POSITIV MASC
Developing strategies to support anti-VAW masculinities

GENDER·NET Plus
Promoting gender equality in H2020 and the ERA

Mapping the policy and legal landscape in addressing violence against women in Ireland, Israel, Spain and Sweden: a cross-country comparison

PositivMasc WORKING PAPER 2

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1. INTRODUCTION

This working paper explores the policy, legal and institutional landscapes which underpin understandings of and responses to tackling violence against women (VAW) at the scale of the European Union, and in each of the four countries in the *PositivMasc* study: Sweden, Spain, Israel and Ireland. Exploring the national and supra-national contexts in which public and political debates about VAW are framed, and how policies, strategies and legislation seek to address VAW is vital in developing a cross-country comparison of approaches to tackling VAW, as well as in reflecting on how recommendations for intervention emerging from the *PositivMasc* study fit into already existing policy objectives and frameworks.

In this paper, we take the European Union, and each national context, to set out the key features of the political and institutional response to VAW. We begin each section by scoping out what is known about the prevalence of VAW in each country, based on sources from both EU and national surveys/datasets. We then move on to discuss the country-specific policy, legislative and institutional contexts which have shaped responses to tackling VAW, by addressing the following questions:

- What have been the key legislative and policy developments in addressing VAW in each of the four countries, and the EU?
- Who are the main institutional actors (governmental, civil society and others) shaping policy frameworks and responses to VAW?
- What are the key objectives of policies/strategies to tackle VAW? To what extent are issues related to addressing masculinities – and promoting 'anti-violence masculinities' - part of these objectives, if at all?
- What have been some of the key public debates and controversies shaping debates about tackling VAW in each country?

Based on these questions, the paper maps the policy landscapes of the EU and each of the four countries, seeks to provide a cross-country comparison, and identifies implications for the *PositivMasc* study.

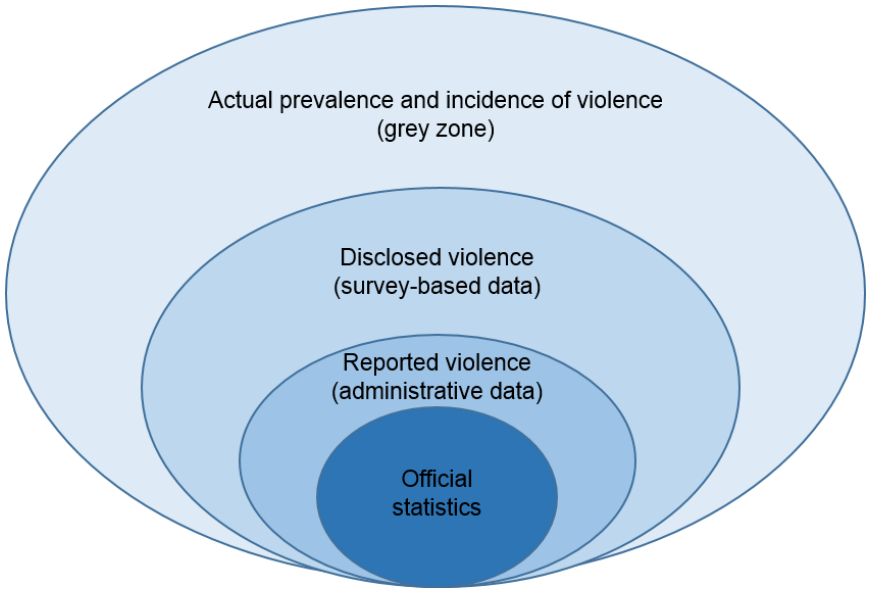
2. EUROPEAN UNION

2.1 Prevalence of VAW in European Union

Up until the 1990s, VAW in most EU Member States was "considered a private matter in which the state played only a limited role"; since this time, VAW has come to be seen as a "a fundamental rights concern that warrants legal and political recognition" (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2015, p. 7). Work to address VAW however, has been hampered by lack of robust data on the issue across EU Member

States. As Figure 1 shows, the collection of data can vary depending on the actor(s) and agencies collecting the data. The actual prevalence of violence is also hidden for a variety of reasons.

Figure1: Forms of data on VAW (European Institute for Gender Equality [EIGE], 2019)



In an attempt to address this gap, the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (2015) conducted a survey (the 'FRA' survey) involving interviews with a random sample of 42,000 women aged 18-74 across the 28 EU Member States. Since this figure means that a minimum number of 1,500 women took part in the survey, it can be taken to be representative of women in each Member State. The survey questions ascertain women's experiences of partner and non-partner violence since they were 15, and in the 12 months before the survey, as well as their experiences of violence in childhood.

As Table 1.0 shows, according to this survey, one in three women in Europe has experienced physical and/or sexual violence since age 15. A couple of other points are worth noting. The 43% figure for those who have experienced psychological violence refers to women who have experienced any one form of psychological abuse such as controlling behaviour, economic violence, abusive behaviour or blackmail with or abuse of children. For sexual harassment, 68% of women indicated that they faced sexual harassment by a perpetrator who was unknown to them. Young women aged 18-29 constitute the most vulnerable group for this behaviour. In terms of stalking, perpetrators comprised a previous partner, known person or unknown person, 21 percent of women who reported experiencing stalking indicated that the stalking lasted for over two years. Cyberstalking is most prevalent amongst the 18-29 group.

Table 1.0 Summary of main results from the FRA (2015) survey

	Any partner and/or non-partner violence			**Current or previous partner**	**Any partner and/or non-partner**	
	Physical and/or sexual	Physical	Sexual	Psychological	Sexual harassment	Stalking
Since age 15	33%	31%	11%	43%	55%	18%
Last 12 months	8%	7%	2%	n/a	21%	5%

Childhood violence (before age 15)			
Physical and/or sexual	Physical	Sexual	Psychological violence by family member
33%	27%	12%	10%

2.2 Key Legislative and Policy Developments in Tackling VAW

Table 1.1 sums up the *key* legislative and policy developments in relation to VAW in the context of EU Member States. Legislative and policy developments in relation to tackling VAW within EU countries come from two central sources: the European Union and its related institutions, and the Council of Europe (CoE). The Council of Europe is a separate institution from the EU comprising a total of 47 member states, but all 28 members of the EU are also members of the CoE. Strategies and instruments produced by the CoE therefore have bearing on EU Member States. On this basis, relevant CoE developments in relation to VAW are outlined here.

The issue of VAW was raised by the *1986 European Parliament Resolution on violence against women*. The resolution urged Member States to compile statistics and organise information campaigns on VAW "in order to awaken public awareness to the existence and extent of violence against women" (European Parliament, 1986, p. 75). It also outlined recommendations for how VAW may be tackled through school curricula.

Key guidelines and priorities (rather than legal instruments) have been issued and developed by the EU and other European institutions relating to VAW. The Council of the EU issued its G*uidelines on violence against women and girls and combatting all forms of discrimination against them* in 2008, which outlined a range of guidelines to achieve three objectives: prevent violence against women and girls; protect and support victims; prosecute perpetrators. The Council adopted *Conclusions on the Eradication of Violence Against Women in the European Union* in 2010 which advised (among a number of things) the European Commission to develop an EU-wide strategy on violence against women. The Council repeated this conclusion in 2012 with the adoption of its conclusions on *Combating Violence Against Women* in 2012. In its 2014 conclusion

on *Preventing and combating all forms of violence against women and girls,* the Council also drew attention to the emerging forms of violence which may be enacted online and through new communication technologies.

In 2002, the Committee of Ministers of the CoE adopted Recommendation (2002)5 *on the protection of women against violence*. The recommendation was not legally binding, but it offered a common framework for CoE member states. Among some of its recommendations, it called on Member States to develop, improve and implement policies on VAW; improve areas of criminal law and judicial proceedings; provide intervention programmes; address gendered stereotypes; and proposed measures relating to specific forms of violence such has sexual harassment and female genital mutilation (FGM).

In 2005, the Heads of State and Government of the CoE reaffirmed their commitment to address VAW in the Warsaw Declaration. As a result, the *Council of Europe Task Force to Combat Violence against Women, including Domestic Violence (EG-TFV)* was established and consisted of eight international experts in the field of VAW (Council of Europe, 2019). The Task Force developed a Final Activity Report assessing the 2006-2008 European-wide campaign to combat VAW, including domestic violence. In this report, the Task Force recommended that a legal human rights-based instrument should be developed to prevent and combat violence against women. The Committee of Ministers of the CoE subsequently set up the Ad Hoc Committee on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence and were tasked with developing a legally binding instrument "to prevent and combat violence against women, and to protect and support the victims of such violence as well as prosecute the perpetrators" (Council of Europe, 2011, p. 3).

The draft of the *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence* was presented by CAHVIO. It was adopted in 2011 by the Committee of Ministers in Istanbul and came into force as the Istanbul Convention in August 2014 (European Parliament, 2016). While there is no EU specific directive on VAW, all EU States have signed the Convention. The EU has also not adopted its own definition of VAW (FRA, 2015), but the Convention (2011, p. 3) understands 'violence against women' as a:

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

The Convention obliges Parties to introduce measures that constitute the minimum standard for the prevention on VAW. It obliges Parties to implement a range of new offences where they do not exist, for example, psychological and physical violence.

AnEU specific instrument is the 'Victims Directive' (Directive 2011/29/EU). This establishes minimum rights and standard for victims of crime. It contains articles relating to the provision of information and support for victims and victims' rights in relation to criminal proceedings.

Table 1.1: Timeline of Key European Legislative and Policy Developments

YEAR	TITLE
	Legal Instruments
2006	Directive 2006/54/EC – Defines and bans sexual harassment in the workplace (EU Parliament and Council)
2011	Istanbul Convention opened for signature (came into force 2014) (CoE)
2011	Directive/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims (EU Parliament and Council)
2011	Directive 2011/99/EU on the European protection order (EU Parliament and Council)
2012	Directive 2012/29/EU (Victims Directive) (EU Parliament and Council)
	Resolutions and Recommendations
1989	Resolution on violence against women (UN)
2009	Resolution on the elimination of violence against women (UN)
2011	Resolution on priorities and outline of a new EU policy framework to fight violence against women (EU Parliament)
2012	Female genital mutilation European Parliament resolution 14 June – pressured Member States to adopt a resolution to criminalise FGM (EU Parliament)
2013	Resolution on the elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls (EU Parliament)
2014	Resolution on ending female genital mutilation (EU Parliament)
2015	Resolution on the EU Strategy for equality between women and men post 2015 (EU Parliament)
	Policies and Guidelines
2002	Recommendation 5 on the protection of women against violence (CoE)
2006	*A Roadmap for equality between women and men 2006-2010* (Communication of the European Communities)
2008	EU guidelines on violence against women and girls and combating all forms of discrimination against them (EU)
2010	Women's Charter (EU Commission)
2010	Council conclusions on the Eradication of Violence Against Women in the European Union (Council of the European Union)

2011	*Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015* (European Commission)
2012	Council conclusions on Combating Violence Against Women, and the Provision of Support Services for Victims of Domestic Violence (European Council)
2014	*Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017* (Council of Europe)
2015	*Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019* (European Commission)
2018	*Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2018-2023* (Council of Europe)

2.3 Institutional Context and Key Actors in Shaping Policy/Strategy

2.3.1 European-wide Institutions

There are a number of key institutions within the European Union who are stakeholders in the area of VAW. The EU Parliament's role in shaping policy and legislation in relation to VAW for example, is seen through the adoption of resolutions. These resolutions have called on the European Commission to develop a policy framework on VAW in general, but other resolutions have focused on more specific forms of violence including FGM and emergent forms of gender-based violence such as those enacted online. The Parliament's role is also augmented by the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM). The FEMM Committee has also established a Working Group on Violence against Women in 2015 to facilitate the exchange of views and ideas around strategy on the issue.

