The Factors Influencing Community Attitudes in Relation to Violence Against Women: A Critical Review of the Literature

Paper Three of the Violence Against Women Community Attitudes Project

3

State Government Victoria

VicHealth

The Factors Influencing Community Attitudes in Relation to Violence Against Women: A Critical Review of the Literature

Dr. Michael Flood (La Trobe University)
and
Professor Bob Pease (Deakin University)

Table of Contents

This document is Paper Three in a series of four related to the Community Attitudes to Violence Against Women Survey project at VicHealth. The other three web-based reports are:

- Taylor, N & Mouzos, J, 2006, Community Attitudes to Violence Against Women Survey: A Full Technical Report (Paper One), Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

- Donovan, RJ & Vlais, R, 2006, VicHealth Review of Communication Components of Social Marketing/Public Education Campaigns Focusing on Violence Against Women (Paper Two), Mental Health and Wellbeing Unit, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Melbourne.

- Rees, S & Pease, B, Immigrant Women's Domestic Violence Service, 2006, Refugee Settlement, Safety and Wellbeing: Exploring Domestic and Family Violence in Refugee Communities (Paper Four), Immigrant Women's Domestic Violence Service.

Available on www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/cas

1. Executive Summary

Background

This paper was prepared as part of the Violence Against Women Community Attitudes Project. The project is one of a program of mental health promotion activities being undertaken by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation to address violence against women. Violence against women is a prevalent problem with serious consequences for women's health. Intimate Partner Violence alone contributes 9% to the total disease burden in women aged 15-44 years and 60% of this is contributed by associated mental health problems.

The Violence Against Women Community Attitudes Project is being undertaken to gain a better understanding of community attitudes as a factor contributing to this problem.

Introduction

- Community attitudes play an important role in responses to violence against women.

- Attitudes towards violence against women have changed over time.

- This report reviews Australian and international research on how attitudes towards violence against women are formed and why they change.

- The report locates the concept of attitudes within a social constructionist account of the formation of community attitudes.

- It examines factors which have a multi-level influence on attitudes as well as individual, organisational, community and societal factors which influence attitudes.

- The report concludes by offering an explanatory model of the factors which influence attitudes towards violence against women and an outline of key points for intervention in community attitudes.

The Concept of Attitudes

- The construct of attitudes is located in the disciplinary field of social psychology which posits that attitudes are stable dispositions.

- Traditional psychological accounts of attitudes have been subject to a growing critique which suggests that attitudes are contextual and contingent upon circumstances.

- Evidence indicates that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is complex and partial.

- It is important to distinguish between implicit and explicit attitudes, the former being more difficult to measure.

- Critical psychologists challenge the idea that attitudes are underlying mental constructs, arguing that it is important to locate people's views in the context of social norms.

- Attitudes are best understood as being socially constructed in the socio-historical context of people's lives.

Violence Against Women: Definitions, Understandings and Boundaries

- The language used to describe acts of violence against a woman by a man known to the woman is itself a manifestation of attitudes towards this violence.

- Naming and defining violence is an inherently political process.

- While this report adopts the term 'violence against women', it is not part of community language nor a term always utilised in the literature reviewed.

The Relationship Between Attitudes and Violence Against Women

Attitudes and Community Responses to Violence Against Women

- Attitudes play a role in responses to violence against women adopted by individuals other than the perpetrator or victim.
- These attitudes form community norms which either sustain or sanction violence against women.
- It is important for non-perpetrating members of groups who perpetrate violence to recognise the impact that their attitudes have for the perpetration of violence against women.
- The community has a responsibility to challenge violence-supportive attitudes.

Attitudes and the Perpetration of Violence Against Women

- Men are more likely to engage in violence against women if they hold negative attitudes towards women and if they identify with traditional masculinity and male privilege.

Attitudes and Subjection to Violence

- Women's responses to their subjection to violence are shaped by community attitudes.
- Women are less likely to report violence by male partners if they hold traditional gender role attitudes.

The Formation of Attitudes in Relation to Violence Against Women

Multi-Level Factors: Gender and Culture

Gender and gender attitudes, roles and relations

- Men are more likely than women to express violence-supportive attitudes.
- It is gender role prescriptions rather than gender per se that shapes men's and women's attitudes.
- Individuals who support traditional gender roles are more likely to express violence-supportive attitudes.

- Attitudes towards violence against women are grounded in and intertwined with attitudes towards women, gender and sexuality.
- Violence-supportive attitudes are reflected in 'normal' sexual, intimate and family relations.
- Factors shaping attitudes towards violence against women cannot be considered in isolation from factors shaping gender.
- Employment is a predicator of pro-equality attitudes among women, as are younger age, higher education and urban region.

Cultural factors

- Attitudes towards violence against women vary across different cultural groups and communities in any one country and from one culture to another.
- Attitudes towards violence against women are only meaningful within particular cultural contexts.
- Culturally-specific norms and social relations have a profound influence on attitudes towards violence against women.
- In acknowledging cultural differences in attitudes towards violence against women, it is important to be mindful of how cultural differences can be used in racist ways.

Individual Factors

Experiencing or witnessing violence

- A key mechanism of attitude formation in relation to violence against women is intergenerational transmission.
- Children who either witness violence or are subjected to violence themselves are more likely to adhere to violence-supportive attitudes.
- The effects of witnessing or experiencing violence are greater for males than females.
- Prior experience of violence can also lead to violence-intolerant attitudes.

Age and development

- Adolescent males are more likely than older males to express violence-supportive attitudes.

Organisational Factors

Organisations, institutions and informal contexts

- Violence-supportive attitudes are stronger in particular masculine contexts such as college fraternities, sporting sub-cultures, and the military.
- Group socialisation, identification with the group, and self-selection are mechanisms that produce violence-supportive attitudes in these contexts.
- University environments contribute to a liberalisation of attitudes towards gender roles and violence towards women.

Men's behaviour change programs

- There is considerable research on the effectiveness of men's behaviour change programs in stopping violence and changing the attitudes of perpetrators.
- There are no studies measuring the impact of men's behaviour change programs on community attitudes towards violence.

Religious adherence and participation

- Traditional orientations towards gender roles are associated with strong religious affiliations.

Community Factors

Peer groups and informal social relations

- Participation and investment in homosocial male peer groups intensifies men's tolerance of violence towards women.

Religion, spirituality and churches

- Through public statements, proclamations, theological teachings and the content of their worship, churches and church leaders influence the attitudes of their congregations.
- Churches have both positive and negative influences on attitudes towards violence against women.

Societal Factors

Mass media

- Exposure to or consumption of pornography is related to violence-supportive attitudes.
- Television, music and film can teach gender-stereotyped and violence-supportive attitudes.
- Advertising portraying women in sexualised ways leads to violence-supportive attitudes in men.

New coverage of high-profile incidents of violence

- Media coverage of high profile incidents of violence against women can increase community awareness of issues of violence against women.
- Media coverage can also depersonalise violence against women and reinforce gender bias and gender stereotypes.
- Media coverage of research findings regarding violence against women may heighten community awareness of the significance of the problem.

Community education and social marketing campaigns

- Community education campaigns have produced positive change in attitudes associated with violence against women.

Criminal justice polices and law reform

- There is a fraught relationship between legislation and community attitudes.
- Changes in attitudes are related to the level of variance between the legislation and the attitudes held by the community.
- There is little consensus on the impact of criminal justice policies on the attitudes of the wider community.
- Criminal justice policies that strongly condemn violence against women have lead to the development of new norms that are unsupportive of violence against women.

Medical and health responses

- Family doctors response in diverse ways to violence against women.
- Routine screening of women for domestic violence has been recommended as a way to provoke awareness of the issue.

Collective mobilisations

The women's movements and feminism

- Contemporary women's movements have transformed the attitudes of their participants.
- The women's movement has played a key role in achieving the recognition of violence against women as a significant social problem.
- Following the enactment of reforms to address men's violence, the wider implications of feminist analyses have become incorporated into state bureaucracies.

Men's rights and fathers' rights groups and campaigns

- Negative influences on community attitudes towards violence against women have come from men's rights and fathers' rights groups.
- Such groups have influenced public policies in relation to family law and community attitudes regarding the idea that domestic violence is gender equal.

Profeminist men's groups and campaigns

- Participants in men's anti-violence and gender equality groups undergo positive transformations in their attitudes.
- There is little evidence of the impact of profeminist campaigns on wider community attitudes.

The Significance of Attitudes in Relation to Other Factors Shaping Men's Violence Against Women

- While attitudes are a key variable shaping responses to violence against women, they should not be taken as the only variable of concern.

- Cognitive motivations are only one aspect of an explanation of individuals' perpetration of violence against women.

- Affective orientations, masculine subjectivities and men's sense of entitlement are also correlated with men's violence against women.

- A focus on attitudes risks neglecting the cultural, collective and institutional underpinnings of violence against women.

- Contextual factors such as socio-economic status, social isolation, and wider historical and political forces influence violence against women.

- To prevent violence against women, we must not only change community attitudes, we must also address the structural conditions that perpetuate violence.

Key points, settings, and populations for intervention in Community Attitudes Towards Violence Against Women

- Among children who have witnessed or experienced violence and in families affected by violence against women

- With youth

- In boys' peer cultures and with young men at risk of / already using violence

- In organisations and local contexts and the cultures with which they are associated, particularly university colleges, sporting clubs, workplaces, and military institutions.

- Among religious institutions and leaders

- In relation to mass media
  - Social marketing
  - Better news reporting
  - Media literacy in schools education
  - Regulation of media content

- Criminal justice system

- In medicine and health systems

- Through community development and mobilisation
  - In immigrant and refugee communities
  - In Indigenous communities
  - In rural communities
  - In low-socio-economic communities
  - Including community mobilisation through events, networks, and campaigns

2. Introduction

Attitudes have been of central concern in relation to violence against women. Community attitudes play a role in community responses to violence against women, in the perpetration of this violence, and in victims' responses to victimisation. Attitudes have been a key target of community education campaigns aimed at preventing violence against women. However, there has been relatively little coordinated examination of the factors which shape attitudes towards violence against women. This review provides such an examination.

This review is one element in the Violence Against Women Community Attitudes Project being undertaken by VicHealth, The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation. VicHealth's project also includes a survey of community attitudes on violence against women and an examination of existing campaigns to address community attitudes. As a public health agency, VicHealth's work focuses on prevention and especially primary prevention, in this case of violence against women. In documenting the factors which influence the development of attitudes towards violence against women, this review is intended to contribute to our ability to support positive change in such attitudes. The review is guided by VicHealth's Mental Health Promotion Framework 2005 – 2007, and it concludes by identifying key settings and groups for action.

Australian attitudes towards violence against women have changed over time. A 1995 telephone survey of 2,004 Australian adults documented that there had been some broad improvements in both men's and women's attitudes to and understandings of violence against women since the last national survey in 1987, although the 1995 survey also showed the continuing prevalence of violence-supportive attitudes. However, across a now substantial Australian literature on violence against women, there has been very little reflection regarding why attitudes improve or indeed worsen. More generally, most empirical studies of Australian attitudes are descriptive in nature, with little examination of the factors associated with the development of tolerant or intolerant orientations towards violence against women. This report brings together existing Australian and international research on this question, integrating this into an overview of key factors shaping community attitudes to violence against women. The report focuses on factors for which there is existing empirical evidence of their influence, identifying seven key clusters of influence although the report also includes factors hypothesised as likely to influence community attitudes but for which there is not yet evidence.

The report begins by examining the concept of attitudes and placing it within a social constructionist account of the formation and operation of attitudes, beliefs, norms, and ideologies. On the basis of the existing empirical literature, the report then identifies those factors shown to influence community attitudes towards violence against women. It begins by examining two clusters of factors which have a multi-level influence on community attitudes: (1) Gender and gender attitudes, roles, and relations, and (2) Race, ethnicity, and other cultural factors. Using VicHealth's Mental Health Promotion Framework to organise its discussion, the report then examines further individual, organisational, community level, and societal factors which influence community attitudes towards violence against women. While the report places each factor into one of these four categories, we should acknowledge that some factors could be placed into more than one category as they exist at multiple levels of the social order.

At the individual level, factors shaping community attitudes towards violence against women include experiencing or witnessing violence, the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, and age and development. At the organisational level, key influences include sporting clubs and cultures, workplaces, and churches. Turning to community-level factors, the report examines

the influence on attitudes of participation in peer groups, contexts and social relations, and in religion and spirituality. At the societal level, important influences on attitudes to violence against women include the media (including popular culture, high-profile cases, and community education campaigns) and the institutional activities and responses of police, the criminal justice system, medicine and health; while collective mobilisations (by the women's movements, men's rights and fathers' rights groups, and pro-feminist men's groups) are likely also to be influential. While attitudes have a powerful role in shaping the perpetration of violence against women and community responses to this violence, the report notes that other contextual, situational, and structural factors also are important.

The report concludes by offering an explanatory model of the factors which influence community attitudes in relation to violence against women, and an outline of key points for intervention in community attitudes.

3. Methodology

Using our combined access to the data bases of La Trobe University, Deakin University and the Australian National University, we conducted searches on a wide variety of databases, including PsycInfo, Proquest, PubMed, the Social Sciences Citation Index, Expanded Academic, Google Scholar and others. We examined the contents of academic journals in four subject areas or clusters: (a) violence and related topics; (b) attitude formation and related psychological processes; (c) attitudes and communication; and (d) the wider social processes through which attitudes, discourses, and ideologies are constituted and maintained, including journals in sociology, media studies, and cultural studies. We have also consulted with colleagues at the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse and the Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault.

4. The Concept of Attitudes

The construct of attitude is located in the disciplinary field of social psychology. Attitudes have been a central component of social psychology since its beginning (Krosnick *et al.* 2005) and in fact, the discipline of social psychology has been defined as the scientific study of attitudes (Ajzen *et al.* 2005). The study of attitudes involves an investigation of the factors influencing how they are formed and changed and how they are translated into motivation and behaviour (Albarracin *et al.* 2005).

There are a variety of different theoretical frameworks for understanding attitudes, and no one theory dominates (Albarracin and Fishbein 2005). Thus, the construct of attitudes has been defined in a wide variety of ways throughout its history (Fabrigar *et al.* 2005). Nevertheless, several features of attitudes receive consistent emphasis. First, most definitions focus on the process of evaluating an object on a scale ranging from positive to negative (Fabrigar *et al.* 2005). Eagly and Chaiken (1993), for example, define an attitude as 'a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour of disfavour' (cited in Albarracin *et al.*).

Second, attitudes are distinguished from beliefs. It is argued that beliefs can usually be verified or falsified by objective criteria, whereas attitudes cannot be assessed as either true or false (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). Beliefs are said to be based upon knowledge and those holding beliefs tend to believe that such knowledge is correct (Wyer and Albarracin 2005). So while beliefs may be changed by the presentation of factual information, attitudes may be more difficult to change.

Third, the mainstream theory of attitudes argues that attitudes are stable dispositions. This is in fact regarded as one of their defining features. Most literature assumes that an evaluation is accessed from memory and represents a global assessment of the object under scrutiny. In this view attitudes are seen as 'learned structures that reside in the long-term memory and are activated when the issue or object of the attitude is encountered' (Kruglanski and Strobe 2005: 324). In this view, attitudes are regarded as 'enduring psychological constructs that exercise a guiding function on thought and behaviour' (Bassili and Brown 2005: 545). For example, 'sex role attitudes' held by individuals (the focus of considerable social psychological research on gender) are seen as stable and internally consistent (Billig *et al.* 1988).

One of the main theoretical notions in attitude research is the idea of the function that the attitude has for the individual and the vested interests that are served by maintaining the attitude (Potter 1997). It is argued that attitudes influence behaviour to the extent that they serve the vested interests of the individual (Potter 1997). This functional approach to attitudes suggests that people hold and express attitudes because of the psychological benefits they derive from them. In this view, attitudes meet the psychological needs of those who hold them (Herek 1999).

The last two-and-a-half decades has seen the steady development of scholarly tools with which to assess attitudes towards violence against women. Burt's (1980) outline of four key rape myths focused on the victim – nobody was harmed, nothing happened, she wanted or liked it, and she deserved it – was one of the first to operationalise feminist accounts of socio-cultural supports for rape. Two decades later, at least 11 measures of beliefs and attitudes regarding sexual aggression had developed (Murnen *et al.* 2002), addressing such dimensions of sexual violence as the acceptance of rape myths or adversarial sexual beliefs, hostile or hyper-

masculinity, victim-blaming or victim empathy, likelihood of committing rape if one was assured of not being caught, and actual sexually coercive behaviour. Other instruments focus on attitudes towards and perceptions of other, specific forms of violence against women, from wife assault to sexual harassment and date rape. Many attitudinal instruments use Likert scales in which respondents 'agree' or 'disagree' with a series of statements, some supportive of violence against women and some not.

Traditional psychological accounts of attitudes have been subject to growing critique in the last two decades, leading to increasingly sophisticated understandings. First, there is evidence that attitudes are contextual and contingent. While most attitude researchers assume that attitudes reside within people and are enduring, some research suggests that attitudes are often simply 'temporary constructions created at the time people are asked to make attitudinal judgements' (Fabrigar *et al.* 2005: 80). Just because an attitude is expressed on one occasion, does not mean that that the same attitude will necessarily be expressed on another occasion (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Potter (1998) maintains that individuals will sometimes offer different evaluations even during the same conversation. It has been suggested that people's mood at the time of the interview will be significant in shaping their attitudinal responses to a phenomena. People in a positive mood tend to evaluate events more favourably than people in a negative mood (Ajzen and Fishbein 2005). Potter (1997) argues that such variability is often suppressed because it contradicts those theories which explain behaviour on the basis of underlying and consistent evaluative positions. In short, attitudes are not necessarily stable, easily quantifiable or unitary (Tuffin 2005).

To what extent do expressed attitudes allow us to predict behaviour? There is growing evidence that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is both complex and partial. For example, human behaviour is not necessarily reasoned or planned, and the influence on behaviour of rational and cognitive processes may be only as important as emotions and non-cognitive influences. (Ajzen and Fishbein 2005).

