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“Violent men: what to do with them”

Promoter

Associazione Gruppo contro la violenza alle donne
Modena (Italy)

New Title

“Responses to men who use violence against women: A European comparative analysis”

FINAL REPORT

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The reasons of the Daphne Project “ Violent men: what to do with them?”

by

Associazione Gruppo contro la violenza alle donne

From its beginning our Association has expressed the firm belief that the problem of violence towards women is not primarily a problem of women victims but a problem of men doing violence. Violence is not a natural calamity but clearly defined human behaviour whose monopoly belongs to men. In this sense it is not conceivable as an individual and psychological, i.e. private, problem: it must be taken as an ethical and political problem. In this perspective male violence towards women becomes the real and/or symbolic sign of difference in power in relations between genders, between individuals.

On the other hand it is not a coincidence if this kind of behaviour reveals itself, in 90% of cases, in intimate and close situations within the family, the centre of primary and fundamentally unequal relationships. In such an environment there are men who, instead of facing the conflict using words and “polite confrontation”, break it off through abuse and violence in the attempt to recover and reassert positions of power that they feel are put at risk by a growing capacity of self-definition from the female side.

In Italy we constantly verify that it seems much easier, obvious, taken for granted, to take care of the victims instead of facing up to the reality of male violence.

This phenomenon is minimised and the answer reduced to the criminal ground, or to a lecture of violence within the family, in terms of social difficulty or serious individual pathologies. These attitudes, we could define them as prejudicial, are not at all affected by data and knowledge produced and publicised, in these years, by the women working in Centres against violence. Such data bear witness to the vastness of the phenomenon, the ridiculously low percentage of lawsuits and, above all, of judgements given by courts for maltreatment and this, even if indirectly, allows us to draw a profile of absolute normality for the majority of men doing violence within the family.

The refusal to be involved is equivalent to “complicity” and signals fear of looking at, and facing, the crisis of traditional roles involving men and women, crisis to which men react by both having recourse to violence and showing great difficulty in being active within the change.

If violence within the family is the extreme peak (often submerged but which we have helped to reveal) of relations of unequal power between sexes, then the right direction is that of highlighting the family as a place from which violent relations can originate. An enigma, in some ways, because this is, at the same time, the place of primary relations and a blind area, in which the rules of democratic co-habitation are not in force.

The family, even in societies in which the political and economic context of parity of sexes shows itself, is still registering a disparity, an asymmetry of power between man and woman. The persisting disparity in the household duties, as well as the emerging, in particular moments and occasions, of violent behaviour in men are both signs of this reality. Besides, more and more heavy social tensions fall on and are absorbed by the family.

Thus, current family policies prove to be inappropriate; families which are still seen as being merely in need, regarded *as a whole* in which sex and age differences disappear, always considered in their ideal function of units of order and social balance.

The women’s movement had the merit, or duty, of redefining relationships between women, of discovering, facing and challenging the outlines of a confused feminine identity, characterised in relationships with men (be they partners, husbands or sons) by ties never clarified, always oscillating between role and image.

If what is said above is true, it seems necessary to us that the public recognition of women’s groups becomes a point of reference for any intervention addressed to men doing violence towards women. Having promoted the European research and having publicised the results in the Congress held in Modena in December 1999, means, according to us, open the discussion in Italy on the interventions addressed to violent men, stimulate institutions to take initiatives on this ground and to look in a new way at the problem of security and prevention of violent behaviour both in private than social context.

The Association “Gruppo contro la violenza alle donne” Presentation

Origins

The Association *Gruppo contro la violenza alle donne* has been set up on 5th, December, 1990 beginning from the enthusiasm to create a place of reference for women in difficulties

caused by maltreatment and/or violence, and a place which could hold the desire of achieving female freedom.

In 1991 the Association entered into a Convention – subsequently renewed every three years – with the Municipality of Modena, allowing the **Centro per donne che hanno subito violenza** to operate.

The Association, listed in the regional Register of voluntary work, bases its activity on the volunteers' work together with that of some paid operators.

Aims

Starting from the assumption that it is possible to emerge from violence through relations between women, the primary objective is to operate offering them a space and such relationships thus allowing greater possibilities of autonomous choices.

The nature of the relationship, which the operators set up with the woman in temporary difficulties, derives from the acknowledgement that she is an active subject in the process of autonomous realisation.

It is not a question of a pure and simple help relationship, but of projecting, together, a change, concerning, first of all, the woman received, but also strengthening the operator and the whole Association in terms of knowledge and ability to modify the general lay-out of the relation between the sexes.

Activity

The Centre's activity takes place in some fundamental places:

- Reception and listening centre
- Refuges (2 apartments for temporary hospitality)

We offer the women having recourse to the Centre:

- Support meetings, founded on terms of respect and privacy, aimed at emerging from violence and finding solutions to the difficulties;
- Providing access to the Association's legal advice service, "Women and justice";
- Link with the local net services and resources;
- Help in finding employment and housing;
- Self-help groups, exchange meetings between women who have known difficult situations;
- Possible temporary hospitality in shelters or other existing equally protected accommodation, in the area.

Since 1991 to 1999 we have received 1,203 women; 75 women and 63 children have been hosted in the shelters.

Since 1996 the Centre has widened its reception activity also opening to the requests of women who, even though not having suffered abuse or violence, live difficult and conflictual situations in the relationship with the person of the other gender and his culture.

Such situations, even not having the costs and the impact of violence, often represent its hidden nourishment and are the environment on which we have to elaborate female tactics and strategies to prevent violence itself. Difficulty, as we understand it, is the result of discriminations and injustices so deeply rooted that are now seen, within familiar and social relations, as natural; discriminations and injustices that effect women's lives as a denial or self-denial of female identities and peculiarities.

Moreover, the Association is engaged in permanent analysis and research work, fields strongly needing the break of sectorial limits and the creation of a place of reflection, starting from what we have learned on the women's ways of making society. Thus the **Centro ricerche sulla società femminile** has been constituted, research themes are: violence towards women, prostitution, female migration; main themes which must be included in a wider horizon of research already investigated by other groups and single women (care work in its socialised forms and in the familiar reality, transformations within the family, welfare changes etc.).

In parallel the Association works on **training**, setting up courses for new volunteers as well as refresher and self-formation courses for operators and existing volunteers.

Over the years, on the basis of specific projects the Centre carried out various refresher courses, mainly addressed to teachers, social workers, operators and volunteers of other corresponding Centres. Other example of intervention in which the different activities and experiences of the Association meet and are put to good use – violence, relation with other associations, foreign women's reception, training – is represented by the participation to the “Empowerment femminile e casa rifugio per le donne di Tirana” project, financed by the Italian Social Affairs Department, to which an operator of our Association participated as educator in situ for three months.

PROJECTS:

Prostitution

The project of action in the world of prostitution has been set up in Modena by the AIDS Provincial Co-ordination, which, since 1995 has started a protection and health's promotion program for foreign prostitutes working in town, this within the wider “europrotampep” project.

It has soon been clear that it was necessary to activate other initiatives in the world of street prostitution to support that kind of intervention, so to encourage means of exit, for the girls wishing it, from the criminal racket.

The local body required and obtained, in order to carry out this part of the work, the collaboration of the Centro contro la violenza alle donne of Modena, for the preparation, the drawing up of particular projects and their realisation. This work takes place within a national net in which operate many different realities, demonstrating thus the emergency of the problem. The collaboration with a Centro contro la violenza has a fundamental value compared to the issues related to the phenomenon in its complex, especially beginning from the political aim of the Centres: female freedom in its simplest meaning of chance of choice and individual action beginning from a disadvantaged situation.

The project, concerning the means of exit from street prostitution, is addressed to all those women and girls involved, against their will, in the prostitution racket and in the international phenomenon of trafficking in women for the purpose of exploitation on the Italian market of sex. Mainly, not to say in all cases, it is a question of foreign women and girls coming from Eastern Europe Countries (Russia, Ukraine, Romania). They come from situations of poverty and social insecurity and, for the most part, enter in Italy through criminal channels, forced then to live underground without any right of welcome or citizenship. In other words, they are not free, they are heavily signed by physical and psychological violence, done by those who decided that women are precious goods and a source of income not to waste.

In this context the decision of rebelling to exploitation and violence (denouncing often also the criminal organisations of control) means putting under risk one's safety and life. Thus this decision is an act of great courage and determination and as such must be considered. We like to stress the most significant aspect according to us. The women we are talking about (and once more we talk "on" them) besides being victims of violence and exploitation are also "migrants", that is, protagonists of a different – in virtue of the different original groups to which they belong/come from – female project for each of them, aiming at a personal autonomy otherwise denied. What we want – the goal of our work – is thus to promote and increase the chance to realise, for each woman wishing it, decent life paths, respecting the needs and expectations of each one of them.

The tools that we have are our capacity of reception and listening and the resource offered by the running of two apartments, with a total of five beds. The chance of using other hospitality places together with other Associations let us answer in differentiated ways to different needs: not all these women have the same problems of security, health, legal guarantees. It is essential to work

with each woman to understand the peculiarity of each situation. Equally essential is the Services and agencies network which, in the area, can co-operate to the resolution of the most complex cases. There's no need to say that the hardest question is to find an alternative job to the one on the street, for those women living underground or, in best cases, having a residence permit only for justice reasons. From April 1997 our Centre has received, in all, 70 women who decided to escape the racket and has hosted 30 of them.

House for migrant women “Semira Adamu”

During last years the number of foreign women received and met in the prostitution project has increased. This made evident the complex phenomenon of female migration, event as complex as underestimate. Becoming point of reference for foreign, migrant women and their difficult paths, has been the natural answer to more and more specific needs, requiring new technical instruments, new political analysis, new rooting and social nets, in a continuous confrontation.

The project *Casa delle donne migranti “Semira Adamu”* comes from the common will of the Association *Gruppo contro la violenza alle donne* and of the *Centro stranieri* of the Municipality of Modena and it has been set up also through public financing of the Region of Emilia-Romagna. The project can count on an apartment in town, which hosts migrant women, their children and an office. We want to (and we will work for) offer a place available for groups of migrant women which will confront the needs of their migration path.

We are conscious that emigration causes phenomena of disruption of balances and needs of confrontation with different systems and relations. Thus there are thwarted expectations, evident difficulties to cope with our reality, sometimes clearly hostile, exhaustion in finding a context in which insert the difficult and marked dialectics between the sexes. We have met at the *Centro contro la violenza* women who refused a story signed by domestic violence, abandonment, who had to face the inability of their men to live a different reality. We met girls involved in trafficking, thrown, against their will, on our streets, to stimulate the prostitution market; women always coming from different places, with whom clients haggle on performance. We then understood that for each of them (and for many others that we have not met yet) happened the desire, the necessity, the obligation, the choice to leave their country.

We believe afterwards, through this new project, that the time has come to “become aware” of migration stories resulted from a conscious, even if difficult, choice made by women. Stories not related to familiar reunion, not connected to criminal phenomena, stories where women are not on tow of their men's decisions. Migrant women to whom happen the worst jobs, the denial of

acknowledgement of the acquired educational qualifications, who have to face day by day our ignorance about them, their wishes, their expectations on this travel.

We want to give to these women our curiosity for an exchange and for a common work. We want to compare the searching, equal or different, of female freedom, challenging the difficulties due to the lack of tools, of language – sometimes – for an immediate comprehension.

We want to draw attention from the emergency (focused on the problems of “security”) to the necessity of multiethnic co-habitation through stories of migrations of women who do not accept to live in the shadow and in a subordinate position.

We offer the following activities:

- ◆ temporary hospitality for women alone or with children; the *Casa per donne migranti* can count on some beds, the stay is connected to the creation of a project and has a limited duration;
- ◆ reception to inform on town services, job opportunities, location, training;
- ◆ short training paths to give orientation and some tools for an easier approach to job finding;
- ◆ meeting and cultural exchange place in activities that can be self ruled on request of groups of migrant women;
- ◆ opening hours: Mon./Tue/Wed/Thus/Fry/Sat from 10am to 13pm, Mon./Thus from 4pm to 7pm

Children hosted in the shelters

In January 1997 an experimental project has been set up, through public financing (the Region of Emilia-Romagna), addressed to minors, children of the women hosted in the Centre’s shelters. The main goal is to support the relation mother-son, in the shelters and during the time in which the woman, projecting a new life, experiences new balances for herself and for her children.

Starting also from the contacts established with mistresses and teachers, it is possible to identify interventions aiming at going beyond the child’s difficulties and enriching the woman’s life project thanks to occasions of socialisation, emotional and relational growth.

Thanks to the relations with the Services existing on the territory it has been possible the realisation, every year since then, a Summer Centre, open when other corresponding structures are closed. Open not only to the women of the Shelters, the Summer Centre became a further resource for the Social Service which can offer both to the mothers of Modena alone and to the families a new opportunity of care and socialisation for their children.

What can we learn from European experiences

by

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Casa delle donne per non subire violenza (Bologna)

1. Introduction

Violence against women is an ancient phenomenon whose social visibility has arisen in recent years thanks to the thorough and persistent action of the political women movement. Its recognition as a serious social problem requiring measures and policies of intervention represents a social, cultural and political change of paramount importance.

This change has occurred as a result of the courage and the strength of many women who decided to speak out about violence; the untiring work of feminist groups who have created concrete forms of help for abused women such as anti-violence centres, women's refuges and self-help groups, groups for sexually abused women, specific projects of intervention for tackling the problem of sexual harassment, forced prostitution, women's traffic and female genital mutilations, all over the world. At the same time feminist groups have worked at cultural and political level modifying many common stereotypes on the problem in order to press institutions such as the police, courts, social service and health centres to produce adequate responses to the needs of women victims of violence (Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

Accurate documentation on this phenomenon is not available in all national contexts. Nevertheless data from several researches demonstrate that in many Western countries between 20% and 30% of women suffer physical and sexual violence from their partner during their adult life; the percentage is even higher if we include psychological violence (Johnson e Sacco, 1995; Mooney, 1993; Morris, 1997); between 13% and 20% of women are raped at least once in their life (Koss Et al., 1987; Resnick et al., 1993); between 20% and 30% of girls and female adolescents suffer from sexual abuse, often perpetrated by one male member of the family (Finkelhor et al., 1990; Mullen et al., 1996).

It is also well known that violence suffered by women is very often perpetrated by known men in familiar places rather than by strangers in public places (Stanko, 1995); that the problem

crosses all social classes and interests both the Western industrialised countries and the developing countries (Heise et al., 1994).

Male violence has widespread consequences on the general health and welfare of women. According to some recent evidence, women who are sexually abused are more often affected by health, mental, sexual, gynaecological and gastrointestinal problems; physical and psychological abuse during childhood leads to similar consequences. Women abused by their partner suffer more often from depression; attempt more frequently to commit suicide and have more psychosomatic problems (for a review of the literature on the consequences of male violence in women's life see Heise et al., 1994; Paci e Romito, 2000). The seriousness and the extension of the phenomenon of violence against women is recognised by many international organisations such as The Organisation of the United Nations (ONU) and the Council of Europe; some international conventions on this problem were introduced in many regions of the world: the *American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women*, the *Draft Pan-African Treaty against Violence against Women* (Council of Europe, 1997; see also Charlesworth e Chinkin 1994).

Traditionally, criminology and criminal policies have focused on perpetrators as a privileged subject of intervention confining victims to a marginal role, but male violent behaviours against women which often represent a violation of the criminal law have rarely been included among the objectives of their interventions. This fact is as visible as it is often ignored even today and has its roots in the tardy historical recognition of the female subject as autonomous subject of rights, and in the consequent social and cultural tolerance of male violence against women reflected in the small number of men who are prosecuted and convicted, especially when violence is perpetrated against partners (Terragni, 1993; Edwards 1989; Hague and Malos 1993, Vallés and Nina Pazarzi in this Final Report).