The European Commission sets the overall strategic and political direction of the EU. The Commission develops and implements EU policies and proposes laws to both the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union. The Commission also helps EU Member States in implementing policies. In the arena of VAW, as well as its strategies (2006, 2011) to tackle gender equality, it has also produced communications on eliminating female genital mutilation (2013) and a *Strategy on the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012-2016* (2013). The Commission has also developed policies on promoting gender equality in its external relations with other countries (e.g. European Commission, 2015).

Another key institution within the EU is the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). The EIGE was established by the European Parliament in 2006 and became fully independent and operational in 2010. According to the FRA (2015, p. 8), the EIGE has raised the issue of gender equality higher on the EU's agenda, including the area of violence against women. The EIGE helps the EU and its Member States by monitoring, gathering information and providing expertise on GBV. Examples of this assistance include the publication of reports on topics such as the costs of gender-based violence (2014) and cyber violence against women and girls (2017).

A key institution outside of the EU itself is the Council of Europe. The CoE promotes human rights through international conventions and is composed of 47 member states, 28 of which are members of the European

Union. The CoE is active in promoting gender equality and combating sexism and it has increasingly taken VAW seriously since the 1990s. Its Committee of Ministers for example (the CoE's decision-making body), adopted Recommendation 5 which called upon member States to undertake actions in relation VAW, such as the development national policies on VAW. The CoE has also run European-wide campaigns on VAW.

A key Convention developed by the CoE (2020) which has shaped policy and legislation amongst EU Member States is the Istanbul Convention, which it describes as "the most far-reaching international treaty to tackle" VAW (2019). Furthermore, the Council produces papers and strategies on addressing gender equality and issues pertaining to VAW specifically.

2.3.2 NGOs and Other Stakeholders

The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) enables civil society organisations from the EU Member States to express their view at the European level and thus, acts as a consultative body to the European Council, Commission and Parliament. In relation to VAW, it has published opinion documents on *Eradicating domestic violence against women* (EESC, 2012) and the EESC (2006) opinion on *Domestic Violence against women*. The former document recommended national and European measures to tackle domestic violence.

The European Women's Lobby (EWL) received support from the European Commission in 1990 and has a secretariat based on Brussels. It describes itself as the largest European Umbrella network of women's associations in the EU. The EWL lobbies at the European level and has an advisory capacity in the Council of Europe. It also has an Observatory on Violence against Women and acts as a watchdog on policy and practice developments on the topic (EWL, 2016). For example, the EWL (2011) has published an evaluation of national actions plans to combat VAW.

Another key stakeholder is Women Against Violence Europe (WAVE). WAVE was established in 1994 and is a non-profit and non-governmental feminist organisation which works in the area of VAW specifically. It is composed of a network of over 150 members in 46 European Countries (WAVE, 2020). It receives funding form the European Commission, ministries and foundations as well as donations from individuals and publishes policy and thematic papers.

In the context of men's involvement in addressing gender equality and VAW, MenEngage Europe is another supranational network of NGO organisations working with men and boys to end gender violence. Formed in 2009, and as part of a wider MenEngage global platform, the network conducted a study in 2012 for EIGE mapping out different organisations in Europe working with men in the different nation states of the EU.

2.4 Key Objectives of Strategies in Tackling VAW

Although a European Parliament (2016) report recommended the development of an overall EU strategy to combat VAW, such a strategy does not currently exist. Instead, the issue of GBV and VAW has formed part of general strategies developed by the European Commission (2006, 2011, 2015) and Council of Europe (2014, 2018) to tackle gender in/ equality.

The *Women's Charter* (European Commission, 2010) outlined five 'principles of equality', with principal four addressing the issue of 'dignity, integrity and an end to gender-based violence'. The document proposed to "put in place a comprehensive and effective policy framework to combat gender-based violence" (European Commission, 2010, p. 4). The charter was substantiated with the publication of the Strategy for *Equality Between Women and Men* (European Commission, 2011).

Both the Council of Europe (2014, 2018) and the European Commission (2006, 2011) have published two strategies to promote 'gender equality'. The European Commission has also published a staff working document called *Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019*. This replaces the previous strategy (European Commission, 2011), but it does not have the same legal status as a strategy.

Objective two of the Council of Europe (2014, 2018) strategies focus on 'Preventing and combating violence against women' while the combatting of 'gender-based violence' is priority four for the European Commission strategies (2006, 2011) and working document 2015). Key actions to support the objectives in the documents overall include:

1. The development of quality and reliable data collection procedures and standards including data on marginalised groups (Council of Europe, 2018; European Commission, 2006, 2015)

2. Supporting states to progress on ratifying the Istanbul convention (Council of Europe, 2014; European Commission, 2015)

3. Supporting states in developing strategies and programme to address VAW (Council of Europe, 2018; European Commission, 2006)

4. The development of an EU-wide strategy on combating VAW (European Commission, 2011).

2.4.1 Addressing Masculinities?

The latter two European Commission (2011, 2015) strategies on gender equality point to the role of men in combating gender inequality: "Gender equality needs the active contribution, support and participation of men" (European Commission, 2011, p. 32). In terms of specific objectives and actions that relate to the question of masculinities and the role of men, priority five of the first strategy (European Commission, 2006) proposed to eliminate gender stereotypes in society by addressing media stereotypes, and through the

provision of awareness training to teachers and students. Priority six of the second strategy (European Commission, 2011, p. 36) aims for the promotion of "good practice on gender roles in youth, education, culture and sport".

Both of the Council of Europe (2014, 2018) strategies to promote gender equality stress the 'critical' (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 7) role of boys and men in the "achievement of gender equality" (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 7), and their capacity to be "active partners in the promotion of the human rights of women" (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 12). In relation to objective two of the second Council of Europe (2018, p. 22) strategy to address and 'combat violence against women', the strategy specifies the need to "address the role of men as perpetrators of gender-based violence and develop information tools on the role of men in preventing violence against women and girls". It does not elaborate further however, on how this is might be achieved.

The specific aim to combat 'gender stereotypes and sexism' constitutes objective one of both Council of Europe (2014, 2018) strategies. Although this aim is separate to objective two ('combat violence against women'), both strategies recognise the interrelationship between gender norms and how these "are used to justify and maintain the historical relation of power of men over women" (Council of Europe, 2014. p. 10). The link between gender inequality, gender norms and VAW has also been stated in the 2013 European Parliament resolution (6 February):

> the key priorities for addressing violence against women and girls should be the elimination of discriminatory socio-cultural attitudes that reinforce women's subordinate place in society and result in the toleration of violence against women and girls in both private and public spheres, in the home and in workplaces and educational institutions…

Key actions outlined in the Council of Europe (2014, 2018) strategies to address gendered stereotyping and the construction of women as inferior included the role of media and social media as potential avenues toward the promotion of "positive and non-stereotyped image of both women and men" (Council of Europe, 2014, p. 10). The strategies also cite how negative aspects of media need to be addressed, for example, violent and degrading pornography and the use of social media as a means to exert violence through sexist hate and sexualised threats. The strategies also highlight the significant role of education and need to target both professionals and boys and men in an educational capacity to combat gendered stereotypes.

The importance of linking the social construction of masculinities to gender equality was also discussed and explored in an #InvolveMen seminar organised by the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) in November 2019. The seminar resulted in the CEMR's Standing Committee for Equality (2019) adopting a Statement on men and gender equality. The Statement (2019, p. 1) argues that a new European Gender Equality Strategy must explicitly attend to the inclusion of "men, boys and masculinities in the work for gender equality".

2.5 Summary

Despite EU Parliament resolutions (2009, 2013) calling on the Commission to develop a specific strategy to combat VAW and the European Commission's (2001) own strategy proposing the same, there is currently no EU-wide strategy addressing VAW. The strategies produced by the EU Commission and Council of Europe place emphasis on the gathering of quality data, ratification of the Istanbul Convention and the supporting of Members States in developing national policies on VAW. The strategies acknowledge the importance of men in achieving gender equality and the outline measures to deconstruct gendered stereotypes.

3. IRELAND

3.1 Prevalence of VAW in Ireland

The challenges in determining accurate prevalence rates of VAW in Ireland are well rehearsed (Bradley *et al* 2002; Watson and Parsons, 2005) and the Irish Observatory on Violence Against Women (2018, p. 4) acknowledges that it does not have the data required to give a clear picture of the extent and depth of VAW. However, broad stroke indications of prevalence rates are available and provide some key insights into the extent and nature of VAW in Ireland.

The first systematic Irish study of VAW in the home published in 1995 (Kelleher and Associates and O'Connor, 1995), found that among 575 women who had an intimate relationship with a man, 18% experienced mental, physical or sexual violence by a current or former partner. The data indicated that women across all class, education and geographical categories experienced violence and that multiple types of violence were perpetrated against women. Thirteen percent experienced mental cruelty, 10% experienced physical violence, and 4% were subjected to sexual violence. Multiple forms of violence were experienced by some women, with 50 being subjected to mental cruelty and physical violence, while 17 out of 21 women who experienced sexual violence also experienced physical violence.

The SAVI report published seven years later (McGee *et al* 2002), surveyed experiences of sexual violence among 3,170 Irish women and men from childhood through adulthood and found that 42% of women experienced some form of sexual assault or abuse over their lifetime. The *Domestic Abuse of Women and Men in Ireland* (Watson and Parsons, 2005, p. 52), which consisted of a nationally representative sample of 3,077 women and men aged 18 and over, revealed that in terms of lifetime prevalence of domestic abuse, 15 per cent of women experienced severe abuse from an intimate partner. Significantly, 59% of women who were severely abused experienced first abusive behaviour before age 25 (Watsons and Parsons, 2005). A study of prevalence of sexual violence, the *Say Something* (Union of Students in Ireland, 2013) survey of 2,752 third-level students of a median age of 21, found that just under 11% of women reported unwanted sexual contact, 5% reported rape and a further 3% reported attempted rape. Women reported experiencing greater

levels of different types of harassment than men across all types of campus environments; 19% of men and 17% per cent of women had been photographed or filmed without their consent while over 10% of men and 8% of women reported having photographs or videos of them circulated on-line. This chimes with the observation from the Rape Crisis Network of Ireland (RCNI, 2017, p. 2) that "Rape Crisis Centres must now deal with frequent complaints of several forms of cyber-harassment, especially from teenagers and young adults." The most recent report on Irish students experiences of sexual harassment and violence found that twenty-nine percent of females, ten percent of males and twenty-eight percent of non-binary students reported non-consensual penetration by incapacitation, force, or threat of force (Burke et al 2020).

The most recent study of violence prevalence in Ireland, a 2015 EU wide survey based on a representative and random sample of at least 1500 women aged between 19 to 74 in each Member State, found that 26% of the Irish sample had experienced physical and/or sexual violence by any partner and/or non-partner since age 15 (FRA, 2015). It found that 3% experienced physical and/or sexual violence from any current or previous partner within the last twelve months and 15% experienced physical and/or sexual violence form any current or previous partner since age 15.

Other Irish data indicates that socio-economic position and ethnicity-specific groups of women can render some women more vulnerable to violence. Data from forty-eight gender-based violence organisations (*Translating Pain into Action*, Women's Health Council, 2009) showed that non-indigenous minority ethnic women represented around 13% of service users despite making up around 5% of the population, while Traveller women made up 15% of services users, though they represent 0.5% of the total population aged 15 years and older.

