can hold perpetrators accountable, improve outcomes for children and increase safety for those at risk.

Provision of services outside of the criminal justice system is very patchy and inconsistent, with significant parts of England and Wales having none at all. The result is that many men who wish to access services to address their use of domestic violence do not have this option, and children's services wishing to engage with fathers who are using violence towards their partners do not have access to an appropriate service to refer such men. Access to these services is also compromised by the lack of engagement with men around their violence by maternity, child health and family services. These services should work more closely in partnership with perpetrator programmes to identify and refer men who are violent. This raises specific difficulties for local authorities in meeting the requirement of the Gender Equality Duty in terms of provision of services to men. In addition, there is almost no specialised provision for perpetrators of domestic violence from specific black and minority ethnic and refugee communities either within the criminal justice context or outside.

624. Burton S., Regan L., Kelly, L. (1998) *Supporting women and challenging men: lessons from the Domestic Violence Intervention Project*, Bristol: The Policy Press

625. Hague G., Kelly L., Malos E., Mullender A., with Debbonaire T. (1996) *Children, Domestic Violence and Refuges: A Study of Needs and Responses*, Women's Aid Federation of England

626. House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee, *Domestic Violence, Forced Marriage, and 'Honour'– based violence*, Sixth Report of Session 2007-08, HC 263-I, 13 June 2008, London: The Stationery Office

627. Burton S., Regan L., Kelly L. (1998) *Supporting Women – Challenging Men: Lessons from the Domestic Violence Intervention Project*, Policy Press

### Respect's work on domestic violence

Almost all providers of perpetrator programmes outside the criminal justice system, and many of those within the criminal justice system, are members of Respect. This is the national association for those working with perpetrators of domestic violence and providing associated support services. The stated aim of Respect is to increase the safety of women, children and others at risk from domestic violence.

Respect has recently (April 2008) set National Service Standards and an accreditation system for all organisations working with domestic violence perpetrators and providing linked support services. This should assist and inform the development of a consistent level of service provision across the UK.

Respect and the National Offender Management Service are working together to develop a model for individual work with perpetrators of domestic violence, which is being piloted in the autumn of 2008.

[http://www.respect.uk.net/pages/Accreditation\\_Development\\_Project.html](http://www.respect.uk.net/pages/Accreditation_Development_Project.html)

## Responses to youth crime

The youthful nature of much of the violence under discussion has led to a youth justice response. An independent audit of the youth justice system stated that despite commitments to reduce the numbers of children sentenced to custody, the trend is in the opposite direction with numbers increasing by eight per cent since March 2003, against a target of a ten per cent reduction. The majority, 64 per cent, of the Youth Justice Board's expenditure goes on purchasing custodial places, compared to just five per cent on prevention.<sup>628</sup> This lack of a focus on prevention and over-reliance on a criminal justice response is seen across government responses.

One of the flagship responses to concerns about youth crime (largely young men's crime) is the Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO). Those under 18 years old make up 40 per cent of those who are subject to an ASBO, and the breaching of the conditions of an ASBO is a criminal offence. Critics of the use of the ASBO would say that this has led to increasing criminalisation of young people.<sup>629</sup>

Research by the Youth Justice Board found that young people subject to ASBOs were likely to be highly disadvantaged and led lives characterised by: family breakdown and inconsistent supervision; educational difficulty and under-achievement; previous abuse, bereavement and loss; residence in high crime neighbourhoods, with relatively few age-appropriate facilities.<sup>630</sup>

There is little evidence to show that punitive approaches to violence by young men have any impact in bringing about change in their behaviour. While the use of ASBOs has grown, the use of Individual Support Orders, which can lead to a range of interventions to support young people, has remained relatively rare.

There are almost no perpetrators' services aimed specifically at young men using domestic violence. Practitioners working in services which work with adult perpetrators are frequently asked to respond to young men's behaviour within the home, particularly in the case of violence towards mothers. Little exists in the way of established services to address this. Cheshire Against Domestic Abuse Partnership<sup>631</sup> provide one of the few examples of a structured intervention targeted at young men using violence and abuse in relationships.

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628. Garside R., Solomon E. (2008) *Ten years of Labour's youth justice reforms: an independent audit*, Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, Kings College London

629. Macdonald S., Telford M. (2007) *The use of ASBOs against young people in England and Wales: lessons for Scotland* *Legal Studies* 27 (4), 604–629

630. Youth Justice Board (2006) *Anti-Social Behaviour Orders*, London: YJB

631. <http://www.cheshire.gov.uk/domesticabuse/Partnership/CDAP.htm>

## Preventive work with young men

There are a range of approaches to, and materials for, prevention work with young men and young women, which have shown promise in engaging them in reassessing the attitudes and beliefs that support abuse, as well as their understanding of non-abusive behaviour. Young people taking part in this work actively bring up the connections between being violent to a partner and their sense of what 'being male' or 'being female' in relationships means.

In addition to efforts to develop prevention with young men and young women, there are also opportunities to address boys and young men specifically, particularly through work in educational institutions such as schools; this is critical to any strategy to tackle men's violence effectively (see also 'Education', page 105). A preventive strategy in relation to violence and abuse should involve engaging boys and young men about constructive ways to 'do masculinity'; positive relationships; respect for women; and non-violent behaviours.