Quite rarely violence against women has been considered a problem of male violence which needed to be explained, reduced and controlled. Even in those European countries where a range of measures and policies for tackling the problem of violence against women have come into effect, the interventions addressed to contrast male violent behaviours against women have developed only recently. Until the end of the eighties, in fact, they were almost exclusively directed to give support to the "victims".

There are several reasons for looking at the problem of violence against women not only from the point of view of victims' support but also from the point of view of male violent behaviours. First of all, programmes and initiatives for men as perpetrators produce a reversal of the cultural and political perspective concerning women abuse of fundamental importance. Very

often the problem of violence against women has been implicitly or explicitly defined as a “female problem”: women are made responsible for taking the right steps to avoid violence and its consequences (Stanko, 1996). Suffice it to think that the concept of *victim precipitation* according to which the complicity/collusion of the victim with her aggressor is a determinant element for the precipitation of the violent event is widespread at popular and scientific level and it is still found in manuals of victimology. Another example about the understanding of violence as a “female problem” is the question often repeated in cases of domestic violence: “Why does she not leave him?” which seems to imply, according to cases, the collusion/dependency/pleasure of the abused woman as a determinant condition for the persistence of violence. The existence of programmes, which require men to take an active part in order to stop their violence, could clearly define who should be responsible for this change.

Secondly, it is necessary to combine women support with interventions addressed to men in_order to take a prevention perspective aimed at the reduction, if not elimination, of the phenomenon. They represent a basic step in order to prevent the first occurrence of violence and/or its repetition. Thirdly, many women suffering domestic violence do not want to end the relationship with their partner; they want him to stop being violent. From this point of view, the existence of programme for men represent a significant message which legitimises women’ demands and expectations for change, making perpetrators responsible for this change. Finally, through the existence of measures directed to them, violent men are invited to perceive themselves as persons who need help and have the right/duty to do something.

The need of promoting preventive initiatives addressed to men and to the perpetrators of violence in particular was underlined by the Group of Experts who produced an Action Plan for the Council of Europe for the elimination of the problem of violence against women (Council of Europe, 1997).

To produce a process of change at individual or social level is a hard and difficult task which requires thinking, competence and great engagement from any individual or collective, public or private subject who intends to get involved in the task. This research project was conceived with the intention of capitalising knowledge and experiences made in recent years in some European countries through the implementation of interventions addressed to men who use violence. The basic idea was to obtain the maximum valorisation of what already exists being aware that it is necessary to avoid any tendency of emulation, that is to say the *tout court exportation* of models from one country to another that does not take into account the conditions characterising each local and national context.

This Final Report accounts for the most significant data collected in the countries that took part to the research. The First Part consists of a comparative analysis of data arisen from the National Reports and supplies some guidelines for the implementation of future projects. The Second Part consists of the summaries of the single National Reports elaborated by each researcher for her/his own country and of their correspondent bibliographies.

2. Scope and methodology of research

The research project “Responses to men who use violence against women” has been carried out with the purpose to identify and describe initiatives, projects, programmes and policies of intervention aiming to modify violent male behaviour against women, implemented in five European countries: Italy, Spain, Greece, Norway and Great Britain. The purpose of the comparative analysis is the identification of different models of intervention and the elaboration of guidelines for the implementation of future interventions. The survey was carried out during 1999 and the research group involved consists of researchers from the above countries.

2.1. Scope

The concept of violence against women refers to behaviours resulting from very different social phenomena: genital mutilations and prostitution, domestic violence and sexual harassment at work, rape. Considering the practical impossibility to cover such a wide area of research and the importance to recognise the specificity of each violent phenomenon, the analysis has focused on the interventions addressed to men who use violence against partner and in particular to tertiary crime prevention measures, which refers to interventions addressed to men who has already committed violence. They represent one of the most significant development occurred in this field in recent years. Nevertheless National Reports also make some references to primary and secondary crime prevention interventions and to interventions for perpetrators of sexual violence against adult women.

It is important to underline that the concept of domestic violence against women refers to a number of intentional incidents and behaviours that produce a climate of fear and intimidation and impair the physical and psychological integrity of the woman. They break up in physical violence like: punching, kicking, slaps and pushes, producing haematoma, body harms or bone fractures, attempts to strangle, threat of death or physical violence; in psychological violence such as: denigration and humiliations, breakage of things and objects or use children for threatening, threats to commit suicide; sexual violence such as: forced sex, demand of sexual acts perceived as degrading by the woman, sexual derision in public; financial violence such as: deprivation or

control of the wage, to leave the partner and the children in poverty and abandon. Different forms of violence could be performed in parallel. As we said above domestic violence is a widespread phenomenon whose costs for women are high in terms of freedom and independence, of physical and psychological welfare and professional life.

Researches have shown also the importance of gender as a fundamental key for understanding violence. Domestic violence is commonly inflicted by men to their female partners and it represents an exercise of power and control that can be understood only considering the different position between men and women and in particular the structural disparities in terms of power at material and symbolic level that characterised men and women positions inside our societies (Dobash and Dobash 1979; 1992; Hague and Malos 1993; Mullender 1996).

This does not mean that women are never violent. According to researches conducted up until now, however, there are differences in the types and the amount of violence men and women experience. The number of women who use violence against their partners is limited and the type of violence inflicted is less serious: men are less often upset by violence and less often injured (Gelles, 1997; Stanko, 1999). Another data arisen from research is that the use of violence could not be explained through pathologies of social or psychological nature; through alcoholism or drug addiction. In most cases men who use violence against their partners could be simply defined as “normal” (Gelles 1997; Mullender 1996).

It is on the difficult ridge of a normal life, which presents itself with an unacceptable face, that the most significant programmes for men who use violence against their partner, which are described in this study have been implemented. The common decision taken in the course of this research to change the title from ‘Violent Men’ to ‘Men who use violence’ come well into this perspective: violence is not coded in the bio and psychic characteristics of an individual or in his chromosomes and therefore it does not represent an ineluctable answer. The initiatives analysed in this research have been undertaken in order to produce this change.

2.2. Methodology

All countries represented in the research are characterised by social, cultural, political and economic background that varies a lot from one country to another. The decision was to give priority to the documentation of the immediate contexts of the projects of intervention address to domestically violent men against women. The most significant indicators of this context were identified as: the diffusion of shelters and anti-violence centres; the level of consideration given to the problem of domestic violence in party programmes and or governmental policies; the existence of “pro feminist” men’s association; the existence of a specific criminal offence for the

crime of domestic violence and the provision or not of mandatory prosecution; the level and diffusion of training on domestic violence addressed to social workers, health care providers, policemen/women and judges; the existence of pro arrest policies for domestic violence and of specific units of intervention at the police stations (see Table 1).

Each researcher has conducted the survey in his/her own country following two common frameworks for data collection: the first one concerns policies and the second one refers to single projects.

FRAMEWORK 1: Policies

- Promoters
- Authority responsible for their realisation
- Objectives
- Interventions and measures to be implemented
- Period of realisation
- Evaluation and critical remarks

FRAMEWORK 2: single projects

- Promoter
- Agency responsible for its realisation
- Sources for funding
- Objectives
- Criteria of access and selection of project's clients
- Co-operation with other agencies (if any)
- Theoretical approach and methodology of intervention
- Project environment (community, penitentiary, institutional etc.)
- Participants number, drop out rate
- Evaluation

National Reports are based on these indications and consist of two parts. The First Part aims to put into contexts projects and initiatives of intervention for perpetrators and defines the framework of policies and measures concerning domestic violence implemented in each country; the Second Part documents all initiatives, projects and policies of intervention directed to perpetrators. When specific initiatives for men were absent, a bigger effort was made giving an accurate description of the context in order to get elements to think about the conditions that might favour or impede the introduction of such initiatives or that could favour or impede their introduction in the future. With regards to Spain a special effort has been put in the analysis of police policies regarding domestic violence (Vallès in this Report).

Sources of documentation such as scientific literature from each country and when not available specific instruments for collecting data were used for the work.

RESEARCH RESULTS

3. Setting the contexts

Norway, Great Britain, Spain, Italy and Greece, the countries where the survey was conducted have very different backgrounds. Suffice it to think that the Norwegian population consists of 4 millions inhabitants, whereas Italy and Great Britain have a population of just above 56 millions of inhabitants, 10 millions inhabitants in Greece and 38 millions in Spain; that unemployment rate in Norway is 3.4% for women and 3.7% for men, 26.6% and 13.8% in Spain respectively, 5.5% and 7% in Great Britain, 16.8% and 9.4% in Italy, 17.4% and 7.8 in Greece; that employed women in the working age considering the entire female population are 62.25% in Norway, 63.2% in Great Britain, 34.8% in Spain, 36.7% in Italy, 40.3% in Greece. Norway and Great Britain are both protestant countries, Spain and Italy have a catholic tradition and Greece is an orthodox country: religious contexts that refer to different systems of values, especially with regards to family (AAVV, 2000).

These are just few examples of differences that are worth at least referring to and indicating. It is important to take into account that the female presence in places of political and economical power differs from one national context to another as well as the social definition of gender roles inside and outside the family. For the purpose of this research it was only possible to describe the context related to measures and policies regarding domestic violence against women in general. During collective discussions that accompanied this research it emerged that it could have represented an autonomous topic of comparative research, due to the profound diversities, not always easy to understand, which characterise the single national contexts and the interest that it has arisen; besides for the lack of researches and studies concerning the problem of violence against women in countries such as Italy, describing events occurred in the last twenty years at social, political and institutional level. Although the data outlined by each National Report could not be exhaustive, they represent however an important contribution.

The main evidence collected are the following (Table 1):

- The presence of Shelters and Anti-violence Centres differ significantly. In all countries the organisations managing this fundamental resource for women suffering domestic violence endure a lack of funds. In Great Britain and Norway they are numerous and come under the form of well-organised federations. In Spain they are present in a medium number, in Italy and Greece they are scarce and scatterly distributed on the national territory. In Great Britain, Norway and Italy the associations promoting Shelters and Anti-violence Centres are mostly affiliated with the

political women's movement and characterised by a good level of autonomy from public institutions, who represent one of the major supplier of funds. In Spain and Greece, on the

Tab. 1

contrary, women's shelters look like a much more institutionalised phenomenon. As described later, this leads to significant consequences (also) for the project of interventions directed to men.

- Pro-feminist men's groups exist in Great Britain, Norway and (still in embryo) in Italy and Spain.

- In Great Britain, Norway and Spain public policies and measures in the field of domestic violence are quite developed. In the first two countries they have often assumed a gender approach focusing on the empowerment and safety of women. In Spain they tend towards more therapeutic and medical patterns of intervention. In Italy and Greece public policies in the field of domestic violence are completely inadequate both in terms of the legal protection and the economical and social support of women. In all the above countries their implementation is still inadequate, but where they are lacking, existing interventions are based on the initiative of shelters and anti-violence centres and on the willingness and personal skills of individuals.

The differences and diversities listed above could be taken into consideration when programmes of intervention for violent men are to be started.

4. Prevention measures aimed to tackle the problem of male violence against partners

For the purpose of a clearer description initiatives and programmes directed to men have been classified according to the concept of integrated crime prevention which distinguishes: primary crime prevention, measures addressed to the population as a whole; secondary crime prevention, measures addressed to potential offenders; tertiary crime prevention, measures addressed to men who have already committed violence (Willemse and de Waard, 1993).

National surveys have concentrated on activities of tertiary prevention, directed to perpetrators whether they were reported or not to the police. Some data concerning other preventive measures have also emerged. Before the presentation of further results it is important to outline that specific groups of men "at risk" of being violent against partners, have not been identified by scientific research. As we said before, neither drug abuse, nor psychopathologies of any kind could be considered as causes of violence; the large majority of perpetrators are just "ordinary people". Table 2 lists all preventive initiatives found in each single country.

Tab. 2

4.1. Primary and Secondary prevention measures

Public Education and publicity campaigns. Seminars and conferences on the theme of domestic violence take place in all countries, but with different diffusion and development. It was not possible to identify the number and the scope of initiatives that have put specifically under discussion violent male behaviours. The main national publicity campaigns with messages for raising awareness and responsibilities within men on the topic of violence against women have been organised in Norway and Great Britain. The British campaign *Zero Tolerance* started in 1987 promoted by the *Women's Committee* of Edinburgh. It spread afterwards in all the national territory and is well known all over Europe. It was followed by another national campaign in 1994 by the English government, known through the slogan "*Don't stand for it*". A third campaign was organised by the Scottish government in the same year.

The most important and the most 'male connoted' Norwegian campaign is the *White Ribbon Campaign* which began in 1993, developed by men for men. This yearly campaign aims at encouraging reflection, discussion and collective male action on the issue of violence against women. A second publicity campaign, "*Say no to violence against women*", was promoted in 1994 and lasted for two years.

According to our data, the only available evaluations of these initiatives were made in Great Britain. Their results show that *Zero Tolerance* had been successful in promoting information and awareness on the issue of violence against women. It met with a favourable response of many women interviewed; the diffused messages underlined that responsibility for violence lied with men rather than to invite women and children to take action for safety. Some men had a negative reaction to the message "No man has the right to" as it recalls them the slogan "Every men is a potential rapist". The campaign promoted by the Scottish government has been criticised because one of its messages encourages women to report abuse (placing the onus to take action on women); it increased information on the possibility of asking for help but it did not encourage aggressors to change their violent behaviour or their negative reactions. There was an increase in the request for help received by the Scottish shelters *Women's Aid*, but they saw no increase in funding. This campaign was also evaluated by an independent university research. The English campaign, "*Don't stand for it*", was criticised as it addressed its message to women rather than to men (Mullender, 1996).

Crisis and Advisory Hot Lines for men It has been considered important to point out the presence of these initiatives for their role in primary and secondary prevention. In the first place, their presence diffuses the message that (also) men may need help to solve their problems and that help is offered. In the second place, they might represent a source of help for those men who have

difficulties with their partners and therefore contribute to avoid an escalation of stress and tension which might lead in some cases to the use of violence. Some men who have already used violence address to these lines for help and they can be referred to a more specific programme. Norway is the only country where initiatives of the kind were implemented. Two lines are functioning in Oslo and Adger. An interesting experience, which is out the scope of this research, is represented by the Crisis Centre for Men MansCentrum in Stockholm, where men in troubles are also offered face to face counselling (Eliasson 1999).

Educational Programmes in schools. Other initiatives of primary prevention nature which have been found are represented by educational interventions in schools to inform students and teachers about the problem of domestic violence; to put under discussion male and female stereotypes of behaviour, the use of violence for solving conflicts, dynamics of power and control; to supply with advise in case they are facing the problem. This type of interventions has been found in Great Britain, Norway, Italy and Spain. They are promoted at local level by shelters and Anti-violence centres and by organisations that offer programmes as ATV for men perpetrating domestic violence. Apart from Spain where national programs exist, they are sporadic initiatives taken at local level that depend on the resources and efforts of the individuals working in the mentioned organisations.

4.2. Tertiary Prevention measures

Initiatives addressed to perpetrators of violence against partner are found in Great Britain, Norway and Spain. They are quite heterogeneous but commonly characterised by the fact of being developed in the community that is outside the penitentiary environment (see Appendix 1, 2 and 3). Conversely to the experience of some North-American countries (Lemire et al. 1996), treatment programmes for men inside prison (that is correctional initiatives) found in the countries where the research was developed concern exclusively perpetrators of sexual violence or individuals who have committed any sorts of violent crime.