Serious sexual violence among women working in prostitution (Kelleher *et al* 2009; Ruhama, 2019; Ugly Mugs Ireland, 2019) and among homeless women has also been indicated in the literature (McGee *et al* 2002; Good Shepard Services and Cork Simon Community, 2011; Mayock, Parker and Sheridan, 2015). Women using homelessness services in Ireland also report facing sexual abuse and harassment from male residents (Mayock, Parker and Sheridan, 2015).

The available data thus suggests that between 15 and 26 percent of Irish women have experienced violence from a current or previous partner, that homeless women and those working in prostitution experience greater levels of violence and that Traveller Women and ethnic minority women are overrepresented in contact with services, although it is not clear whether this corresponds to actual levels of violence amongst these women.

3.2 Key legislative and policy developments in tackling VAW

Specific legislation to target VAW was not enacted in Ireland until the 1990s. The 1990 Criminal Law (Rape) Acts broadened the definition of rape and criminalised rape and sexual assault within marriage, while the Domestic Violence Act 1996 increased the availability of legal instruments such as Barring, Protection and Safety Orders which restrict certain behaviours or prohibit entry to the home. The Non-Fatal Offences Against the Person Act 1997 was also of relevance to domestic violence as it legislated for assaults, threats and harassment, and provided legal definition of coercion, harassment, endangerment and false imprisonment. In recent times, legislative frameworks for the prohibition and criminalisation of VAW have been strengthened. The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act 2017 defines 'consent' for the first time and provides that consent "may be withdrawn at any time before the act begins, or in the case of a continuing act, while the act is taking place" (Criminal Law Act, 2017: S48). The Domestic Violence Act 2018 criminalises 'coercive control' and has been described as "one of the most significant family law statutes introduced in the past 20 years" (Walsh, 2019). Meanwhile, the Harassment, Harmful Communications and Related Offences Bill 2017, which is currently being drafted, proposes a new range of offences relating to the sharing of intimate images without consent, online or digital harassment and stalking and 'upskirting' (Merrion Street, 2019). This legislative trajectory reflects increased awareness of the complex, multifaceted nature of VAW and recognition of the need for expanded powers to address its various manifestations across a range of relationship contexts.

Policy frameworks to guide responses to VAW also emerged in the 1990s with the *Report of the Task Force on Violence Against Women* (Office of the Tánaiste, 1997) being tasked with developing "a co-ordinated response and strategy on the problem of mental, physical and sexual violence against women - *with a particular focus on domestic violence"* (Office of the Tánaiste, 1997, p. 7). The report recommended the establishment of a National Steering Committee (NSC) on Violence against Women to co-ordinate services and policies at a national level. The NSC established in 1997 includes representatives from key Government Departments and State and non-governmental agencies (COSC, 2010) and assists and advises COSC, the National Office for the Prevention of Domestic, Sexual and Gender-based Violence, established in 2007. COSC works with stakeholders to co-ordinate a 'whole of government' response to domestic, sexual and gender-based violence (COSC, 2019). In 2010 and again in 2016, a *National Strategy on Domestic Sexual and Gender-based Violence* (COSC, 2010, 2016) was published. These strategies identified actions to address gender-based violence under a 'whole of government' approach, and COSC was tasked with their implementation. The emergence of this increasingly consolidated and coordinated governmental response to VAW was paralleled by on the ground responses and services provided to women experiencing violence.

3.3 Institutional context and key actors in shaping policy/strategy

Numerous State organisations, government departments and their respective agencies provide services to those affect by domestic, sexual and gender-based violence. COSC, situated within the Department of Justice, works to improve co-operation and coordination between agencies and provides funding for awareness raising activities and perpetrator programmes. Tusla, the Child and Family Agency has a statutory mandate around care and protection to victims of domestic, sexual and gender-based violence through its funding of Domestic, Sexual & Gender Based Violence Services. These services include emergency shelter, legal advocacy, support groups and domestic violence education. In 2018, it provided funding for 22 emergency refuges for women and children effected by domestic violence, 21 community-based services for women, men and children effected by domestic violence and 16 community-based services for men, women and children effected by sexual violence (Tusla, 2018). The Irish police force, the Gardai, deal with situations of domestic violence in accordance with the Garda Síochána *Domestic Abuse Intervention Policy* (Garda Siochana, 2017). The Garda National Protection Services Bureau (GNPSB) established in 2015 provides advice and assistance to Gardai investigating Sexual Crimes and engaging in Domestic Abuse Intervention and Investigations.

In parallel with statutory services, NGOs provide a range of services to victims including, crisis helplines, refuges, counselling and information, and accompaniments to criminal justice and health facilities such as court, Garda stations and Sexual Assault Treatment Units (COSC, 2010, p. 62). NGOs also engage in campaign and advocacy work and some organisations provide training and educational assistance to the Gardai, Health Sector Executive and teachers, amongst others. The National Women's Council of Ireland (NWCI) founded in 1973, is the national representative organisation for women and women's groups, and chairs The Irish Observatory on Violence Against Women (NWCI, 2019). Established in 2002, the Observatory is an independent network of 18 grassroots and national organisations working to improve Ireland's response to VAW by ensuring Government objectives to tackle VAW are followed through (Irish Observatory on Violence Against Women, 2018). It engages with state agencies working on VAW and influences and monitors government initiatives through its membership of various relevant working groups (Irish Observatory on Violence Against Women, 2018).

Women's Aid is a victim/survivor-centred organisation founded in 1974 to end domestic violence against women and children, operates direct services such as a free 24-hour helpline service, a Court Accompaniment Service and a drop-in service for women who are experiencing abuse in a relationship. It also engages in advocacy and provides training on domestic violence to different agencies. SAFE Ireland a charity with 37 member organisations offering services to women and children experiencing domestic violence, provides refuges facilities, engages in research, awareness raising and advocacy and compiles national domestic

violence service statistics based on data collection from all frontline services in Ireland who support women and their children.

Other NGOs provide sexual violence services. The Rape Crisis Network of Ireland (RCNI) is the representative body for Rape Crisis Centres in Ireland who provide free advice, counselling and support for survivors of sexual abuse. Founded in 1985 to bring together Rape Crisis Centres with the purpose of sharing information, expertise and solidarity, the RCNI lobbies for legislation and engages in partnerships with other government and non-governmental agencies and bodies. It is currently collaborating with Foroige, a national youth organisation, to deliver training to young people aged 12- 24 on consent, sex and the law (RCNI, 2019). The RCNI has also developed consent modules for the B4uDecide education programme, which both teachers and youth workers can use (RCNI, 2019).

A final area of work which NGOs engage in is the provision of perpetrator programmes. COSC funds 18 domestic violence perpetrator programmes delivered by three NGO's. The South East Men's Development Network coordinates MEND (Men Ending Domestic Violence) in six counties in the South East area of Ireland. MOVE Ireland delivers 11 programmes across the country with a goal of promoting the "safety and wellbeing of women and their children, who have experienced violence and abuse in their intimate relationships" (MOVE, 2019). Both MEND and MOVE deliver CHOICES a weekly, group-based, programme that requires participants to complete 23 group sessions and up to ten individual sessions covering six modules on issues such as gender, respect and emotional intimacy (MOVE, 2019). The North East Domestic Violence Intervention Programme is run by the probation service in Louth and operates on a referral only basis from the courts or the HSE (Fisher, 2011).

As well as offering the MEND programme, the Men's Development Network, offers a range of one-to-one, developmental, parenting, behaviour change group work, training, phone line support and awareness raising. The Network promotes the White Ribbon Campaign, a male led to campaign to end violence against women. Part of the campaign engages with men who occupy high profile positions to voice their support for the campaign. The Network also engages with advocacy with the Turn Off the Red Light Campaign which has advocated for the introduction of new legislation to address prostitution and human trafficking in Ireland.

3.4 Key objectives of strategies in tackling VAW

The first *National Strategy on Domestic, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence 2010-2014* (COSC 2010) had four key goals including: promoting a culture of prevention and recognition through increased understanding of domestic, sexual and gender-based violence; improving services to those affected by GBV; ensuring the effectiveness of policy and service planning with the improvement of data collection processes constituting a key action (COSC, 2010, p. 70); and promoting the effective implementation of the Strategy. A key action is

the proposal to promote 'healthy relationships' amongst young people in addressing GBV through the educational curricula (COSC, 2010). The *Second National Strategy on Domestic, Sexual and Gender-based Violence* (COSC, 2016) identified similar aims but put a stronger focus on perpetrator responsibility. The aims were to change societal attitudes to support a reduction in domestic and sexual violence, to improve supports available to victims and survivors including collection of data and to hold perpetrators to account. To address the first aim, the development of education programmes within secondary and third level education settings was proposed along with training of public sector employees. In relation to the aim of perpetrator accountability, the rollout of the Choices programme for perpetrators, as discussed earlier, was proposed (COSC, 2017, p. 70).

3.4.1 Education Programmes to Tackle VAW

The role and importance of education in combatting VAW has been noted in key government policies and strategies (e.g. COSC, 2010; COSC, 2016; Office of the Tánaiste, 1997; Watson and Parsons, 2005) with Social, Personal and Health Education (SPHE), a programme delivered to all second level students in the 15-18 age group, being a key initiative in this regard. SPHE "aims to support students in making choices for health and wellbeing" (National Council for Curriculum an Assessment [NCCA], 2011, p. 7) and consists of a ninety-hour course with 'Gender Studies' and 'Relationships and Sexuality Education' (RSE) comprising two of the five areas of learning within the programme. One of the objectives of RSE is to "develop personal and interpersonal skills which support the development of respectful, dynamic relationships for both genders" (NCCA, 2011, p. 22). The course material seeks to enable students to understand how power may be misused in a relationship and identifies "different strategies for coping with abusive and bullying behaviour in the context of gender" (NCCA, 2011, p. 23).

Another part of the RSE curriculum revolves around relationship skills such as empathy and respect. The curriculum also addresses sexual harassment and its relationship to power and control (NCCA, 2011). Significantly, a COSC (2012) report found that the 'majority of schools' indicated that SPHE was ineffective in awareness raising and poor in its coverage of issues of domestic and sexual violence. A recent survey also found that secondary school students are dissatisfied with the sex education (RSE) they received in the school system (Mac Neela *et al* 2018) and the RSE programme is currently being reviewed at the request of the Minister for Education and Skills. Preliminary findings from the review indicate that stakeholders believe that RSE should facilitate "children and young people to be able to create and sustain healthy relationships, express and manage emotions, develop skills of self-awareness and self-regulation" (NCCA, 2019, p.51- 57). In April 2019 the Minister of State for Higher Education, launched The Framework for Consent in Higher Education Institutions -*Safe, Respectful, Supportive and Positive – Ending Sexual Violence and Harassment in Higher Education Institutions*, outlining standards that all Third Level institutions are required to adhere to

with a view to promoting campus cultures that are safe, respectful and supportive (Department of Education and Skills 2019). The Framework reflected and built on initiatives addressing sexual consent and respect which had been developed in some third level institutions e.g. the Bystander Intervention Programme (Bystander Intervention, 2019) and the SMART Consent Initiative (Mac Neela *et al* 2018).

3.4.2 Public Awareness Programmes to Tackle VAW

The 'Man UP' campaign launched by SAFE Ireland in 2012 stresses "5 powerful and simple things men can do" to end domestic violence and challenge VAW and children: "break out of the narrow definition of manhood"; teach young boys that "being a strong man means respecting women and caring for others"; speak out when witnessing problematic behaviour; listen to victim of violence; challenge problematic cultural beliefs about domestic violence/abuse; and seek out help for others (Man Up, 2019). SAFE Ireland described the campaign as "the first national social marketing campaign in Ireland to shift focus of awareness from victims to challenging perpetrator behaviour..." (2018, p. 9). Specifically, men are being called out to take action, exercise power and challenge discourses which identify violence as acceptable.