There is considerable research to show that people might say one thing and do another. Ajzen and Fishbein (2005: 175) cite research that demonstrates that attitudes are 'very poor predictors of actual behaviour'. In the area of prejudice and discrimination, Fiske (1998) has demonstrated that while 'expressions of stereotypical beliefs and prejudicial attitudes have declined markedly over the past decades, discrimination against historically disadvantaged racial and ethnic groups continues to be evident in employment, education, housing, health care and criminal justice' (cited in Ajzen: 204). So prejudice has declined considerably more than discrimination. Community attitudes may show greater intolerance towards violence but this does not necessarily mean that violence will decline as a result.

In an attempt to explain this disparity, some researchers distinguish between implicit and explicit attitudes. Basili and Brown (2005: 546) argue that 'implicit attitudes represent a more accurate reflection of people's inner feelings than explicit attitudes'. In their view, implicit attitudes are more influential is shaping how we think and act. This notion is offered as one explanation to explain the gap between high levels of discrimination against women whilst stereotypical attitudes had apparently changed. So people can hold explicit egalitarian attitudes and at the same time hold implicit prejudiced attitudes. (Bassili and Brown 2005). Basili and Brown (2005) point out that standard attitude scales are unable to measure implicit aspects of prejudice.

This recognition has implications too for the ways in which we measure attitudes. For example, quantitative surveys are less adept at tapping cultural scripts and implicit cultural norms than

more experimental or qualitative methods (Vandello and Cohen 2003: 1003). As Vandello and Cohen (1003) note, 'there is likely to be an important disjunction between consciously articulated, explicit condemnation of domestic violence and a more implicit approval of the scripts, norms, and roles that lead to such violence'. Their own study confirmed this, in that an experimental method picked up cultural differences that the attitudinal items did not.

Much attitude theory draws upon the intra-psychic world of cognitive psychology for its understanding, in which attitudes are seen as underlying mental constructs. Critical psychologists, using an epistemology (an account of the bases of knowledge) emphasising the social, challenge the notion that attitudes reside within the individual psyche (Tuffin 2005). Critical research in this area is concerned with social and ideological conflicts and practices in particular settings (Potter 1997). For example, Wetherell and Potter (1992) in their study of racism in New Zealand moved away from individual attitudes held by participants to focus on how they dealt with ideological dilemmas. This involves a shift from the notion that people carry Likert scales in their heads towards a much more complex understanding of how evaluative practices are enacted in different settings.

The assumption underpinning most social influence theorizing is that each individual 'constructs a sense of self that is separate and independent from others' (Prislin and Wood 2005: 693). Potter and Wetherell (1987) point out that people's behaviour is only partly influenced by their attitudes. People's actions are also shaped by norms and what other people will think of their behaviour. So personal dispositions may be less important than the social context and social norms in determining behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 2005).

Social norms are defined by Prislin and Wood (2005: 677) as 'shared belief systems about what people do or what they ideally should do'. The more an individual accepts the attitudes of others, the greater the importance of changing the social context in influencing that individual's views. Herek (1999: 14) has demonstrated the implications of a social constructionist view of attitudes in relation to attitudes about AIDS by showing the importance of 'grounding an attitude domain within a specific social group'.

What this means is that attitudes can be shaped by a new social consensus. If we change the social context, then we can change attitudes. Prislin and Wood (2005: 672) demonstrates how 'changes in people's social environments especially the pattern and content of their social interactions effect changes in social attitudes'. In this view, attitudes are socially constructed and they change when the social context changes. This involves a shift from understanding attitudes as individual processes to seeing them in the context of social relations. The opinions held by others are thus significant in shaping individuals' responses to particular phenomena. Individuals' responses and attitudes towards an issue are influenced by what they understand the consensus to be on that issue, by their perceptions of dominant norms (Prislin and Wood 2005).

Thus, attitudes are socially constructed and based on shared knowledge that people use to make sense of the world. This means that attitudes are located in the socio-historical context of people's lives as they intersect with gender, race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality and other cross-cutting social divisions.

5. 'Violence Against Women': Definitions, Understandings, and Boundaries

The language we use to describe acts of violence against a woman by a man known to the woman is itself a manifestation of attitudes towards this violence (Margolis 1998). Assessments of community attitudes have relied on an array of diverse and contradictory terms to denote the physical and sexual violence which women experience. Common terms include domestic violence, family violence, men's violence against women, intimate partner violence, rape, sexual assault, and sexual harassment. Each term excludes some forms of violence, has particular meanings and salience for communities themselves, is accompanied by certain theoretical and political claims, and is subject to shifting meanings in the context of both academic and popular understandings (MacDonald 1998). Any act of naming or defining violence and applying these in policy and practice is inherently political, as both MacDonald (1998: 35) and Orr (1998: 34) have noted. For example, some definitions of interpersonal violence are criticised for degendering this violence and disguising gendered power relations (Berns 2001).

While this discussion adopts the term 'violence against women' as a useful way of referring to the diverse forms of physical and sexual violence to which women are subject, it is worth noting that the term is not part of community language in Australia, at least according to a 1995 survey and many adults find it more meaningful to talk about specific types of violence rather than to use a general, all-encompassing term (ANOP 1995). In undertaking this literature review, we must accept the language used in the scholarship. Nevertheless, we must remain aware of how the existing definitions have become 'naturalised' and how they constrain the language women can use to name their experiences.

6. The Relationship Between Attitudes and Violence Against Women

Attitudes are significant in shaping violence against women in three key domains. They shape (1) community and institutional responses to violence against women; (2) the perpetration of violence against women; (3) women's risk of subjection to violence and response to this victimisation.

6.1. Attitudes and Community Responses to Violence Against Women

Attitudes play a role in the responses and relationships to violence against women adopted by individuals other than the perpetrator or victim. First, community attitudes shape informal responses. We know that women living with intimate partner violence are more likely to turn to friends and family than to the police or other professional networks. The existence of violence-supportive attitudes means that family members, friends, acquaintances, and bystanders respond with less empathy and support to victims of violence. For example, people who make negative attributions of victims also are less likely to say that they would report the incident to the police and more likely to recommend lenient or no penalties for the offender (Pavlou and Knowles 2001: 84-85). From a study among US college students, individuals who hold more violence-condoning attitudes were more likely to attribute blame to the victim, and among men victim-blaming was associated with offering less helpful interventions (West and Wandrei 2002).

However, societal attitudes also shape the formal responses of professionals and institutions to the victims and perpetrators of violence against women, including police officers, judges, priests, social workers, doctors, and so on. Cross-national studies find that attitudes towards rape and other forms of violence against women inhibit effective and appropriate responses to female victims (Nayak *et al.* 2003; Ward 1995). In a study among Queensland police officers for example, those who allocated greater blame to the victim of family violence also indicated that they would be less likely to charge the assailant (Stewart and Maddren 1997). In turn, if the assailant is not arrested despite the victim's preference, the victim is less likely to report future domestic violence to the police, as American research finds (Hickman and Simpson 2003). Among health professionals (such as psychologists and social workers, nurses and physicians, and so on), those who have received education on child, spouse, and/or elder abuse are more likely than other clinicians to suspect abuse among their clients and to intervene in violence (by noting it in their charts, discussing it with the family and with other professionals, and report it to the relevant agency) (Tilden *et al.* 1994: 631). These formal and informal responses have effects on the victims themselves. As Giles *et al.* (2005: 99) document in their qualitative study among New Zealand women who had experienced abuse from a male partner, others' responses to their help-seeking influenced subsequent help-seeking, separation, and eventual recovery from the abuse. It is well documented that abused women's psychological wellbeing and their ability to escape from abuse are shaped by the levels of material and emotional support they receive (Goodkind *et al.* 2003).

However, community norms also have a wider significance in sustaining, or sanctioning, violence against women. Because the community is the context in which violence against women occurs, if community norms do not sanction it, they will provide legitimation and support for its continuance. Thus while individual attitudes can change, to achieve widespread change in the attitudes of individuals, it is important to change community norms (Salazar 2005).

A number of writers have raised the wider issue of collective responsibility and the importance of non-perpetrating members of groups who perpetrate violence as being morally tainted by the violence (Radzik 2005). In this view, individuals who do not respond to violence are seen as having some responsibility for that violence. Furthermore, the holding of violence-supportive attitudes by those who may not commit violence creates the atmosphere that encourages other individuals to engage in violence. May (1991) has argued that by encouraging non-perpetrating individuals to take responsibility for their attitudes and the impact they have, those individuals will be more likely to develop better attitudes in themselves and become more active in preventing violence perpetrated by others.

Issaacs (2005) argues that violence against women should be conceptualised as a hate crime similar to violence enacted against gay men, lesbians, indigenous people and non-white refugees and asylum seekers. Just as homophobic attitudes are held more widely than gay bashers and racist attitudes are prevalent beyond the perpetrators of racial violence, so men's violence against women is related to attitudes about the women and their subordinate place relative to men. So while there is moral responsibility at the level of the individual perpetrator, there is also community moral responsibility for violence. Hence the expression that violence against women is 'everybody's business', locates it within the social practice of treating women as subordinates (Issaacs 2005). Because the community has some responsibility for the presence and perpetuation of attitudes, so the community has responsibility to challenge culturally-pervasive violence-supportive attitudes. This is consistent with research undertaken by Gilgun and McLeaod (1999) in the critical scholarship on masculinities. Violent men interviewed invoked a sense of male entitlement to justify and legitimate their violence. These men believed that their sense of male entitlement to control women, through violence if necessary, was part of the natural order. They thus drew upon their male privilege to authorise them to act.

The role of the community then goes beyond the importance of dealing with perpetrators to taking on responsibility to challenge the community norms that enable perpetrators of violence to feel comfortable about their beliefs in relation to women. The issue that Michalski (2004) raises, however, is the extent to which patriarchal beliefs and attitudes can be successfully challenged without changing the social structure within which violence is embedded. We return to this issue in Section 8.

6.2. Attitudes and the Perpetration of Violence Against Women

Second, attitudes have a fundamental and causal relationship to the perpetration of violence against women. There is consistent evidence of an association between violence-supportive beliefs and values and the perpetration of violent behaviour, at both individual and community levels. For example, men are more likely to sexually assault if they have hostile and negative sexual attitudes towards women and identify with traditional images of masculinity and male privilege (Heise 1998: 277; O'Neil & Harway 1997). Boys and young men who endorse more rape-supportive beliefs are also more likely to have been sexually coercive (Anderson *et al.* 2004). Men with more traditional, rigid and misogynistic gender-role attitudes are more likely to practise marital violence (Adler 1992: 269; O'Neil & Harway 1997: 192; Heise 1998: 278). Studies among men who have been violent to their female partners find that they excuse, justify, and rationalise their violence, drawing for example on cultural discourses of uncontrollable male aggression, female provocation and weakness, and male privilege and 'rights' (Anderson and Umberson 2001). At the community level, rates of violence against women are higher in contexts where there is widespread acceptance of violence-supportive norms (Heise 1998: 270). In a recent meta-analysis aggregating data across all studies relating

an aspect of masculine ideology to the incidence of sexual aggression, Murnen *et al.* (2002) found that all but one measure of masculine ideology were significantly associated with sexual aggression. In other words, a wide variety of studies have found a consistent relationship between men's adherence to sexist, patriarchal, and/or sexually hostile attitudes and their use of violence against women.

Recognition of the role of attitudes in violence against women is one aspect of a broader, feminist and sociocultural understanding of this violence. We address these wider issues in the final section of our review.

6.3. Attitudes and Subjection to Violence

In relation to the third domain, victimisation, women's responses to their own subjection to violence are shaped by their own attitudes and those of others around them. To the extent that individual women agree with violence-supportive understandings of domestic violence or sexual assault, they are more likely to blame themselves for the assault, less likely to report it to the police or other authorities, and more likely to experience long-term negative psychological and emotional effects. Various studies document that female rape victims' self-attributions of blame are associated with greater trauma and distress (Neville *et al.* 2004: 85). As Margolis (1998) argues, media portrayals and social norms teach women to 'self-silence', to place their partners' needs above their own. A recent study finds too that cultural stereotypes for example of the 'sexually loose' Black woman shape Black women's recovery from rape (Neville *et al.* 2004: 91-92). Furthermore, stereotypical and narrow representations of violence inhibit women from even recognising and naming their experience as violence. One of the key reasons why women do not report incidents that meet the legal definition of sexual assault is that these do not fit common stereotypes of 'real rape' – they were not by a stranger, did not take place outside and with a weapon, and did not involve injuries. Women may not perceive acts as criminal victimisation, while they are more likely to do so if they 'deprive victims of liberty, threaten their lives or physical integrity, or produce psychological harm' (Levore 2003: 28). Harris *et al.* (2005) have demonstrated that women are less likely to report violence and abuse by their partners if they express traditional gender role attitudes.

Victims also do not report violence because of their perception of *others'* attitudes: their fear that they will be blamed by family and friends, stigmatised, and the criminal justice system will not provide redress (Levore 2003: 8-28). American studies document similar patterns (Felson *et al.* 2002; Kingsnorth and Macintosh 2004). In turn, as Koss and Harvey (1991) document in relation to rape, there is an interrelationship between community attitudes, community services, and the psychological experience of the woman raped. While there is evidence that women's recovery from violence is influenced by their attitudes, there is no evidence that attitudes play a causal role in women's risks of victimisation in the first place, and to emphasise this would be to blame the victim for her victimisation. In short, there is no evidence that women's attitudes to rape influence their likelihood of being raped (Anderson *et al.* 2004: 87).

7. The Formation of Attitudes in Relation to Violence Against Women

This report reviews the factors shown to influence community attitudes towards violence against women. We begin with two clusters of factor which have a multi-level influence on community attitudes, broadly described here as 'gender' and 'culture'. The first refers to gender and gender attitudes, roles, and relations, while the second refers to class, race, ethnicity, and other cultural factors. Both are 'multi-level' in the sense that they influence attitudes at each of the four levels of attitude formation otherwise used to organise this discussion: individual, organisational, community, and societal. Both gender and culture therefore can be seen as meta-factors, influencing community attitudes at multiple levels of the social order.

7.1. Multi-Level Factors: Gender and Culture

7.1.1 Gender and gender attitudes, roles, and relations

The gender gap in attitudes and perceptions

One of the most consistent findings to emerge from studies of attitudes towards violence against women is the gender gap in attitudes. Sex[1] is a consistent predictor of attitudes that support use of violence against women, according to both national and local Australian studies and the international literature. The 1995 survey of Australian adults found that men have narrower definitions of domestic violence than women, they are less likely to include forms of psychological abuse, they attach a lesser degree of seriousness to most forms of domestic violence, and they show greater agreement with rape-supportive statements (ANOP Research Services 1995). Similarly, a nationwide survey of 5,000 young people aged 12-20 in 2001 documented a significant gender gap in violence-supportive attitudes. For example, 14 per cent of young males (but only 3 per cent of females) agreed with the statement, 'It's okay for a boy to make a girl have sex with him if she has flirted with him or led him on.' Males were more likely than females to agree with statements condoning violence such 'most physical violence occurs because a partner provoked it' (32 per cent, versus 24 per cent for females), 'when a guy hits a girl it's not really a big deal' (31 per cent, versus 19 per cent for females), and so on (National Crime Prevention 2001). Young males are less likely than young females to consider particular behaviours to be domestic violence, more likely to see them as normal conflict, less likely to rate a range of forms of violence as very serious, and more likely to agree with statements which condone violence.

A series of smaller Australian studies corroborate these findings. In a Melbourne-based survey of 608 adolescents and young adults from both secondary schools and universities, Xenos and Smith (2001) report that males were more blaming of rape victims than females across all attitudinal measures, were more likely to attribute responsibility to the female victim rather than the male perpetrator, placed less value than females on sexual consent, and had a greater belief that they have a right of sexual access to their partners in longer-term relationships and ones involving more formal commitments. Davis and Lee (1996) document similar sexed differences in attitudes towards rape in their study among 244 secondary school students aged between 14 and 16 years and in Newcastle. Adult males also are more likely than females to blame the

---

[1] We refer here to 'sex', rather than 'gender', to signal a simple biological distinction between men and women. This distinction often is denoted instead by the term 'gender', but this risks confusing the biological division between males and females (sex) and the social organisation of men's and women's identities, lives, and relations (gender).

targets of wife assault (Hillier and Foddy 1993) and the targets of sexual harassment (De Judicibus and McCabe 2001).

A wide range of international studies corroborate the finding of a gender gap in attitudes towards domestic violence, sexual assault, and other forms of violence against women. In general, men are more likely than women to agree with myths and beliefs supportive of violence against women, perceive a narrower range of behaviours as violent, blame and show less empathy for the victim, minimise the harms associated with physical and sexual assault, and see behaviours constituting violence against women as less serious, inappropriate, or damaging. This gender gap is especially well documented in studies among college and university populations in the USA (Holcomb *et al.* 1991; Szymanski *et al.* 1993; Bell *et al.* 1994; Chng and Burke 1999; Hinck and Thomas 1999; White and Kurpius 1999; Cowan 2000; Ewoldt *et al.* 2000; Anderson and Swainson 2001; West and Wandrei 2002; White and Kurpius 2002: Lee *et al.* 2005). The gender gap also has been documented among university students in other countries including Turkey (Sakalh 2001), India, Japan and Kuwait (Nayak *et al.* 2003), and Hong Kong (Tang and Cheung 1997). In addition, men and women emphasise different explanations for violence against women. For example, Cowan (2000) found that among American college and university students, males are more likely than females to believe victim-blaming explanations of rape, while females are more likely to cite male hostility and male dominance. This gender gap also means that men offer less helpful responses (characterised by anger and revenge-seeking, excessive advice-giving, trivialising, and victim-blaming) than women when they encounter friends, family members or others who are victims of violence (West and Wandrei 2002). Gender differences in definitions and perceptions of violence also are evident both in studies among populations outside college and university contexts, and in examinations of particular forms of violence against women, such as sexual harassment (Marks and Nelson 1999; La Rocca 1999), date rape (Workman 1999), and so on.