The most significant initiatives of tertiary prevention described in the National Reports are those ones that have been conceived as projects of intervention in a strict sense. They consist of programmes, which are differently defined according to the type of approach adopted and specifically aimed at facing the problem of domestic violence. The majority of them started in the second half of the nineties as a result of the pioneered initiative of some organisations and/or individuals who introduced the first projects at the beginning of the decade: *CHANGE* in Scotland, *Alternative to Violence* in Norway, the psychologist Javier Medina in the Basque countries.

Besides these types of programmes, other initiatives are found locally and sporadically in Spain. They concern mediation schemes run by Victim Support Centres and interventions conducted by the Prosecutor's Offices, in the context of domestic violence measures provided by the law (Plan against violence).

5. Projects for men who use violence against their partner

Before facing projects of tertiary prevention it is important to introduce briefly the North-American experiences. They laid the basis for the current European initiatives.

5.1. The North-American antecedents

At the end of the seventies programmes for men who use violence against their partners are experienced for the first time in the USA. The pioneered action is conducted by a group of militant men in 1977 as a result of contacts and friendship with women activists from Boston who gave support to women abused by their partner. The group sets up EMERGE: the first organisation in the world that offers a programme of intervention for violent men (Edleson and Tolman, 1992). EMERGE was conceived as a male collective whose aim was to support feminist groups. They take part to public initiatives promoted by women, do not compete with their projects for funding and act to improve the response of many agencies to the problem of domestic violence (Mullender, 1996; Hague and Malos, 1993; Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

In few years time similar initiatives take place all over the North America. This proliferation of experiences diversifies approaches and modalities of interventions. Around the second half of the eighties other professionals such as clinical psychologists and social workers take interest on the same issue. Counselling programmes for men violent against their partner are started inside Mental Health centres or Family Centres. Others are set up on the initiative of women's shelters. At the beginning of the eighties the first programme linked with the intervention of the criminal justice system is implemented in the State of New York. It spreads in other areas thanks to the implementation of pro arrest policies in cases of domestic violence. Some programmes are characterised by a cognitive-behavioural or psycho-educational approach and are gender based. Others revolve around healing men's trauma; or re-directing emotions, especially anger; or addressing couple communications and interactions. The latter ones are performed as individual or couple therapy (Edleson and Tolman, 1992; Gondolf, 1997a).

Special attention should be given to the experience realised in Duluth (Minneapolis) for the influence it has had particularly in Europe. In Duluth the program of intervention for violent men is adopted as part of a co-ordinated framework of responses taken by different agencies - shelters,

police, courts, social services and health care centres - that converge into a major objective: to protect women and to re-educate men by convincing them that they are responsible for their violent behaviour and for its elimination. It is commonly defined as a *community intervention project* or *community-based program* model. It stems from a feminist approach and supports the need for treating domestic violence as a crime which requires a criminal justice response and sanctions alternative to prisons (Dobash et al. 2000; Mullender 1996; Hague and Malos 1993; Dobash and Dobash 1992; Edleson and Tolman, 1992).

Nowadays hundreds of programmes are found, not only in USA and Canada, but also in Australia and New Zealand.

The analysis on the North-American experiences has led to the identification of different theoretic and methodological approaches (Mullender 1996; Hague and Malos 1993; Dobash and Dobash 1992; Adams: 1988).

1. The *pro feminist or socio-political approach*: it stems from the need to consider domestic violence as a social phenomenon rooted in the disparities of power existing in our society between men and women; violent behaviours are understood as purposeful and functional attempts to establish and maintain control in the relationship
2. The *psychodynamic or intra-psychic approach*: it considers current behaviours influenced by childhood experiences and therefore essential to work on the past experiences in order to modify a present violent behaviour. Change can be achieved by an acknowledgement of men's pain, ventilation of his feelings and his gaining insights into the causes of his violence.
3. The *cognitive-behavioural approach*: it focuses on the need to modify the so-called "distorted thinking" (for instance when the man uses violence to his partner because dinner is not ready or because she has spend more than what she should have), with the scope to modify emotions and therefore behaviours.
4. The *interaction approach*: it derives from family therapy and systemic school of thinking. Couples are seen together and violence tends to be considered as an interpersonal or transactional problem in which both parts share responsibility for the violent event.

The practical approaches adopted by the single programmes have often mixed character: a combination between those ones indicated above. However, the pro feminist approach could be better considered as a set of beliefs and structures that could inspire different methodologies of interventions than a separate model (Mullender 1996).

It is important to underline that from the analyses and evaluations conducted on the North-American experiences some points at issue were arisen and remain open questions. In Gondolf words: “do batterers programmes works? what programmes approaches are the most effective and appropriate? How do we reduce programmes drop out and non-compliance? How do we increase the safety and protection of battered women? How do we extend programmes to ethnic minorities and to rural areas?”(Gondolf, 1997a: 84).

5.2. Origins and Development

The development of programmes for men perpetrating violence against their partner has followed slightly different lines in Great Britain, Norway and Spain.

Great Britain

The first projects of intervention were set up at the beginning of the nineties and were promoted by independent organisations (excepted one), that were highly influenced by the feminist movement and by women’s shelter groups (*Women’s Aid*) in particular. The Duluth model inspired them. Their introduction has originated a broad discussion above all amongst feminist researchers and workers involved in domestic violence.

In the second half of the nineties, the number of projects increased a lot and statutory bodies such as Social Work Departments and the Probation Service promoted and run programmes, sometimes together with other subjects. Forty-five programmes are identified in Britain. The personnel refer mainly to social workers and probation officers and/or to workers from the voluntary sector such as shelters or associations for children protection. The majority of them have adopted a pro feminist approach, defined themselves as re-educational and are member of a Network of practitioners which has provided advice and guidance_and have produced a Statement of Principles to be adhered to by the organisations which want to become member (see Cavanagh Lewis 1999: 62). As we saw before, these programmes were set up in a context where a range of measures and policies for abused women exists and characterised by a strong presence of autonomous women’s groups involved in shelters and by male associations or individuals who have publicly put masculinity under discussion.

Norway

In this country the first centre which runs programmes for men who use violence against their partners was set up in 1989 by an independent association, Alternative to Violence, in Oslo. At the beginning it refers to the EMERGE model. Other projects were implemented recently and are still at an experimental stage. A total of six projects have been found, one of them is closed down, another should have started at the beginning of this year. Apart from ATV, they are run by

Family Guidance Centres and by a Psychiatric Hospital. The professionals involved in the programmes are psychologists or psychotherapists. Only ATV and the project run in the Psychiatric Hospital in Trondheim, which followed the Duluth model, have clearly adopted a pro feminist approach. All programmes have been defined as therapeutic. As for Great Britain, also in Norway the context is characterised by a range of measures and policies of intervention for abused women, by a strong presence of autonomous groups of women that run shelters and by male associations and/or single individuals who have publicly put under discussion masculinity.

Spain

The interventions addressed to men violent against women partners have had different origins in Spain. They started from an institutional boost, in particular from the *Institutos de la Mujer* that operate at national, regional and local level. Among those that can be considered as “true programmes” the most significant experience is that one realised by the psychologist Javier Medina in the Basque countries, between 1990 and 1993. His model, based on a cognitive behavioural approach, has been revisited and adopted in other regions by Social Service Departments, even though in recent time only. These are the only experiences that tackle the problem of domestic violence in a quite articulated way (Bodelon et al. in this report). Others sporadic and local initiatives are connected with Victim Support Centres or Prosecution’s Offices. They raise questions typically connected with institutional contexts that are gender-neutral and not specifically trained and deputed for tackling the problem of domestic violence. The consequence is that interventions are taken regardless of the enormous experience accumulated in the latest twenty years by women’s shelters and research. They consist of mediations (agreements between victim and offender where the latter plea guilty and might be requested to do something) or probation orders whose main content is the participation to a programme of detoxification, as domestic violence is considered to be due to drug or alcohol abuse. They could be considered as inappropriate interventions: they focus on the wrong presumption that drug addiction is the cause for domestic violence and give the message that violent men are socially marginalised and alcoholic individuals.

The Spanish context is characterised by the existence of measures and policies on domestic violence which mainly involve the Criminal Justice System and Police work. Their implementation occurred however along with a process of progressive marginalisation and disappearance of shelters and anti-violence centres linked with the political women’s movement and of proliferation of institutionalised services for women.

5.3. Key dimensions of the programmes

The main characteristics of programmes for men who use violence against their partners are: referral processes, membership structure, acceptance criteria, individual counselling and group intervention, theoretical approach, contents, definition of violence, duration, work with women partners and safety issues, ethnicity and social class, multi-agency work

Referral processes

The substantial difference in the referral processes lies in the possibility to have mandatory attendance to a programme, as part of a court order, or voluntary attendance. The advantages and disadvantages of this option can be summarised as follows. *Voluntary attendance* (when the man is self-referred, or referred by social services or helping agencies) requires a genuine degree of motivation and willingness for change and attracts men from all social classes; however it leaves the choice for attendance to the man and there could be a higher rate of drops out. By contrast *mandatory attendance* give to workers the power to coerce men to attend and may resort to further sanction, (failure to attend leads to the man being sentenced for breaching the court order); it could assure lower rate of drops out, but clients come from the criminal justice system, that is that they are just the “tip of the iceberg” and may fulfil the conditions of a court order without any real willingness for change. The symbolic message communicated by mandatory attendance is that violence is a crime and it could favour higher criminalisation rate (more women may be willing to press charge, as the partner will not be imprisoned and more judges to prosecute for the same reason). But, at the same time, it requires a pro arrest and pro prosecution criminal policy.

In practise attendance to the same programme could be voluntary or mandatory.

In Great Britain mandatory programmes are the most widespread and over half of them work on both basis. In Norway attendance is either voluntary or mandatory with the exception of programmes managed by Family Centres (voluntary). In Spain attendance to the most recent programmes is voluntary (the first programme run by Melina was mandatory), while all initiatives implemented by the Prosecutor’s Offices and Victim Support Centres are mandatory based.

Acceptance Criteria

Commonly the basic requirement for participating into a programme is that the individual acknowledges his use of violence against his partner and expresses some degree of motivation to change. In some cases the man is required to remain drugs or alcohol-free and/or not to reside with his partner. These conditions may represent a difficult start; however according to the data gathered in all the researched countries, the number of men excluded from the programme from the beginning is low.

Individual counselling and group intervention

Some authors suggest that group work is the key for change for violent men and it is to prefer to individual counselling for several reasons. Among these reasons there is the opportunity to find other men who may be supportive of the man becoming non abusive; and the possibility to reduce, through group support, the shame for the disclosure of the abuse (Edleson Tolman, 1992).

Groups may have a closed entry points or open entry points, whereby a men may join or not at any stage of the programme. In the first case, once the closed entry number of men is reached and the programme started, no one else is admitted; in the second case, the programme has a rolling entry/exit system whereby men may join at any point. The first option can lead to long waits before a man can have the possibility to start a programme with consequent negative effects on his motivation.

The large majority of the projects, which were found in this study, has a group format. However some projects such as ATV in Oslo provide from the beginning the possibility for individual counselling or group intervention and the individual counselling is based on the same principles of the group format. Other projects in Britain, such as EVERYMAN in Plymouth deliver a basic programme where some phases are individually based and others group based with the possibility to extend the individual counselling work if needed. Some others offer individual counselling work during or after the group format if needed. The work of Medina in Spain was carried out through individual counselling due to the difficulties to put a group work session into practice.

Theoretical approaches

The main categories of the theoretical approaches are discussed in the paragraph concerning the American experiences. It concerns four types of approach: psychodynamic, interaction, cognitive-behavioural and pro feminist.

The main criticism moved to the psycho-dynamic approach is that it tends to ignore the importance of the current violent acts (as well as the problem of women safety during attendance) which are treated as symptoms of sufferings and pains rooted in men childhood experiences; it does not acknowledge the importance of a gender analysis of violence and therefore of the socio-political aspects of the phenomenon. The main risk of this approach is represented by the fact that it doesn't challenge men denying, minimising, blaming strategies nor it does make them responsible for their violence (Mullender, 1996; Hague e Malos, 1993).

The cognitive-behavioural approach has been criticised because it may "Just scratch the surface" of the problem, supplying superficial learning techniques and therefore not leading to a real change. Anger management programmes, for instance, tend to deliver the same kind of

course both for violence occurred in a pub and for domestic violence; and to consider violence just as a question of anger management (Mullender 1996).

The interaction approach has been criticised because it submerges the fact that violence, especially severe violence is most often perpetrated by husband against wife and lessens the personal accountability of the violent man. It minimises the fact that a crime has been committed and implies that the victim is responsible as well as the perpetrator. During the therapy sessions women can be exposed to further danger by expressing their dissatisfactions in the relationship before the violent partner, while men may find further ground for making the partner responsible for their violent reactions (Edleson e Tolman 1992; Hague and Malos, 1993).

As told before, the pro feminist approach consists of a set of principles and beliefs that refer to a gender analysis of violence. Programmes that refer to it addressed violence as one form of controlling behaviour, which helps to maintain the imbalance of power by men over women. Their main objective is challenging male controlling behaviour and ending male dominance and violence. They tend to use group methods of counselling and a cognitive behavioural approach (Mullender 1996; Hague and Malos, 1993; Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

In practice many projects adopt mixed methodologies of intervention.

In Great Britain the majority of programmes refers to feminism or to the Duluth model, use the techniques related to the cognitive-behavioural approach and are described as re educational. In Norway, ATV (Oslo) has clearly adopted a pro feminist approach and combined different methodologies (cognitive behavioural and psycho-dynamic) in order to avoid the pitfalls of each approach; another project refers to the Duluth model and uses a cognitive behavioural approach; some others use family therapies, that is a systemic model of intervention. In Spain Medina's model was rooted in the cognitive-behavioural approach and although it was not explicitly pro feminist, it clearly referred to the importance of challenging gender role stereotypes related to the use of violence (Medina, 1994).

Contents of programmes

The programme contents vary according to the approaches adopted.

In Great Britain the majority of programmes tackle the problem of domestic violence from different angles. Men's use of violence is at the core of the programmes and they address a range of issues: men use of power and control inside the relationships; the question of gender and therefore of sexist behaviours and attitudes; men's tactics of minimisation, denial and blame to avoid responsibility; sexual abuse; emotional abuse; the social context of men's violence. The goals of a programme may include: to develop self-awareness; challenge of attitudes, behaviours and beliefs; build new skills; monitor progress (CHANGE, Scotland).

In Norway the contents of the ATV model of intervention are inspired by four main principles: a detailed focus on violent behaviours; the acknowledgement of responsibility for violent actions; to bring out the connections between the current use of violence and the personal curriculum; to obtain the recognition of the impact and consequences of violence perpetrated on women and children. The programmes run by Family Guidance Centres, in spite of their systemic approach, develop issues like power and powerlessness, child abuse and neglect, domination and subordination, identity and sexual assaults while the Psychiatric Hospital give group therapy with a cognitive behavioural approach, focused on problem solving (see Raakil in this report).

The programme conducted by Medina, after an initial phase whereby the perpetrated violence, the dangerousness of the individual and the man's willingness to change are assessed, carries on with a discussion of the violent events; the self-observation and higher awareness of man's emotional conditions; the understanding of man's life experiences connected with his violence; to the modification of the man's violent attitudes and to the improvement of his non violent skills (Medina, 1994).

Definitions of domestic violence

The definitions of domestic violence used by programmes are quite important as the scope of their interventions depends on them. The more the definitions are comprehensive and precise, covering a wide range of violence: physical, psychological, sexual and economic abuse, the more workers will tackle a broader spectrum of behaviours with their clients. A good example is the 'Wheel of power and control' elaborated by the *Domestic Violence Intervention Project* of Duluth which includes physical and sexual violence; emotional abuse and threats; limitations to freedom; the use of children for the control of the partner etc. A narrow definition would include only physical violence ignoring the links with other forms of violent or controlling behaviour and their intrinsic harmfulness.