Other campaigns have sought to increase public awareness of domestic, sexual and gender-based violence and promote bystander intervention. The 'YOUR SILENCE FEEDS THE VIOLENCE' campaign launched by COSC in January 2009 (COSC, 2019) aimed to encourage "the general public to become involved in supporting victims of domestic abuse" (Fisher, 2009, p. 99) by visiting the COSC website to inform themselves on what steps to take, rather than directly confronting the perpetrator (Fisher, 2009). In 2016 another COSC campaign "What Would You Do" which sought "to activate bystanders with the aim of decreasing and preventing this violence (COSC, 2019) was rolled out nationally. These campaigns identify a societal responsibility to address GBV and challenge assumptions that responding to GBV is only the responsibility of victims or perpetrators.

Awareness and training programmes have also been launched at universities within Ireland. The Bystander Intervention Programme at University College Cork for example aims "to highlight the danger of normalising and accepting abusive behaviour and through education, inform and empower programme participants to better understand their capacity to intervene as pro-social bystanders" (University College Cork, 2020). It is an online module that is open to both staff and students and who can receive accreditation upon completion. In the same University, a collaboration between UCC Feminist Society, UCC Fashion Society and the Students Union have launched the 'Not Asking for It' campaign (see Kenny, 2020), which focuses on disentangling perceptions around consent and choice of clothing.

3.4.3 Addressing Masculinities?

No Irish reports on VAW (COSC, 2010, 2016; Department of Health and Children, 2001; Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2007; Department of Justice and Equality, 2017; Office of the Tánaiste, 1997) explicitly relate VAW to the gendered construction of manhood or to the social construction of masculinities. However, the *National Men's Health Policy 2008-2013* (Minister for Health and Children, 2008) and the subsequent *National Men's Health Action Plan* (Department of Health, 2016), discuss 'masculinities' as part of improving outcomes in men's health, generally through personal development and health education.

The *National Men's Health Policy* (Minister for Health and Children, 2008) policy advocates that the school should act "as a key setting in which to promote and nurture positive masculine identities in boys" (Minister for Health and Children, 2008, p. 81). What a 'positive masculine' identity might mean is not specified, but the importance of improving boys' self-esteem and emotional communication skills from an early age, is emphasised. The policy calls for creative teaching methodologies within secondary schools, which help boys express their feelings and the promotion of strategies within colleges that challenge portrayals of young men as invulnerable and invincible (Minister for Health and Children, 2008). Significantly, it argues that the promotion of "healthy masculinities among boys" (Minister for Health and Children, 2008, p. 82) could be achieved by piloting a 'revised' Exploring Masculinities [EM] programme within secondary schools. The EM programme was one of a number of optional modules that could be delivered to young men (aged around 16) during the 4th year programme of secondary school in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Theme five of the programme explored 'violence against women, men, and children'. A previous evaluation of the programme found that the "quality of the material is excellent" (Mac an Ghaill, Hanafin and Conway, 2002, p. 89), but the programme lost momentum due to negative media coverage.

In terms of VAW specifically, the policy refers only briefly to male perpetrators of domestic violence and recommends increased intervention programmes for perpetrators (Minister for Health and Children, 2008). The subsequent *National Men's Health Action Plan* (Department of Health, 2016) discusses neither domestic violence nor perpetrators (but notes that the "nurturing" of "positive masculinities among boys" is important in promoting men's health (Department of Health, 2016, p. 9)). It does not explore what 'positive masculinities' mean, but it argues that enhancement of the emotional awareness and intelligence of boys and young men could be undertaken through both the formal SPHE curriculum and the youth sector.

3.4.4 Summary

Core common objectives outlined in key strategies tackling VAW include the improvement of services for victims, the improvement of interagency co-operation and coordination, the creation of a 'gold standard' of data collection and the development of educational programmes. While issues of gender, sexual harassment

and power are addressed within the current RSE programme at secondary level and within The Framework for Consent in Third Level, it is unclear if and to what extent these result in changes in attitudes or practices. The issue of men and masculinities is not named specifically as a key factor in combatting VAW in any of the key policy responses or strategies addressing VAW. The exception is the *Men's Health Policy* and *Action Plan*, which while drawing attention to masculinities, lacks focus in terms of attention to VAW.

3.5 Public Debate and Controversies

Sexual violence and associated misogynistic attitudes toward women has emerged as a core concern in a number of recent public controversies that generated both journalistic and social media attention. The worldwide sharing of images and videos of a 17-year-old woman giving oral sex to two young men at a concert in Ireland in 2013, referred to as the '#Slane Girl' controversy, resulted in extensive media discussion between mid-August and mid-November, 2013 (Ging *et al* 2019). A central theme in the commentary was the assertion that the incident exemplified the misogynistic values present in Irish society (Ging *et al* 2019). The young woman was, as Jeltsen (2013) put it, the victim of "brutal cyber-bullying", her name was revealed and widely shared (Romano, 2013) and she was called 'dirty' and a 'slut' (Beck, 2013). In contrast, the men whose names were not made public (Romano, 2013) were not bullied and one of them was considered to be a 'hero' and 'legend' (Harrington, 2013).

The nine -week 'Belfast Rape Trial' which ran from January to March of 2018 stirred considerable public controversy, fuelled by the celebrity status of the defendants who played rugby for Ireland and because it occurred, as Gallagher (2018) points out, "at a time when issues of consent and male entitlement are being discussed around dinner tables everywhere". It received extensive media and online coverage in both Northern and Southern Ireland (McKay, 2018) and the texts exchanged between the men in the days following the alleged incident were read out in court were widely shared. The men were acquitted of the charges, provoking considerable public anger due to the misogynistic discourses and attitudes reflected in the texts (Lewis, 2018), which had a "highly chauvinistic tenor" (Gallagher, 2018) and embedded within the procedure of the trial itself (Bray, 2018). Within hours of the verdict, protests were held around Irish cities, with individuals carrying 'I believe her' placards (McClelland, 2018) and an 'I Believe Her' Facebook page was also created with anonymous stories from other sexual assault survivors. Outrage at misogynistic attitudes among a group of school-boys, erupted in April 2018 when what was described as a 'rape list' was found in the boys' toilets of a mixed gender second level school in Cork (Kelleher and O'Brien, 2018). The list contained the names of female students with ticks after their names and media reports indicated that the list stated that the girl "with the most ticks will get raped" (Kelleher and O'Brien, 2018). It was subsequently revealed by the school that its management had been made aware of two similar lists that had previously been in circulation (Independent, 2018). The story generated commentary from Irish politicians (Murray et el, 2018)

including the Irish Taoiseach (prime minister) who identified plans to change how sex education was taught in Irish schools (Independent, 2018).

The recent public controversies over misogyny contrast with a controversy from September 2000 where the topic of concern was the perceived negative portrayal of boys in the second level educational programme *Exploring Masculinities* discussed earlier. The programme was withdrawn due to negative reaction from a few high-profile journalists and the Congress of Catholic Schools Parent Association (McCormack and Gleeson, 2012). A review of the programme commissioned by the Minister for Education and Science found that predominant media criticism related to claims that the programme (supposedly) negatively portrayed boys, was designed by feminists and had an unbalanced portrayal of domestic violence (Mac an Ghaill, Hanafin and Conway, 2002). Some media critiques of the programme were found to be quite exaggerated, with one article critiquing the programme blaming male suicide on "a feminist State, underpinned by a misandrist culture" (Mac an Ghaill, Hanafin and Conway, 2002, p. 121). The review (Mac an Ghaill, Hanafin and Conway, 2002) found that both teachers and students responded positively to the programme overall, a finding again confirmed in subsequent research on parents' attitudes toward the programme (McCormack and Gleeson (2010).

The controversies discussed here highlight the centrality of misogynistic attitudes to contemporary cultures and practices of VAW and the challenges which can potentially emerge when masculinities are subjected to critical exploration.

4. ISRAEL

4.1 The Prevalence of VAW in Israel

According to welfare officials, about 200,000 Israeli women suffer from domestic violence today in Israel and almost every woman in Israel has been affected by sexual harassment or economic and social violence. It is also estimated that one in seven married women lives with a violent partner, and one in four women has experienced life-long physical and mental injuries, and trauma as the result of sexual assault that was experienced during her childhood. Most of them do not report or exhaust their rights, whether as a result of shame, cultural barriers, a lack of public awareness or the inappropriate allocation of resources (Benita, 2017; Hasson, 2017; Ravid, 2010, Weichhandler, 2013).

The Israeli Knesset's (Parliament) most recent annual report on violence against women, *The Murder and Attempted Murder of Women with an Emphasis on Violence within the Family* (Benita, 2017) showed that 113 women were murdered between January 2013 and December 2016. Most were killed by their intimate partner or by family members. In about one-third of cases where women were murdered by their spouses,

prior to the murder the woman had reported domestic violence to the police. Also, about half of the women murdered by their spouses had contact with welfare services. The data analysis shows that the key variables that are repeated in homicides by a spouse are separation, divorce, and the ongoing post-divorce conflict and difficulty reconciling the separation. There are also homicides committed in the context of property struggles and custody and visitation arrangements related to their shared children. Moreover, the data show that the rate of murders among new immigrant women (from Ethiopia and the Former Soviet Union) and non-Jewish women including Christians, Arab-Christians, Muslims, Druze, and Circassians was higher than the percentage of non-Jewish women within the general population (Benita, 2017; Barakat, 1985; Mizrahi, 2015; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1997).

More recently, Daoud *et al* (2017) conducted research regarding the prevalence and risk factors for intimate partner violence among 1401 women of childrearing age across Israel. They found marked differences in the prevalence of intimate partner violence (IPV) among Arab, and Jewish immigrant and non-immigrant women (67%, 30%, and 27%, respectively). Moreover, the findings show that low family income was the main risk factor for IPV for all women. Among Arab women, younger age, high levels of religiosity, and living in urban settings were associated with higher rates of IPV.

The annual report of The Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services that was published in October 2019 showed that 2,478 violent men and 6,488 victims of domestic violence were treated in 113 Family Violence Prevention Centers across the country during 2018. These centres are committed to performing diagnostic, treatment and rehabilitation methods for families in the cycle of violence. Moreover, The Ministry of Social Affairs operates 14 emergency shelters for violence-affected women and in 2018 there were 682 women and 1,011 children staying in those shelters. The data shows that most women go to a shelter because of an extreme and unusually violent event; 64% of those cases of violence are caused by their spouse. For about 80% of women in the shelters, this violence that can last from one year to a decade and those women suffer from various types of violence - economic, sexual, physical and mental. About 20% of women staying in shelters are under 25, 34% of women staying in the shelters are childless, 45% are from Arab society, with 80% being Muslim. Twenty-one percent of women staying in shelters are new immigrants, and almost half of them are from Ethiopia. Among the Jewish women, 45% are secular and 20% are ultra-Orthodox. 45% of women in the shelters did not finish high school and 17% of women in shelters returned to their violent partner.