Moreover, cross-gender differences in attitudes in many countries are stronger than differences associated with other social divisions such as socioeconomic status or education. Australia's 1995 national survey found that among both women and men, those with higher levels of awareness and understanding regarding violence against women tended to be in paid employment, especially white-collar occupations, and to have university or TAFE education. However, blue collar women tend to be better informed than white collar men (ANOP Research Services 1995: 13). Gender differences may also be more significant than ethnic differences in some contexts. For example, a study among 400 undergraduate students from a Canadian university, half Asian and half non-Asian, found significant gender differences in agreement with rape myths and tolerance of sexual harassment, with men showing poorer attitudes both within Asian and non-Asian groups and across them (Kennedy and Gorzalka 2002).

Attitudes towards gender and attitudes towards violence against women

However, it is increasingly clear that it is not sex *per se*, but gender orientations, that shape men's and women's contrasting understandings of and attitudes towards violence against women. There is a powerful association between attitudes towards violence against women and attitudes towards gender. Traditional gender-role attitudes, whether held by women or men, are associated with greater acceptance of violence against women. Conversely, egalitarian gender-role attitudes are associated with less acceptance of violence against women. In short, individuals who support traditional gender roles and norms also are more likely to support, tolerate, or accept myths to do with violence against women. This is the consistent finding of studies in this field, from early examinations by Burt (1980) through to contemporary examinations early in the twenty-first century (White and Kurpius 2002).

The relationship between traditional ideologies of gender and violence-supportive attitudes has been documented among men in particular. Traditional views of men's and gender roles are related to agreement with rape myths (Davis and Liddell 2002), attitudinal support for date rape (Truman *et al.* 1996), and attitudes conducive to the sexual harassment of women (Wade and Brittan-Powell 2001). The relationship between adherence to conservative gender norms and tolerance for violence has been documented among men in a wide variety of communities and countries, both Western and non-Western, including men from the ultra-Orthodox Jewish community in Israel (Steinmetz and Haj-Yahia 2006), men in Cape Town, South Africa (Abrahams *et al.* 2006), and Arab men in Israel (Haj-Yahia 2003). This relationship holds among women as well, again in a variety of cultural contexts For example, victim-blaming is greater among both females and males with traditional sexist attitudes than those with less sexist or more egalitarian views (Snell and Godwin 1993). In contrast, the more that people maintain egalitarian gender attitudes, the better are their attitudes towards violence against women. They are more likely to see violence against women as unacceptable, to define a wider variety of acts as violence or abuse, to reject victim-blaming and to support the victim, and to hold accountable the person using violence.

Australian data demonstrate this significant association between attitudes towards violence against women and attitudes towards gender in general. Among 12 to 20 year-olds for example, those young people who show the strongest tolerance for violence in intimate relationships (by either sex) also are significantly more likely than other youth to hold traditional views about gender roles (National Crime Prevention 2001: 89-90). Their agreement with statements like 'Men should take control in relationships and be head of the household' is up to twice as high as that among other young people. Research by Pavlou and Knowles (2001) finds that men's and women's attitudes towards women have a significant influence on their perceptions of and responses to female victims of men's domestic violence. Men and women with more traditional attitudes also are more likely to attribute less responsibility, blame, and cause to the perpetrator and more to the victim and to be less sympathetic to victims. In another Australian study, males with higher self-reported adherence to stereotypical masculine traits assigned higher levels of blame to the victims of sexual harassment than males with lower adherence (De Judicibus and McCabe 2001). However, the relationship between gender-typing and victim-blaming was far weaker among women, perhaps because of the salience of sexual harassment and their low levels of attributions of blame overall.

A series of studies have found that the most consistent predictor of attitudes supporting the use of violence against women is attitudes towards gender roles – beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women (Berkel *et al.* 2004). As Margolis (1998: 27) states, 'Gender role perceptions are more highly correlated to attitudes towards sexual violence than gender is itself.' For example, in a study of male university students in the US, beliefs about masculine gender roles were the best predictors of their endorsement of rape myths and adversarial sexual beliefs (Good *et al.* 1995). Similarly, Simonson and Subich (1999) found that gender-role beliefs had a significant influence on male and female undergraduates' reactions to scenarios of stranger, acquaintance, date, and marital rape, and that gender (sex) did not add significantly to the prediction of rape perceptions beyond the influence of gender-role beliefs.

Traditional attitudes towards gender are associated not only with tolerance for violence against women, but with its perpetration. A recent meta-analysis aggregated data across all studies relating an aspect of masculine ideology to the incidence of sexual aggression (excluding studies among convicted rapists), drawing on 39 studies using 11 measures of masculine ideology. Murnen *et al.* (2002: 361) note that strong or 'extreme' adherence to masculine

gender roles has been framed in various ways, for example, in terms of 'hypermasculinity', 'hostile masculinity', and 'patriarchy ideology'. They found that all but one measure of masculine ideology were significantly associated with sexual aggression, although there was substantial variation in the degree of correlation found (Murnen *et al.* 2002: 370). The smallest effects sizes were for measures of gender role stereotyping and masculine instrumentality, that is, measures of general gender-role attitudes. All the other effects sizes were larger, though varied. The largest effects sizes were for two measures, Hostile Masculinity and Hypermasculinity, which combine various aspects of masculine ideology (Murnen *et al.* 2002: 370). The authors suggest that the best attitudinal predictor of sexual aggression may be a measure combining the attitudes that describe a hostile form of masculinity or patriarchal ideology (Murnen *et al.* 2002: 370). More recent studies have continued to demonstrate the role of patriarchal attitudes in men's perpetration of violence against women, including examinations in Cape Town, South Africa (Abrahams *et a.* 2006).

Given the substantial scholarship described here, it is clear that attitudes to violence against women are inextricably grounded in and intertwined with attitudes towards women, gender, and sexuality. Indeed, it would be surprising if this were not so. For example, perceptions of the legitimacy of men's violence to intimate partners are constituted through the extent to which people agree that men should be dominant in households and intimate relationships and have the right to enforce their dominance through physical chastisement, men have uncontrollable sexual urges, women often lie and are deceptive and malicious, there is a sexual double standard, marriage is a symbol of perpetual consent, and so on (as well as beliefs about violence and conflict in general). Such beliefs have a long history in Western and other cultures, and have been enshrined in Western legal systems (Straton 2002) and social norms (Berkel *et al.* 2004: 129).

Community judgements of violence against women are shaped by general attitudes towards gender and sexuality. As a series of studies have documented, rape victims who violate traditional gender norms are more likely to be blamed than other women (Viki and Abrams 2002: 292). Victims perceived to be dressed less modestly and more suggestively are rated as more responsible and deserving of assault than victims who are dressed more soberly (Whatley 2005). For example, US undergraduates judged women as more likely to provoke sexual harassment, and to be sexually harassed, if they were wearing heavy rather than moderate cosmetics or moderate rather than no cosmetics (Workman and Johnson 1991). In relation to sexual harassment, studies have found that stereotypically attractive male perpetrators are judged as less harassing (La Rocca and Kromrey 1999) and that attractive women are more likely to be seen as harassed, especially when the potential male harasser is unattractive (Golden *et al.* 2002). In other study, undergraduates judged date rape victims shown in a short skirt to be more culpable than victims in a long skirt (Workman and Freeberg 1999). Such women are violating traditional femininity in the sense that they are perceived to be overly 'promiscuous' or too overt in their expressions of sexual interest and agency. Such judgements reflect wider constructions of gender and sexuality based for example in the notions that women are the gatekeepers and guardians of sexual safety and responsible for both their own and men's sexual behaviour, men have uncontrollable sexual 'drives' or 'urges', and women who 'lead men on' are responsible for its consequences. In another sense however, women wearing makeup or in short skirts are also *conforming* to powerful feminine norms, that women must make themselves sexually attractive to men and entice men's sexual interest. Women in general must negotiate a fine line between acceptable, 'sexy' femininity and unacceptable 'sluttiness' (Kitzinger 1995: 190). Given men's greater adherence to traditional gender norms, it is no surprise that men also give greater weight than women to extraneous factors such as dress and behaviour in assessing female victims of violence (LaRocca and Kromrey 1999: 924).

Community attitudes are shaped by social norms regarding men's and women's intimate relations, such as assumptions about men's rights of sexual access and women's sexual obligations in marriages and sexual relationships. It is well documented that both observers and victims of sexual violence against women define and judge this differently depending on the degree of association between the victim and her assailant (Simonson and Subich 1999: 618-619). As the relationship between victim and perpetrator is perceived as more intimate, the incident is less likely to be defined as rape,

> the perpetrator is viewed as less responsible for the rape, as having violated the victim's rights less, and as having a greater misunderstanding of the situation and the perpetrator's behaviour is seen as more acceptable. (Simonson and Subich 1999: 619)

Simonson and Subich (1999) found that male and female university undergraduates perceived marital rape less as rape and saw it as less violent, damaging, or a violation of the victim's rights than other forms of rape. Similarly, college students in another American study were more likely to emphasise female precipitation as a cause of partner and date rape than acquaintance or stranger rape (Cowan 2000).

Female victims are judged more harshly where they are perceived to have 'provoked' the violence, and community understandings of provocation are shaped in part by gendered norms regarding sexual fidelity, as two Australian studies report. Pavlou and Knowles (2001) found that responses to a female victim of domestic violence were more blaming and less sympathetic when she was verbally aggressive or in a situation which might inspire her husband's jealousy. Hillier and Foddy (1993) documented the effect of 'provocation' using scenarios in which a wife is discovered having dinner with an unknown man, gambles, 'overdrinks', and so on, but they also emphasise the significant influence of observers' beliefs about gender roles.

The attitudes which inform or justify violence against women are part and parcel of widespread norms of gender and sexuality – they are built into the discourses and social relations which people learn in their adolescence and youth. Violence-supportive norms and relations are evident in 'normal' sexual, intimate, and family relations, alongside other norms and relations which work against the acceptance and use of violence. Recognition of this point began with early feminist arguments that violence and coercion are present in men's and women's everyday sexual and social relations (Kelly 1996), and it has been extended in recent empirical examinations for example among young people. For example, Tolman *et al.* (2003) document that violence, and the antecedents of violence, are woven into the ordinary descriptions of romantic heterosexual relationships given by early adolescent boys and girls. In two studies among US secondary school students, they note that for many boys and girls, sexual harassment is pervasive, male aggression is expected and normalised, there is constant pressure among boys to behave in sexually aggressive ways, girls are routinely objectified, and a sexual double standard polices girls' sexual and intimate involvements. Sexual coercion operates through 'normal' heterosexual norms and relations among adolescents, according to a study in New Zealand and Britain (Hird and Jackson 2001). Boys' sexually coercive behaviour is seen as 'normal', and girls are compelled to accommodate male 'needs' and desires in negotiating their sexual relations. Australian data too provides evidence that violence-supportive myths and attitudes are well established by adolescence. One in seven young males aged 12 to 20 agrees with the statements that 'It's okay for a boy to make a girl have sex with him if she has flirted with him or led him on' and 'It is okay to put pressure on a girl to have sex but not to physically force her' (NCP 2001: 64-70). Earlier Australian studies are similar (Davis and Lee 1996).

There is increasing research into the internal complexity of the sexist and gendered attitudes underpinning community perceptions of violence against women. This suggests that community attitudes which foster or excuse violence against women are grounded in gendered attitudes based on more than simple hostility towards women, including notions of chivalry. While early social psychological accounts of sexism emphasised that these were based on hostile attitudes towards women, Viki *et al.* (2003) emphasise that sexism can be 'hostile' or 'benevolent'. In the latter, individuals favour keeping women in restricted roles, for example because women are the 'weaker' sex, but do so in subjectively positive and affectionate ways. Hostile and benevolent sexisms are highly correlated, and co-exist in a complementary fashion. In this way, individuals may classify women into 'good' and 'bad' types, making positive evaluations of women who conform to traditional gender roles and negative evaluations of women who do not. They model a 'paternalistic chivalry', based on attitudes that are both courteous towards women and highly restrictive of their behaviour and roles (Viki *et al.* 2003). With regard to violence against women, men who hold such attitudes may seek to protect the reputations of 'good' women, while condemning women perceived to be 'sluts' and excusing sexual violence against them. Individuals high in 'benevolent sexism' are more likely to blame rape victims who violate traditional norms. Viki and Abrams (2002) examined reactions to a married woman raped during an act of potential infidelity and a control, finding that negative evaluations of the victim were stronger among men and women who idealise women's conformity to gender norms.

Further aspects of the construction of gender shape other aspects of community responses to violence against women. For example, Stalans and Finn (2000) suggest that they shape police officers' decision-making. Drawing on Gilligan (1982), Stalans and Finn (2000) suggest that,

> women and men define justice in different ways… women compared to men placed more importance on interpersonal concerns in their decisions about how to handle disputes because families socialized girls into nurturing roles. Conversely, men handled disputes based on rules and self-interested concerns because their earlier socialization focused on individual achievement.

Among police officers dealing with domestic violence for example, male officers are more likely to make decisions regarding arrest on the basis of abstract rules and notions of 'justice', while female officers are more likely to place importance on victims' preferences (Stalans and Finn 2000).

Attitudes towards violence against women are shaped in less gendered ways by other characteristics of the victim of violence, the offender, and/or situational characteristics of the incident. These include the severity of the incident and the presence of alcohol or other drugs. As Lane and Knowles (2000) document in their Australian study, when the incident has more severe consequences, more responsibility is placed on the perpetrator and less on the context in which it occurred. Respondents were more likely to recommend punishment when the perpetrator had used severe violence and when the victim was seriously injured. Intoxication is a further factor. For example, Queensland police officers were more likely to blame drunk than sober victims of family violence (Stewart and Maddren 1997). In another Australian study, respondents were more likely to recommend punishment in vignettes of domestic violence when the perpetrator had consumed alcohol, showing a greater desire to punish an intoxicated perpetrator (Lane and Knowles 2000: : 56). As Lane and Knowles (2000: 54-55) note however, community attributions of responsibility and blame to the perpetrator are at close to ceiling levels, with very few respondents attributing blame to the victim.

Factors shaping attitudes to gender

It is clear that attitudes towards gender and gender roles have a profound influence on community assessments of the victims and perpetrators of violence against women. Gender-role attitudes and norms structure both men's and women's attributions of responsibility, blame, cause, and affective responses of victim sympathy. Given the fundamental relationship between attitudes towards violence against women and attitudes towards gender, factors shaping attitudes towards this violence cannot be considered in isolation from factors shaping gender (and sexuality) in general.

To begin with, improvements in community attitudes towards violence against women in recent decades may reflect improvements in community attitudes towards gender roles. A variety of American studies document that the gender role attitudes of women and men have become less traditional since the 1970s. Women's attitudes have changed more than men's, and those of younger individuals have changed more than those of older individuals (Harris and Firestone 1998: 240). In an analysis among 9,833 adult women over the period 1974 to 1994, Harris and Firestone (1998: 248) find above all that there has been among women a 'ubiquitous, collective shift towards more egalitarian gender role views', regardless of women's individual characteristics and circumstances. Similarly, Bolzendahl and Myers (2004: 759) note a 'dramatic and widespread liberalisation of gender role attitudes' in US society, defined in terms of support for gender equality. American research among students entering university finds that their attitudes towards gender roles have become increasingly egalitarian over time (although the most substantial changes were in the late 1960s and early 1970s), students' attitudes are liberalised as they go through college, and particular features of the university environment facilitate this liberalisation (Bryant 2003). American men have become less conservative about women's roles since 1970s, both because younger generations are less conservative and because all cohorts have become less conservative over time (Ciabattari 2001). Attitudes towards women's roles also vary by economic situation, family context, socialisation experience, religious and political ideologies, race/ethnicity, and regional and historical contexts (Ciabattari 2001).

Australian longitudinal data on gender role attitudes is not available, but if Australian trends match those documented in the US, then there will have been a general trend towards the liberalisation of attitudes towards gender. We do, however, know something of contemporary community attitudes towards gender, particularly among young people, and they show that the gender gap in attitudes towards violence against women is mirrored in attitudes towards gender equality. Young Australian men are less supportive of gender equality than young women: 37 per cent of young men aged 12 to 20 agree that 'Men should take control in relationships and be head of the household', compared to 12 per cent of young women (NCP 2001: 74). In another Australian study, male secondary and undergraduate students held more traditional attitudes towards gender than female students (Xenos and Smith 2001). Research in Australia and other countries among students in their final year of high school or first year of university/college finds a consistent gender gap in attitudes towards sharing housework, a pregnant woman's right to choose an abortion, the acceptability of pornography, and the relevance of feminism (Bulbeck 2004).

While a thorough account of the factors shaping attitudes towards gender is beyond the scope of this report, a recent US study provides a useful mapping of key factors which may be influential also in Australia. Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) assess predictors of attitudes towards gender equality (based on attitudes towards four domains: gender roles in the public sphere, abortion,

premarital sex, and family responsibilities) over the period 1972 to 1998. They find that employment is a consistent predictor of pro-equality or 'feminist' attitudes among women, as are (younger) age, (greater) education, and (urban) region. In an analysis of changes in US women's gender role ideology over 1974 to 1994, Harris and Firestone (1998) report similar predictors. They find for example that education has a 'threshold' effect on egalitarian attitudes, with diminishing effects on attitudes at the highest levels of attainment. Among men, Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) find that feminist attitudes are influenced in particular by the employment-related variables of their spouses.

Two broad mechanisms of attitude formation contribute to the formation and maintenance of feminist attitudes, with the two processes interacting in a cyclical manner (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004: 783). First, when a person's *interests* benefit from egalitarian gender ideology, they are more likely to hold such attitudes. This helps explain the relationship between feminist attitudes and sex (female), but also between these and many personal, work, and family characteristics, such as participation in the workforce. Second, attitudes towards gender roles also are produced through *exposure* – through encounters with ideas and situations that resonate with feminist ideals, via personal experience, socialisation, or education. For example, workforce participation

> (1) exposes women to discriminatory situations which in turn lead them to acknowledge inequality, (2) dispels myths about women's capabilities to perform in the work place… and (3) allows women to encounter social networks of nontraditional women (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004: 762).