The majority of the projects in Great Britain, as well as ATV in Norway (probably also other Norwegian projects) and the programme of Medina in the Basque countries, adopt a broad definition of domestic violence which covers a wide range of abusive behaviours. A minority of them tends to focus exclusively on physical violent behaviours.

Duration

The group-based projects imply one or two sessions a week and have short or long duration. According to some North-American research findings long programme of intervention are not more effective than the short ones (Edleson and Tolman, 1992).

The duration of programmes in Great Britain vary between 20 hours to 110 hours (two-hour session per week) with most of them lasting a total of 50 hours over several weeks; in

Norway the average time period of attendance in ATV is of about two years for group format and of almost one year for individual counselling; the programme of Medina lasted from three months to one year (Medina 1994).

Work with women partners and safety issues

A fundamental characteristic of a programme is the degree of consideration given to the problem of the safety of the woman partner. However only a pro feminist approach considers the safety issue as a crucial element. When this does not occur, ones should question the ethical and moral responsibility of workers before new violent event and what sense it makes to aim for the well being of perpetrators, without taking into account if violence is stopped or not. There are different ways to tackle the question of safety: contacts with the woman partner with the aim to inform her about the contents of the programme, to discuss her expectations from the participation of the partner to the programme, to give her advice about possible manipulations of message by the partner; the monitoring of male behaviours through regular interviews with the woman; the implementation of a parallel and co-ordinated project for women (one to one counselling, help telephone lines etc.) or the co-operation with shelters already operating in the community. In some cases, the question of safety is tackled directly through a contract signed by the client where he agrees to stop violence during the participation to a programme and accept that his partner will be contacted.

In Great Britain the overwhelming majority of the programmes sees the problem of women's safety as a priority and provides services for women partners. In Norway the majority of the programmes has a parallel service for women. In ATV there are standard procedures for safety matters that include making plans in crisis situations and others. In Spain the project of Medina ensures that women were aware of the participation of the men to the programme and monitors male behaviours through interviews with women partners.

Ethnicity and social class

Some authors argue that ethnicity, race and/or class influence the perception, interpretation and justification for the use of violence and imply substantial differences in the way individuals face the criminal justice system and the social services. They also suggest that programmes which do not take into account those variables are inappropriate and do not give specific support to men belonging to different minority or racial groups (Edleson and Tolman 1992; Gondolf, 1997a among others).

No specific programmes in the mentioned countries are delivered to individuals belonging to ethnic and racial minorities. This is an aspect that should be evaluated and developed in the future.

Multi-agency work

A programme for men who use violence could be developed by different agencies: independent associations, social services, Family centres, Probation etc. Sometimes the management is shared among different agencies. The experience of women's shelters and anti-violence centres show the importance to work in direct contact with other agencies at the community level. It optimises programmes but also activates a number of subjects to tackle the problem of domestic violence, which need to be addressed by the full range social, legal and medical agencies. Edleson and Tolman argue that the message at issue is more effective when a man receives identical responses from different social institutions (Edleson and Tolman 1992: 109).

Key subjects in the network are, among others: shelters and anti-violence centres, the police forces, judges and lawyers, social and health centres, schools. Co-operation may take different forms from taking and making referrals, giving advise, support and information, to consulting on individual basis, to the development of appropriate training addressed to the staff or of public initiatives for debate and discussion. It is important to outline that a wider perspective for social change will cover a wider range of activities different from the individual intervention.

In Great Britain the majority of programmes work in co-operation with other agencies, that is in a multi-agency context and organises training and exchange with wider networks. In Norway programmes co-operate with a range of different agencies (police, criminal justice system, shelters, probation etc.) and in the case of ATV (Oslo) it has developed training activities and public initiatives to raise awareness on the problem. In Spain almost all programmes are run by social services and are delivered in co-operation with women's aid centres or *Institutos de la Mujer*; one programme is also run in co-operation with the university and another one with the criminal justice system.

Evaluation

The evaluation of a programme is highly important as it allows to understand if the programme is appropriate and efficient in reducing the problem of violence. The question of effectiveness is a difficult task, as it will be seen in the next paragraph, that puts under discussion the problem of social change (Dobash et al. 2000).

5.4. The question of effective programmes

The question of the effectiveness of the programmes is one of the major tasks put under discussion. In what way do programmes produce a real change not only in the short but also in the medium and long term? What produces this change and why?

An important aspect of effectiveness concerns the drop out rate that is the number of men who leave a programme before it ends. Men leave a programme because they find difficult to recognise their use of violence and to understand the need of change for their violent behaviour. Men often refer to a programme for contingent reasons such as the partner's threat to leave or to report violence to the police. Once the objective is reached they tend to drop out (Dobash et al., 2000:45). The drop out rates in the USA are high and vary from 40% to 60% during the first three months of the programmes (Gondolf, 1997a; Dobash et al. 2000).

Drop out rates are one of the main reason why some authors argue that a certain degree of coercion is important for the participation to a programme and therefore they favour mandatory attendance. According to data from an American study, however, voluntary participants dropped out at nearly the same rate as court-referred men (Saunders and Parker, 1989 cited in Gondolf, 1997b). Other authors argue that an orientation stage at the beginning of the programme, directed to arouse man's awareness about the importance to attend it, and about the obstacles and difficulties that may come up with might improve participation (Edleson and Tolman 1992).

In Great Britain the majority of programmes is court-mandated and reports a drop out rate that varies from 20% to 30%. The Domestic Violence Intervention Project in London, a programme working above all with self-deferred men, has a drop out rate slightly higher than 60%. In Norway however ATV drop out rate is around 35%-40% and the 60% of their clients are self-referred men. This evidence suggests that social and cultural backgrounds might produce a different level of motivation to change and that the option between voluntary and mandatory attendance has different meanings according to different contexts. It is difficult however to establish which factors produce a different motivation. As for the Spanish programmes, there is no available data at these regards.

In general terms the effectiveness of a programme has been evaluated measuring the number of those who commit again violence after the completion of the program, the rate of success depending on a number of methodological concerns among which the definition of violence used in the evaluation, the follow up periods and source of data.

The main limitations of evaluations have been summarise as follows: "self-assessment by programme staff; lack of control or comparison groups; small sample sizes at the initial stage of the research (usually about 50); lack of pre-tests and post-tests; high rate of attrition during the programme and in the post-tests follow-ups; very short or non standardised periods of follow-up; inadequate measures of outcome, including re-arrests or men's self-reports as the sole indicator of change; and finally a failure to routinely include women's reports of changes in the abusive

behaviour of partners ... the paucity of comparison of different interventions” (Dobash et al, 2000: 70).

The rate of success of programmes for violent men in North America varies between 53% and 85%. Less encouraging results are given for psychological violent behaviours such as threats and verbal abuse (Edleson and Tolman, 1992; Gondolf, 1997).

Scientific and independent evaluations run in those countries that took part to the present research are both done in Great Britain, namely the evaluation conducted by Dobash et al. in Scotland on CHANGE, Stirling and Lothian Domestic Violence Intervention Project, Edinburgh and that one by Burton et al. of the Domestic Violence Intervention Project, Hammersmith, London.

The first evaluation consists of a longitudinal and comparative study, whereby the effectiveness of perpetrator’s programmes is confronted with that one of traditional court sanctions. The results show that one year after the imposition of a sanction or completion of a programme, 75% of men who had received a traditional court sanction had committed at least one further violent act, while only 33% of men who attended a programme had done so. These differences are statistically significant (Dobash et al. 2000). The evaluation conducted by Burton et al. recognises the high rate of drops out but also indicates the substantial effectiveness of the programme for those men who have completed it: more than half of completers had not committed any further violent act after completion of the programme (Burton et al., 1998).

According to data gathered by ATV (Oslo) and to external evaluations (one commissioned by the Local Council, the other carried out by a PhD researcher) the organisation indicates a success rate of 80%. As for the Spanish programme of Medina, it could not be said that there exists a true evaluation; however the author indicates that 90% of the participants of a one-year programme have not committed any new act of violence (Medina, 1994).

6. What can we learn from the analysis of the European experiences

The size of the research allows a detailed description and evaluation of the initiatives related to tertiary crime prevention. Primary and secondary preventive measures are as important as tertiary crime prevention, however a broader analysis would have required a new research study. Therefore conclusions will focus on tertiary crime prevention measures.

As discussed earlier, there are a number of good reasons for tackling the problem of violence against women through challenging, controlling and reducing violent male behaviours. Besides reasons of political and cultural nature, according to the data collected through this research project, particularly those from the evaluations realised in Great Britain and Norway,

programmes directed to men who use violence against women partners, without being “the solution” to the problem, appeared to be a useful means for change. Maybe the main question is how to bring men onto the programme and make them stay till the end of it, a question that undoubtedly refers to the broader social, cultural and political context.

6.1. Conditions for the implementation of new programmes

Lack of programmes of intervention in countries that took part to the research work has arisen the question of the conditions which make possible the establishment and development of these initiatives. This is a difficult question. A contribution is given by the work of Cavanagh et al., through a description of the main conditions which contributed to the implementation of men’s programmes in Great Britain (Cavanagh et al. in this report).

On the other side, the Spanish experience points out that in a context lacking of shelters and anti-violence centres rooted in the feminist movement the promotion at the institutional level of initiatives aimed to tackle the problem of men’s violent behaviours against women is likely to produce interventions that tend to reduce the problem of domestic violence to a question of social and individual pathologies as the experiences related with Victim Support Centres and with the Prosecution’ Offices demonstrate. They reproduce stereotypes and *cliché* on violence as well as more dangerous situations and isolation for women.

6.2. Guide lines for programmes directed to men who use violence against their partner

The analysis of the programmes has outlined the significant features they have assumed in the different national contexts. Some of these features depend on choices that rely on the peculiarities of local or national contexts or on specific characteristics of the ones of the promoters. By contrast, others stand out clearly as fundamental co-ordinates for any programme that takes seriously the purpose of modifying violent male behaviours against women. Our aim is to clearly define these co-ordinates or guide lines, which mark the limits within which locally and context specific measures can be discussed and decided.

Guide lines

1. The theoretical orientation of projects for men who use violence against their partners should recognise the importance of a gender analysis of domestic violence, which refers to its social, economic and cultural roots and to the disparities of power between men and women which are both of a symbolic and material nature. This orientation must be clear and well articulated.

2. The intervention should take into account individual and socio-cultural aspects of the problem and combine methodologies and techniques of interventions with a gender understanding not only of the phenomenon of violence as a whole but also of the single violent events. The sexism which contributes to the development of violent behaviours should be recognised as well as the use of violence as a form of power and control within the relationship.
3. Projects should give a clear and unequivocal message that the use of violence within a relationship is always unacceptable, whatever is the personal history of the men or the context within which violence takes place. They should point out that men who use violence are the only responsible for their violent behaviour.
4. The safety of women partners and children should be of paramount importance as well as contacts and co-operation with shelters and anti-violence centres that already exist. Programmes for men who use violence should developed safety plans and monitor their effectiveness through separate contacts with women partners.
5. Projects should avoid competing directly for funds with groups who work with victim of domestic violence. If there is no shelter for women suffering domestic violence in a local area, no programme for men should be started before a shelter has been set up.
6. The primary goal of any programme should be to end any forms of violence or controlling behaviours perpetrated by men. There is no meaning in pursuing self-esteem or increasing communication skills or supplying anger management techniques, if violent behaviours are not “seen” and targeted to be reduced/eliminated.
7. The intervention should consider men as perpetrator and not as victims. It should focus on violent behaviours and violent events and workers should be prepared to respond to men’s tactics of minimisation, denial and blame.
8. A broad definition of domestic violence should be assumed by programmes which must address not only the most apparent acts of physical violence but also psychological, emotional, financial and sexual abuse. The effects of these behaviours could be devastating at the same extent of physical violence.
9. Programmes for men should be rooted as much as possible in the community and work closely with other subjects and agencies in both statutory and voluntary sectors, such as: shelter, anti-violence centres, social and health services, Police and courts. A wide context of community action starts up a process of change which overcomes the limits of the individual intervention.

10. The implementation of a programme requires time for planning, programme development, specific training for workers and for building up relationships with a variety of social institutions. A congruent and influential message about violence will be more likely to be obtained if different agencies will co-ordinate their responses.
11. The implementation of a programme requires adequate evaluation instruments.

When these guidelines are taken into account, from our point of view, methodologies and strategies of intervention could be different and privileged a cognitive-behavioural approach or a psycho-dynamic model; an integrated approach at community level; or a narrower context of service provision; individual or group format; voluntary or mandatory attendance.

Some approaches however seem to be in apparent contrast with what has been stated above and should be regarded with the highest degree of cautions. We can refer to couple or family therapy which tend to equalise responsibility for violence between partners and expose women to further danger; or to (traditional) psychotherapy which pathologises victims and perpetrators of violence. Both family therapy and individual therapy could be considered at least as “risky”, if not dangerous orientations.

Some authors make a distinction between therapy vs. education programmes outlining the possible negative effects of labelling. In their view the concept of therapy implies that the violent men have psychological problems that must be alleviated through treatment, while the label of education promote the idea that men can learn to change and that they are not faulty individual (Edleson and Tolman 1992). Our research findings make quite clear that labels are important, but might assume different meanings in different national contexts. For instance, to talk about therapy for violent men will assume completely different meaning in Italy, whereas violence against women tend to be ‘pathologised’ by social and political institutions and there seem to be no discussion among psychologists or psychiatrists about the question of gender; or in Norway where feminism has entered the Academies and traditional psychopathological categories seem to have been highly challenged from a gender point of view and where there seems to be a strong state policy towards criminalisation of domestic violence and protection of victims. We could say that labels are important, especially when a new project is to be started in a local area. However in order to understand new, different or foreign experiences, more important is to go beyond definitions and take into account the concrete characteristics of the initiatives.

To intervene in the field of domestic violence following the above guide lines, from our point of view, will not be effective only at the individual level, with concrete men and women. It contributes to a broader process of social change by affecting mechanisms of reproduction of

power and subordination by men over women at a symbolic and material level. Institutions and individuals willing to undertake this task are challenged.

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APPENDIX

Responses to Men Who Use Violence Against Women: A European Comparative Analysis.

The Spanish Perspective¹: Report Summary

by

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Public Policies and feminism in relation to patriarchal violence in the Spanish State

In the Spanish case the research starts with the need of understanding the context in which measures concerning violent men are arising. The emergence of programmes specifically directed to violent men in the last years should be analysed taking into consideration the whole understanding of the problem of violence inside the family; how it was and how it is being approached.

For the purposes of our research, the specific historical context of the Spanish State makes necessary to explain the reason why in the Spanish case there is a strong division between the activity of the feminist movement and that one of the Public Administrations. The causes that will explain this split are related to a lack of Public Policies in relation to sexual violence as a problem of gender.

In a first section, the research emphasises the importance of the feminist movement in the public acknowledgement of violence inside the family as a social problem and the subsequent relegation suffered by the institutions.

In general terms the Spanish feminism has not raised the question that is the subject of this research: What can we do with violent men? the feminist question would rather be: What can we do against aggressions? The different approach, far from being trivial, is an integral part of the feminist perspective developed in Spain.

If the question is ‘What can we do with violent men?’ by definition the answer should include an activity which focuses on to the single person. In other words this question would condition our answer.

The feminist movement in Spain has raised the problem of patriarchal violence from another angle and this leads to the question ‘what to do against aggressions’.