4.2 Key legislative and policy developments in tackling VAW

Until the 1970s, there was no public reference to violence against women in Israel. The phenomenon was not addressed by officials, no governmental resources were allocated, and it was barely discussed in the

media. Violence within the family was considered a private matter, while rape cases were generally considered to be the result of women's misconduct and only a few were reported to the authorities. Israeli society is perceived as a traditional and conservative society and political, cultural, religious and gender reasons has caused the phenomenon to be well hidden behind a screen of denial and shame (Gale, 2003; Haj-Yahia and Sadan, 2008; Ravid, 2010; Hasson, 2017).

In July 1976, MK Marcia Friedman initiated the first discussion on domestic violence in Israel's parliament. In 1977, a group of feminist women joined Friedman and together they founded the first shelter for battered women's in Israel. In the spirit of this initiative, other women's organizations began to develop their own specialized services for women who were affected by violence, such as counselling and guidance centres.

In 1991, the Prevention of Domestic Violence Law was enacted; the purpose of the law was to provide the victim, with as peaceful and safe, a living environment, as possible. Moreover, in 1995 the Family Court was established, which allowed victims of violence to present their petition directly to the court without the need to file a police complaint (Hasson, 2017).

Today, the phenomenon of violence against women occupies a prominent place in the public agenda and is reflected in the legislation, government policy and work practices, as well as in academia and the many organizations which offer services to victims of violence. These services range from providing protection, treatment and rehabilitation, education and prevention, support and counselling to advocacy, including entrepreneurial organizations that offer unique services to segments of the population that so far, have not had their needs met. They include ultra-Orthodox women, Arab women, women whose husbands have refused to give them a divorce, female refugees and non-Israeli women who were trafficked and brought to Israel by force.

Violence against Palestinian women in Israel has been recognized as a social problem by, increasingly, growing segments of Palestinian society. Several Palestinian feminist and women organizations have been established in the last two decades to battle violence against Palestinian women by their husbands, ex-husbands and by other family members. In addition to the lack of government resources to battle violence against Palestinian women in Israel (Haj-Yehia, 1996), the subordinate political status of Palestinians in Israel, and the particular relationship between the Palestinians as an indigenous national minority and the state, as a state of the dominant majority Jewish group, makes battling it a much more challenging one for the victims, the various government agencies, and for the Palestinian feminist organizations (Eraz, Ibarra and Gur, 2015; Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Eraz, 2002). Thus, efforts to battle and eradicate violence against Palestinian women might be interpreted as the state's last resort to break up the Palestinian family, which is the only social organization that remained after the destruction of most of the Palestinian institutions in the aftermath of

the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, and that preserved the national and cultural identities of the Palestinians (Adelman, Erez and Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003; Daoud, 2009; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999b).

4.3 Institutional context and key actors in shaping policy/strategy

The state is the central figure involved in addressing the issue of violence against women, at least from a budgetary point of view, through services and programmes that are run by various government ministries, directly and through independent bodies, in particular the welfare, health, justice, and home security ministries (Hasson, 2017; Ravid, 2010). Despite the existence of several inter-office forums, governmental work on this issue is not coordinated and lacks a systemic vision. In addition, the state prefers to transfer the management of many of the services to external organizations - most of them charities - in order to streamline the services, leading to organizations investing in private resources in order to enhance and expand their services in providing the necessary assistance. Also, these organizations do not work in coordination with each other. Many of them, especially the shelters, lack the appropriate technological infrastructure and manage them with training in therapeutic and non-managerial professions that erodes the quality of daily care and find it difficult to make long-term plans. Organizations substantiate their successes, but this is usually through the help of individual narratives and stories, and not through a systematic review that examines results over time. The organizations do not have the resources and knowledge to assess the results of their operations. The state, as a central sponsor, is also not conducive to assimilating measurement and evaluation tools and has only recently begun requiring organizations to systematically present the results of their operations (Ravid, 2010).

In September 2014, a decision was made to establish an inter-ministerial committee to address the phenomenon of VAW. The work on the implementation plan was completed towards the end of 2016, and in June 2017 submitted to the Ministerial Committee for Opposing Violence. The ministerial committee, followed by the government, adopted the recommendations of the program, in principle, but no budgets were allocated. The following items were among the committee's recommendations: the establishment of an organizational system at the national and local levels aimed at implementing the work plans and cooperation to solve domestic violence; the establishment of assistance centres for victims of domestic violence, which would enable an integrated response under the auspices of a multi-professional team in the field of care and enforcement for all members of the family, that would operate round-the-clock, 365 days a year 24/7; expanding the readiness and response to domestic violence calls by social workers, experts at the UAV, beyond the usual working hours, so that victims of domestic violence can receive a professional response round-the-clock, 365 days a year; the reinforcement of welfare services and centres for the treatment and prevention of domestic violence in dedicated groups within the unique population; and the establishment and training of local community forums to support intervention in domestic violence cases, in

collaboration with religious and community members along with the welfare agencies (Benita, 2017; Hasson, 2017).

4.4 Key objectives of strategies used in tackling VAW

The five main courses of action the players are taking in the field are: a) Law enforcement and punishment of the offenders, including government investment mainly in the police, court and prison systems; b) protection - mainly shelters for battered women; c) education and prevention - early detection, the training of professionals and education starting from an early age; d) Care and rehabilitation - telephone answering, relief, medical and mental health care, empowerment, legal advice; and e) advocacy and policy change - representation and actions to change legislation. Overall, this response does not satisfy all the needs of women: it is not enough to convince most of the victims to report and exercise their rights, and it is not enough to provide the victims with long-term rehabilitation measures. A lot of money is being invested in the systems (police, prison and court) involved in the punishment of the offenders, with insufficient funding of prevention programs, which could reduce crime (Ravid, 2010).

Over the past two decades, the field has made great strides: important laws have been promoted, the state has increased its budget, and veteran and new organizations have initiated solutions that were not available in the past. However, there are no signs of eradicating the phenomenon and many needs are still not being addressed.

4.4.1. Addressing masculinities?

Recent studies indicate that in light of global and economic changes, and the strengthening of the feminist movement, men have experienced a crisis in recent years that has been reflected in, among other things, increased involvement in violent incidents and the expression of aggressive and competitive behaviours. Social policy strategies in tackling VAW do not address treatment and rehabilitation, and more than 80% of government spending on violence against women in Israel is used for the punishment of the offenders and for the protection of their female victims (Ravid, 2010). Shdemi (2003) points out however, that the treatment of violent men is based on viewing violent behaviour as a personal problem; this approach focuses on the individual while the emphasis should be on social responsibility and male identity. There is a need to change the institutional attitudes and powerful mentality that characterizes the process of men's socialization.

In addition, most governmental resources dealing with the phenomenon of violence against women are allocated to women who are attacked, while violent men are rarely treated and there is almost no educational work done to prevent this phenomenon. The Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services'

annual report that was published in October 2019 showed that in 2018 the law enforcement system ordered 2,325 men who were involved in acts of violence against their spouses to a rehabilitation program. Ninety-five men who were defined as being at the highest level of risk were treated in day care centres and hostels, while 17 of them were in residential treatment centres. These figures indicate that most violent offenders are not being treated (Hasson, 2017).

In 1992, a man and a woman that were activist in the feminist movements 'Shdulat ha Nashim' in Israel, decided to establish a social movement to address the problem of men's violence against women. In those years, this movement was called 'The Men's Movement against Violence and for Equality Between the Sexes', and it was the first civil private organization in Israel that aspired to eradicate the phenomenon of VAW by reshaping the characteristics of men's masculinity in Israeli society. This social movement mostly adopted similar activities to those that women's feminist movements had used, and they tried to display an alternative identity model of Israeli masculinity in the public sphere, by using various public activities such as arranging conferences, street theatre, and law enactment on issues of human trafficking, prostitution, and sexual harassment. Since 1996, the movement changed its name to 'The New Masculinity Movement', as the essence behind its activity was to denounce specific characteristics that were associated with the hegemonic masculinity model at the time – 'The Israeli Macho Man'. This alternative masculinity was actually an attempt to add therapeutic characteristics to the Israeli masculinity model, such as encouraging men to adopt an open and free expression of feelings and caring for their mental, emotional and physical health (Cohen, 2018); and to implant feminist characteristics to Israeli masculinity, such as gender equality, respectful communication, shared and active parenting, and resistance to all kinds of violence (Kaplan, Rosenmann and Shuhendler, 2017; Shuhendler, 2015).

In 2002, a different man's social movement emerged in Israel, called 'The Way of Man', and the alternative masculinity identity that it promoted was called 'Third-Generation Masculinity'. This alternative masculinity model was characterized by promoting equality between genders and resistance to all diminishing and violent behaviour towards women while reconnecting the man to some deep and primary hyper-masculine characteristics of strengths and leadership, that the members of the movement claimed that Israeli man has abandoned and suppressed by the influence of the feminist discourse (Cohen, 2018).

Over the years, several stakeholders in the two movements ('The New Masculinity Movement' and 'The Way of Man') have created various men's groups, educational programs, and other activist gender organizations. For example, a program for Teens named 'Nemesh' operated in the years 2001 until 2012, in order to educate for better gender relations from a young age. And also a variety of support groups for men were established by different stakeholders of these movements such as the group named 'To Be Angry Without Destroying', that wish to assist men to allow themselves to feel angry, but without letting the anger take over and make them act violently and aggressively towards others.

However, most of these activities did not continue to operate after few months of activity or few years in a large range, due to difficulty in raising funds, and due to the non-responsiveness of Israeli men to the movement ideology. In fact, the 'New Masculinity Movement' was closed in 2016 after 24 years of social activity. And other various men's groups did not last more than a few months (Cohen, 2018). Apparently, the decline of men's 'Masculinity Movements' that aim to eradicate the phenomenon of VAW in Israel, due to the difficulty in raising resources, indicates the need for a different institutional focus of efforts in the regard of supporting civil private organizations that operate on this matter.

Separate masculinity organizations among Palestinians in Israel, similar to those among Israeli Jews have not developed, so far. This could be due to the fact that, historically, Palestinians in Israel prioritized national and political causes over social and gender ones, including the masculine and feminine aspects (Abdo, 1987). Another possible reason is that national causes were conceived of in masculine terms (Massad, 1995), thus Palestinian men were represented as men in the Palestinian political organizations and parties, dismissing the need for separate masculinity organizations. Nevertheless, Palestinian discourses of masculinity opposing violence against women do exist in Palestinian society through feminist organizations, and through political parties and organizations that attempt to empower Palestinian women and to place them in more advanced leadership positions (Daoud, 2009).

4.5 Public debates and controversies

A continuing debate is the way in which the struggle for the prevention of violence against women in Israel is currently being conducted has not led to a reduction in the extent of the phenomenon. Although there is more awareness of the phenomenon and there is better assistance for women affected by violence, the struggle has not reduced the scope of the phenomenon, or encouraged more women to complain and has failed to ensure allocation of adequate resources to deal with the phenomenon. In addition, the treatment of VAW is mainly done at the individual level rather than treating the phenomenon as a social problem, or society as the main producer of the violence with central responsibility for its eradication (Ravid, 2010).

Moreover, increasing investment in prevention and education will be more beneficial toward mitigating the phenomenon, or at least reducing it. Investing in early detection and the training of professionals with the aim of reducing the large gap between the number of casualties and the number of incidents reported is vital. The various organizations that deal with violence against women point out the need to allocate resources in several areas: investing in the long-term rehabilitation of women who suffer from domestic violence; investing in models that include rehabilitation over the years with economic, psychological, legal and social components that will complement the immediate care provided; investing in public and media campaigns that encourage awareness of the issue and will reduce the legitimacy of the phenomenon of violence and reduce the gap between the number of casualties and the number of people who report it;

investing in the response to violent men – unlike a variety of programs designed for affected women – few programs are designed to treat men; investing in young women from disadvantaged populations who do not have the resources and support that other women have, thereby enabling them to deal with the injury and helping them find a suitable response; establishing an accessible data base and encouraging research in the field that will help to study the phenomenon, its characteristics and trends, and to examine the effectiveness of the various models designed to deal with it; supporting the organizations themselves and not just activities and projects, but including the physical infrastructure, professional and managerial training, and the implementation of technological tools among organizations struggling for survival (Haj-Yahia and Sadan, 2008; Hasson, 2017; Itzhaky and Ben Porat, 2005; Ravid, 2010).