In Australia as elsewhere, a wide range of factors may contribute to traditional or egalitarian attitudes towards gender, and thus towards attitudes regarding violence against women.

These measures of gender role attitudes cannot be taken as a simple proxy for attitudes to violence against women. For example, community attitudes towards violence against women are likely to be shaped more by norms regarding men's and women's roles in households than by norms regarding abortion or premarital sex. As Murnen *et al.* (2002) note in their meta-analysis in relation to sexual aggression, measures of general gender-role attitudes have less power to predict men's sexual aggression that measures of hostile and patriarchal masculine beliefs in particular. Nevertheless, analyses of gender attitudes are useful in indicating at least some of the possible factors which may shape large-scale change in attitudes towards violence against women, particularly in the absence of longitudinal data on changes over time in such attitudes. We move now to the second cluster of factors shown to influence community attitudes towards violence against women.

7.1.2 Cultural Factors

This section focuses on the associations between culture and community attitudes towards violence against women, where 'culture' is understood broadly to refer to class, race, ethnicity, and other forms of social difference (other than gender). To the extent that the scholarship on attitudes towards violence against women has addressed potential associations with social divisions or forms of social difference, it has focused largely on gender and race/ethnicity and to a lesser extent on age, while divisions of class and sexuality have been neglected. Taking class for example, while there is Australian data to suggest that attitudes regarding violence against women vary with socioeconomic status, there has been little systematic exploration of potential relationships between attitudes or norms and socioeconomic variables. Therefore, while this review recognises that class, sexuality, and other 'cultural' factors may influence

community attitudes towards violence against women, this section is concerned mainly with the influence of gender and race/ethnicity. However, it begins with the influence of socioeconomic factors, in order to highlight that 'culture' here is not being used as a euphemism for ethnicity.

We assume that both gender and culture can be seen as meta-factors influencing attitudes, in that the patterns of individual socialisation, collective norms, and interpersonal relations associated with each have a wide-ranging influence on norms, values, and beliefs. We acknowledge too that using the term 'culture' to refer to forms of social difference *other than gender* is somewhat arbitrary, and that gender is just as 'cultural' as class or ethnicity. Nevertheless, distinguishing in this review between gender and culture allows us to emphasise important clusters of influence on community attitudes towards violence against women.

Socioeconomic factors

There is some evidence that attitudes towards violence against women vary with socioeconomic variables such as labour market participation and socioeconomic status. The 1995 Australian survey found that individuals in paid employment, especially white-collar occupations, or with university or TAFE education had higher levels of awareness and understanding (ANOP Research Services 1995: 13). (At the same time, these differences were outweighed by gender differences: white collar men had worse attitudes than blue collar women.) A few Australian and overseas studies have documented that the occupational cultures of particular workplaces have negative, or positive, impacts on attitudes, as is discussed in Section 7.3.1 below.

Moreover, there is evidence that rates of violence against women themselves vary with socioeconomic variables. It is a truism in the domestic violence field that violence occurs across all classes and groups. While this is accurate, it is also apparent that the spread of violence is not homogenous. A series of Australian studies have linked higher risks of violence or crime to economic and social disadvantage (People 2005: 10). This works at both individual and community levels: individual women who are unemployed for example are more likely to be victims of personal crime, and there are higher rates of crime in areas with higher rates of family dissolution, unemployment, and residential instability. American data shows similar patterns (Markowitz 2001b: 146-147). Australian studies yield variable findings. Using data from reported incidents of domestic assault recorded by the NSW Police, People (2005) found significant regional variations in rates of reported domestic violence, and a strong link between the incidence of violence in an area and the level of economic and social disadvantage. The prevalence of domestic violence was higher in areas that had a higher percentage of Indigenous residents, a higher percentage of sole parents under 25 years of age, a higher percentage of public housing, a higher male unemployment rate, and higher rates of population turnover. Other Australian studies, however, have not found a relationship between domestic violence and socio-economic factors such as income and the educational attainment of women or their partners (Mouzos and Makkai 2004)

Socioeconomic variations in attitudes towards violence against women reflect a number of processes. There appear to be class differences in values, attitudes and norms regarding the use of violence. While this idea was overstated in early notions of 'subcultures of violence', contemporary cultural explanations make the simpler argument that attitudinal differences play a role in demographic differences in violence (Markowitz 2001b: 147). This is supported by recent American examinations, although most concern interpersonal violence and crime in general rather than violence against women in particular;

a significant part of the relationship between economic disadvantage and violence is accounted for by attitudes towards violence, such as a greater emphasis on courage, retribution, the willingness to escalate negative events into disputes, and to use physical force to settle disputes. (Markowitz 2001b: 152)

Various American studies in the late 1990s confirmed that differences in attitudes do explain a substantial portion of the link between interpersonal violence and socioeconomic status (Markowitz 2001b: 148). People of low socioeconomic status (and youth, and men) are more likely to express grievances, blame others, and use physical force to settle disputes. In addition, some studies focused on attitudes towards violence against women do find differences related to education and income (Nagel *et al.* 2005).

In turn, class differences in attitudes regarding violence against women are likely to be shaped by personal and community exposure to violence, the community-level structural factors which intensify this violence (Markowitz 2001b: 148-9), and other correlates of socioeconomic status. At a personal level, members of disadvantaged communities may learn a greater tolerance of violence through exposure to violence by their parents, delinquent peers, and others in communities characterised by higher rates of violence in general. Their communities are characterised by higher rates of interpersonal violence and crime in part because of factors associated with social organisation, namely poorer neighbourhood cohesion and collective efficacy. Markowitz (2001b) argues that neighbourhoods vary in their capacity to constrain their residents from violating norms and to intervene in neighbourhood problems, and this variation is shaped by the size and density of their social networks. Neighbourhood cohesion also reflects various macroconditions such as poverty, family disruption, racial heterogeneity, and residential instability. To return to the issue of socioeconomic variations in attitudes towards violence against women, there may be circular processes at work here, in which higher rates of violence feed community tolerance for violence, which feeds higher rates of violence. Finally, differences in attitudes related to income and other socioeconomic variables may reflect the association between these and other involvements including education and employment. Both education and employment have documented influences on attitudes towards violence against women, as Section 7.3.1 describes.

Race and ethnicity

Attitudes towards violence against women vary across different cultural groups and communities in any one country, and from one culture to another. There are a variety of studies on the relationship between culture and attitudes. Some studies focus on specific cultural groups, while others examine differences among cultural groups who have migrated to Western societies. In Australia for example, the 1995 national survey found that levels of understanding of domestic violence varied according to country of birth. People born in non-English-speaking countries had poorer attitudes than those born in Australia or other western countries. Also in Australia, the 2001 survey of youth aged 12-20 documents that those young people who agreed with the use of violence by both sexes were more likely to be of Middle Eastern or Asian background. This cluster was also significantly more likely to hold traditional views about gender roles (National Crime Prevention 2001: 81-90).

Similarly, various overseas studies have documented ethnicity-related differences in attitudes towards violence against women (Locke and Richman 1999; Yoshioka *et al.* 2001: 902-904). Cowan (2000) describes interactions of gender and ethnicity in US college students' beliefs about the causes of rape. Comparing African American, Hispanic, Asian, and Caucasian men and women, she found for example that Hispanic men were more likely than any other

gender/ethnic combination to support the myth that women provoke violence towards them, while Caucasian women were more likely than men and Hispanic women to agree with systemic and feminist explanations of rape. Locke and Richman (1999) document that respondents' levels of sympathy for female victims and blame for male perpetrators in scenarios of domestic violence are shaped by the ethnicities of both the respondents and the depicted participants, as well as by gender. A Canadian study comparing Asian (largely Chinese) and non-Asian undergraduate students found significant ethnic differences: Asian students agreed more with rape myths and were more tolerant of sexual harassment (Kennedy and Gorzalka 2002). This is consistent with earlier US research for example by Mori *et al.* (1995) among Californian college students. In a study among students from a university in Texas, Lee *et al.* (2005) found that Asian students were more likely than Caucasian students to believe that women are responsible for preventing rape, sex is a motivation for rape, victims precipitate rape, and rape is perpetrated by strangers. Lee *et al.* (2005: 179) argue that such patterns may be explained by Asian cultural attitudes emphasising female chastity, silencing talk about sex, and framing sex as a sexual matter between individuals.

Rather than treating people from Asian communities as a single, monolithic group, other research explores inter-Asian comparisons and finds significant inter-ethnic differences in approval of wife abuse. In a study among Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Cambodian adults living in the United States, Yoshioka *et al.* (2001) found that Southeast Asian respondents were more supportive of the use of violence in specific situations and of male privilege than East Asian respondents. Korean adults stood out among the four groups for their weak endorsement of violence. Yoshioka *et al.* (2001: 901-902) suggest that minority endorsement of wife abuse evident among Asian respondents is shaped by dominant Asian cultural values and their reflection in family values and structures which tend to be patriarchal and hierarchical. At the same time, inter-Asian differences also suggest greater complexity, shaped by the particular cultural systems, patterns of immigration, and other factors associated with each group. In this study, gender, education, and age also proved to have significant associations with attitudes towards wife abuse. This reminds us that ethnicity alone is unlikely to determine community attitudes, and that apparent differences in attitudes among ethnic groups may reflect other demographic contrasts between them. For example, in a recent US study in a representative community sample, apparent differences between White and African American people's attitudes towards victims of rape disappeared once differences in socioeconomic status and education were taken into account (Nagel *et al.* 2005: 734).

The evidence is that community attitudes regarding violence against women also vary from one nation to another. In one of the few cross-national examinations, Nayak *et al.*'s (2003) four country study of India, Japan, Kuwait, and the United States found that attitudes are influenced by nationality. In another study, White South African psychology undergraduates were more likely than their Australian counterparts to endorse the view that rape victims are to blame for their plight (Heaven *et al.* 1998). As these studies suggest, the ways in which violence is legitimated or sanctioned to some degree are culturally specific.

There is powerful cross-cultural evidence that attitudes towards violence against women are constructed by, and only meaningful within, particular cultural contexts. For example, in contemporary Beirut, Lebanon, perceptions of rape are structured by the centrality of marriage and marriageability in shaping notions of women's status (Wehbi 2002). Women seen to be unmarriageable, because they are separated, divorced, or disabled for example, are perceived to have 'nothing to lose' and thus as more likely to consent to sex and as legitimate targets of sexual predation. Haj-Yahia's (2003) study of violence against women in Palestine provides empirical support for the relationship between attitudes about wife beating and patriarchal

ideology among Arab men. Rigid male sex role stereotypes, familial patriarchal beliefs and non-egalitarian expectations of marriage were all seen to legitimate men's violence against women. Kim and Emery's (2003) study of Korean couples demonstrates the specific ways in which the marital power structure, conflict and dominant norms in Korean society influence attitudes towards domestic violence. In situations where women with less power concur with the dominant norms, violence is diminished. Thus norm consensus diminishes physical violence but sustains women's subordination and non-physical abuse. Similarly, Shoham's study (2005) shows that in relatively closed communities where there is pressure on women to adhere to cultural solidarity, there is more acceptance of violence against women. In a cultural context characterised by a very different ordering of gender relations, a Dakak community in West Borneo (Indonesia), Helliwell (2000) reports that the idea of having sex with someone who does not need you to have sex with them, and of forcing someone to have sex, is almost inconceivable.

Notions of male 'honour' and female purity and modesty can be used to justify and excuse violence against women. Vandello and Cohen (2003: 998) argue that in 'honour cultures', male honour is seen in terms of status, dominance, and reputation, and based on men's ability to enforce their will on others, command deferential treatment, and protect family and possessions. Honour cultures involve traditional gender ideologies, strong familialism, and norms of female chastity and male virility and sexual freedom. Comparing Brazilian and U.S. university students, Vandello and Cohen (2003: 1001) found that Brazilian students were more likely to think that when a woman is unfaithful, this makes her male partner less manly, and they saw men's violent responses to infidelity as more excusable and less stigmatising. In a second study, comparing southern Anglos and Hispanics with northern Anglos, the researchers found that both men and women from honour cultures were more tolerant of men's violence to female partners, and they had more positive responses to victims who blamed themselves for the violence (Vandello and Cohen 2003: 1006). Community responses to the female victims of men's violence also are shaped by culturally specific norms of male honour and female sexuality. In Palestine for example, cultural emphases on preserving family honour, family reputation, and female virginity stifle responses to female rape victims and revictimise the victims themselves (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 1999).

In all these examples, culturally specific norms and social relations have a profound influence on women's and men's experiences and perceptions of violence against women. Indeed, recognition of this fact has led to the development of culturally specific instruments for assessing attitudes, such as that created for the Korean context by Oh and Neville (2004). However, attitude instruments developed in Western countries also are 'culturally specific', although in ways which are less visible given the normative dominance of Western cultural definitions.

We have described 'culture' as a second meta-factor with a significant influence on community attitudes towards violence against women. However, culture here overlaps with gender, our first meta-factor, in that cultural and national variations in community attitudes themselves partially reflect variations in gender. Differences in attitudes towards violence against women in different countries and cultures reflect different beliefs about gender roles. Nayak *et al.* (2003) argue this for their four-country study, noting that societies with lower rates of violence against women were characterised by more gender egalitarian attitudes and behaviour and a greater intolerance of violence. Culturally specific attitudes to violence against women are shaped not only by attitudes to gender, but also by culturally specific patterns of gender roles and relations, as the previous examples illustrated. At the same time, cultural differences are not reducible to

gender, in that they also reflect other social, political, and economic characteristics of contexts and communities.

The associations between culture and attitudes towards violence against women are dynamic. On the one hand, there is evidence that people who move from a more violence-supportive cultural context to a less violence-supportive context can have their attitudes improved as a result. Two studies document a 'Westernising' influence on attitudes, in which attitudes improve with Western acculturation. Kennedy and Gorzalka (2002) report that the longer that Asian students had resided in Canada, the less they agreed with rape myths or tolerated sexual harassment. (Nevertheless, differences in attitudes associated with length of residence were not as strong as differences between Asian and non-Asian students or between men and women (Kennedy and Gorzalka 2002: 235).) Mori *et al.* (1995) included an assessment of Asian students' degree of Western acculturation: highly acculturated students report comfort with Western culture or affiliation to both Western and Eastern traditions. They found that more 'Westernised' students had more positive views of rape victims, less belief in rape myths, and less traditional views of women. Nevertheless, Asian students in general had poorer views than Caucasian students, males had worse attitudes than females, and this gender difference was greatest among Asian students. Mori *et al.* (1995: 464) suggest that this may reflect

> Asian cultural traditions which endorse a patriarchal structure in which the status of women is low… the emphasis placed on harmony with others, family or group orientation… and the importance of avoiding impropriety or shame.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that violence-supportive attitudes can be 'imported' from one cultural context to another. Ely (2004) demonstrates that cultural factors that legitimate violence against women in a particular social context will continue to contribute to violence against women in immigrant communities long after migration and settlement. Thus attitudes and beliefs supportive of violence against women can be exported from one context to another. We are not suggesting here that immigrant groups necessarily have more conservative attitudes towards violence against women. Rather, the cross-cultural literature reveals that the factors influencing attitudes towards gender roles and violence against women have unique as well as similar dimensions (Ely 2004).

Acknowledging the ways in which violence-supportive attitudes and abusive behaviours are shaped by social variables such as race and ethnicity runs the risk of reinforcing racism. The ease with which existing racist assumptions regarding violence against women can be reinforced was illustrated in the experience of the NSW campaign 'Violence Against Women — It's Against All the Rules'. While more than half of men correctly perceived that the campaign was aimed at men in general, one in eight (12.5 percent) thought that it was aimed at particular ethnic groups (Hubert 2003: 36-37). Thus it needs to be recognised that acknowledging the differential rates of violence in different cultural groups, or identifying associations between particular cultural groups or contexts and tolerance for violence as we have done here, can be used in racist ways (Stubbs 2001).

At the same time, we must address the complex intersections of race and ethnicity, class, and other forms of social difference which shape women's and men's attitudes towards, experiences of, and involvements in violence. In Australia, Aboriginal women are significantly more likely to be victims of violence than white women (Mouzos and Makkai 2004: 29-30). To understand attitudes towards violence against women in Australia's indigenous communities, we must also be aware of their context, in histories of colonisation, dispossession, the erosion of indigenous cultural and spiritual identity, and the disintegration of family and community (Queensland

Government Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy and Development 2000: xii). While all women are vulnerable to men's violence and violence is enacted against women across all cultural groups, the research demonstrates that ethnicity and culture are significant dimensions of women's vulnerability to men's violence. Overseas research documents that the lives of female victims who are poor, of colour, lesbian, disabled or in prostitution are seen as less 'valuable' or 'innocent' than the lives of women who are privileged, white, heterosexual and so on. In turn, male perpetrators are more likely to be held accountable and criminalised, and their crimes are more likely to be seen as linked to their ethnicity, if they are poor, black or men of colour (Russo 2001: 11-12, 147-162).

While the associations between sexist and patriarchal values and norms and violence against women are well documented, it is also increasingly clear that these norms vary across different cultures (Harris *et al.* 2005). Attitudes toward violence must be understood within specific cultural contexts, as Cousineau and Rondeau (2004) also demonstrate in their cross-cultural study. Cross-cultural differences in attitudes toward violence reflect dominant ideologies which in turn are shaped by historical, social, political and economic processes. In order to understand community attitudes therefore, we must look beyond ethnic background or country of origin to understand how specific social contexts shape the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of individuals (Nayak *et al.* 2003). In turn, the process of challenging violence-supportive attitudes needs to be cognizant of the ways in which local cultural values reinforce or undermine violence.