In our opinion this formulation is more satisfactory for the following reasons:

1. It avoids the problem of relating the “biological man” to violent behaviour. The feminist movement has never affirmed that patriarchal violence was a problem derived from specific biological characteristics, but from the existence of a social and cultural pattern that conditions our “gender” relations.
2. It allows to consider the problem in terms of relationships of power and not in terms of pathological or disturbed behaviour. For the women movement, the problem of violence is not essentially a problem of individual pathology (which does not rule out the individual problems that make possible its developing).
3. Following the previous points, it is clear that the aim of the feminist movement is not the treatment of the individual influenced by a violent behaviour, but the change of the social conditions that allow the existence of an unequal structure of gender and the developing of the rights and the freedom of women.

As a result of this theoretical approach, it has been observed that the feminist proposals have been aimed at the developing of a society and a culture not guided by unequal relationships of power. Instead of thinking of what to do with violent men, they have thought about what to do in order to change the violent forms of masculinity. Some people (manly males) are those who show violent behaviour towards women. However, the problem is not only “those” men that are behaving in a violent manner but the cultural tolerance towards this behaviour and the association between masculinity and violence. For all these reasons, it is significant the amount of studies and researches that study in depth the principles of masculinity and the relationship between masculinity and violence. In our opinion, these studies about masculinity are an interesting way of approaching the answer to the question of what to do with violent men.

There can be no doubt however that most of the feminist proposals have also affected those men who had committed aggressions against women. The feminist approach towards violent men is seen especially in their demand for criminal measures. A demand for penalties against sexual aggressions and family violence was arisen since the seventies by the feminist movement as a way for the recognition of violence towards women and as a way for the safety of women against their aggressors.

It is also true that in the last years, the new feminist approach has reinforced the idea that it is necessary that the abused women become aware of the violence suffered and that women should expressed their needs and their options. The significant number of women, that despite of being abused start the relationship again, has made some feminist groups think about the need of addressing special attention on men. Notwithstanding this position, their aim is still the increase

and the support of the freedom of women and to cause social changes that affect the violence of gender.

The limited resources that feminist organisations have suffered in the past and still suffer in the present is another important aspect. Some of them have expressed their worry for the rising interest showed by the administrations in the “treatment of men”. Not only for what the theoretical perspective implies, but also because they fear that in practical terms this could mean that some part of the resources devoted to women until now, could be re-directed on men. In a precarious situation as such and in view of a possible limitation of resources, this fact is worrying.

The second main section of the research sums up the more significant institutional interventions related to violence inside the family and, specifically, on measures or programmes that have been created and directed to violent men.

In Spain, since the eighties, some new measures have taken place. These measures have the purpose to tackle the problem of violence against women. This normative framework is mainly formed by the criminal legislation ¹ and administrative care. At the same time, these patterns of action have been designed by the governments and administrations responsible for them and with a low participation from the feminist movement in general.

In the Spanish State, the power to govern is divided between the central and the autonomous administrations. As far as domestic violence is concerned, at a national level the broad lines for the changes in the norms have been established by the *Instituto de la Mujer*, by the Plans for Positive Actions. However, the main actions aimed at the treatment of the “aggressors” have taken place autonomously and locally.

In order to classify the different initiatives addressed to batterers, it could be used the criterion which allows to establish if these initiatives are related to the activity of the criminal justice or rather to the psycho-assisting programmes.

The Spanish criminal law does not refer in any case to those programmes. However, some isolated initiatives have appeared in the judicial practice, which show that the traditional criminal answer is not the correct in the following cases:

- the offices for the victims’ support stimulate some specific initiatives for men perpetrating violence inside the family; they are included in the programmes of mediation.
- Some measures aimed at men who have committed violence inside the family have been urged from some Prosecutor Offices. In this case, the sentence is suspended on the condition that the

¹ In relation to the criminal legislation, the reform of the criminal law dated from 1995 to 1999 include some significant changes: the repeated psychic violence, to forbid the proximity to the victim as a penalty of secondary importance, including procedure measures aimed at facilitating the immediate protection of the victim such as the physical distance from the aggressor, etc.

aggressor will refer to a specific treatment to recover from alcoholism or any drug addiction. It is a programme that substitutes sentences for treatments when the aggressor suffers from any kind of addiction.

- Another outstanding programme related to abusive men was the one carried out by a psychologist, Javier Medina, in the courts of San Sebastián. The result of his psychic evaluation was evaluated before determining the criminal penalty; as a consequence the attendance to the psychological programme will avoid the application of sentences of imprisonment.

In the context of helping and therapeutic interventions by the administrations, it should be highlighted the initiatives taken by several autonomous communities and their own *Institutos de la Mujer*. In general they are put into practice independently from the judicial process:

- Psychological assistance programme for victims of sexual aggressions and ill-treatment of Guipúzcoa (the treatment for aggressor men is also included)
- Programme of Psychological treatment for abusive men in the household (Vizcaya).
- Programme of treatment for the abusive men in Aragon.
- Programme of Treatment for the men in La Rioja.

The classification between initiatives related to the criminal justice and those of a psycho-assisting character does not clarify enough as some of those psycho-assisting programmes cross-refer to the criminal justice. On the other hand, this classification does not take into account other aspects which are, in our opinion, quite significant in the Spanish case. From our point of view, the actions aimed at the abusive men should be analysed from the widest point of view of the public policies against the violence inside the family. The analysis of such policies focuses on the responsibilities taken by the different public authorities. In this sense, not every action developed by a programme or initiative for abusive men corresponds with the so-called public policy of strategic implementation in the context of domestic violence. For this reason, it is necessary to understand the contexts and wider public policies that involve the specific initiatives against abusive men.

From this point of view, what is really important is whether the initiatives carried out against the abusive men form part of a wider project of intervention about the problem of male violence inside the family. It could be distinguished between transitional measures (those which make a specific approach to the problem of the family violence) and strategic measures (the ones which use a complex analysis of the problem, similar to that of the feminist movement). In the case of the initiatives made in Euskadi with abusive men we could talk of “strategic measures” as the programmes carried out integrate a wider net of measures, which have been discussed and worked out in collaboration with feminist groups.

It has been confirmed that, even though in some autonomous communities the Institutos de la Mujer know the initiatives which are being taken in relation with abusive men, they do not consider appropriate to stimulate them due to their scarce resources or because their priorities are different. The lack of programmes addressed to abusive men must be considered in those cases part of a public policy aware of its limitations and its priorities (this would be the case of Extremadura and Navarra).

However, the general tendency, both at state level and in some autonomous communities, is the non-existence of complex public policies in respect of the subject of violence inside the family (the case of Catalonia, for example). In those cases, the rising of some initiatives (such as the one carried out by the IRES) cannot make us forget that the main problem is still being the lack of adequate public policies.

Another essential problem concerning the interventions related to the criminal justice and those one of psycho-assisting character is the use of some stereotypes about the violent behaviour within the family. Both the criminal actions and the psychosocial ones refer to stereotypes that associate an abusive behaviour with specific pathologies such as drug addiction and alcoholism. Only a few programmes (the ones carried out in Euskadi highlight among them) are tackling thoroughly the reasons for violence inside the family.

All the aforementioned lead us to some conclusions:

- 1) The problem of male violence inside the family was always reported by the feminist movement inside the context of a global situation of social relegation.
- 2) The co-ordination of the public policies in relation with domestic violence took place after the feminist declarations and has tended to move this initiatives through the years.
- 3) The problem of the violence inside the family has always been analysed by the feminist movement as a problem which must be considered inside the analysis of the sexual oppression and of the gender relationships, that is to say, not as a problem that can be reduced to an individual conflict victim-aggressor but as a social problem whose solution is related to the fight against the social relegation of women. That is why the feminist proposals against the family violence have not been traditionally addressed to the “aggressors” but aimed at stimulating the development of women rights.
- 4) Most of the institutional interventions related to family violence have underlined an analysis of the problem based on individual interventions rather than structural ones. If on the one hand the development of criminal policies is visible, the social interventions do not as they continue to show very unsatisfactory recourses. In the same way, a great amount of the institutional interventions about family violence focus on the problem from a victim-aggressor dynamics.

The victim-aggressor dynamic individualises the conflict and does not tackle the problem of the violence inside the family in a context of change in the structures of gender. However, it emphasises the need of individual changes in the aggressor (but although necessary, they are not enough to reconsider the problem of the family violence).

- 5) The interventions aimed at men involved in family violence are scarce, but usually portrayed by the need to turn to psycho-pathologic explanations for an individual behaviour which relegate a wider understanding of the phenomenon and, for this reason, they prescribe individual treatments. This fact is specially worrying in societies such as the Spanish one, which have a lack of awareness of the structural reasons about sexual violence and which are characterised by a deficient assisting structure.

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Responses to Men Who Use Violence Against Women: A European Comparative Analysis.

The Spanish Perspective 2: Report Summary

by

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Panorama of Police interventions into the problem of domestic violence in Spain

In Spain the eruption in the communications media of episodes of domestic violence did not occur until the 1990s. The Spanish police took special measures to look after women victims of domestic and sexual violence long before the public campaign of denouncing the woman's situation in the domestic ambit began. The three levels of Spanish police corps –state, autonomic and local- have taken special initiatives and developed interventions to deal with domestic violence.

In Spain there are some 70,000 police officers for a population of approximately 40 million (1.7 police officers: 1,000 inhabitants) thus making it a country with one of the highest ratio of police officers per inhabitant in Europe. The police structure is divided into three levels: state, autonomic and local. The state called *Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado* which are formed by two bodies: the *Cuerpo Nacional de Policía* (CNP) for urban areas and the *Guardia Civil* (GC) for rural areas. Three autonomic police forces have been created in the Basque Country, Catalonia and in Navarra. The local police – also known as *Guardia Urbana* – correspond to the municipal police. The Police play an important role in the attention given by the State to the problem of violence against women. From 1983 onwards the problem of violence against women raised a certain interest within the police. The first police body to be concerned with the problem was the CNP, which from the year 1986 initiated the first specialised services for the attention of female victims, formed aboveall by women police officers.

The principal initiatives and interventions of different Spanish police in the terrain of domestic violence are:

1. National Police Corp: *Servicio de Atención a la Mujer (SAM)*

This service was established in 1986 in the context of concern for the victim in general. One of the first difficulties found by the CNP was the low number of female police officers. Another difficulty was –and continues to be– being able to make all officers aware of the fact that they should treat this kind of offence with the same rigor as all other acts of violence against people and not justify the violence as family problems which are *habitual* thus taking away all importance. The CNP was the first official institution to assume the aim of making it possible for female victims to give a statement in private. Nowadays there are 11 services for the attention of female victims. Today, this type of service has not been generalised in all the CNP squads. The causes provoking this are: either a shortage of female police officers or the low number of reports of such violent incidents.

The squads of SAM are composed of both male and female officers although it is the women who dedicate attention to the victim and the men to the investigation. They are exclusively competent with sexual and domestic violence within the CNP; this is a permanent service (in function 24 hr a day) in the working unit. The officers of SAM are by majority women so that the police officer-woman relationship will flow more smoothly, be more intimate and less traumatic and will give rise to more offences being reported. Nevertheless, it seems to be an implicit question as even the CNP criticise the fact that the female officers who attend exclusively to the female victims express a sexist conduct against the male officers, as if men were not capable of dealing with this type of assistance and investigation. The police officers working in SAM follow a specialisation in addition to this, all officers receive knowledge about female victims of sexual and domestic violence.

In 1996, ten years after the creation of SAM, the CNP concluded that the act of dealing with female victims had improved and it had even anticipated the social demands which vindicated the protection of women's rights. Another achievement of SAM has been the increase in numbers of offences reported by women. It is interesting to see that from the magazine published by the General Police Management; it reports criticism of the behaviour of officers of the CNP and the GC about the attention given to women victims of sexual or domestic violence. It reports on the criticism of the passive attitude demonstrated by some police officers and civil guards. This passive attitude sometimes corresponds to the concept of the domestic sphere of being a private sector in which not even the State should intervene. Another attitude which has been detected is attempting to convince the woman that *for her own good* she should not sign the statement or that she should try, on her own agreement to reconcile with her partner.

We can therefore conclude that at normative and organisational level the correct steps have been taken but there is still a long way before all officers adopt these measures and abandon old moral practices.

2. Civil Guard: *Equipos Mujer-Menor (EMUME)*

In the GC the reaction regarding the problem of domestic violence is yet to arrive as in the period 1995-97 the number of offences/misdeeds related with ill treatment doubled, creating great alarm. On the idea to act on the growing social concern about these offences and in accordance with the recommendations of the Government, specialised teams for assistance to minors and women victims was set up in the 1990s, the EMUME. In the Women-Minor Team (EMUME) there are female civil guards who have followed a specialised course organised by the institution itself. Since 1995 one GC from each Unit is specialised in violence against women and minors. There is a EMUME Central constituted by psychologists and the EMUME formed basically by two civil guards (women) and in 14 cities by three (2 women and 1 man). Any female –adult or minor- that has been the victim of ill treatment either physical or psychical and wishes to make a report before the GC can be attended to by the EMUME.

In their reports they consider it as much more of a social, cultural and educational problem rather than a police problem, they remain reluctant to act in a sector of private conflict, it is called “the sanctuary of intimacy”, and it is related to the affect and relationship of the couple. The best response is to educate and make them aware. They consider it to be a woman’s problem, together with minors, who are according to them “the most vulnerable victims in society” and “the weakest groups”.

I find it questionable that the aggressor is also considered a victim of the situation. This concept arises due to the fact that our society is essentially sexist –as if it were impossible to change this mentality because it is rooted in the up-bringing and encouraged by women themselves-. The man would become an aggressor because of bad family relationships and/or a clash of personalities. A clear criteria of intervention has not been forthcoming, there seems to be a contradiction between the problem as a social conflict and the orders to intervene.

3. Regional catalan Police: *Mossos d’Esquadra (ME)*

The Catalonian police are provided with a school, the Catalonian Police School (EPC), which is dedicated to the carrying out of basic and specialised training activities for the Mossos d’Esquadra and the Catalonian local police. The topic of domestic violence has been incorporated into the set of themes worked on in the different subjects of the basic training course.

In January 1998 a domestic violence group was created within the Regional Unit of Investigation of the ME in Gerona. It was a response to the increase in reports of aggression in the family sector which stood out at the end of 1997. The Domestic Violence Group of the ME is formed by two sergeants, a man and a woman, supported by three mossos from the group along with those who have the task of investigating. In fact, it is functioning as guide/pathfinder which will transfer in the rest of the Catalonian provinces as soon as the Mossos d'Esquadra take over there. The officers in this group do not wear uniform so as to safeguard the intimacy of their clients. No specific professional profile is required in order to participate in this group.

Their aims are: to carry out a police follow up to the reports which have been made in the domestic violence sector and to improve dealing with the victim of domestic violence. During this first and a half current year the acts mostly carried out are to give information to the victims and to receive the primary demand when the conflict is at the top. Many women do not carry through with the report afterwards. They have a very good relationship with judicial authorities, the public prosecutor and judges, who in this type of offences are more at ease due to the fact that they have already been alerted. Often as provisional measures of separation the husband is ordered to abandon the place of residence.

4. Local Police in the Basque Country: Training Courses

The training carried out by the local police in the Basque Country was created in order to make them sensitive to domestic violence and to give them better working instruments. The promoter of this training is EMAKUNDE, the Basque Women's Institute. The courses are funded by the Basque Government. The trainers are women who are specialists external to the police force.

The aims of these courses are: to make local police officers sensitive to the offences committed against women from a sociological, juridical and psychological frame; to give local police strategies of behaviour to be used in the face of situations of domestic ill treatment and sexual aggression and to inform about any changes produced in the penal legislation in relation to ill treatment and offences against sexual liberty.

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Responses to Men Who Use Violence Against Women: A European Comparative Analysis.