Finally, violence against women is a social phenomenon that reflects the overall attitude towards women in society, including social attitudes and values in the context of gender relations and family life, in general. Moreover, the literature reveals the need to change the competitive and powerful mentality that characterizes the process of men's socialization and highlights that men as a social category should be the focus of the efforts made in preventing the phenomena of violence against women.

5. SPAIN

5.1 Prevalence of VAW in Spain

According to the FRA (2015) survey, 2% of women in Spain have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from any current of previous partner in the last twelve months; 13% have experienced physical and/or sexual violence since any current or previous partner since age 15, and 22% have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from any partner and/or non-partner since age 15. In Spain, the *Macro-survey on Violence against Women* (Government Office Against Gender Based Violence, 2015) is the most important population-based survey on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). It is conducted every four years with the latest conducted in 2015. The survey gathered information from a representative national sample of 10,171 women aged 16 and over. According to this data source, 12.5% have suffered physical and/or sexual violence from their current or former partners at some point in their lives. Lifetime physical violence was 10.3% and sexual violence was 8.1%. The prevalence of lifetime psychological violence is almost double. Specifically, 25.4% of women reported having been exposed to intimate partner controlling behaviour; 21.9% to emotional forms of abuse; and 10.8% to economic violence from their current or former partners (Government Office Against Gender Based Violence, 2015).

Sanz-Barbero *et al* (2019) analysed a sub-sample of 8,935 ever partnered women aged 16 years and older from the survey. In relation to the last 12 months prior to the survey, 15.6% of women reported having been exposed to IPV (any type). Specifically, 12.2% of women reported psychological IPV and 3.1% physical and/or

sexual IPV. It is important to highlight that the prevalence of IPV is greater in young women than older ones. In fact, it has been observed that the prevalence of physical IPV in women aged between 16 and 29 years old was 3.8% while it was 2.4% in women aged 30-49 years old and 1.2% in women aged 50 and over. In relation to sexual violence, the distribution between these women's groups was similar (2.3% in young women, 1.8% in adult ones and 1.2% in elderly ones). The prevalence of current psychological violence was also higher in women aged 16-29 years old (21.7%) than in adult (14.7%, aged 30-49) and elderly ones (12.8%, aged 50 and older) (Sanz-Barbero *et al* 2019).

According to the State Observatory on Violence against Women, intimate partner violence-related femicide in Spain has ranged between 49 and 76 cases by year since 2003. In the year 2019, it has registered 55 murdered women. Among the most vulnerable women's groups, migrant women presented a five times greater likelihood of being killed by their partners, ex-partners or similar (Vives-Cases *et al* 2008; Sanz-Barbero *et al* 2016). In the last report of this State Observatory, it also registered a total of 142,893 formal complaints of gender-based violence in 2016. This figure is equivalent to 11,907 per month and 391 per day. This represents a year-on-year increase of 10.6% in the number of formal complaints of gender-based violence (State Observatory on Violence Against Women, 2017).

5.2 Key legislative and policy developments in tackling VAW

In the Spanish Context, the main legal instrument for preventing and addressing violence against women is the Organic Law 1/2004 on Integral Protection Against Gender Violence in Spain, which was enacted by the Spanish national parliament in 2004. Before this, there was the Law 35/1995 of 'aids and support for sexual abuse victims' and the Law 27/2003 on Protection Against Domestic Violence. In the Law 1/2004 Integral Protection Against Gender Violence, the issue of gender violence is recognized as a manifestation of discrimination and the result of inequality of power relations between women and men who are (or have been) intimate partners or who have been linked to them through affective relationships, even without cohabitation (Organic Law 1/2004). In addition, there is the Organic Law 3/2007 of 22 March, for the Effective Equality between Women and Men, which establishes the perspective of the principle of equality and gender mainstreaming in the activities of public authorities.

For the implementation and improvement of the measures included in the Organic Law 1/2004, several action plans and national strategies have been enacted. The most recent one was the State Pact against Gender-based Violence (2018-2022), which was formulated by the National Government, the Regional Governments or Autonomous Communities, the Spanish Federation of Municipal and Provincial Authorities (FEMP) and the State Observatory on Violence against Women. It includes measures to raise the public awareness about this problem; to improve the coordination in institutional responses; to improve assistance, support and protection for victims; to enhance support and protection for children; to train professionals; to

improve the statistical registers; to reinforce the actions at regional and local level; to make visible different forms of gender-based violence and ensure the financial commitment and evaluation of the measures included in this State Pact (2017).

In the international context, the Spanish government has also ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the European Convention on Human Rights, the Convention of the Council of Europe on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings and the Convention of the Council of Europe for the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse.

5.3 Institutional context and key actors in shaping policy/strategy

The main actors in the field of gender-based violence in Spain, according to the Organic Law 1/2004 and the following national strategies are The Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence and the State Observatory on Violence against Women. The Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence is in charge of the coordination and implementation of public policies, especially in the areas of gender mainstreaming; educational interventions and public campaigns; coordination between the different involved sectors and regional governments from the Spanish Autonomous Communities; research and statistical registers; professional training; and the collaboration with civil society entities, associations and organizations that take action against gender violence.

The State Observatory on Violence against Women carries out consultancy, evaluation, institutional collaboration, preparation of reports, studies and proposals for action in questions of gender-based violence. It has published an annual report every year since 2007 which consists of a statistical yearbook, which is a reference at a national level, and a series of studies on topics of interest in the question of violence against women.

In addition, other institutional actors which depend on both, national and regional administration include:

- The Sectoral Conference on Equality, which is formed by representatives of the General State Administration, Autonomous Communities and Cities with a Statute of Autonomy.
- The Inter-ministerial Committee on Equality between Men and Women, which is composed of representatives from the different Ministries.
- The Government Delegate Commission for Equality Policies.
- The Women's Participation Council, which is integrated by representatives of Public Administrations, women's organizations and associations, the main national business and trade union groups and experts with recognised prestige in the area of equality.

In Spain, NGOs and other civil society actors, especially women's and feminist groups, also play an essential role in this field. The Spanish Organic Law 1/2004 was, in fact, the result of an agreement between the Spanish Government and women's associations, who had contributed to the setting of this issue in the main political agendas.

5.4 Key objectives of strategies in tackling VAW

In the Organic Law 1/2004 on Integral Protection Against Gender Violence in Spain and the State Pact against Gender-based Violence (2018-2022), different key sectors are involved in the prevention of violence against women:

5.4.1 Educational sector

It is encouraged to promote gender equity values and attitudes against different forms of gender violence among women and men at different stages. The promotion of gender equity is integrated into the curricula of primary, secondary and university level education. This strategy was first introduced in the Organic Law 1/2004 on Integral Protection Against Gender Violence in Spain and reinforced in the State Pact against Gender-based Violence (2018-2022).

5.4.2 Mass media

The Organic Law 1/2004 on Integral Protection Against Gender Violence in Spain recognized the relevance of involving mass media to prevent discrimination against women and protect and promote gender equity among women and men. An observatory of gender equality in the media was, in fact, created to be in charge of these responsibilities and of complaints made by citizens of sexism publicity and media contents.

5.4.3 The judicial system and the police

A great number of measures were included in the current gender violence regulations and strategies in Spain. Male perpetrators are mainly mentioned as the target population of these measures. Psychological treatments were also included, which were mostly addressed to those who have been condemned, with an explicit but not exclusive mention to those who have been sent to prison. In this sense, as a way of producing evidence and making visible good professional practices that could be useful for tackling gender violence, including within the penitentiary system, after the approval of Law 1/2004 to contribute to its development, groups were created, such as *Grupo25*, which grouped women and men who were beginning to work from different professional spheres on aspects related to prevention, safety and reparation of the harm caused by gender violence. Thus, for example, in their first monograph, they laid the foundations in Spain of how specific programs for the re-education and resocialization of men who engage in intimate-partner violence should be designed and applied, both for those who they should submit to these programs for being

convicted of crimes regulated in Organic Law 1/2004, and for those who accessed through non-judicial sources, such as the health system or social services (Montero *et al* 2006).

5.4.4 Health sector

Health professionals, women and men, are encouraged to be trained to detect cases of victims of gender violence and coordinate with the other involved sectors. Specifically, the Law 1/2004 not only impelled the creation of the State Observatory on Violence against Women but also of the Commission against Gender Violence, which is part of the Interterritorial Council of the National Health System and was created with the high-priority of regulating the training of health sector professionals and to establish common criteria of the National Health System (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2006).

This set of criteria, the first of its kind to be proposed and applied to the whole National Health System, was formulated into a *Common Protocol for a Healthcare Response to Gender Violence* in 2007. Its overall objective is to provide professionals of the Health Sector with homogeneous performance guidelines in cases of violence against women (Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo, 2007). This National Health Protocol to manage gender violence and intimate partner violence against women was ratified in Spain in 2012 (Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, 2012). In this protocol, a short section was included related to the obligation of health professionals to offer perpetrators treatments to those who have been condemned and/or were seeking this type of support to prevent violent behaviour. These measures have been poorly addressed since then.

5.4.5 Addressing masculinities

Masculinities is an emergent topic which has not yet been addressed in the Spanish legislation or in national-level public strategies, programmes or activities. In fact, the explicit mention of men in the Organic Law 1/2004, of Measures of Integral Protection Against Gender Violence and the State Pact against Gender-based Violence (2018-2022) is limited to educational interventions as potential target groups, legal sanctions towards male perpetrators and psychological treatments. In any case, it has been key that Law 1/2004 emphasized, in line with current thinking on the topic, the importance of men's involvement in this social problem. This legal framework assumes that the roots of gender-based violence lie in a society that emphasizes the transmission of values of male dominance over women. This has contributed to putting the focus on the attitudes, beliefs, prejudices and myths that legitimize violence against women. Thus, these considerations gave rise to a report on *Men and Gender Violence*, presented by the Spanish Government in 2008.

The report of *Men and Gender Violence* framed within the strategic objectives of the *National Plan of Sensitization and Prevention of the Violence against Women* encourages the development of new forms of masculinity (Bonino, 2008). Specifically, the approach of the report was in the same line of various documents developed at European level; two stand out in this respect: (a) the report passed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency in 2004, with the aim of obtaining a call for global action to the involvement of men in gender-based violence (Ferguson *et al* 2004), and (b) the conclusions of the 2767th session of the Council of Europe on Men and Gender equality, issued in December 2006. In Spain, this has progressively contributed to highlighting the need to address issues related to the approach to violence from a gender perspective in masculinities.

Although in the case of Spain the institutional support has been relevant to the significant growth of the movement and actions to foster the change in attitudes of men towards equality, the implementation of programmes and projects by non-governmental associations and local initiatives have played a particularly important role. A key example is the program 'Men for Equality'. This program created in 1999, was managed and executed by men, with the support of the Equality and Health Unit of the City Council of Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz, southern Spain). It is the first institutional programme in Spain focused on men to include them in the challenge of gender equality, and the fight against intimate partner violence (EIGE, 2012). This program, which is still active, promoted the first National Conference on masculinities in Spain in 2001. Since its inception, the program has focused on the development of different prevention activities in the community and educational spheres, mainly aimed at raising awareness among the educational sector (teachers and families). Its informative materials and didactic resources have been recognized as examples of good practices in addressing gender violence and equality promotion. Thus, among others, it is possible to highlight a test to check machismo or a didactic module of activities named 'Terra Equalitys, walking through the territory of equality', which takes its idea from 'The Lord of the Rings', and proposes a tour through six territories related to the social mandates of hegemonic masculinity (equivalents to the ring of power by Tolkien).