7.2. Individual Factors

7.2.1 Experiencing or Witnessing Violence

One of the key mechanisms of attitude formation in relation to violence against women is intergenerational transmission. There is strong evidence that children who either witness such violence or are subjected to violence themselves are more likely as adults to adhere to violence-supportive attitudes and to perpetrate violence. Witnessing and experiencing violence often overlap among children, because 'marital violence is highly correlated with parent-child aggression' (Carr and Vandeusen 2002: 635). However, there are a number of important complications to the story of intergenerational transmission.

A wide range of studies have found that there is 'a significant relationship for men between witnessing violence against their mother and later abusing a partner themselves' (Heise 1998: 267). Experiencing family violence as a child also is a risk marker for later relationship abuse, although Heise (1998: 267) suggests that its effect is weaker than that of witnessing parental violence. The impacts on attitudes of witnessing and/or experiencing violence have been documented across age groups. For example, a longitudinal study of adolescents over a seven-to-nine year time span recorded that youth who grew up in homes with marital violence were more likely to develop attitudes condoning violence as a justifiable means of conflict resolution in relationships, although they did not perpetrate or experience more violence in their dating relationships than other adolescents (Lichter and McCloskey 2004: 352). Among US undergraduate men aged 18 to 23, Carr and Vandeusen (2002) found that witnessing interparental violence was a significant predictor of physical dating violence (but not sexual aggression). Using a representative sample from the US general population and a sample of ex-offenders, and controlling for sociodemographic factors, Markowitz (2001a) found that experiencing violence as a child is related to self-reported violence against children and spouses as an adult. Attitudes are central to this link: 'children who are subject to violence come to engage in violence in their later marital relationships because they acquire certain attitudes

which facilitate violence' (Markowitz 2001a: 215). Thus, witnessing or experiencing violence while growing up has a direct impact on the perpetration of violence against spouses, and an impact on attitudes which in turn impact on perpetration (Markowitz 2001a: 207-208).

The effects of witnessing or experiencing violence are greater for males than females, as at least five studies have found (Markowitz 2001a: 209). In other words, it is boys, rather than girls, who are more likely to grow up to perpetrate violence against women having witnessed or experienced violence themselves. Indeed, some studies have found that men who witnessed spousal violence against their *fathers* (rather than their mothers) were more likely to report inflicting dating violence (Carr and Vandeusen 2002: 634).

Such patterns lend support to a 'social learning' theory of intimate partner violence. There are several possible dimensions to the processes through which children may 'learn' to use violence and to support violence. Through witnessing the use of violence by one parent against another, they may learn that violence is an effective and appropriate instrumental strategy (Heise 1998: 268). Thus, one process is parents' role modelling of attitudes and behaviours. However, early experiences of violence also shape children's developing personalities and may inhibit behavioural control and adaptive social skills (Johnson and Knight 2000: 166). As Carr and Vandeusen (2002: 642) note,

> abusive socializing experiences in childhood are multifaceted and involve (a) observing and modelling aggression in families and society, (b) learning instrumental aggression, (c) empathy deficits, (d) hypervigilance toward hostile cues, and (e) intergenerational substance abuse.

More widely, the relationship between children's witnessing and experience of violence and their adult perpetration may reflect processes of 'cultural transmission', in which the violence-supportive norms and violent social relations of local communities and sub-cultures are learnt from generation to generation.

Exposure to family violence is not a prerequisite for future abuse, and as Heise (1998: 267) also notes, some studies find that significant proportions of wife abusers have neither witnessed nor experienced physical aggression as children. In turn, most boys who were abused as children do not grow up to be abusers. While many studies have supported a link between child abuse and the adult or adolescent perpetration of violence (Carr and Vandeusen 2002: 634-635), some studies find no such link (Lichter and McCloskey 2004; Sellers *et al.* 2005).

There is evidence that prior experiences of violence can lead to diverse attitudinal formations, both violence-supportive and violence-intolerant. Qualitative research among Australian young people aged 12 to 20 showed that exposure to domestic violence may make a young person more accepting of this violence, or highly intolerant of this violence, having experienced or witnessed its damaging effects. Quantitative research among the same population corroborates this, finding no correlation between having witnessed parental domestic violence and young people's own attitudes towards domestic violence (National Crime Prevention 2001: 86). Similar findings are evident for adults who have experienced violence. De Judicibus and McCabe (2001: 403-404) note studies indicating that women who had experienced sexual harassment at work were less likely to agree with statements which blame the female victims of harassment, and other studies finding no relationship between female students' prior experience and target blame. Prior experience may mean that individuals are less likely to assign blame to the target of violence, having experienced it themselves, but it may also normalise the

behaviour, such that behaviour which objectively would be considered violence or harassment is not perceived as such (De Judicibus and McCabe 2001: 404).

Recent scholarship has generated increasingly complex accounts of the role of witnessing or experiencing violence in the development of violence-supportive attitudes and violent behaviours. In predicting sexually coercive behaviour among college males, Malamuth *et al.* describe a confluence model centred on two pathways. Parental violence and child abuse produce early delinquency, and one path from this through to sexual aggression is via 'macho' and sexually hostile attitudes supporting violence. Another path is through sexual promiscuity and boys' emphasis on sexuality and conquest as means to peer status and self-esteem (Johnson and Knight 2000: 166-167). Johnson and Knight's (2000) own study, among juvenile sex offenders, records similar patterns, and demonstrates the influence of misogynistic sexual fantasies on sexual coercion. Such studies seem to suggest that while early experiences of violence do influence males' (and females') later attitudes towards violence, in fact attitudes themselves have a more powerful role in both mediating the long-term influence of this early experience and in shaping later perpetration of violence.

We have focused here on the impact of either witnessing or experiencing violence directly, drawing on studies largely among children and adolescents. But there is also evidence that adults' attitudes towards violence against women can be influenced by 'second-hand' experience: knowing someone who has been the victim of partner violence or has perpetrated it, having overheard a domestic violence incident, and so on. In a survey of 1,200 residents of New York State, people with second-hand exposure to domestic violence were somewhat more likely to regard particular acts such as stalking as abusive, see them as unlawful, and regard such behaviour as pervasive (Carlson and Worden 2005: 1213).

7.2.2 Age and development

Age, and the developmental processes and relations associated with age, appears to be another factor shaping individuals' attitudes towards violence against women.

It might be assumed that younger Australians will espouse more informed attitudes towards violence against women, reflecting improvements over time in community attitudes as well as the influence of younger cohorts' greater exposure to university and other positive influences. Certainly Australia's 1995 national survey found that women younger than 55 years had higher levels of awareness and understanding than older women, although this pattern was not evident among men (ANOP Research Services 1995: 13). Similarly, a recent survey in New York State found that older respondents (older than 55) have narrower definitions of domestic violence and are less sure that violent behaviours are illegal (Carlson and Worden 2005: 1209), while another in Missouri found that age was one of the strongest predictors of attitudes towards victims of rape, except among African Americans (Nagel *et al.* 2005: 734).

However, there is also evidence that among the youngest age groups, and males in particular, younger people have *worse* attitudes than older people. In a recent survey of 5,000 youth aged 12 to 20, younger boys aged 12 to 14 showed higher support for violence-supportive attitudes than older boys (NCP 2001: 75-95). Two other Australian studies report similar results. In a study among secondary school students aged between 14 and 16 years, ninth graders scored higher than tenth graders on the acceptance of sexual assault myths and on stereotypes of typical assault (Davis and Lee 1996). And in a study among 608 adolescents and young adults in Melbourne, secondary school students showed poorer attitudes towards rape victims and towards women than university students (Xenos and Smith 2001). Some international studies

find similar patterns. Aromaki *et al.* (2002) report that in a study among Finnish men, younger men (aged 16 to 24) showed greater hostility towards women, greater endorsement of rape myths, and a higher self-reported likelihood of committing rape than older men (aged 25 to 61). In a US study, high school males were less likely than college males to perceive sexual aggression in a series of scenarios, while there were no age-related differences among females (Hutchinson *et al.* 1994: 417). In another, school students in younger grades (seven to eight) endorsed more rape-supportive statements than those in older grades (nine to twelve), both endorsed more rules than did university students, and gender differences were greatest among younger students (Anderson *et al.* 2004: 85-86). In short, age appears to be a powerful moderator of violence-supportive attitudes, particularly among young males.

There are at least three explanations of this pattern. First, younger boys' greater endorsement of violence against women may reflect educational differences, namely their lack of exposure to the liberalising influence of late secondary school and university education experienced by older males. Second, it may reflect developmental shifts in attitudes and in other qualities such as empathy, sensitivity, and moral awareness (Davis and Lee 1996: 799; Hutchinson *et al.* 1994: 417). Over their early to mid-teenage years, boys may undergo maturing processes which girls have already completed by their early teenage years, explaining the contrast between age-related differences among teenage boys compared to uniformity among teenage girls. Such a process would also mean that gender differences in violence-supportive attitudes decline with age. Third, and related to this, the poor attitudes of younger males in particular may reflect distinct characteristics of boys' peer cultures. There is evidence that among boys, both gender segregation and homophobia peak in early adolescence. The school and peer cultures of boys' early teens are marked by an intense gendered policing of boys' lives and relations (Flood 2002) and saturated with homophobic references and accusations (Plummer 1999: 67-68). In this context, boys may be particularly prone to expressing views tolerant of violence against (girls and) women. Both gender segregation and homophobia decline in the late school years and after school, as boys invest more in social and sexual relations with girls, they are less influenced by school peer groups, and they achieve more stable gender and sexual identities. Thus, the influences of education, maturity, and greater experience of cross-sex social and sexual relations lessen both older males' endorsement of violence-supportive attitudes and the gender gap in this endorsement.

7.3. Organisational Factors

The second cluster of factors shown to influence community attitudes towards violence against women are organisational, namely the social relations, cultures, policies, and other characteristics of formal organisations and contexts. We define 'organisations' broadly here, including such formal contexts as universities, fraternities, sporting clubs, workplaces, perpetrator programs, and churches. Most empirical evidence regarding organisations' influence on attitudes towards violence against women concerns their impact on the attitudes of their *participants*, rather than the impact on the wider community for example of organisations' policies or public statements. We focus in this section on the former, that is, on the impact of membership of or participation in particular organisations or other formal contexts, while the following section addresses the wider community-based impact of organisations and institutions. Formal organisations such as workplaces or sporting clubs also have informal social networks and peer relations, and we discuss these under 'Community factors' below.

7.3.1 Organisations, institutions, and other formal contexts

There is evidence of particular masculine contexts in which violence-supportive norms, and violence against women, are particularly strong, such as male college fraternities and sporting sub-cultures. On American campus cultures with high rates of sexual violence, some of the socio-cultural correlates (especially among college fraternities) include greater gender segregation, an ethic of male sexual conquest and 'getting sex', displays of masculinity through heterosexual sexual performance, high alcohol consumption, heterosexism and homophobia, use of pornography, and general norms of women's subordinate status (Boswell and Spade 1996; Sanday 1996). While early research documented associations between violence against women and athletic or fraternity participation, noting for example that male athletes report significantly greater agreement with rape-supportive statements than men in general (Boeringer 1999), more recent studies have begun to identify more precisely the factors associated with violence-supportive norms and behaviours. In a recent American study among 704 male and female university athletes, rape myth acceptance was highest among male athletes, especially younger athlete and those playing a team-based sport (football or basketball) versus individual sport (such as tennis, golf, swimming, or track and field) (Sawyer, Thompson and Chicorelli 2002). In another study among 139 male college students, fraternity membership, conservative attitudes towards women, and viewing contact sports were significant predictors of sexual aggression against women (Brown *et al.* 2002). Oddly, men with lower levels of participation in (rather than spectatorship of) contact sports had higher levels of sexual aggression. The authors speculate that individuals' levels of trait aggression may mediate the relationship between exposure to aggressive incidents and subsequent acts of aggression – in other words, that being exposed to aggressive incidents only results in aggressive behaviour if the individual already has an aggressive personality (Brown *et al.* 2002: 948). Humphrey and Kahn (2000) document that some fraternities and athletic teams involve much higher risks of sexual assault than others. In fraternities and teams perceived by other university students to have 'party' atmospheres conducive to sexual offences, members showed higher levels of sexual aggression towards women, hostility towards women, and male peer support for sexual violence, than members of perceived low-risk groups.

There is no Australian research comparing male athletes (or members of male university groups) and other men on measures of violent attitudes or behaviour. Nevertheless, given that the masculine sub-cultures of professional rugby league and Australian Rules Football share some of the features of contexts shown overseas to foster higher rates of violence against women (including intense male bonding, high male status and strong differentiation of gender roles, high alcohol and drug consumption, ideologies and practices of aggression and toughness, and practices of group sex), similar patterns may be likely in Australia.

Another context with similar masculine dynamics and similarly elevated levels of tolerance for violence against women is the military. The evidence is that it is not group membership *per se*, but norms of gender inequality and other bonds that foster and justify abuse in particular peer cultures, that promote violence against women (Rosen *et al.* 2003; Schwartz and DeKeseredy 1997). Interviews with female victims of violence in the Canadian military find that specific aspects of military culture contribute to and condone this violence (Harrison 2002). A recent study provides quantitative support for an association between patriarchal male bonding in peer cultures and violence against women. Using survey data among 713 married male soldiers at an Army post in Alaska, Rosen *et al.* (2003: 1064-1065) found an association between 'group disrespect' (the presence of rude and aggressive behaviour, pornography consumption, sexualised discussion, and encouragement of group drinking) and the perpetration of intimate partner violence, at both individual and group levels.

Several mechanisms may produce the increased prevalence of violence-supportive attitudes and violent behaviour among men in such contexts. One is *group socialisation*: in joining particular sporting teams or fraternities, men are actively inducted into the existing norms and values of these contexts. Another is *identification*. Membership of a high-risk group may itself not be sufficient to increase one's adherence to violence-supportive beliefs or one's likelihood of assaultive behaviour, and members may also have to identify with the group and see it as a reference group (Humphrey and Kahn 2000: 1320). Another mechanism is *self-selection*: men with pre-existing violence-supportive attitudes and behaviours and an orientation towards other features of these contexts such as heavy drinking may join groups with similar norms.

There is also evidence that participation in particular occupational or educational contexts, as students or employees , can shape attitudes towards violence against women. One of the more consistent findings is that individuals who participate in or who have received university education have more progressive attitudes than individuals who do not or have not. The 1995 survey of Australian adults found that among women, those with higher levels of awareness and understanding tended to have university or TAFE education (and to be in paid employment and aged less than 55 years), while less informed men tended to have lower levels of education (and to be in blue collar occupations). Two Australian studies on perceptions of sexual harassment find that university students are less tolerant of sexual harassment than workers (Foulis and McCabe 1997) and less blaming of the targets of sexual harassment (De Judicibus and McCabe 2001). Some international literature reports similar findings. For example, a study among community residents of Missouri found a positive association between educational attainment and attitudes towards victims of rape (Nagel *et al.* 2005: 734).

These patterns may reflect three influences. First, they may reflect the younger age profile of university students. Attitudes towards violence against women are better among younger cohorts (in general). (See below.) Second, they may reflect the fact that rates of sexual harassment and sexual violence are higher among young women than among older women (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996: 5; Young *et al.* 2000), perhaps giving the issues a greater salience among young women. Third, university students may show less tolerance for sexual harassment or other forms of violence compared to people who have not received tertiary education because the university environment challenges sexist stereotypes.

American research documents that particular features of the university environment facilitate the liberalisation of students' attitudes towards gender roles (Bryant 2003). In a national, longitudinal study of close to 15,000 students, Bryant (2003) assessed agreement with the statement that 'the activities of married women are best confined to home and family'. Controlling for pre-college attitudes and other background characteristics, she found that the liberalisation in attitudes was associated with majoring in the humanities (for men only), living on campus (for women only), and taking Women's Studies courses. On the other hand, interacting with religious peers, and for men, affiliating with a primarily male peer group, had a negative influence. While this study does not assess attitudes towards violence against women directly, the liberalisation of gender attitudes may have flow-on effects for students' views for example of the legitimacy of men's marital violence.

Studies focused on or comparing particular occupational groups are rare, but they suggest that some workplace and professional cultures involve less violence-supportive norms than others and that occupational cultures and training can encourage positive shifts in violence-supportive attitudes. In a Hong Kong study, police officers and lawyers had narrower definitions of violence against women than psychologists, social workers, and nurses, which may reflect the former groups' work in settings where legal and more restrictive definitions of criminal

behaviour are dominant (Tang and Cheung 1997). White and Kurpius (1999) conducted an American study among people working or studying in mental health and counselling. They found that, alongside a persistent gender gap, undergraduates had more negative attitudes towards rape victims than graduate counselling students, who in turn had more negative attitudes than the mental health professionals. One factor here may be self-selection, where those men who stay in mental health and counselling are more sensitive to issues of gender and violence such that the gap between their and women's views lessens (White and Kurpius 1999: 993). Another factor may be the cultures of these fields themselves, with counsellor training and occupational norms also encouraging intolerance for violence.

However, occupational cultures and training also can intensify violence-supportive norms. A Queensland study found no gender differences in blaming attributed to victims or assailants by male and female police officers (although both drew on gender stereotypes in their decision-making) (Stewart and Maddren 1997: 930). The authors suggest that this may reflect police training producing uniformity in attitudes. However, a very different interpretation of this uniformity is possible. Referring to the findings in some studies that there are few gender differences in police attitudes and behaviours regarding domestic violence, Stalans and Finn (2000) note that this may reflect the fact that female officers have learned the norms and rules of these male-dominated occupations and thus conform to masculine norms. Their own study found that while female and male police officers did not differ in their arrest rates, *experienced* female officers were more likely to recommend battered shelters, less likely to recommend marriage counselling, and gave greater emphasis to victims' own decision-making (Stalans and Finn 2000). Male officers and rookie female officers approached domestic violence cases in similar ways, but experienced female officers were more empathetic to battered women and less likely to blame them. This may reflect such women having developed the confidence and security to challenge men's norms regarding domestic violence, or the result of experiences of discrimination or harassment on the job. Thus, it appears that actual gender differences in attitudes and behaviours in the police force were initially obscured by the male dominance of this profession, but more experienced female officers were able to express them. Further mechanisms producing uniformity in police officers' attitudes include self-selection out of the force by women with contrary attitudes or being weeded out by training and promotion (Stalans and Finn 2000). This study does provide an example of occupational cultures reducing apparent gender differences in attitudes and behaviours regarding violence against women, but one in which such differences in fact were partially stifled or silenced by dominant masculine norms.