The British Perspective: Report Summary

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There is no doubt that programmes for domestically violent men have escalated in Great Britain since their inception in 1990. However, it is important to acknowledge that these programmes have progressed alongside a range of other legal, social and cultural strategies developed to tackle the problem of domestic violence. Thus, they do not exist in isolation, but as part of a multi-agency approach to tackling men's violence against women.

For the purposes of the DAPHNE project, a survey was conducted of British programmes for men who use violence against intimate female partners. Forty five programmes were identified and contacted; information was received from programme workers or managers from about 25 programmes.

The key findings of the survey are as follows:

- The majority of programmes are linked to the criminal justice system, with men directed to attend as part of a court order.
- Most operate from a multi-agency perspective, even if a single organisation takes a lead role. All programmes have regular contact with a wide variety of agencies. The agencies involved are located in both statutory (e.g. Probation, Social Work) and voluntary sectors (eg. Women's Aid, National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children).
- Despite high demand for their services, most operate with very limited resources, insecure and short term funding. This exerts extreme pressure on staff when dealing with the very demanding nature of the work.

- Major influences for the programmes include: feminism, the Duluth programme (U.S.A.) and cognitive behavioural work.
- Most programmes require men to acknowledge their use of violence against partners and to express some degree of motivation to change.
- All the programmes address men's use of power and control and their emotional and mental abuse of women, and the majority work on the effect on children of men's violence.
- All the programmes define domestic violence as abusive behaviour which occurs between partners or ex-partners: a few include economic abuse whilst some fail to include the gendered nature of the violence.
- The vast majority of men who attend programmes are white. Only a very small proportion of clients were from ethnic minority groups. The vast majority of programme facilitators are white.
- All the programmes employ group work techniques to work with violent men.
- Most programmes last a total of 50 hours over several weeks.
- All programmes reported a preference for mixed gender facilitators, in order to demonstrate a positive role model of an opposite-sex relationship.
- The majority of programme co-ordinators were trained as probation or social workers and worked in the state sector
- Rates of men who dropped out before completion of a programme were relatively low.
- Barriers to progress identified by respondents included men's unwillingness to accept responsibility for their violent behaviour, lack of motivation to change and entrenched attitudes.

- The overwhelming majority of programmes provide services for women. This accords with the growing body of knowledge of women's experiences and domestic violence which has been created by feminists who have insisted that perpetrators programmes should include work with women.
- Most programmes identify the safety and protection of women as one of their main aims.
- The data indicates that services for men actually bring increased services for women, rather than being established as an alternative to services for women.
- Few of the programmes existing in Britain have been evaluated.
- Programmes' strengths identified by respondents included commitment of staff, staff enthusiasm, strong theoretical base, clear management and philosophical direction, multi-agency nature of the programme.
- Programmes' weaknesses identified by respondents included a lack of: funding and resources, co-ordination between agencies, and a lack of monitoring and evaluation.
- Respondents reported that the following changes would improve programmes: lengthen and expand services; increase men's participation; develop the techniques used to encourage this; develop specific areas of work (e.g. sexual violence, work with women and children survivors); improve management by making it less staff intensive; improve programme monitoring; develop programme beyond perpetrators to include work with children; develop drama-based work in schools. Suggestions for change were not fundamental but rather involved adaptation and reform of programme regarded as fundamentally sound.

This research suggests that 'effective' programmes for violent men involve the following elements:

- A feminist theoretical base which focuses on the causes and contexts of violence against women. It is important that programmes maintain an overall integrity which can only be achieved if their theoretical orientation is clearly articulated.
- Wide-ranging consultations, with considerable investment made in establishing relationships with variety of agencies, particularly Women's Aid, and including all those professionals providing services to women, children and men in both the statutory and voluntary sectors. This ensures that a multi-agency approach is adopted which places work with men in a wider context of service provision which has at its core the safety and welfare of women.
- Adequate funding to ensure that sufficient resources are available to run the programme.
- A significant period of preparation involving planning, training and programme development. Consultation with those already providing services to violent men is advisable: their experiences and expertise may be extremely useful.
- A period (some suggest six months) of direct and relevant training for those who are responsible for delivering programmes.
- Mandatory attendance which requires programmes to be part of statutory criminal justice work. Current evidence from the British evaluations supports the evidence emanating from North America, all of which indicates that voluntary programmes have extremely high rates of attrition with only a few men actually completing such programmes. By contrast, those attached to the justice system with an official requirement to attend have much higher rates of completion and 'success'. There may be a place for voluntary programmes in addition to mandatory ones.
- In seeing men as responsible for their violence, programmes should be prepared to respond to the minimising, denying and blaming which is characteristic of men's responses to their violence. Challenging and confronting techniques may have an important place in such work.

- Programmes should be inclusive, ensuring that men of all cultural groups are represented and worked with appropriately.
- Programmes must provide support services for women and children, which should be designed not only to provide them with information about the programme and the man's progress, but should also respond to the needs of women and children as they work to make themselves safe.
- Independent evaluation to ensure not only the overall effectiveness of programmes - whether or not men become less violent - but also the evaluation of specific techniques used in the programme to demonstrate which work and which do not.

What conditions have enabled the development of perpetrators' programmes in Britain?

Perpetrators' programmes have flourished in Britain, North America, Australia and New Zealand while their development has been much slower elsewhere in the world. It is therefore useful to consider the conditions which have provided a fertile ground for their establishment. Our research suggests that the following factors have been significant:

- The existence of the feminist movement. Since the 1960s, feminism has had an important, although hard-won, influence on British political and cultural life and has enabled recognition of domestic violence as a significant characteristic of men's relationships with women.
- The existence of the 'battered women's movement' represented by the Women's Aid Federation. This organisation has not only provided shelter, support, information and advice for survivors of men's violence, but has also campaigned for improved responses from local and central government and all the agencies who provide services to survivors of violence. Their work since the 1970s, which has been grounded in a feminist perspective, has ensured that domestic violence has been on the public, political agenda, rather than being seen as a private, personal affair.
- Some awareness within the justice system of appropriate responses to domestic violence. As a result of the work of, amongst others, the Women's Aid Federation, the criminal and civil justice systems have been forced to acknowledge the inadequacies in

traditional responses to domestic violence. Hitherto, legal reforms have focused on women as victims; the introduction of perpetrators' programmes has provided a new, rehabilitative sentence for male offenders. This rehabilitative option also addresses sentencers' previous frustration at their inability to apply meaningful sanctions to domestic violence offenders.

- The development of offender-focused Probation work In Britain, the development of programmes for domestically violent men occurred alongside broader developments in the criminal justice system. The introduction in the 1990s of National Objectives and Standards in criminal justice work resulted in a significant increase in the supervision and monitoring of offenders. A specific concern was how to tackle their offending behaviour. This resulted in an increase in all probation and criminal justice work and the development of new initiatives designed to effect change in offending behaviour.
- Collaboration with activists, practitioners and policy-makers in the USA. It is surely no coincidence that perpetrators' programmes have developed in English-speaking countries where communication of ideas and innovations across national boundaries is relatively easy. In Britain, close attention has been paid to developments in domestic violence work in other English-speaking countries, especially the USA. Indeed, the first two programmes which developed in Britain (CHANGE & EDVPP), adopted a model which had been piloted in the USA and which was widely respected and valued. This cross-fertilisation of ideas and practices may be less straight-forward for countries where not only language but also cultural differences are significant.

All of these factors figured in the development of work with domestically violent men in Britain. Whilst the social, political, cultural and economic contexts of countries vary, any country seeking to develop work with violent men may find it useful to consider their own situation in relation to each of these factors.

Overall, our research reveals that whilst men's programmes appear to be thriving, many are doing so with limited funding, training and staffing. In this way, they are subject to the same problems which beset other domestic violence services for women and their children. Up to now, the Labour Government which promised a more cohesive social programme designed to respond to the problem of violence against women in the home, has failed to support their rhetoric with adequate funding to meet the diverse needs of women, children and men.

We conclude by reaffirming that programmes for men who are violent to their female partners can provide a useful and effective element of any work designed to eradicate the problem of domestic violence. However this work must be located within a national and/or community-wide, co-ordinated, structured and multi-agency strategy which has at its core the safety, well-being and protection of abused women and their children.

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Responses to Men Who Use Violence Against Women: A European Comparative Analysis.

The Greek Perspective: Report Summary

by

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TADKY

In Greece the issue of violence against women was put through for the first time by Woman's Movement since 1978. It was mainly focused on sexual violence (or abuse). It is also recognised the different aspects of violence against women: sexual abuse, sexual harassment, rape, batterment and psychological abuse.

Almost no systematic general research on the different aspects of the issue violence against women has been done. There are though some restricted research surveys or surveys for doctoral dissertations (especially on the issue of sexual violence). The lack or the non- suitability of the data given by various institutions is a major problem for the study and interpretation of extent, nature and severity of impact of this phenomenon in Greece. There is though agreement among most researchers and activists that the severity and the consequences of this problem are deeper and more severe than the existing data suggest.

The conclusions of the discussion, which was conducted during the "7th Crime Congress", indicated that violence against women, mainly exists in families with low socio-economic status. The presented survey indicated that in most cases, the domestic violence against women is correlated to economic matters and low-status occupation. Certainly this doesn't mean that endogenous-violence is limited only in the lower socio-economic class.

Ch. Antonopoulou conducted recently an empirical study on domestic violence in Greece which mainly focused on the issue of how attitudes about women can affect the attitudes toward violence against women. She concludes that violence against women in Greece is a result of social attitudes

Antonopoulou – Moschou C, in the Congress of World Health Organization "Consultation on preventive interventions in social violence" has reported a research project in the greater Athens area. This project lasted three years, the sample consisted of 30 abusing and

neglecting families and 30 control families. This project refers to physically abused and neglected children and its main findings were the following: a) Parents mainly were of a lower social class, they were married at an early age and were socially isolated. b) The abusing mothers were less intelligent than the fathers and the control mothers and they presented. c) Abused children's behavior was affected by violent behavior within the family.

From my research on violence against women in Greece, it is clear that this is not a matter of socio-economic status or class, as also most researchers accept. However women from low socio-economic status are the ones who address for help in different services (because of the restricted economic means they have). Data from Autonomous women's groups or questionnaires or telephone calls in special services (line. SOS) show that the problem is also found in higher socio-economic status and it is not much correlated with income, status or general educational level of victims and perpetrators.

A. Legal System

Violence against women is faced in the framework of general regulations of law (rules for crimes against life and personal freedom and crimes against sexual freedom). In the context of those general rules there are some special laws that refer to the problem of violence against women.

The general principles and regulations of Civil Code and Penal Code as well as some special laws (labor law, family law etc.) are the following cases:

a) Body injuries b) Crimes against sexual freedom and crimes of economic exploitation of sexual life. c) 'Honor' crimes (by indictment). d) Insult of personality. e) Law 1419/1984 is a reform: for instance rape is now part of the chapter of "crimes against sexual freedom, and economic exploitation of sexual life" and it is punished heavier and is publicly prosecuted. However marital rape is not a crime but there is the possibility to be considered as one when we have physical violence and injury (Few cases of the judicial decisions are in this direction lately). Physical injury and insult of personality of women within the household is regulated by the above mentioned general regulations of Civil and Penal Code. f) The Family Law, after the reform of 1983 (law 1329/1983) provides changes in the part of the Civil Code that deals with Family. However, concerning the behaviour of the spouses nothing is compulsory. The role of the husband and wives, despite the developments of the recent years, still follow the traditional discrimination of the sexes in many of Greek families. That means that despite the decrees, the directives and the recommendation of national and European Union legislation. Marriage and family are a private issue and state intervention goes as far as their protection.

In Greece there is lack of legal framework concerning domestic violence. Also, there is no law for the protection of the “weak” members of the family from domestic violence this could be a protection and prevention measure for the victims and for the perpetrators. Such a regulation would emphasise that violence within the family is a serious problem, for the solution of which the police and justice should have the right to intervene. Greece has ratified international conventions concerning humans rights, such as the convention for the abolishment of any type of discrimination against women - the well -known CEDAN- which without referring to violence against women considers that it is necessary to take measures for protections of women’s rights and their freedom. The General Secretariat of Equality, the governmental body for Sex Equality in Greece has charged to the Centre for Research on Equality Issues (KETHI) a Research for violence against women in Greece. In the meantime a Committee has been established (academics, representatives of General Secretariat of Equality, the Ministries of Public Order, Justice, Health and Social Welfare and Internal Affairs, Syndicalists and representatives of women’s organisations) with the responsibility to study the existing legal and institutional framework and to recommend propositions for its change and improvement.

The analysis of the files and statistical data of the Ministry of Justice show that women hesitate to go to the courts for many reasons, some of which are: a) Penalties that are decided by the courts are the lowest ones for the cases b) The number of those accused that are punished by the court is very small c) During the penal procedure women face the difficulty to prove accusations, the suspiciousness during the prosecution stage, the beliefs of the judges, during the procedure of interpretation of the laws.

The Ministry of Public Order has data only for the cases that lead to the courts. According to them a small number (0,06%) of women who are victims of violence address to the Police to prosecute the perpetrator (mainly women battered by their husband or their lover). A greater number of women go to the Police to report the attack but they don’ t charge the perpetrators.

The attitude of Police officers to women-victims ranges from indifference to negative behaviour and attitudes. They think that it is not their responsibility to deal with such cases, and they seldom send women to specialised services.

B. Services and Interventions

There is nothing existing about ‘violent men’. Some psychiatrists offer psychological help and counseling on a private basis, but information is difficult to obtain because of reasons of

occupational 'ethos'. Also some recommendations to violent men is often made by police officers, doctors and nurses who, because of their profession, deal with aspects of violence.

There are very few special services for women victims of violence. These are the following

1. General Secretariat of Equality

- Center for Abused Women. It is a state institution under the initiative of the General Secretariat of Equality. It was set up on October 1988 and includes the following services:

(a) Reception office or counseling unit for abused women .It is situated in Athens and offers free legal advice psychological support and information and other available services.

(b) Refuge-Hostel for battered women. It was established in Athens by the General Secretariat of Equality and the Municipality of Athens .It offers shelter and hospitality to abused women and their children, as well as psychological support, information and other available services.

The Refuge for battered women.

The Refuge for battered women functions since 1993 and it is open to any woman who has been abused, foreign or Greek. Women must address to the Office of Equality, and have a contact with the social service about their problem and to decide whether they want or not to stay in the Refuge (we mentioned above about it because it was established together with the General Secretariat of Equality). The immediate aim of the Refuge is to give the possibility to women who address to it to go back to the events which caused the abuse offering space, psychological and social support, so that they will be able to regain their self- confidence. During their stay they will be able to discover that there are alternative possibilities of life and experiences, either they return home or they decide to live alone without the husband who abuses them. The Refuge offers to the hosted women and to their children: a) Shelter, protection and security b) Psychological support and counselling by experienced personnel c) Legal counselling d) Information for the activity of other social services and institutions that can address to them according to the problem they face. The address of the Refuge as well as the names of the hosted women are not given for reasons of safety for the women. The Refuge's personnel work very hard and with enthusiasm. For 6 years it has hosted approximately 150 women. Many of the women who have been hosted during this six period in the Refuge, when they leave they do not contact again with the social worker and they do not inform about their life after the short period of the Refuge. Thus, there is no feedback in order to make any evaluation of the results of this important effort, although it is recommended to them by the Director to do so.