## Anti-violence activism

A key area of action in involving men in gender equality strategies is in relation to tackling men's violence. Reflecting the development and focus of anti-sexist men's groups going back to the 1970s, anti-violence activism among men has grown worldwide during the past decade or so. In many countries, groups of men are seeking to take responsibility for ending men's violence. Whilst approaches vary significantly, they tend to involve a range of strategies, including: taking personal steps to minimise their own use of violence and to challenge other men to do likewise; engaging in community education; holding workshops in schools, prisons and workplaces; working with violent men; and developing mass media campaigns targeted at men. Most groups undertake activities in alliance with women's groups and organisations, and share a commitment to providing services for the victims and survivors of men's violence. The best-known example is the White Ribbon Campaign (see box below).<sup>632</sup>

Such groups tread a delicate political path in seeking to mobilise men in order to undermine the structures of privilege from which they benefit. Unsurprisingly, they are sometimes received with scepticism, particularly by some women's organisations, who may believe that male activists may entrench rather than undermine male privilege; Pease has identified a set of principles and conditions designed to avoid the potential pitfalls here.<sup>633</sup> Male anti-violence activists may also attract anger, hostility and contempt from some men. Although men's participation in anti-violence activism can be difficult for them, it remains a vital element in efforts to end violence against women.<sup>634</sup>

During 2007-2008, the Government has supported a number of initiatives (including the establishment of the Coalition on Men and Boys) to get more men involved in activities to challenge the culture and behaviour that enables – and excuses – violence against women.<sup>635</sup>

632. The range of groups and strategies is described in more detail in Flood M. (2005) *Men's Collective Struggles for Gender Justice: The Case of Anti-Violence Activism*, in Kimmel M., Hearn J., Connell R.W. (eds.), *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, London: SAGE

633. Pease B. (2008) *Engaging Men in Men's Violence Prevention: Exploring the Tensions, Dilemmas and Possibilities*, Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearing House

634. Flood M. (ibid.)

635. Government Equalities Office (2008) *Tackling Violence Against Women: A cross-government narrative*, [www.equalities.gov.uk](http://www.equalities.gov.uk)

#### The White Ribbon Campaign (WRC)

The WRC is probably the largest initiative in the world working with men to end men's violence against women. It was originally established in Canada in 1991, and the UK Branch was set up in 2004. The Campaign asks men to wear a white ribbon as a personal pledge never to commit, condone or remain silent about violence against women. It encourages men to do educational work in schools, workplaces and communities, to support local women's groups and to raise money for the international educational efforts of the WRC. The Campaign works closely with women's groups and in partnership with others (e.g. schools, businesses, trade unions, sports clubs, youth groups, government and NGOs). For further details, see [www.whiteribboncampaign.co.uk](http://www.whiteribboncampaign.co.uk).

## Recommendations

**Integrated strategic responses should be developed at national and local levels to tackle violence against women.** Consideration of masculinity issues should be central to such responses.

**In addition to existing provision within the criminal justice system, each local authority should have a service for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence, accredited against National Service Standards.** This should not be at the expense of provision for victims of abuse, but part of a wider strategy to promote prevention work, reduce re-offending, and improve outcomes for children.

**Young people who sexually offend should be seen as children in need, with more consistent assessment, information-sharing and intervention processes established.** Provision of services for children and young people who display harmful sexual behaviour should be increased.

**Preventive work with boys and young men is required to help them develop non-abusive masculinities, and ways of relating to women and girls based on equality and respect.** Every Local Safeguarding Children Board should support the development of initiatives to assist boys and young men in making a positive transition to adulthood. These should involve engaging boys and young men around the challenges they face, and on issues such as violence, relationships, sexuality, bullying and so on.

**There should be a requirement of children's services to attempt to engage, when safe to do so, with perpetrators of domestic violence where children are affected.**

**Training on awareness and recognition of potential child sexual abuse should be increased and improved, especially for social workers and health professionals (not just those working specifically with children).** Training for professionals on responding to child sexual abuse when it comes to light should also be more widely available.

**Efforts should be increased to reduce the consumption by boys and men of all forms of pornography – and violent pornography in particular – and to improve sex education and media literacy.** The Government, together with the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP), should seek to ensure that all internet service providers are filtering access to pornography sites, and only allowing adults access to classified pornographic materials.<sup>636</sup>

**The Government should explore the effectiveness of current media regulations on harmful content, and strengthen educational measures to counter the disturbing normalisation of pornographic imagery and practices across all media (including in particular television, advertising and the internet).** Specific campaigns aimed at men should highlight the links between pornography, prostitution and violence against women.

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636. Flood M., *Boys, Sex, and Porn: New technologies and old dangers*, presentation at conference on *Whatever Happened to Child Sexual Abuse?*, London, 29 November 2007

**The National Action Plan to reduce violence against women should consider how services that meet the needs of black minority ethnic and refugee communities are resourced.**

**There should be greater collaborative working between the specialist violence against women voluntary sector and statutory agencies.**

**The Government should seek to develop culturally sensitive, educative approaches to eradicate female genital mutilation (FGM);** this should include efforts to improve men's understanding of the harm involved in such practices, and to involve them in campaigns against FGM.

**A review should be instigated of the incidence of sexual assault within the military, particularly among active service personnel.** There is also a need for a review of the needs of family members of active service personnel, specifically in relation to domestic violence.

**The number of services for male victims of domestic violence should be increased (in addition to an extension of service provision for female victims);** such services should be required to have a good understanding and awareness of work with male perpetrators of domestic violence. The statutory sector should take a lead in developing such provision.

**Further research is required to highlight approaches that are effective in reaching men, tackling negative attitudes towards gender issues and promoting reductions of violence.** Resources for the evaluation of treatment programmes should be increased, focusing on what types of interventions are effective, with which offenders and in what circumstances.