7.3.2 Men's behaviour change programs

While there has been considerable evaluation research on the effectiveness of men's behaviour change programs in stopping the violence and changing their attitudes of perpetrators, we have found no studies measuring the impact of men's behaviour change programs on wider community attitudes towards domestic violence. However, such programs legitimate their role in part by reference to such claims. Issaacs (2005), for example, argues that men's programs are not just services for perpetrators. They are also presented as a means by which the community demonstrates its commitment to challenging the behaviours and attitudes that subordinate women. However, many feminists have expressed concern that these programs can have a negative influence. For example, they may encourage the perception that violence is a function of poor anger management or a lack of communication and emotional skills. In this way, violent men may be perceived as needing help for counselling and control of their emotions. The impact of men's behaviour change programs on community attitudes is a topic requiring further study.

7.3.3 Religious adherence and participation

Religious and spiritual organisations may influence the attitudes of their adherents and of others in the community. There is some evidence that religious and/or spiritual involvements and beliefs can influence individuals' attitudes towards violence against women, although some studies find no relationship between religiosity and the practice or endorsement of domestic violence (Berkel *et al.* 2004: 120-121). Berkel *et al*'s study among 316 White university students in the US, focused on sympathy for battered women, did not find a significant relationship between domestic violence attitudes and religious orientation, with gender role attitudes the best predictor. However, individuals' 'spiritual' orientations (such as the belief that 'it is important to help those in need') did have an influence. In a study among Catholic male priests and male and female Protestant ministers, men and ministers with greater adherence to fundamentalist religious beliefs had narrower definitions of wife abuse, more traditional attitudes to gender roles, and more victim-blaming responses to battered women (Gengler and Lee 2003). In another study among over 112 male and female clergy from over 20 Christian denominations in the USA, the more sexist that participants' attitudes were, and the more fundamentalist their religious beliefs were, the more unfavourable were their attitudes towards rape victims (Sheldon and Parent 2002). Follow-up qualitative analysis documented that these clergy adhered to a series of rape myths (she should have resisted more, the couple should communicate better, the wife needs to know her proper marital role, she was sexually provocative, and so on). Such results are particularly troubling in light of the fact that three-quarters of these clergy had counselled victims of sexual assault. Finally, in a qualitative study among American Muslim women, women's vulnerability to persistent wife abuse was exacerbated by a cultural context which emphasises marriage as the only sanctioned form of sexual intimacy and emphasises wives' obedience to their husbands and in which protective Muslim courts and family networks are absent (Hassouneh-Phillips 2001). More widely, there is evidence of contexts in which religion is (mis)used to justify violence against women or to perpetuate women's vulnerability to victimisation, as we discuss under 'Religion, spirituality, and churches' below.

Attitudes towards religion co-vary with those towards gender roles, shaping the relationship between religiosity and attitudes towards violence against women. For example, a longitudinal study among close to 10,000 women in the US found that more traditional orientations to gender roles were associated with having a strong religious affiliation or being a member of a fundamentalist religion (Harris and Firestone 1998). Another longitudinal study, over 1972-1998, documents that women's attendance at religious service has a consistently negative association with their support for gender equality (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004: 778).

7.4. Community Factors

7.4.1 Peer groups and informal social relations

Just as attitudes towards violence against women are shaped by participation in formal groups, institutions, and occupations, they are shaped by participation in informal peer groups and social circles. Indeed, these two overlap, in that formal contexts such as a professional sporting club or a particular occupation also will have informal social networks and groups of peers who work and socialise together.

Participation and investment in homosocial male peer groups can intensify men's tolerance for violence against women, as a growing number of studies demonstrate. Beginning in the 1990s, DeKeseredy *et al.* in the USA documented that male peer support for sexual assault, including

young men's attachment (close emotional ties) to abusive peers and peers' informational support for sexual assault (peer guidance and advice that influences men to assault their dating partners), were significantly correlated with sexual assault (DeKeseredy and Kelly 1995; Schwartz and DeKeseredy 1997). Among US male undergraduates, being more dependent on a male reference group for one's gender role self-concept is associated with attitudes conducive to the sexual harassment of women (Wade and Brittan-Powell 2001). In young male urban gangs, peer group dynamics contribute to gang rape (Godenzi *et al.* 2001: 5). More generally, having a homosocially focused social life can restrict men's acceptance of more progressive views of gender roles (Bryant 2003). A recent study of 585 first- and second-year university students, using structural equation modelling to assess the influence of various possible predictors of relationship abuse, confirms the influence of peer and social relations. Reitzel-Jaffe and Wolfe (2001) included variables measuring the extent to which peers share negative beliefs about gender and about violence and are involved in physically aggressive or coercive behaviours. They report that negative peer associations did predict the occurrence of abuse towards a dating partner. Reitzel-Jaffe and Wolfe (2001) found significant and strong relationships between negative peer associations and participants' negative beliefs, and between the former and participants' abusive behaviour. Similarly, in an American study of 1,640 university students who had had at least one serious relationship, the perpetration of intimate partner violence was 'associated with embeddedness in a social network in which intimacy violence is employed, condoned, and rewarded' (Sellers *et al.* 2005: 389).

Among men in groups and contexts characterised by a hypermasculine subculture, such as (some) fraternities, gangs, athletic teams, and military institutions, higher violence-supportive attitudes and violent behaviours are shaped by several factors. Our discussion earlier identified processes such as group socialisation, identification, and self-selection, and this account can be extended by focusing on investment in and conformity to social norms and bonds as key processes. Godenzi *et al.* (2001: 11) argue that in such contexts, 'abuse is a by-product of the men's attempt to maintain a social bond with a conventional or traditional social order marked by gender inequality'. One process is *attachment*, in which having close emotional ties to significant others means that one is more likely to take their concerns, wishes, and expectations into account. Another is *commitment*: men's investments in and loyalties to the dominant (patriarchal) social order and their interest in gaining the rewards of peer acceptance and status associated for example with sexually active and potentially abusive behaviour. Men's attitudes and behaviours also are shaped by *involvement*: their participation in activities associated with that sub-culture, including leisure activities involving time with patriarchal peers such as drinking or consuming and sharing pornography (Godenzi *et al.* 2001: 8). Finally, men's own *belief* in the legitimacy of the dominant system of values plays a role, although this belief of course is influenced by multiple factors including childhood socialisation and popular culture. Therefore, among men whose peer and social relations are characterised by norms and behaviours associated with violence against women, conformity with what is 'normal' in these contexts leads to violent attitudes and behaviours.

There is recent experimental evidence that perceptions of peer norms regarding violence against women do influence men's self-reported willingness to commit such violence. In a German study among male university students, Bohner *et al.* (2006) found that if men were told that others in their peer group had a high level of acceptance of rape myths, their own 'rape proclivity' (in this case, how aroused they would be in certain situations of sexual coercion and how likely they would be to behave like this) increased. In a second study, the researchers found that one way in which this influence was mediated was that others' perceived acceptance of rape myths temporarily increased or lowered their own rape myth acceptance (Bohner *et al.* 2006: 293).

While this sub-section has focused so far on the peer and social relations of young adult men, it is clear that similar dynamics operate also in the peer cultures of some boys and young men in schools and elsewhere. Violence-supportive attitudes are interwoven with common understandings of gender and sexuality among adolescent boys and girls, as the section on gender roles attested.

7.4.2 Religion, spirituality, and churches

Spiritual institutions potentially have an impact on community attitudes towards violence beyond their influence on their direct participants. Through public statements and proclamations, theological teachings, and the content of their worship and spiritual practice, churches and church leaders may alter the attitudes of their congregations, their religious adherents, and wider communities. This impact may be positive or negative. On the one hand, Christian church leaders in Australia have been prominent voices for compassion and justice in relation to government policies and community attitudes regarding welfare, war, and other issues, and increasingly they are joined by leaders of Muslim, Jewish, and other faiths. However, there is no direct evidence of churches' impact on community attitudes towards violence against women or other issues.

On the other hand, there is evidence of contexts in which religion is (mis)used to justify violence against women or to perpetuate women's vulnerability to victimisation. For example, Christian evangelism's emphasis on wifely submission and hierarchical gender relations can encourage pastors to counsel reconciliation of abusive marriages and women to stay with their abusers (Nason-Clark 1997). In some Arab and Islamic countries, selective excerpts from the Koran may be used to prove that men who beat their wives are following Gods' commandments, while emphases on violence as a private matter and on the preservation of family honour further sustain domestic violence (Douki *et al.* 2003). Similarly, Shari'a (Islamic law) may be used to sanction male authority over female relatives and the legitimate use of physical violence (Hajjar 2004). There is debate among scholars of Judaism regarding its views of violence against women (Steinmetz and Haj-Yahia 2006: 526-531). At the same time, religious and theological emphases on compassion, justice, and liberation in a variety of faiths can be mobilised in opposition to violence against women, as faith leaders themselves have recognised (Ware *et al.* 2004).

7.5. Societal Factors

7.5.1 Mass media

Mass media have long been identified as influential in shaping attitudes towards key social issues. There is substantial evidence that particular forms of media do influence community attitudes towards violence against women. We summarise this research here, beginning with pornography and moving on other forms of mass media such as television, music, and electronic games. We include discussion also of other aspects of media, broadly defined, which may influence community attitudes, including attention given to high-profile cases of violence against women and deliberate efforts to change attitudes through community education and media campaigns.

While there is considerable evidence of media's attitudinal influence, we should not assume that media representations have simple and deterministic effects on community attitudes or indeed behaviours. Viewers engage with media texts in active and diverse ways. Personal and

developmental factors mediate the impact of exposure. The relationship between violent media and violent attitudes or behaviours is reciprocal, in that children and adults with violent inclinations and behaviours show greater interest in and enjoyment of violent media representations (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 82-83). And the relationships between representations and attitudes and/or behaviours are complex.

Pornography

There is considerable disagreement in the literature on pornography regarding its relationship to sexual aggression. However, the application of summary techniques or 'meta-analysis' to existing empirical studies *does* find consistent relationships. Malamuth, Addison and Koss (2000: 53) find that there is consistent and reliable evidence that exposure to or consumption of pornography is related to male sexual aggression against women. This association is strongest for violent pornography and still reliable for nonviolent pornography, particularly by frequent users.

Several types of empirical examination demonstrate this relationship. In experimental studies, adults show significant strengthening of attitudes supportive of sexual aggression following exposure to pornography. Exposure to sexually violent material increases male viewers' acceptance of rape myths, desensitises them to sexual violence, erodes their empathy for victims of violence, and informs more callous attitudes towards female victims (Allen *et al.* 1995). Some experimental studies test changes in behaviour: they find that adults also show an increase in behavioural aggression following exposure to pornography, again especially violent pornography (Allen *et al.* 1996). In everyday life, men who use hardcore, violent or rape pornography, and men who are high-frequency users of pornography, are significantly more likely than others to report that they would rape or sexually harass a woman if they knew they could get away with it. There is a circular relationship among some men between sexual violence and pornography;

> Men who are relatively high in risk for sexual aggression are more likely to be attracted to and aroused by sexually violent media… and may be more likely to be influenced by them (Malamuth, Addison & Koss 2000: 55)

Given the Australian evidence that substantial proportions of boys are regular consumers of X-rated video pornography and Internet pornography, this may prove to be a significant influence on boys' adherence to violence-supportive attitudes. However, there are three caveats to note. First, various factors mediate the impact of exposure of pornography, such as the viewer's age, personal development, their level and nature of sexual experience, and their sexual, emotional and cognitive responses to the material. In addition, one must consider the nature of 'exposure': the type of material involved, the duration and intensity of viewing, and the context (whether voluntary or involuntary, and whether solitary or collective) (Flood and Hamilton 2003a: 45-46). Second, sexist and violent pornography is not the sole determinant of men's violence against women, and sexual assault is shaped by multiple social and cultural factors. Third, pornography is not the only important source of sexist and violence-supportive attitudes in our culture.

Television and other popular media

Other media such as television, music, and film are also effective teachers of gender-stereotyped and violence-supportive attitudes, as Strasburger and Wilson (2002) describe in their overview of social scientific research regarding media violence and youth. The mass

media routinely present interpersonal violence in ways which glamorise, trivialise, and sanitise aggression (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 76-80). Fictional depictions of violence against women, including those based on real-life events, may increase viewers' awareness (Carll 2003: 1608) or perpetuate narrow stereotypes. Significant levels of violent content have been documented in general television programming, children's programming, and commercials directed at children (Larson 2003). Both experimental and observational studies among children document greater rates of aggressive attitudes and behaviour among children exposed to media violence, correlational studies show a relationship between heavy viewing of television violence and self-reported / peer-assessed violent behaviour, and longitudinal studies find that exposure to media violence in early childhood is a significant predictor of aggression at older ages (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 85-88).

A variety of mechanisms have been proposed to explain the associations between media violence and aggression. Children's exposure to media depictions of violence can trigger already learned aggressive thoughts and behaviours, linking them to other thoughts and feelings and thus 'priming' aggressive responses. Children learn through observing and imitating others and through direct experience, and children learn 'scripts' to guide behaviour and problem-solving which then may be reinforced and elaborated in particular contexts. In addition, there is evidence that repeated exposure to depictions of violence densensitises viewers: it lessens people's affective responses to real-life violence, encourages indifference and callousness, and reduces the likelihood that they will take action on behalf of a victim (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 90-99). Media depictions of violence are more likely to have harmful and anti-social effects on viewers if the violence is shown as perpetrated by attractive characters, it is rewarded or not punished nor chastised and/or is justified, it is realistic, there is extensive blood and gore, and it has no negative consequences for the victim such as pain and suffering (Hogan 2005: 260; Smith and Boyson 2002: 77-80).

Media impacts on youth's attitudes towards violence against women have been further identified in two genres of mass media in particular: music and electronic games. Various studies document the sexually violent, misogynist, and objectifying themes in the music (both lyrics and music videos) of heavy metal, rap, and other genres, although these same genres also have pro-social themes (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 276-279). Such themes do have effects on attitudes. For example, a study among female African American adolescents found that those exposed to violent rap videos were more likely to accept males' teen dating violence (Johnson, Jackson, and Gatto 1995), a study among college males found that misogynous music videos facilitate sexually aggressive attitudes (Barongan and Hall 1995), and a study among university students found that both males and females exposed to gender-stereotyped imagery in a music video had greater support for adversarial sexual beliefs (Kalof 1999). Other studies of music exposure document further changes which may lend support to violence against women, such as poorer attitudes towards women (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 297-298).

Electronic games too have been associated with attitudinal change. In more focused and intense forms of media involvement such as playing violent electronic games, aggressive behavioural scripts may be shaped by powerful combinations of psychological absorption and immersion (Funk 2002: 126-127). While research findings have been mixed, there is growing evidence that playing violent electronic games is associated with lower empathy and increased aggression (Funk 2002: 134). For example, a recent study among 150 American fourth and fifth graders documents that exposure to video game violence is associated with lower empathy and stronger adherence to pro-violence attitudes (Funk *et al.* 2004), and this study finds in fact that violent video games had a greater impact than violence in other forms of media such as television or movies. Among 600 eighth and ninth grade students, adolescents who exposed themselves to

video game violence also were more likely to be involved in physical fights and in arguments with teachers (Gentile *et al.* 2004). In the second study, adolescents' own levels of hostility influenced the relationship between video game exposure and violent behaviour, but playing violent video games had a relationship to violent behaviour over and above the influence of personal hostility.

Advertising

Finally, other aspects of popular culture identified as reinforcing community tolerance for violence against women include advertising and language (Murnen *et al.* 2002: 371). For example, an American study of television commercials aimed at young children found that over one-third contained aggression. Such programming offers its viewers violent models for possible imitation, provides cognitive scripts which may be used in later real-life situations, and densensitises children to aggression (Larson 2003). Print and television commercials for beer and other products often focus on women's bodies and body parts, potentially encouraging a view of women only as sexual objects (Hall and Crum 1994). There is evidence that the portrayal of women in purely decorative, alluring, or 'objectified' ways in mainstream media is increasing. For example, over the last decade, there has been a substantial increase in the portrayal of women (and, to a lesser degree, men) in sexualised ways in magazine advertising, particularly in mainstream men's magazines (Reichert and Carpenter 2004). There is also evidence that such portrayals can increase attitudinal support for sexual aggression, especially among men. Men who were shown print advertisements in which women are presented as sex objects were more accepting of violence against women than men exposed to other kinds of advertisements. Such portrayals may encourage the view that women are appropriate targets for sexual aggression by teaching that women are 'exclusively sexual beings whose purpose is to sexually arouse and gratify men' (Lanis and Covel 1995: 647). This finding was not, however, true of women, and women who saw the sex-object advertisements in fact were less supportive of rape myths than other women.

To the extent that the media offers stereotypes of women, it increases the accessibility of these stereotypes and their use in making judgements of other women. For example, compared to male and female participants exposed to non-'promiscuous women' on an episode of the Jerry Springer Show, those exposed to 'promiscuous' women saw a victim of sexual harassment as less traumatised and more responsible for the event (Ferguson *et al.* 2005).