2. The Municipality of Athens

Athens municipality has taken special care about the issue of abused women. There is the Directory of Social Care and Health which is structured in two departments, the Department of Social Care and the Office of Equality. Based on the program of social offer of the Municipality, an Equality Office was founded by the Directory of Social Care and Health. Its aim is the systematic study of problems of women who live in the Municipality: It has the following activities: a) To regard the implementation of the European Union's Directives, of the Action programs and of the decisions of European Union and other International Organisations about issues of equality in the municipality. b) To include the necessary measures for the implementation of legal and real equality of both men and women in the field of policies, that Athens Municipality promotes. c) To make proposals to include in the Municipality's Program activities that aim to the participation of women to the development of the local community. d) To offer a wide range of information in order to overcome prejudice and traditional social choices. e) To plan and implement of informative programs and seminars for persons with special needs. f) To implement and continue programs that are either financed or not by the European Union, like the vocational counselling, the vocational training, the re-entrance to the labour market, especially for those women who are long-term unemployed, handicapped, refugees etc. g) The running of an information centre for women concerning woman's rights and also opportunities for vocational information and development. h) To promote programs that develop co-operation with the third world countries and educational seminars on health issues, prevention of violence, participation at centres that decisions are taken. i) To promote, encourage and reward women's initiatives in different fields of society. k) To function a counselling office about family matters, which will offer social and psychological support by experts. l) And finally, 'Refuge-Hostel for Battered Women' (mentioned above).

3. Women's Organisation's and Women's Groups

Women's organisations and women's groups start to offer free services to women who are victims of every form of violence. They offer legal advice, social and psychological support. There has been and SOS telephone line from women to women, which offers legal, psychological support to, abused women. In 1997, the Women's "League for woman's rights" started to function as a social service office for receiving complaints with SOS telephone line. Moreover, the

League has a legal department for providing women legal advice for incidents of abuse, and a department of social and psychological support.

Autonomous Movement of Women

The “Autonomous Movement of Women” situated at the centre of Athens is a women’s organisation which has many activities. There is a library with rich bibliography about women’s issues, rights and problems. There is also some research data such as the one by Epivatianos and Vassiliadis and statistics that refer to the Greek reality about the problem of violence. Brochures that refer to the events that have been organised by the Equality office and Leaflets about special services for abused women like the Refuge etc. There is also the SOS-telephone line that is an initiative of women (13) that started on 4/6/91992.

4. Other Services, educational meetings, seminars, etc.

- Abused women could ask help from Public Hospitals and Health Centres which however aren’t adequately equipped in order to cope with such situations.

- The General Secretariat of equality aiming to the sensitisation of public opinion about domestic violence against women has taken the following actions:

a) It has organized meetings, to the district of Crete, Macedonia, Thrace and Epiros. In these areas, the General Secretariat organized provisional meetings for the promotion of anti-violence measures and in order to support to support the victims of violence to gain their self – confidence and readapt to their social environment.

b) In the framework of European Union’s initiative “DAPHNE” the General Secretariat of Equality financially supports organisations or groups with that kind of programs targeting at the abolition of violence against women.

c) Within the framework of the European program “ARIADNE” the General Secretariat has co-operated with the ministry of Public Order for the organization of a seminar aiming at the sensitization of all police officers concerning the subject of violence against women. Moreover the General Secretariat of Equality has taken action to make public opinion more sensitive for that matter.

- The Greek women’s organisation “PANATHINAKI” co-operation with educational agents and the Greek police Academy has organised conferences in order to inform the students of the Academy about the fact of domestic violence.

- In the cities women’s organizations have taken action informing female immigrants about domestic violence.

C. Policy and Measures

It is a fact that the situation in Greece is still on the stage of research about the extent, the seriousness and the consequences of the problem of domestic violence, but it is also recognised the need for more policy and measures. During the decade of 80's and especially 90's domestic violence appears to policy measures. In Greece, positive action schemes to promote awareness and sensitisation on the issue of domestic violence have been organised mainly by General Secretariat of Equality and by a number of Women's Organisations and groups.

The General Secretariat of Equality has programmed for the future the following measures:

a) Co-ordination of the Services (Police and Justice) b) Centres for abused women all over Greece in co-operation with Municipalities. c) Special seminars (training, information, sensitisation on the problem) for people who professionally deal with aspects of violence (Police officers, Judges, Doctors, Nurses etc). d) Research on "Violence against Women". e) Special legislation for physical and sexual violence, protection of human dignity and alteration of attitude and beliefs. f) Furthermore it re-evaluates the already existing structures (Reception office for abused women and Refuge) by extending the technological equipment and the buildings facilities. Simultaneously it extends the offered services, social work investigation for the confirmation of the social conditions under which the offence was committed as well as attempts towards the best possible solution, and the operation of an SOS telephone line and g) Finally the General Secretary of Equality has scheduled the creation of five new Centres for women victims of violence (Athens, Thessaloniki, Patra, Bolo, Heraklion) in co-operation with the Centre of Research for Equality Issues that among other will offer legal and psychological advisory services.

D. Concluding Remarks

Our **Research** for the purposes of the **DAPHNE** project was focused in three directions: First, to do a preliminary survey containing questions about domestic violence against women in Greece, that is to gather information through questionnaire I distributed to students of the University of Piraeus. Second, research on the existing secondary data and third, questionnaires, interviews through personal contacts or telephone calls in order to get more in depth information, with: General Secretariat of Equality, Municipality of Athens, other municipalities, women's organisations and groups, Ministry of Public Order, Ministry of Health and Welfare, psychiatrists, psychologists, counselling centres and hospitals. The purpose of the first research was to gain some understanding about domestic violence in Greece. The respondents, 760, were both male and female and of the age group 20-25. Of the respondents, both men and women, more than 30 %

reported that they had experienced violence in their family either as victims themselves or against another person of their family.

Results from this research can be grouped in the following:

1) Projects or other interventions for violent men do not exist. Mixed models of interventions are proposed to be adopted in order to face the problem. Social, cultural and other factors inhibit the establishment of programs for men. Only some psychiatrists or psychologists do counselling to violent men in the context of family counselling. 2) Concerning interventions for abused women there are the above presented. 3) Domestic violence exists, but it is difficult to know the real extent of the problem in Greece as it is the case in most countries. The available data and statistics are not representative, because not all violent acts are reported. Some researchers report that the figures underrepresented the actual situation of domestic violence (ratio 3:1 approximately). 4) There are very few services for abused women and there is a need for services and interventions in different regions of the country.

Recommendations for interventions

- Co-operation among public organisations and services (specialised or not) that offer help to women victims of violence exists, but it is needed also between these organisations the Police and the Judicial services. Up to now this co-operation is not well organised. To ensure the proper functioning of such a co-operation it is important a committee to be established. The fragmentation of services is a very important constraint, which leads to the lack of co-operation and knowledge.
- Training of professionals in Health Care, Judicial and Educational system is important for tertiary prevention.
- Researches have shown that in recent years domestic violence reflects the unequal power relationships between the sexes or between parents and children or the elderly. In families where men act and expect to be treated as the most important member of the household conjugal violence occurs more often. In order to have progress on domestic- violence's issues, society must see intra-family violence as a crime that will not be tolerated. In the long term, the priority is to change the structure of unequal power relations between men and women. The educational system can play an important part in achieving this. It is important to bring up children to question some taken-for-granted assumptions about behaviour defined as 'masculine' or 'feminine', to question i.e. gender stereotypes. Above all the educational system must teach them, that violence is not a legitimate answer to personal problems, whether they occur

inside or outside home. In several countries social and life skills are introduced in the school's curriculum.

- Governments, legislation, employers, trade unions, professional associations must aim in reducing the inequalities, including the economic ones, between the sexes and must ensure that there are equal opportunities and remuneration for all. Further scientific research on the subject of domestic violence should aim to identify those forms of social behaviour that promote non-violence. This will provide valuable sources of information on the promotion of new ideas for prevention. The policy needs not only to introduce such measures and provide a respect for them, but also generate a community awareness of the conjugal violence's problems of the fact that it is a crime, of the availability of treatment and prevention services etc.
- The media, both local and national, have an important role to play in this public education process. The public's identification with positive images and attitudes has to be evaluated and used for the benefit of a non-violent society. Also the media can create a supportive climate for both victims of domestic violence and professional efforts to fight it.

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Responses to Men Who Use Violence Against Women: A European Comparative Analysis.

The Norwegian Perspective: Report Summary

by

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I The current and historic context on violence against women in Norway

For a long time the women's shelters (52 in Norway) and other NGO's (Non-Governmental Organisation) fought the struggle against this problem very much on their own. Through the eighties and nineties this issue has gradually become a public and societal issue which the society must take responsibility to deal with. At present the judicial laws in Norway includes a "gender equality act", a law which makes it possible to prosecute acts of discrimination against women.

Legislation and legislative reforms In Norway, the legal protection for battered women has been relatively weak until the late 1970s/ early 1980s. Through a gradual change over the years the present legal status of battered women includes:

- The opportunity to have 10 free consultations with an attorney
- The possibility to apply for economic compensation from a nationalised arrangement of compensation for victims of a violent crime
- A safety alarm system has been developed.
- The implementation of the principle of public prosecution.
- In 1994, an amendment of the law concerning restriction orders was put through.
- Since 1997, an alarm relaying system is often offered for women who have been exposed to violence from their partners. The woman can activate the alarm when she is being attacked or threatened; this can be done with a small carrying device, which is connected, to a receiver in the woman's home.

Governmental Policies The three governmental Ministries responsible for the domestic violence field are the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (MHSA), Ministry of Children and Family Affairs (MCFA) and Ministry of Justice and the Police (MJP). The three ministries have recently begun a formalised co-operation in the development of services for offenders, and services for victims in terms of a joint plan of action. This plan of action was released in November 1999.

Educational issues Throughout the last 5-10 years the organisation Alternative to Violence (ATV) – a counselling facility for men battering their partners are responsible for conducting education programs in different fields like medicine, psychology, training of police students and officers, childcare work, social work and post-qualifying education in family therapy.

II Investigating Norwegian projects and interventions - Initiatives of primary and secondary prevention

The White Ribbon Campaign in Norway started in 1993 based on the Canadian White Ribbon Campaign. The initiative in Norway was made by members of “The Network for Research on Men”, a Norwegian network for people interested in research issues on men and masculinity. The White Ribbon Campaign is a campaign aiming to encourage reflection and discussion that lead to personal and collective action among men. The issue is men’s violence against women.

The Network for research on men is a forum for exchange of male research issues in Norway. This network is primarily a academic network but with much focus on issues like gender, power and men's violence. The network works in association with different research institutions, the Norwegian Commission on Gender Equality and independent agencies like ATV. The network has a newsletter bulletin: The IASOM Newsletter; The International Association for Studies of Men.

The Crisis and Advisory Hot Line in Oslo and Agder (County) are both telephone hot lines where men could call if they need advice or other kinds of help. The aim is to give help and support to men who experience a difficult life situation or crisis.

III Investigating Norwegian projects and interventions - Individual projects of Tertiary prevention

Alternative to Violence - ATV, Oslo.

The experience from Alternative to Violence in Norway suggests that programs for men should be based on certain features:

- the programs should be based on a pro-feministic analysis of power, patriarchy, gender and masculinity regarding men's violence against women.
- the programs should be community based, working as easy accessible agencies in the local community
- the programs should be inter-agency based, not running as isolated agencies but working together with the police and other local services of health, social welfare and community development
- the programs should be accountable to the experiences of women experiencing domestic violence

At present almost 2000 men has contacted ATV since the start in 1987.

Features of the counselling program ATV is a low-threshold program which can be easily accessed by a potential client. It is enough to make a phone call. No referral from i.e. a GP is needed. It is seen as important to be able to offer a first appointment within 1 -2 weeks. Clients motivation is often situational in the way that the contact made is often connected to a present crisis in his marriage and/or a recent episode of violence. The program model conducted at ATV also sees men's violence against women partly as a result of the cultural influence of being men brought up in a patriarchal society which assumes male dominance and female subordination, and that different cultures identify to different degrees to this aspect of the culture. In addition to working with the actual violent behaviour and aspects of the persons personal history, his attitudes toward the issues mentioned are made a major issue in ATV's counselling programs.

ATV sees it as important to take into account both **cultural and individual** factors concerning how to understand men's violence against women. Each of these factors are accompanied by different sides of psychological and sociological theories on violence. Regarding the psychology the counselling model at ATV is influenced by social learning theory (violence is a learnt social phenomenon and can thus be "off-learned"), by cognitive-behavioural theories (i.e. anger management programs) as well as aspects of modern psychodynamic theories of human emotions. The theoretical basis for the programs at ATV are not by far fully developed.

Methodology and main principles of practice

Detailed focus on the violent behaviour. At the start of the treatment, the client can be quite eager to talk about other things than the violence. In the first phase of the treatment he is directed to work through the violent episodes. He is in an open and direct way invited to talk about and reconstruct the violent incidents. The incidents are in detail worked through, what happened and how it happened. Questions about why he was violent are of little importance at this stage. The importance here is to establish a recognition of his violence's existence. It becomes existing/a part of reality through talking about it. By talking about it he has to admit it actually has happened.

Focus on his responsibility for his violent actions. Through the detailed focus on the violent episodes, focusing on him, not her, on what he does, on the violence as a chosen behaviour and on his power and control strategies, he becomes aware that his violent acts are actively chosen in a given situation with a purpose and function. It is not a passive reaction to what she is doing to him.

Focus on the connection between own personal life experiences and his present use of violence. Many clients have grown up under depriving psychological conditions with the presence of violence and living with a cultural imperative stating that violence is a necessary part of masculinity. Many clients have also grown up in a family with a violent father. It is seen as important to help him see the connection between these significant life experiences and present coping strategies/violent behaviour, not as a source of explanation regarding the violence, but as a source for understanding of own emotional patterns and present use of violence.

The violence has consequences, is destructive and dangerous. Through reconstructing the violent episodes, he recognises which impact and consequences his violence has, the real damaging effects of the violence on his partner and children. It becomes very difficult for him to continue to conduct violent actions once he starts to consider the real damaging effects of his violent behaviour.

Results/outcome Men seem to become non-violent as the result of a counselling process that put a serious and detailed focus on the violent behaviour, and a respectful focus on him as a human being. 60-65% of the men contacting ATV go through the counselling process. Approximately 80% of these men show a dramatic change concerning moving in the direction of a non-violent behaviour. These findings are documented in both internal and external evaluation reports.

Other individual projects of intervention

Invitation To Responsibility (ITR) Family therapist Oeyvind Aschjem started in 1996 Invitation To Responsibility, a project offering therapy for men who use violence against their partners. One goal of the ITR project was to show its effectiveness of treatment. In 1998, when the project ended, an evaluation was made, the plan being to pursue the work of ITR into a new, permanent offer called “Alternative to Violence-Telemark”. Negotiations are ongoing.

Educational groups for men convicted of violent crimes or sexual assault - a training manual for officers within prisons and probation offices.

Throughout 1996 and 1997 the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police released a directive instructing the prisons to start working on programs which should increase the quality of the rehabilitation of the prisoners. Mr. Isdal of ATV has written a manual for officers on how to run the educational groups for men convicted of violent crimes or sexual assault. At present 5 prisons and a couple of probation Offices in the eastern region of Norway is running this programme.

The Anger Management Project, The Psychiatric Hospital in Soer-Troendelag, Broeseth ward. Trondheim

As a University Clinic and centre of expertise, the psychiatric hospital has wanted to expand its functions beyond normal hospital work. The plan is to establish a group program in association with the local health care and social services and focus on the person who is violent, and to teach him alternative strategies instead of violence. The group therapy is based on cognitive therapy. Short-term cognitive therapy is primarily focused on problem solving.

Group Therapy for men convicted of a sexual offence, Agder County

The major aim of this project is that a co-operation between several departments will help to accomplish that people convicted of a sexual offence do not repeat such offences.