Although since the early 1990s there are references to the first groups of men against gender violence in Spain, which led to the creation of an 'Interprovincial Network for Reflection on Male Models' (Bonino, 2004), it was really by 2006 that certain initiatives began to question harmful values and attitudes associated with the traditional construction of masculinity. Specifically, 'Interprovincial Network for Reflection on Male Models' was created on 21 October 2006, in the city of Seville, with the first demonstration promoted by men against gender violence in Spain (Bonino, 2008).

Nowadays, in Spain, there is a large number of men's groups for equality, who are contributing together with research and initiatives promoted from the academic sphere to the issue of addressing masculinities. Some of the groups of men who are currently developing initiatives against gender-based violence are the

Asociación de Hombres por la igualdad (AHIGE), *Red de Hombres por la Igualdad*, *Heterodoxia* or *Masculinidades Beta*, to name a few of them active at the national level. It is also important to emphasize the work that non-profit organizations have been developing in the last number of years, such as *Cepaim Foundation*, which stand out for their approach to masculinities from an intersectional perspective, especially about gender and immigration, or *Aspacia Foundation*, which specializes in developing initiatives around men who have been aggressors.

Concerning regional and governmental initiatives to address masculinities, the first programme developed in Spain is known as *Gizonduz*, an initiative promoted by the Emakunde-Basque Women's Institute, which took its first steps in November 2007, and forms part of a programme of awareness-raising and training with practical proposals for intervention around equality. While it is oriented towards the promotion of positive forms of masculinity, and therefore not exclusively focused on gender-based violence, it also pays special attention to this issue, as evidenced by the pedagogical approach of some of its contents: (a) contributions of antimilitarist feminism to the construction of alternative models of masculinity, (b) sexual harassment in the workplace and the construction of masculinity, (c) crime prevention and the construction of masculine identities, and (d) the legitimization of violence in the construction of men's identities (EMAKUNDE, 2019).

5.5 Public debates and controversies

Nowadays, there are several 'hot topics' related to Spain's current Gender-based Violence Regulations, but neither of them explicitly focuses on the need to involve men and boys in gender violence prevention strategies, with the exception of an emerging debate about the need of early educational interventions to promote positive relationships and personal skills to solve problems without violence. In relation to these educational interventions, the need for promoting positive masculinities is still weakly addressed.

One of the most recent issue in contemporary debate around the topic of VAW/GBV relates to the need to reinforce the legal sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence. In 2016, during the 'San Fermín' party in Pamplona (Navarra, Spain), four men, including a policeman, raped an eighteen-year-old woman. This case was extensively covered by different means of mass media not only because of its severity but also because during the judgment, the girl was accused of exaggerating. For the perpetrators, what happened was just a "party" among adults. In the first judicial sentence, the judges seemed to agree with the rapists because they considered that there had been no violation since the victim did not explicitly deny the sexual relations with the accused. The defense took the case to the Supreme Court supported by a wave of social protests throughout Spain. The ruling of the Supreme Court did recognize the violations to which the woman was subjected, as well as the need to review the training and sensitisation of Spanish judges on cases of sexual abuse. Since this case, Spanish mass media has reported on other cases of gang rapes and has raised awareness about the emergence of this form of sexual violence, even among adolescents.

The State Pact against Gender-based Violence (2018-2022) reinforced the importance of preventing such violence through educational interventions. They have been more focused on promoting gender equality and the rejection of attitudes towards violence against women, but there is an increasing awareness about the need to transform hegemonic masculinities and cope with biased perceptions about intimate relationships (including sexual behaviour). In these measures, girls and boys are considered both potential victims and perpetrators, as well as good bystanders in cases of intimate partner violence among their peers.

There is also an increasing debate about the need to include 'men' as potential victims and then, recognizing them as rights subjects in the Spanish Gender Violence Law. This debate has been promoted by political forces / groups that deny the existence of gender-based violence, gender inequalities and gender discrimination in our society. These forces, constituting a form of backlash, attempt to reframe gender-based violence as an act of intrafamilial violence.

There is another growing controversy regarding citizenship since the approval of the Constitutional Law 1/2015, which amended the Spanish Criminal Code to introduce a new sentence under the name of "revisable permanent prison". This Law allows for periods of disqualification from parole and abolishes the possibilities of an early review of parole for certain serious offences. It is intended for perpetrators of "crimes causing special social repulsion" or "crimes of exceptional gravity" such as in the case of sexual offenders who kill their victim. So far, however, the revisable permanent prison has been applied rarely; a significant case occurred on 14 July 2017 where a man who admitted to having slit the throats of his two daughters, aged 4 and 9, to avenge his ex-wife, was convicted. Connected to the controversy surrounding the Law itself, after it is being considered for abolition by some political parties, this controversy is also being connected with another to the approach to toxic masculinities: to what extent should penitentiary institutions bet on the development of intervention programmes with men who practice gender violence to achieve their social reintegration? Are the programmes that are currently being implemented effective? These particular questions were fuelled by the publication by the General Secretariat of Penitentiary Institutions of the results of the evaluation of the 'Intervention Programme for Offenders of Gender Violence in Alternative Measures' (PRIA-MA)" (Pérez-Ramírez *et al* 2017).

In addition, we are dealing with the roots of a debate which began to take on significance with the appearance of the first manifestos by men committed to combatting violence against women. These manifestos have usually been accompanied by the collection of signatures, such as the first of them presented in 1998 in Seville and which, in its first paragraph, stated: "The men who subscribe to this manifesto want to pronounce against violence perpetrated by men against women. Although this violence is consubstantial with the traditional masculine model in which we have been educated, identifying current gender roles as the ultimate cause of the problem should not be understood as an excuse or justification, because we know that we have the responsibility to question and modify them". This shows that men

involved in the struggle to eradicate gender-based violence have been reflected in different formulas, but it has also helped groups of men to emerge who have interpreted this as a feminist position focused on attacking their own identity as men. This controversy over men's involvement in eradicating gender-based violence intensified in Spain from 1999, when several women's and men's associations in Europe launched, through the EU's Daphne program, the European White Ribbon Campaign (EIGE, 2016).

In Spain, the Mercurio project was the first to involve men in the fight against gender-based violence that emerged from the framework of the European WRC. Developed in Asturias during the year 2000, it focused on messages from men addressed to men around men's complicity on the issue, as a way of contributing to the questioning of violence against women arising from the reference group itself. Specifically, the project was born with three specific objectives: a) to encourage men's commitment to denouncing violence, as a concrete way to break the "group silence", b) to question the myths about masculinity associated to violence, and c) to promote a public debate on those undesirable aspects of masculinity by involving different social organizations in which men were enrolled.

In recent years, initiatives to involve men in this cause have not only intensified but also diversified. Some of these initiatives include, for example, the new musical currents that are emerging against violence and in favour of new masculinities, or film projects such as the documentary 'Serás Hombre' by director Isabel de Ocampo (2019), which in itself constitutes a collage on the notion of masculinity, aimed at generating questions about our education and gender socialization, including the roots of male violence. Also noteworthy are other initiatives, such as the campaign promoted through Twitter, Facebook and Instagram by Barcelona City Council, focused on raising men's awareness of verbal violence, so that they react to macho comments within their circle of friends; a campaign disseminated through a video under the slogan 'To end macho violence, say what you think' (El País, 2019).

Finally, it has to be mentioned that there is an increasing debate in Spain around the abolition or regularization of prostitution. In this sense, non-profit organizations such as Médicos del Mundo are contributing to developing social awareness strategies and building an abolitionist political position, making visible the problem of prostituted women as a form of gender violence. Thus, for example, in its IV Conference on Prostitution and Health, held last May 2019 in Ibiza, the problem was debated from a gendered approach in masculinities, including considerations towards the type of clients, a research line that, in Spain, began with a study published by Solana (2002), and that in the last decade has been receiving more and more attention in the scientific literature at national level (Sáez, 2015; Meneses 2010; López Insausti and Baringo 2007).

6. SWEDEN

6.1 Prevalence of VAW in Sweden

According to the FRA (2015) survey, 5% of women in Sweden have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from any current or previous partner in the last twelve months; 13% have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from any current or previous partner since age 15 and 46% have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from any partner and/or non-partner since age 15. The latter figure here is particularly concerning and paradoxical. According to the Gender Equality Index, the Nordic countries, including Sweden, have the highest levels of gender equality in the world. The so called 'Nordic paradox' (Gracia and Merlo, 2016) refers to high levels of gender equity and at the same time, high prevalence of reported gender-based violence. An additional publication from the same author ruled out measurement biases as an explanation for the higher prevalence of intimate partner (sexual and physical) violence thus supporting the 'Nordic Paradox' theory (Gracia *et al* 2019).

A national representative survey (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014) of nearly 13,000 people (aged 16-79 years) in Sweden reported experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) in the previous year. Women in the age group 20-24 had the highest prevalence (14.5%) followed by women aged 16-19 (9.7%) and women aged 25-34 (9.1%). Lifetime prevalence of IPV among women was 25%. Among female victims, 12% had been in contact with health care, 7% had contacted social services for help, and 5% had been in contact with women shelters (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, 2014). While it is known that different forms of VAW often overlap - most commonly controlling behaviour (psychological violence) and physical violence (Lovestad *et al* 2017) - a national prevalence study, addressing violence and health among 5681 women and 4654 men aged 18-74 years, divided violence into sexual, physical and psychological violence (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014). The results from this study are presented below.

In terms of sexual violence, more than one in ten women and one in twelve men stated they had been exposed to sexual violence during childhood including sexual intercourse, attempt to sexual intercourse, and sexual touching/caressing. The perpetrators were reported to be of same age (e.g. friend, sibling, classmate) as often as an adult perpetrator (e.g. parent, neighbour, uncle). Among those exposed to sexual violence, over half had been abused repeatedly. Almost half of women and one in ten men had been subjected to sexual harassment before the age of 18 (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014). One in ten women and one in a hundred men had experience of severe sexual violence after the age of 18. In most cases the perpetrator was identified as the current partner. Sexual abuse with elements of violence, humiliation and harassment had been experienced by almost half of the women and 15% of the men. The typical perpetrator of this 'less severe' sexual violence (touching/caressing in a sexual way) was an acquaintance or stranger. Both women and men who had been subjected to sexual abuse during childhood reported sexual abuse after the age of 18 more often that those who had not been abused in childhood (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014).

In another recent population-based study by the Swedish Public Health Agency on sexual and reproductive health and rights, it further became evident that sexual violence is widely common among the Swedish population (The Public Health Agency of Sweden, 2019). Among women, 42% had been exposed to sexual harassment, 39% had been exposed to other forms of sexual abuse, 23% had been forced into sexual activity through psychological pressure, and 7% had been physically forced to have intercourse (The Public Health Agency of Sweden, 2019). All forms of sexual violence were most prevalent among the youngest age group in the study (16-29 years).