News coverage of high-profile incidents of violence

The mainstream media's coverage of the issue of violence against women may shape community attitudes. Three Australian examinations of media representations of this violence suggest that these impact on community perceptions, although none assess this directly. Assessing print, radio, and television coverage of gang rapes in Sydney and the sentencing of the young Lebanese men who had perpetrated them, Warner (2004) describes this as a 'moral panic' with several effects. Media coverage 'racialised' community perceptions of rape and other crimes, exaggerated the threat posed by these, and linked these issues to others including illegal immigration and terrorism, in each case amplifying existing strands of racism in media and popular discourses. While Warner (2004) does not directly assess the impact of media coverage on community perceptions, she suggests that media representations and politicians' 'law and order' response did intensify popular support for 'tough' sentencing regimes and fuelled a backlash against the Arab-Muslim-Lebanese community. In another study, Evans (2001) examined coverage of domestic violence in three Melbourne newspapers over a six-week period in 1998. She documents that newspaper coverage perpetuated a series of myths

and gender stereotypes regarding domestic violence. Articles often portrayed the perpetrator as driven to assault or homicide by love, passion, or grief, depicted the violence as an understandable response to rejection or a marital argument or as caused by alcohol, relied on defendants' versions of events, and suggested that female victims contributed to the violence they suffered. Finally, in an analysis of a three-week feature by *The Age* newspaper on 'The War Against Women', Howe (1997) notes the difficulties that a mainstream media publication had in representing feminist views of the causes of violence against women.

None of the Australian analyses included direct assessments of media impacts on community attitudes towards violence against women. However, three US studies do provide such evidence, of both positive and negative effects. On the positive side, there is powerful evidence that media coverage of and public controversy regarding high-profile incidents of violence can increase community awareness of issues of violence against women. Klein *et al.* (1997) document the influence on attitudes of the trial of O.J. Simpson for the murder of his ex-wife and the subsequent revelations that he had subjected her to domestic violence for many years. In an attitudinal poll, 72 per cent of respondents reported that they had learned something about domestic violence from the media coverage of the trial. Most (93 per cent) said that they had learned that 'domestic violence is a serious problem', while 91 per cent learnt that 'the family and friends of abused women need to learn more about how to help victims of domestic violence' (Klein *et al.* 1997: 8-11). Media coverage of domestic violence dramatically increased over 1994-1995. This contributed to a significant shift in the landscape of public perceptions in the US, such that by the mid-1990s domestic violence was seen as a key social problem and of personal importance. For example, over a single year, the percentage of male respondents who rated domestic violence as an 'extremely important social problem' climbed from 25 to 33 per cent. The effect of high-profile cases of violence against women also has been documented in relation to the Hill-Thomas sexual harassment hearings in the USA in 1991. Replicating a study that had taken place two years before the hearings, Jaschik-Herman and Fisk (1998) found that women in the more recent study were more likely to spontaneously label as harassment the behaviours depicted in a video segment. The authors argue that the publicity about sexual harassment created by the Hill-Thomas hearings is likely to have influenced this shift. More generally, Black and Allen (2001: 35) argue that this case 'drove the issue of sexual harassment to the forefront of public debate', documenting that the case had a significant presence in media coverage of subsequent controversies regarding sexual harassment over 1992-1998.

On the other hand, there is also evidence of the negative effects of media reportage. Anastasio and Costa (2004) documented that US newspaper coverage is more likely to personalise male than female victims of violent crime (by naming them and including personal information about them), and in a second experimental study, they found that depersonalised representations decreased empathy towards (female and male) victims and engendered victim blame. Such gender bias perpetuates gender stereotypes and inequalities, as a range of other studies have established, and contributes to violence against women in dehumanising its victims (Anastasio and Costa 2004: 535-536).

Similar positive effects of media on attitudes may have occurred in relation to recent Australian controversies concerning alleged sexual assaults by players in rugby league and Australian Rules football. It is possible that media coverage of the first controversy engaged audiences which do not otherwise see substantial discussion of such issues, because sexual assault and related issues were being dissected in the sports pages, on the online bulletin boards of sporting and fan clubs, and so on.

However, there are several qualifications to note. First, we have no direct evidence as yet of such effects. Second, such controversies also may involve or invite the expression of violence-supportive attitudes such as victim-blaming. Public controversies regarding violence against women may incite negative views as much as they diminish them, as Warner's (2004) analysis of debates regarding 'Lebanese gang rapes' and Trioli's (1996) analysis of the controversy surrounding the Ormond College case fictionalised in Garner's (1995) *The First Stone* suggest. The news media's coverage of violence against women often perpetuates violence-supportive attitudes, as Warner (2004) and Evans (2001) document for Australia, Carll (2003) and Consalvo (1998) document for the USA, and Korn and Efrat (2004) document for Israel. This works to counteract the potentially positive effect that such coverage can have in increasing the personal salience of violence against women and the willingness of family members, friends, and others to intervene.

Another possible factor influencing community attitudes may be the publication and release of research findings regarding violence against women. For example, there has been substantial media attention to and public discussion of reports released over the past decade on the incidence of violence against women (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996), the annual cost of domestic violence to the victims, others affected by the violence, and the community (Access Economics 2004), the burden of disease to which violence against women contributes (VicHealth 2005), and other research news. It is not the fact of such scholarship *per se*, but its attendant media coverage, which is likely to influence community attitudes. As Klein *et al.* (1997: 8-11) document for the USA, media coverage can encourage members of the public to accept that the problem is legitimate, widespread, and serious and can intensify the personal salience of the issue.

Community education and social marketing campaigns

The media has also been deliberately used to change community attitudes, through education and social marketing campaigns. A recent review by Donovan and Vlais (2005) documents a wide variety of Australian and international campaigns, aimed at diverse groups including women experiencing violence, men using violence, witnesses and bystanders, members of institutions who may respond to this violence, and particular social groupings such as youth. While many are government-funded, others represent grassroots efforts for example by women's or men's anti-violence groups. Public education campaigns have attempted to encourage attitudes that domestic violence is a crime, communities must 'break the silence' regarding violence against women, violence has negative impacts on children or on women themselves, social norms intolerant of violence against women are more widespread than some believe, family and friends must intervene in violence, perpetrating violence will have negative consequences, and so on. This review notes that particular campaigns *have* produced positive change in the attitudes (and behaviours) associated with violence against women. For example, an extensive South African campaign 'was associated with a positive shift in perceptions of social norms around VAW issues, and a decrease in negative social pressure to condone VAW' (Donovan and Vlais 2005: 68). At the same time, some other campaigns have inadvertently increased pro-violence attitudes, for example by leaving women with the sense that the violence they experience is their fault or giving them false hope regarding their partners' likelihood of change.

Another, more localised form of deliberate education concerns violence prevention education, delivered for example in schools. A range of education programs are delivered in primary and secondary school systems around Australia, often by community health and violence-related agencies. While very few Australian programs have been evaluated, the US evidence is that

such interventions can have positive effects on participants' attitudes towards and participation in violence against women (Flood 2006a). Male and female secondary school and university students who have attended rape education sessions show less adherence to rape myths, express less rape-supportive attitudes, and/or report greater victim empathy than those in control groups. Many evaluations find that these 'rebound' to pre-intervention levels one or two months afterwards. On the other hand, education programs which are intensive, lengthy, and use a variety of pedagogical approaches have been shown to produce positive and lasting change in attitudes and behaviours (Flood 2006a). However, given that violence prevention education in Australian schools is scattered and short-term, the overall impact of such efforts on young people's attitudes towards violence against women may be negligible.

7.5.2 Criminal justice policies and law reform

Does the law shape social mores and community attitudes or is it merely a reflection of them? This is a perennial question that divides legislators and policy makers. On the one hand, legislators may attempt to change cultural norms by regulating practice and behaviour. On the other, if laws and legislation are too far ahead of societal attitudes, they are likely to 'backfire' in terms of their stated objectives. There is a fraught relationship between societal attitudes and legislation.

Writing on the impact of family law reforms on attitudes towards parental responsibility, Funder (1996) argues that changes in attitudes as a result of family law reforms are related to the level of variance between the Family Law Act and parental attitudes. If the community attitudes mirror the Act closely, there are unlikely to be any changes in attitudes at all. However, if there is a significant difference then we will either expect to see some degree of change or a resistance to the legislation. Either way, however, she argues that it is unlikely that any consistent change in attitudes or behaviours would surface until some considerable time after the legislation.

The main assumption underlying the legal approach to crime is that punishment will have a deterrence or preventative effect on offending. However, there is conflicting evidence as to whether strong legal sanctions deter or prevent violence (Gilligan 2000). Dugan (2003) has noted that while there is widespread support for pro-active legislation on domestic violence, there is little research on the impact of domestic violence legislation on community attitudes or behaviour. The existing research is confined to the effects of arrest and prosecution of domestic violence offenders on the recidivism rates of perpetrators.

There has been considerable research on the deterrence effects of arrest policies (Buzawa and Buzawa 1993; Federa, Jolin and Feyerherm 2000; Maxwell, Garner and Fagan 2001; Schmidt and Sherman 1993; Tolman and Weisz 1995). While some studies show arrest to be an effective deterrent, other studies suggest the deterrence effect is limited to particular profiles of offenders, while other studies indicate that violence may actually increase following arrest. There is thus little consensus on the impact of criminal justice policies and little research on how they impact on the attitudes of the wider community.

Nevertheless, the criminal justice system has an important symbolic role (Stubbs 2003), in shaping community perceptions of what is perceived to be legitimate or illegitimate, legal or criminal, behaviour. An American study undertaken by Salazar *et al.* (2003) demonstrates that the existence of legal sanctions has an impact on attitudes towards violence against women. They set out to examine whether public perceptions of criminal justice policies on domestic violence affected social norms. The results of their telephone survey of 973 participants

demonstrated that perceptions of criminal justice policies impacted on attitudes towards criminal justice responses and had effects on victim-blaming attitudes in relation to domestic violence. The authors argue that the development of criminal justice policies that sanction and arrest violent men will lead to the development of new norms that are unsupportive of domestic violence.

A study undertaken by Tsoudis (2000) focuses on the significance of social sanctions on attitudes towards legal sanctions and domestic violence. The results of this study demonstrate that stronger social sanctions, in which friends and relatives strongly condemn domestic violence, have a significant effect on attitudes towards domestic violence. In Tsoudis's view, legal sanctions will be more effective if strong social sanctions are in place. The implication of Tsoudis's study is that shaming and stigmatising perpetrators of domestic violence will change community attitudes towards greater intolerance of violence against women.

A number of studies note that public and political attitudes towards criminal sentencing are changing (Hart Research Associates 2002; Roberts and Hough 2002; Wool and Stemen 2004). All of these studies posit a less punitive approach to violence and crime. Many of the contributors to Roberts' and Hough's anthology (2002) identify that the more informed citizens are, the less likely they will support severe criminal justice sanctions. Gilligan (2000) argues that the solution to crime and violence cannot be found within the criminal justice system. He maintains that the focus should be on the reform of the social and economic system and the cultural values underpinning it.

Other aspects of public policies and responses can have a negative impact on community attitudes towards violence against women. For example, the focus in recent Australian proposals for family law reform on women's false and malicious allegations of violence may serve to spread the (false) belief that such allegations are common in family law proceedings. Negative effects also may result when the criminal justice system fails to respond appropriately to the victims and perpetrators of violence against women or when legal sanctions against alleged perpetrators do not eventuate. For example, the high-profile lack of prosecution of those rugby league players alleged to have committed sexual assault in 2004 may send the message that perpetrating such violence will have few if any negative consequences for its perpetrators and that assailants are unlikely to be held responsible or accountable for their actions.

7.5.3 Medical and health responses

Routine screening of women visiting health professionals has been recommended as a way to provoke awareness of domestic violence. Family doctors in Australia respond in diverse ways to intimate partner violence against women, both empowering and disempowering (Taft 2002). Improving awareness of health service professionals about domestic violence and encouraging them to screen their female patients for violence and respond appropriately can play a significant role in reducing women's isolation and stigmatisation and in assisting them to deal with the abuse they are experiencing, as research by Gerbert *et al.* (1999) and Taket *et al.* (2004) has demonstrated.

7.5.4 Collective Mobilisations

There is an enormous literature on social movements and their impact on changes in policy, legislation, and community attitudes. Anti-war movements, environmental movements, youth movements, the gay and lesbian movement, and disability rights movements along with the women's movement and other social movements have expanded dramatically since the 1960s.

Academic books and journals devoted to social movements have proliferated in the last forty years. There is less research available on the emergence of right wing and conservative social movements such as anti-immigration movements, fundamentalist Christian movements, and fathers' and men's rights movements.

Gamson's (1990) classic study of the impact of social movements, based on 53 case studies of oppositional groups, identified key factors influencing their success in gaining legitimacy. The major finding was that social movements were most successful in times of crisis. When there was widespread discontent with the existing understandings of a social phenomena, social movements could successfully articulate an alternative framework to shape policy and community responses. Nathanson (1999) demonstrated in relation to social movements as diverse as smoking and gun control, that success in influencing policy changes were directly correlated with responses to a credible threat to public health. Drawing upon an extensive literature, Bush (1992) identifies success in social movements as involving a combination of the following outcomes: gaining access to political decision making; influencing policies and organisations such as legislature, courts and media; and achieving policy reforms in specific areas.

The women's movements and feminism

Contemporary women's movements have a dramatic impact on several social and political issues in the last thirty years. In the first place, collective mobilisations such as the women's movement transform the attitudes of their participants. It is well documented that for activists and even for those whose involvement is more casual, participation transforms one's identity and thus one's subsequent personal biography (Polletta and Jasper 2001: 296). Women who have engaged in the women's movement are more likely to have gender-egalitarian beliefs and a high sense of self-efficacy, even after their involvement has ceased (Hasso 2001).

The contribution of women's movements on women's consciousness needs to be seen in the context of the relationship between the changing rates of participation of women in the paid workforce, women's increased education levels and their changing circumstances in families (Bolzendahl and Myers (2004). Certainly the women's movement has played a key role in achieving the recognition of violence against women as a significant social problem. However, as Bacchi (1999) has observed, achieving social problem status of an issue is only a beginning. Success also depends on the ways in which the problem is represented. Women's and anti-violence networks have used a variety of strategies to shift the community attitudes which underpin violence against women, including community-based media projects. In the Clothesline Project for example, t-shirts depicting survivors' stories of sexual and physical abuse are hung in public places. Gregory *et al.* (2002) argue that this project is particularly effective in contributing to cultural transformation because it mobilises the *affective* domain, people's emotional and bodily responses to the powerful stories on display.

Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) have studied the ways in which individuals form and change their understanding of the place of women in society. They observe that women change their attitudes to feminist issues when they are exposed to ideas and situations that highlight feminist concerns. They refer to this as an exposure-based explanation for the development of feminist attitudes among women. They also found that the most significant predictor of feminist attitudes was paid employment.

There is no question that attitudes towards gender roles and men's violence against women have been shaped by social movements and mobilisations of women. Bush (1992) has identified

that public recognition of men's violence against women as a 'social problem' has been a major achievement of the women's movement. She notes, however, that since the enactment of reforms to address men's violence, the wider implications of feminist analyses have been co-opted and incorporated within the criminal justice and welfare bureaucracies of the state. Phillips (2006) has observed the same processes occurring in the Australian context under the Howard Government. She reveals the extent to which the social policy achievements of the women's movements between the 1970s and early 1990s have been dismantled and reframed within a socially conservative agenda. She also argues that feminism has moved away from a structural paradigm towards a more individualist agenda. These developments have constrained the impact of the women's movement as a major force in bringing about attitudinal change in recent years.

Men's rights and fathers' rights groups and campaigns

The impact of collective mobilisations and movements on community attitudes towards violence against women is not always positive. Negative influences on community attitudes have come from another direction, 'fathers' rights' and 'men's rights' groups. Anti-feminist men's and fathers' groups are likely to have increased both their members' and the community's agreement with two notions: (1) that women routinely make false accusations of domestic violence and/or child abuse to gain advantage in family law proceedings; and (2) that domestic violence is gender-equal. While both claims already have some degree of attitudinal support, the efforts of these groups are likely to have increased this (Flood 2006b). No direct measures of this impact are available, but it is clear that fathers' rights groups have swayed public policies regarding family law and violence against women, suggested that they have influenced policy-makers' perceptions or at least their assumptions regarding what will earn them electoral favour. For example, contemporary government proposals for family law reform are preoccupied with punitive mechanisms for dealing with false allegations of violence.

Pro-feminist men's groups and campaigns

Another form of collective mobilisation among men, from a very different set of perspectives, is represented by pro-feminist men's groups and campaigns. In many countries, groups of men have emerged whose agenda is to end men's violence against women and children (Flood 2005). As with the other mobilisations discussed, this activism transforms the attitudes (and behaviours) of its participants. Men's anti-violence groups share the premise that individual men must make every effort to minimise their own use of violence, and participation in such groups is likely to intensify men's attitudinal and behavioural commitments to non-violence. Studies of men's anti-violence and gender equity groups find that the male participants undergo positive transformations in their attitudes and behaviours, although some investments in traditional masculinities remain (Coulter 2003; DeKeseredy, Schwartz and Alvi 2000; Hong 2000). Similarly, for both men and women conducting anti-violence peer education on university campuses, this involvement acts as a form of consciousness-raising in which they are both politicised and radicalised (Gold and Villari 2000: 153).

Pro-feminist men's groups also engage in public and collective action. The best known example is the White Ribbon Campaign, in which men are encouraged to show their opposition to men's violence against women by purchasing and wearing a white ribbon. This is an example of social marketing, intended in part to shift men's attitudes in order to shift their behaviour, but it also aims to work in the reverse direction. By inviting men to publicly commit to a course of action such as wearing a white ribbon or participating in an anti-rape rally, some strategies aim to

increase men's private acceptance of the attitudes that support that behaviour (Kilmartin 2001: 70).

The potential of men to change their behaviours and attitudes and the reasons they might do so have been the subject of considerable debate within feminism and masculinity studies. Pease (2002) and other profeminist advocates have argued that it is possible for men to reconstruct their self-interests towards more egalitarian attitudes and behaviours in relation to women. While the evidence is, as one would expect, that participants in men's anti-violence activism do develop a thorough-going rejection of violence-supportive norms, there is little evidence regarding the wider impact of this activism on the attitudes of others.