Program activity at Bergen Penitentiary

The Penitentiary in Bergen has different kinds of program activity as a part of the sentencing for some of the prisoners. Most of the prisoners in these programs are men convicted of a sexual assault. The main program activity mentioned here are one 16 hours anger management program and a 200 hours program for sex offenders. The anger management program is an introductory program for the sex offender program. The penitentiary also plans a violence prevention program, but information is yet not available because it is not accredited yet.

The public family guidance centre in Molde. Project: “Privatised violence in the family”

On the basis of therapeutic activity at the centre in Molde, and through media, the centre has become increasingly aware of violence in families. The project description outlines these expected results: Through this project the centre in Molde will develop a specialised mapping of the problem, and a treatment-facility to families that suffer from violence. Through training, mapping of the problem, and developing of a treatment-facility to families, the centre in Molde will have know-how and experience on domestic violence. The intervention is based on a family therapy orientation, where a need to work with the family as a unit and to look at the family as a unit is important. Themes like child abuse/neglect, power and powerlessness, domination and subordination, emotions, identity, and sexual assault are some of the important areas of this work.

The public family guidance centre in Soer-Troendelag (Trondheim)

The public family guidance centre in Trondheim is, as in Molde, a therapeutic centre for families seeking help for marital or psychosocial problems. The family guidance centre in Trondheim is now applying for funds to establish a project based on work with violent people, especially violent men. At present the centre refers the violent man to other organisations, such as The Anger Management Project in Trondheim, but they often experience that the man they refer does not make use of this offer.

The two family guidance centres mentioned are not discussing in their presentations their view on the international debate on systemic theory and pro-feministic based analysis of systemic theory applied on the problem of domestic violence.

The Institute of Clinical Sexology and Therapy, Oslo

The Institute for Clinical Sexology and Therapy covers the field of sexually related problems and dysfunction in general, but has also a specific programme for sex offenders, including both men who have raped a known woman and men assaulting unknown women. The institute also run groups for men convicted of sexual abuse of children.

Comments

Concerning projects dealing with men's violence towards women, the report shows that there are different framework and different basic understanding of the roots of the violence as well as how

to work with the violence to combat it. This report shows that there is a relatively high level of consciousness about men's violence against women on different levels of the Norwegian society. Both NGO's, the social welfare- and health care system, and the national policy makers respond to a certain extent to men's violence. Still there is a long way to go to before Norway has a national and unified action plan against men's violence against women.

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Responses to Men Who Use Violence Against Women: A European Comparative Analysis.

The Italian Perspective: Report Summary

by

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The Issue of violence against women in the Italian context

The debate concerning violence against women developed in Italy, as it did in other countries, thanks to feminist groups that started their activity at the beginning of the 1970s. Italian feminism raised issues on men violence at social and political level and faced political struggles, in order to change traditional, cultural and social responses to the problem.

During the Seventies the Italian women's movement chose the reform of the civil and the criminal law as a privileged terrain of intervention. It mobilised in favour of the promotion of a law proposal at national level aimed to change some articles of the penal code concerning rape and violence within the family. At the same time judicial processes, trials' outcomes and the judicial environment in general were questioned and accused as sexist and heavily discriminant as regards to women (Pitch 1989, 1998).

Despite the presence of self-help initiatives for abused women within feminist groups since the beginning of the movement, it is only at the end of the 1980s that there is a mushrooming of Anti-violence Centres for this specific scope. Only at the beginning of the 1990s some of these Centres managed to provide with refuges and shelters in order to accommodate women who suffered violence by partner, relative, or others. Almost all groups concerned with violence against women, in Italy, belong to the feminist movement. It has been counted about 80 Anti-violence Centres all over the country, 16 of which are refuges. They have constituted a national network of co-ordination that has continued to operate at an informal level and without representational power of the single centres.

However it is only at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of 1990s that the issue of domestic violence catches the attention of the institutions (mainly at local level) and the Mass Media. Nevertheless there is no doubt that Italian public opinion is much more concerned with issues such as: prostitution, paedophilia and children abuse.

Public policies on the issue of violence against women

Public Institutions promoted the first interventions on the issue of violence against women, with few exceptions, in the 1990s as a result of campaigns and political pressure carried out by feminist groups, in particular by Refuges and Anti-violence Centres. Another political strategy adopted by feminist groups has been the building up of political relationships with women inside the institutions, who also come (not always) from the feminist experience in the 1970s and 1980s. The situation is quite different if one considers the national or the local level.

At national level, we can state that there is no national policy promoted by the Government or the Parliament on the issue of violence against women. With the only exceptions (partial) made for the Directive of the Council of Ministers of 1998 promoted by the Equal Opportunity Ministry and for those contexts where measures are taken and operative indications are defined to contrast violence against minors and women's traffic.

At local level, the most interesting initiatives and the best interactions between Refuges, Anti-violence Centres and public institutions are visible. The situation, however, is not quite homogeneous. On the one side, where women groups are actively present and well rooted, the attitude of the Police, Social Services and Emergency Services (at the Hospital) has generally improved and focused on the needs of women; on the other side where women groups are lacking (mainly in the Centre and South of Italy), the activity of the institutions is absent. According to the above Research Report the most significant experiences were produced in the following regions: Emilia-Romagna, Lombard, Piedmont, Tuscany and partly in Veneto and Friuli Venezia Giulia. Besides the funding of Refuges and Anti-violence Centres other important initiatives are:

- Funding and promotion of training addressed to Police Forces and the Social and Health Departments
- Funding for Research Projects on the issue of violence against women
- An attempt to promote multi-agency interventions through the constitution of forum and boards
- Funding for projects facing the issue of women's traffic

Finally it is important to mention the establishment of Centres which offer qualified and competent services in the area of sexual violence (of medical, gynaecological, psychological and forensic nature) at Emergency Services (Hospital) at least in one Italian city, Milan, and perhaps Turin.

The Judicial System and the Police

The initiatives carried out at institutional level, which have a structural character, by the Police on the issue of domestic violence and sexual violence are quite rare; there is no “specific” place (or suite) in a Police station where women can, with some comfort and privacy, fill a complaint and report to the agents violent episodes. It is even harder to find qualified personnel. According to data gathered in the Anti-violence Centres and to results from some training and from a micro-survey on a small number of policemen in Trieste town (Bascelli e Romito 2000), it could be said that the FF.OO are more aware today than they were in the past on the existence and the seriousness of domestic violence. But a consistent number of policemen are still more concerned “to placate the spirits”, “to bring the peace back in the family”, “to avoid an escalation of violence” than to prosecute crimes. There is a tendency to discourage, directly or indirectly, women from filling a complaint, sometimes with trivial reasons based on traditional and sexist values (“in the end he is always your husband”, “Are you aware of what a complaint consists of / leads to ?” etc.) and to consider the female ambivalence vis à vis the justice system (e.g. women dropping charges) the main reason for the poor results in implementation of the law.

Generally speaking Italian magistrates are not inclined to charge someone for the crime of domestic violence (most of the time they charge for minor crimes like actual bodily harm, or threats, etc.) and it is even rare that they order personal precautionary measures (*misura cautelari ante delictum*) to be implemented. An exception to this tendency is represented by the Local Magistrate’s Court (Prosecution Service) in Milan (qualified to hear cases of domestic violence when injuries are not too serious). A qualified “pool” on domestic violence have been working for several years and collaborating with the Battered Women Refuge of Milan and with other services in the community. From the data collected it is the only experience on the national level (a similar one is starting in Turin), and its results are quite significant.

The Research

In the Italian context empirical and epidemiological research is quite poor. At national level the first victimological survey was carried out by the ISTAT in 1997 in relation to considered sexual violence and sexual harassment (not domestic violence). An “Eurispes” Report on homicides in domestic contexts exists, whose data were drawn from the press and therefore from the major national, regional and local newspapers. No other data at this level are available.

At the local level however some interesting researches were carried out. The results of these surveys confirm what other researches carried out in other countries have found: a cross-cutting pattern as regards to the social status of men and women involved; that the phenomenon is

widespread and therefore the impossibility to confine it as a social or individual problem of pathological nature; that perpetrators mostly have a close relation with the victim: they are father, uncle, brother, husband, partners and boyfriend; that domestic violence is lethal for women and is likely to produce very serious consequences.

It is important to point out that at present Academic Institutions and Universities do not retain it is necessary to focus on the problem. The few empirical researches mentioned above were carried out in some Italian regions and funded by Local Institutions only (with the exception of the VCS by ISTAT). In the Degree course of Psychology, Medicine and Law, in the school curricula for social workers and for nurses, the issue of violence against women is never discussed; at national level no directives are yet contemplated that outline the urgency of this issue. In those few occasions when the problem is discussed at universities, this occurs normally in the presence of feminists researchers and lecturers involved in the issue (Paci, 1999). The situation is changing however. The question is to see what the future results will be in relation to the Directive of the Council of Ministers of 7th March 1998 promoted by the Equal Opportunities Ministry, whose aim is to reveal the impact and extension of violence against women in our country.

Discussing masculinities: individual and collective interventions

The existence of men groups or single men who discuss over the issue of gender is a recent phenomenon, at its very early stage in our country. We are aware of the existence of few groups having different features from one another; almost no specific literature exists on the subject. One of the exceptions is the work of Carmine Ventimiglia, sociologist on Family issues at Parma University, who has been engaged for years on the issue of violence against women starting from a gender sensitive approach. The publication in 1997 of a monographic volume by the review "Alfazeta" called "Male drifts. Men after feminism" ("Derive del maschile. Gli uomini dopo il femminismo") in which there are interventions of various authors, one written by Carmine Ventimiglia on the problem of violence against women. This is a sign that times are changing.

"Men Association on violence against women". It was set up in 1997 in Bologna and is constituted of people who belong to: the Local Council political institutions (i.e. the ex mayor of Bologna); the FF.OO. (the head of the police); the political left parties. The initiative took place in a time when some episodes of rape were reported to the police and the local mass media gave special attention on the issue. Besides, groups of women together with women inside the institutions (in particular a woman councillor, responsible for the Health and Social care Department) have performed different forms of pressure in order that men started to consider the

problem as their responsibility. The charter of the Men Association on violence against women takes into account what women have been saying about the problem. This is a valuable aspect, however no men's hints on the issue were mentioned.

“Gruppo uomini” (Group Men). This group is constituted of young men from Pinerolo (close to Turin – Piedmont). It publishes an informative sheet titled "Men on the way" (Uomini in cammino), which is an insert in the “Community News” (Foglio di Comunità) published by the Christian community (Valdesi) based in Pinerolo. The group makes an explicit reference to feminism and many discussion points are drawn from feminist classic authors like Elena Gianini Belotti “Dalla parte delle bambine” (From the side of little girls).

Others informal groups exist in Rome.

The "Separated father's Association" (Associazione dei padri separati) has quite a different character and uses a sort of conspiracy language. They consider feminism as the historical subject responsible not only for all men's evils but also for the entire world problems. They believe that the problem of “male violence against women” does not exist and that women draw their attention on the violent episodes in their relationship only with the intention to obtain the custody of children. In this context men think that they are deprived of the opportunity to become educational subject for their children. The association is very active and obtains consensus.

Interventions for men who use violence against women

In Italy initiatives on the subject of violent men against women are quite lacking. However few interventions are present at local level. It is therefore worth focusing on them as they may represent interesting or pilot experiences. Their evaluation could give significant indications on how to operate, or it could bring to surface that there might be problematical type of interventions whose possible negative consequences should be underlined. As outlined in part one of this report, at national level there are no measures or directives (circulars) on the issue of violence against women from the side of perpetrators.

Primary Crime Prevention Initiatives

The survey carried out has pointed out that at local level there are some projects of prevention in schools, which aim to open up discussions on the problem of violence against women within groups of boys and girls. Two significant experiences were identified in this field: one carried out in Bologna; the other one in Trieste. It is possible that similar experiences are performed somewhere else.

It concerns interventions' programmes on the topic of violence against women carried out in high schools. The way in which is carried out are generally groups of discussion aimed to: raise awareness on the problem; give information on the resources available locally, in the case they have been victims of violence or if they know someone who has; put under discussion gender stereotypes and attitudes or behaviours which represent manifestations of power and control upon others.

Even though specific initiatives to suggest are still under way, it is important to mention in this paragraph the project elaborated by Carmine Ventimiglia "Research Project towards violent men", which represents the only initiative of this nature found in Italy. It has been funded by the Emilia-Romagna region and the local government of Modena. This is an explorative research aimed to verify the perception of the problem of domestic violence against women (the project mentions intra-conjugal violence) of key-witnesses like: police officers, social workers, school teachers, penitentiary workers, etc.. It also aims to gather useful elements to elaborate and implement interventions directed to the offender. The survey suggests the following approaches: semi-structural interviews to key witnesses; network space aimed to "promote the issue of male violent offenders (against women)" in order to get in contact with women and men who wish to talk about their experience. The final objective consists of an elaboration of 'proposals' packages' of interventions in schools, in juvenile groups, public events etc.

Secondary crime prevention initiatives

In general terms, this kind of programmes are absent on the Italian territory.

Tertiary crime prevention initiatives

Programmes or projects of this nature are also absent both at penitentiary or community level. However two types of intervention with violent men were found and we think it worth mentioning, even though they do not present all the characteristics described above.

- **Intervention carried out by Centres involved in children abuse**

Due to purposes of this research, some centres dealing with children abuse were contacted. They are located in the North of Italy: Centre for abused children (in Milan), Centre for help abused children and family's crises (Milan and Bergamo), Hansel and Gretel (in Turin), Centre for the study and the care of sexually abused children. Their interventions have therapeutic nature. They intervene on the abused child as well as on the family through a systemic and relational approach. Their idea is to solve conflicts and the violence inside the household with the

engagement of all members of a family. They also provide individual therapy when necessary. They are convinced of the existence of a "cycle of violence" and therefore of the fact that who has suffered an abuse as a child tends to repeat it. Violence and uncontrolled aggressive behaviours are the effects of a trauma suffered during childhood. From this point of view they retain that there is no difference between man and woman, as they could have been both traumatised children. Abusive behaviours towards children by man or woman are different but both of them could have 'relational' reasons for using violence. We do not know how many of these Centres work on the problem of violence performed by the "abusive parent" (towards children) towards his partner, but we know it might happen. More information on how the work with the abused wife or the violent partner is done is not yet available; in particular it is not known how they deal with the problem of the woman's safety or with the possibility of collusion with the abuser.

- **The Penitentiary System**

There are no structural programmes of intervention with persons convicted for sexual or domestic violence that serve a sentence in the Italian prisons. The prisoners are grouped together in certain institutes because other prisoners do not accept them. From one telephone interview it was understood the difficulty for the workers to deal with these individuals and the need to acquire new instruments of intervention. It was also clear that there is certain hostility towards these persons from the social services (competent for the re-integration of ex prisoners or for probation orders) as well. The situation could be summarised as follows: "no one wants to know about them". However these people after a period in jail return to live in the community. But the only initiative we found is realised thanks to the initiative of a psychologist in the prison of Lodi (Milan).

CONCLUSION

In many ways the issue of masculinity is still at a very early stage in Italy as well as the projects or initiatives of intervention explicitly directed to change male violent behaviour against women in particular within the household.

At the same time we have found some interventions de facto (with men violent against women and children) which should be carefully monitored and analysed. Some of their modalities of intervention might become indeed a vehicle of "dangerous" approaches. It seems in fact (just to mention one of the issues involved) that the problem of the woman's safety is not taken into serious consideration; and that there is no gender specific analysis of violence starting from the view point that the perpetrator and the victim of violence held the same responsibility.

The information and data on the issue of violence against women, which characterise the Italian context, should allow us to understand at what "stage" we are. This will enable us to evaluate which initiatives could and have to be promoted in order to go forward in the process of changing male violent behaviours against women.

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