Repeated physical violence during childhood was reported by 14% of women and 17% of men (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014). The perpetrators for females were reported to be mainly adults, and for those who had experienced violence from parents, it was just as likely that the abuse came from the mothers as from the fathers. Men were subjected to violence mainly from same-aged perpetrators. For those men who had experienced parental violence, they had experienced abuse by the fathers to a much larger extent (more than twice as likely). Women who had experienced same-age perpetrator violence reported they had been violated by girls as often as boys, whereas men reported the perpetrators to be other boys (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014). In adulthood, 14% of women and 5% of men reported being exposed to physical violence by a current or former partner.

Lastly, in relation to psychological violence in the survey (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014), psychological violence was defined as humiliation, violation of dignity, bullying or similar. Among both men and women, over 25% had experienced repeated psychological violence during childhood. In the year prior to the survey, 4.8% of women and 2.5% of men reported systematic and repeated psychological violence from a current or former partner (which would correspond to 160,000 women and 85,000 men). Among women and men aged 18 to 24 the numbers exposed to psychological violence during the past year were 8.2 and 3.4%, respectively. In a recent publication examining exposure to intimate partner violence and depression, controlling behaviour was the most common form of violence against women (Lovestad *et al* 2017).

6.2 Key legislative and policy developments in tackling VAW

There are several laws specifically related to violence against women in Sweden. In 1962, Sweden was the first country in the world to legislate against rape within marriage, while in 1982, domestic violence came to fall within public prosecution. The law of Violation of Women from 1998 aimed to strengthen protection of women subjected to systematic violence and abuse by a partner. The law is unique as it enables several individual criminal acts to be considered together and not one by one which in turn provides a basis for harder sentences for the perpetrator. The law also made it impossible for women who reported their partner to the authorities to withdraw the report. Furthermore, the law also enabled people outside of the

relationship to report suspected violence to the police. Since 2007, municipalities have been obliged to provide help for women exposed to violence. In 2018, the law regarding sexual violence/abuse was changed and came to include a distinct description of sexual consent i.e. all sexual activities must be voluntary, all parties must ensure that the other/others are voluntary participating. The law now enables perpetrators to be convicted even if threats or violence was not involved in the actual sexual act. Additionally, the law includes harder sentences for rape (Jämställ Nu, 2019).

6.3 Institutional context and key actors in shaping policy/strategy

During the past five decades, work to prevent VAW has been developed on many levels in society such as governmental and official levels as well as through non-profit organizations. The government launched in 2016 a *National Strategy to Prevent and Combat Men's Violence against Women* (Swedish Government, 2016). The strategy shifts the previous focus from addressing violence to *preventing* violence, and places a greater focus on engaging men and addressing masculinity norms. Young men are the main target group and the aim is to redefine stereotyped gender norms which relate to masculinity and violence. The Strategy argues that the underlying causes of violence and possible ways to interrupt violence should be taken into account in every aspect of the strategy. Furthermore, the strategy also involves increased attention to women's and girl's exposure to violence.

The objectives of the strategy are fourfold: 1) Extend and streamline preventive work which involves interventions targeted to the whole population, to those at risk of violence (victims and perpetrators), situational prevention, and indicative prevention to prevent repeated violence; 2) improve detection and stronger protection for victimized women and children. All forms of support and care and treatment are included in this objective; 3) provide more effective law enforcement; 4) improve knowledge and method development. There is a need for improved knowledge among the public, relevant professional groups, and decision makers at all societal levels. There is also a need for prevention methods development and research within the field (Swedish Government, 2016).

The strategy runs over a period of 10 years and involves different stakeholders. The newly founded Swedish Gender Equality Agency is responsible for implementation, coordination and follow-up of the strategy. On a regional level, the 21 different County governments in Sweden are responsible for organizing the strategy within the region. Additionally, the National Board of Health and Welfare, the County governments and the National Centre for Knowledge on Men's Violence Against Women, holds an educational supporting role towards municipalities and County Councils. The County governments are also responsible for coordinating the work of different actors within the region (Swedish Government, 2016).

6.4 Key objectives of strategies in tackling VAW

Over the past decade, gender and masculinities has formed the discussion on violence and prevention against violence in Sweden. In 2011, The Youth and Civil Society Authority was assigned by the Swedish government, to explore gender equity, masculinities and violence (Youth and Civil Society Authority, 2015). The work by the agency has moved the focus away from victims towards the perpetrators by examining how masculinities and attitudes towards gender equity might affect violence, and additionally how to prevent violence. Surveys among 16-24 years old have shown that youth consider gender equity important with only 8% of young men and 2% of young women disagreeing (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2013). Nevertheless, in the same survey, 21% of men and 7% of women stated that men are more suited to be in leading positions in working life. Additionally, 17% of young men stated that women should be responsible for household work (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2013). Among men, more than half of the respondents thought that it is important for men to be macho and for women to be feminine, the corresponding number among women was 32% and 25% respectively. More so, analysis showed that men who concurred with stereotypical gender-roles were more than 3 times as likely to use violence.

Sexual education in elementary school aims to highlight gender equality, gender norms, sexuality, and gender stereotypes. The government emphasises that schools must inform about sexual violence and harassment and values based on human rights. Support to schools should be provided thought governmental agencies and different organizations working with VAW (Swedish Government, 2016).

The government also financially supports non-governmental organizations working with prevention of VAW. Unizon is an umbrella organization that represents over 140 Swedish women's shelters, young women's empowerment centers and other services working together for a gender equal society free from violence. The vision of the umbrella organization is a gender equal society free from violence. The key to stopping violence is believed to be working towards gender equality in different areas in society. The organization also believes that notions of what is considered 'feminine'' and 'masculine' influences and limits behaviour and understanding of oneself. The organization furthermore believes that it is possible to change how women and men are perceived and thereby break the link between masculinity and violence (Unizon, 2020).

There are also non-governmental organizations targeting violent men. For example, Menscentrum, was founded in 1988, as a response to an unmet need of therapeutic support after for instance a divorce and other dramatic events. Men whose main problem is violence and aggression are common visitors to the centre. They offer individual counselling and specially designed group therapy programs. Results have been positive, showing that further perpetration significantly lowers following engagement (Manscentrum, 2020).

6.4.1 Addressing masculinities

MEN, a non-profit feminist organisation was assigned by the authorities to identify prevention methods for violence in relation to a gendered perspective and approach. This resulted in a list of seven different methods that could be assumed to work in the Swedish context (Sjögren, 2013). Amongst those identified was Mentors in Prevention which has been widely used and is currently being evaluated in the Swedish context. All seven interventions or methods targeted young men or men and they were foremost developed and evaluated in the US. Even so, there are a lot of different initiatives in Sweden to prevent violence including VAW, involving approaches based on norm-critique and masculinities. In total, 101 different initiatives launched by non-profit organizations have been identified (Youth and Civil Society Authority, 2012). Most commonly, these efforts involve workshops, lectures and seminars. Most initiatives target the individual and group level and training of professionals to promote anti-violence behaviours and attitudes (Youth and Civil Society Authority, 2012).

The Macho Factory, one of the 101 initiatives, is an educational company that specialises in gender-based social change. Educational material was developed over a three-year period by researchers, stakeholder, youth pilot groups and methodological groups. Since the launching of the project, hundreds of group leaders have been trained to lead courses with, for example, school pupils and sport clubs. Material was developed to empower young men and women to examine everyday situations from different perspectives and create change (Jewkes *et al* 2015).

6.5 Public debate and controversies

The '*Me-Too*' movement in Sweden initiated a public discussion regarding sexual and psychological systematic violence against women. Protests were coordinated among various working industries for example female actors, musician, lawyers, politicians, restaurant workers, academics, doctors and nurses, sex-workers, women in sports, and women employed by the Swedish church. The MeToo movement has been criticised in Swedish media for pointing out and naming non-sentenced possible perpetrators. Nevertheless, the endless testimonies from exposed women helped increase public understanding of the magnitude of the problem related to violence against women and defining VAW (Swedish Government, 2017). In the wake of MeToo, the government has invested to improve work environments for women and improve sexual education in schools. The government also increased the budget to organizations working with VAW. After MeToo, reports of sexual harassment and sexism online has substantially increased. There is also an ongoing governmental investigation regarding if and how sentence time for offences relating to VAW should be increased (Swedish Government, 2017).

7. CONCLUSION

As highlighted in section 2, across EU Member States, the collection of data can vary depending on the actor(s) and agencies collecting the data; indeed, accurate data collection remains a key challenge in understanding the extent of the problem of VAW, and enabling a comparison across countries. From the analysis of the four countries in this working paper, on the basis of the representative sample studies from all four countries and the FRA study, the figure for experience of intimate partner violence by either a current or former partner is between 12.5% and 25% depending on country (Andersson, Heimer and Lucas, 2014; Government Office Against Gender Based Violence, 2015; Watson and Parsons, 2005). A common theme is that violence within the context of a relationship (to disregard prevalence rates of childhood violence) begins at a young age. Though different surveys split findings into different categories of age groups, on the basis of the data drawn upon in this working paper, the prevalence for physical and sexual violence is highest between 16 and 29 years. The FRA survey (2015) found that 18-20 years constitutes the most vulnerable group for being exposed to sexually harassing behaviour across the EU.

In terms of legislative developments, in comparison to other countries, Sweden legislated earlier in relation to acts associated with VAW, with rape becoming criminalised in 1962. In 1982, domestic violence came to fall within public prosecution. In both Ireland and Israel, legislation begun to develop in the 1990s while the case of Sweden during the same period can be characterised as both a further development and strengthening of laws, again a testament to its early efforts in this area. Ireland has recently further strengthened and added to existing laws and both Ireland and Sweden have recently updated and clarified further, the legal definition of consent. In Spain, legislation was considerably strengthened in the 2000s through the introduction of the Organic Law 1/2004 on Integral Protection Against Gender Violence. Many countries' national legislative and policy frameworks have been influenced by developments at the European level, most recently through the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention (2011), but also in relation to various EU directives which target specific aspects of violence against women.

In relation to key objectives and strategies, in all countries, one of the current and proposed or recommended ideas to address violence against women is through the education curriculum in relation to deconstructing socio-cultural attitudes in general and norms of masculinity in particular. This has also been raised by the EU Commission in its strategies on gender equality. The EU Commission strategies argue that deconstruction of gender stereotypes needs to be addressed particularly in relation to the role of the media in promulgating gender stereotypes. In Ireland, the two strategies (COSC, 2010, 2016) on gender-based violence argue for the role of the education curriculum in addressing the area of masculinities and gender inequality. Ireland's non-examination curriculum does address 'Gender Studies' and 'Relationships and Sexuality Education', the latter of which is currently being updated, whilst in Spain the promotion of gender equity is integrated into the curricula of primary, secondary and university level education. Outside of the formal educational curriculum,

various government and non-government stakeholders and groupings in all four countries work and have worked to engage boys and men in deconstructing normative masculinities and gender inequality. Some of these, such as 'The Way of Man' in Israel constitute social movements which aim to promote alternative masculinities and new models of masculinity. Educational resources and educational interventions have also been provided by non-governmental organizations, such as the Macho Factory resource in Sweden and the 'Men for Equality' programme in Spain. Some others constitute governmental initiatives to address masculinities such as the *Gizonduz* in Spain, an initiative promoted by the Emakunde-Basque Women's Institute.

Men's groups and networks have also been important in tackling VAW in relation to masculinities. The Men's Development Network constitutes one such example in Ireland, but many more similar groups exist in Spain and Israel. The work done by these various stakeholders in relation to the social construction of masculinities in relation to VAW point to another common theme promoted in policy initiatives within the four countries and at the European level: that "Gender equality needs the active contribution, support and participation of men" (European Commission, 2011, p. 32).

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