8. The Significance of Attitudes in Relation to Other Factors Shaping Men's Violence Against Women

Thus far, this review has argued that attitudes towards violence against women are powerful influences on the perpetration of violence against women, women's responses to this victimisation, and wider community and institutional responses, and it has discussed the wide array of factors shown to shape community attitudes. This section places attitudes in a wider context, noting key extra-attitudinal influences on violence against women.

Attitudes are a key variable in shaping women's and men's experiences of and relationships to violence against women. However, they should not be taken to be the only variable of concern. In the first place, a single-minded focus on attitudes risks over-emphasising the cognitive elements of individual perceptions of violence against women. These perceptions are multi-dimensional, as Pavlou and Knowles (2001: 77) note;

> an observer's perception of a domestic violence scenario may be cognitive (assigning cause, blame, responsibility), affective (empathising with, liking or disliking the victim or perpetrator), and behavioural (e.g., intervening or reporting to legal authorities or ignoring the event).

Similarly, cognitive motivations are only one aspect of an explanation of individuals' perpetration of violence against women. When a man physically assaults his wife or sexually harasses his female colleague, this behaviour may be shaped in part by his adherence to violence-supportive attitudes, but it may also be shaped by his affective orientations and other aspects of his identity or subjectivity. For example, in a study among university undergraduates, Hill and Fisher (2001) found that men's sense of entitlement, both general and specifically sexual, mediated the relationship between masculine gender roles and sexually aggressive behaviour and attitudes. 'Entitlement' refers here to men feeling entitled to have their needs met by women and believing that their needs or desires take precedence over women's. While there was little direct relationship between men's attitudes towards male gender norms and various rape-related variables (their acceptance of rape myths, likelihood of committing rape, victim-blaming, and actual sexually coercive behaviour), masculinity factors predicted men's general and sexual entitlement, and these in turn predicted an array of rape-related attitudes and behaviours.

Men's use of violence against women clearly is shaped by patriarchal, anti-women, and 'hypermasculine' ideologies, as Murnen *et al*'s (2002) meta-analysis documents in relation to sexual aggression. However, the possession of such attitudes is not necessarily sufficient to perpetrate sexually aggressive behaviour. Instead, such attitudes combine with *situational* factors to predict violence against women, such as the presence (or deliberate creation) of situations in which coercive sexual encounters can occur, heavy alcohol consumption[2], peer pressure and peer support for perpetration, and so on (Murnen *et al.* 2002: 370). Indeed, adherence to violence-supportive attitudes in some instances may not even be a necessary condition of violence perpetration. In a study among American undergraduates, Locke and Mahalik (2005) found that some men did not endorse rape myths but did report sexually

---

[2] There is an association between heavy alcohol consumption and sexual and physical violence against women (Heise 1998: 272-273). Men may use drunkenness to minimise their own responsibility and provide an excuse or time-out for violent and anti-social behaviour, may see drunk women as more sexually available, and may use alcohol as a strategy for overcoming women's resistance to (forced) sex.

aggressive behaviours. They hypothesise that these men may become sexually aggressive after drinking or engaging in risky behaviours. Attitudes which are *in*tolerant of violence may be only weakly held, and may be 'rendered situationally inoperative' or neutralised by situational variables (Sellers *et al.* 2005: 382).

Continuing to focus on sexual violence, different factors may be involved in different forms of sexual aggression or for different types of sexually aggressive men, with attitudes playing lesser or greater roles depending on these. Some perpetrators may be highly aroused by sexual violence and likely to commit multiple acts of aggression with different victims, while others may be more influenced by cognitive motivations (such as rape myths) and more likely to commit assaults in situations where they perceive or can argue for some justification for their behaviour (Murnen *et al.* 2002: 362-363).

Nor should we assume that violence against women is shaped *above all* by attitudes. A focus on individual attitudes risks neglecting the cultural, collective, and institutional underpinnings of violence against women. Beyond individual attitudes and perceptions, violence against women is shaped by the social, cultural, economic, and political relations of particular contexts, communities, and cultures. While these collective social relations do have attitudinal dimensions, they are not reducible to them.

There is good evidence that violence against women is shaped by extra-attitudinal features of formal and informal contexts, networks, and institutions – of families, workplaces, neighbourhoods, social networks, and peer groups. For example, at the level of the immediate context in which violence against women takes place — typically families or other intimate or acquaintance relationships — patterns of male dominance are associated with higher rates of violence. Cross-culturally, male economic and decision-making dominance in the family is one of the strongest predictors of societies showing high levels of violence against women. Wife abuse is more likely in couples with a clearly dominant husband, while a wife's economic dependence on her husband is a major predictor of severe wife beating and of marital rape (Heise 1998: 270-271). Michalski (2004: 667) concurs, noting the evidence that centralised patriarchal authority in families predicts higher rates of violence. Domestic violence is shaped also by the frequency and intensity of marital conflicts, and when such conflict occurs in families with an asymmetrical power structure, there is a much higher risk of violence (Heise 1998: 271-272).

Further contextual factors shape violence against women. Although violence against women occurs in all classes, there is ssome evidence that wife abuse may be more common in families and communities characterised by low socioeconomic status and/or unemployment (Heise 1998: 273-275). Low socioeconomic status may increase the risk of abuse because of the other variables which accompany this, such as crowding, hopelessness, stress, or a sense of inadequacy in some men. Poverty may provide fodder for marital disagreements, or make it harder for women to leave violent or otherwise unsatisfactory relationships. To take another neighbourhood-level factor, social isolation is both a cause and a consequence of wife abuse. Women with strong family and friendship networks experience lower rates of violence (Heise 1998: 275). Michalski (2004: 665) makes the same point, that integrated social networks and cross-cutting intimate ties curtail the likelihood of violence occurring during disputes. A third factor is peer associations. Especially among adolescent males, peer group behaviours play an important role in encouraging sexual aggression. While we noted the attitudinal dimensions of involvement in violence-supportive peer contexts earlier in this review, other dimensions include participation in group leisure activities, 'partying', and so on. For example, men's workplace 'girl watching' (often a type of sexual harassment) can function as a form of

gendered play among men, in which men objectify women as part of 'games' and contests for status with each other (Quinn 2002).

Violence against women also is constituted by wider historical and political forces and contexts. In Australia's indigenous communities, interpersonal violence is shaped by histories of colonisation and the disintegration of family and community (Queensland Government (Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy and Development) 2000: xii). Internationally, the prevalence and character of violence against women are influenced by wars, civil political conflicts, militarism and imperialism, and other global forces (Greig *et al.* 2000: 13). In short, violence against women is 'a multifaceted phenomenon grounded in an interplay among personal, situational, and sociocultural factors' (Heise 1998: 263-264).

The discussion thus far has focused on extra-attitudinal influences, including contextual and situational factors, on the *perpetration* of violence against women, but such factors also shape formal and informal responses to this violence. For example, family and friends' reactions to a battered woman depend on contextual factors such as the woman's relationship with her assailant, the number of children, and whether family and friends themselves are threatened with violence (Goodkind *et al.* 2003).

Our review has argued that explanations of violence against women must be grounded not only in individually held attitudes but in social and cultural norms and ideologies. Beyond this however, explanations of this violence, and thus interventions to prevent it, must also be grounded in social relations and social structures. We must move beyond a strictly *cultural* emphasis in both explanation and intervention, recognising that 'violence has much deeper roots in the structural foundations of interpersonal relationships (and societal arrangements in general)' (Michalski 2004: 653). Authors such as Heise (1997) and Michalski (2004) identify key features of collective social relations which help to explain the persistence and pervasiveness of violence against women, as we have noted above. Thus, to stop violence against women, we must do more than change community attitudes. We must also address 'the structural conditions that perpetuate violence at the interpersonal and even societal level' (Michalski 2004: 670).

9. Explanatory Model of the Factors Which Influence Community Attitudes in Relation to Violence Against Women

We argue for a social constructionist approach to attitude formation and change that grounds attitudes with specific social settings and among specific social groups. In our view, behaviour is only partially influenced by attitudes held by individuals. People's behaviour is also shaped by social norms and what other people think of their behaviour. Attitudes are thus shaped by the social consensus within specific settings and among specific groups. Consequently, to change the attitudes of individuals, we need to challenge the dominant norms within those settings and among those groups in which those individuals are situated.

Our literature review reveals that attitudes towards violence against women are shaped by a multitude of factors at all levels of the social order. Two clusters of factor have a multi-level influence on community attitudes. Both gender and culture are powerful influences on attitudes, and both operate at micro and macro levels including individual socialisation, the norms and relations of particular contexts and communities and the society-wide workings of the media, the law, and other factors. Gender and culture themselves intersect, in that different cultural contexts involve particular norms and relations of gender which shape community attitudes towards violence against women. In addition, our review has identified a wide range of other influences on attitudes which operate among individuals, organisations, communities, or in society as a whole. The diagram below depicts key influences on attitudes which are concentrated at different levels of influence. Of course, many of these factors operate at more than one level. For example, particular institutions such as schools, workplaces, or churches shape their participants' attitudes through both formal policies and structures and informal norms, they are locations for informal peer relations which shape attitudes, and such institutions are themselves shaped in dynamic ways by wider factors such as the mass media. In turn, the influence of societal factors such as the mass media is affected by the local contexts in which media representations are seen and individual variations in experience and understanding.

In addition, gender (gender attitudes, roles, and relations) and culture (race, ethnicity, and other cultural factors) are 'meta-factors' which shape community attitudes towards violence against women throughout all these levels. The intersections of gender, race and ethnicity, and other social divisions cut across all of these levels and reproduce the social relations and institutional structures which perpetuate pro-violence attitudes and violence towards women.

Key factors at different levels of influence

Gender
Support for traditional gender roles and norms Social norms regarding men's and women's social and sexual relations

Culture
Cultural contexts and communities Culturally specific norms regarding gender and sexuality

Individual Factors	Organisational Factors	Community Factors	Societal Factors
Experiencing and/or Witnessing Violence	Organisations, institutions, and other formal contexts: Sporting clubs, Workplaces, Schools, etc.	Peer groups and informal social relations	Mass Media: Pornography, Television and other popular media, Advertising, News coverage of high profile incidents of violence, Community education and social marketing
Age and Development (Boys and young men)	Religious adherence and participation	Religion, spirituality, and churches	Criminal justice policies and law reform
			Medical and health responses
			Collective Mobilisations: The women's movement and feminism, Men's rights and fathers' rights

10. Key Points for Intervention in Community Attitudes Towards Violence Against Women

Introduction

Given the breadth of factors, settings, and social forces which shape community attitudes regarding violence against women, there is a wide range of possible settings and groups for intervention in such attitudes. The following discussion identifies key points, settings, and populations for intervention in relation to attitudes. Although there is not sufficient empirical evidence at this stage with which to order these in terms of their priority for intervention, all have been identified as important in terms of the formation of community attitudes towards violence against women. They have been organised therefore in line with the overall structure of this report.

This outline is guided by six assumptions. First, the process of changing attitudes must be located within a project of changing familial, organisational, community and societal norms which support violence against women. Second, our interventions must address not only those attitudes which are overtly condoning of violence against women, but the wider clusters of attitudes related to gender and sexuality which normalise and justify this violence. Given the close association between attitudes towards violence against women and attitudes towards gender, especially males' adherence to sexist, patriarchal, and/or hostile attitudes towards women (see Section 7.1.1), traditional gender role attitudes must be targeted in educational campaigns. Third, efforts to address violence-supportive attitudes must work also to provide an alternative, a set of violence-intolerant norms and values centred on non-violence, gender equality, and social justice. Fourth, while social marketing and community education campaigns aimed at the general population or at specific sub-populations are valuable, more intensive and local interventions within specific settings and among specific groups also are essential. Fifth, violence prevention interventions must be culturally appropriate, such that this includes sensitivity not only to ethnic diversities but to local gender cultures and to men's and women's levels of awareness about and willingness to take responsibility for the problem of violence against women (Flood 2006a). Finally, interventions aimed at attitudinal and cultural change must be accompanied by changes in structural relations and social practices if violence against women is to be undermined and prevented, as Section 8 above documents.

Key points, settings, and populations for intervention

The following outline identifies those sites, settings, and populations where interventions to change attitudes will be most effective, but it is not exhaustive. Nor do we provide detailed recommendations regarding the form and content of attitudinal interventions, as such discussion (at least in relation to social marketing efforts) can be found elsewhere (Donovan and Vlais 2005).

Among children who have witnessed or experienced violence and in families affected by violence against women

Given the evidence that children who witnessed or experienced violence are more likely to grow up adhering to violence-supportive attitudes and perpetrating violence themselves, intervention in the intergenerational transmission of violence is vital. In the domestic / family violence field, there is growing recognition that physical or sexual violence against adult women often is accompanied by violence against their children, and that whether children are

witnesses to or direct victims of interpersonal violence, their experience can have profound and long-lasting effects on their health and well-being. To prevent the intergenerational transmission of community attitudes tolerant of violence against women, we must improve service responses to all family members affected by violence.

With youth

Our review has documented that violence-supportive attitudes are already well established in adolescence. We noted that younger males are particularly likely to endorse violence against women, and that some gender norms among adolescents 'normalise' sexual coercion. While the influences of education, maturation, and greater experience of cross-sex social and sexual relations lessen adolescent boys' endorsement of violence-supportive attitudes, this is by no means inevitable, and substantial proportions of young men continue to endorse such attitudes. Children and youth therefore are a particularly important group for intervention. 'Starting young' is vital because adolescence is a crucial period in terms of women's and men's formation of healthy, non-violent relationships later in life (National Campaign Against Violence and Crime 1998: 23). Violence prevention education is a promising strategy, given the evidence that more intensive and long-term interventions do produce lasting change in attitudes and behaviours (Flood 2006a). While a number of well-developed education programs are being utilised in secondary schools in Australia, remarkably little of this work has been evaluated, and school-based education requires both expansion and systematic evaluation. In addition, this work should be complemented by interventions with youth in non-school settings.

In boys' peer cultures and with young men at risk of / already using violence

Interventions among children and youth in general should be complemented by other strategies aimed at addressing particularly intensive forms of support for violence in the peer cultures and group norms of some boys and young men, such as peer education and mentoring. Comparing the trajectories of young men who are repeat assaulters and young men who have sexually coerced girls in the past but now ceased, Abbey and McAuslan (2004) note that the latter expressed more remorse, held the girl(s) less responsible, and were less likely to describe the violent behaviour as 'exciting' or 'titillating'. Intervention with boys and young men identified as at risk of violence perpetration or already using violence therefore may be valuable in changing the potentially life-long violent trajectories of those males who are already using violence.

Peer-based strategies are of particular value. In violence prevention education, programs for men are more likely to be effective if they use peers in leadership roles (Berkowitz 2004; Flood 2006a). Increasing interpersonal sanctions, in which friends and relatives strongly condemn domestic violence, has a significant effect on violence-supportive attitudes (Tsoudis 2000). Non-violent men can play a powerful role as peer educators. For example, in an action-research project in low-income settings in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, young men who questioned prevailing violence-supportive views were trained as peer educators to foster gender-equitable relations in their communities (Barker 2001).

In organisations and local contexts and the cultures with which they are associated

Our review has documented that violence-supportive attitudes are encouraged and institutionalised in the peer relations and cultures of particular organisations and contexts, especially in male-dominated and homosocially-focused male university colleges, sporting

clubs, workplaces, and military institutions. While there is great variation in the extent to which such contexts are characterised by violence-supportive social norms, it is also clear that some are particularly hostile to and dangerous for women. Intensive interventions in such contexts is necessary to address their violence-supportive local cultures.

Of the many formal and informal contexts in which men for example live and work, perpetrator (behaviour change) programs have been the only social settings where men are under some pressure to change their attitudes and behaviour. This has changed slightly in the last two years, in that the professional sporting codes of National Rugby League (NRL) and the Australian Football League (AFL) are developing education programs for their players, codes of conduct, and other measures in response to a series of alleged sexual assaults by players in 2004. Education programs should be adopted at both community and professional levels of sport, particularly in the male-dominated, team-based, contact sports which appear to have the highest potential for violence-supportive norms and social relations.

Similar and substantial initiatives in military institutions, university colleges, and workplaces also would be desirable. Peer education programs on violence against women are widely established on American university campuses, and there is no reason why they could not also be developed in Australia.

Military institutions, universities, and workplaces also are appropriate sites for social norms campaigns. In the view of social norms theory, 'our behaviour is influenced by incorrect perceptions of how other members of our social groups think and act.' (Berkowitz 2003: 4). There are disparities between actual and perceived norms regarding behaviour and attitudes – for example, men typically overestimate each others' comfort with sexist, coercive and derogatory comments about and behaviour towards women and the extent to which other men believe in myths about violence (Fabiano *et al.* 2004). The 'social norms' approach aims to correct misperceptions of social norms and thus increase health behaviours. In relation to violence against women, this has been done on some university campuses by surveying men and publicising the results, revealing the extent to which other men also disagree with violence. By shifting men's perceptions of other men's attitudes and behaviour, men's own emphasis on sexual consent, their approval of sexist behaviour and their willingness to intervene in violent behaviour increase (Fabiano *et al.* 2004; Kilmartin 2001). Given the evidence that perceived group norms do influence men's willingness to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour (Bohner *et al.* 2006), such strategies are particularly valuable.

Among religious institutions and leaders

While religious beliefs historically have been used to justify violence against women and church clergy at times have been complicit in this violence, religious institutions and leaders also have a potentially powerful role to play in encouraging an ethic of non-violence. Christian churches in recent years have begun an intense examination of clergy's roles in perpetrating and perpetuating child sexual abuse, and a similar, albeit smaller, examination is under way in relation to domestic violence. The spiritual and theological understandings of Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and other world religions each contain emphases and values which could serve to undermine community tolerance for violence against women. Spiritual and religious leaders should be encouraged to challenge violence against women and gender inequality, whether as practised among their adherents or as defended in theological teachings, through public statements, sermons, teachings, and religious materials. Clergy and lay leaders also should receive training in responding appropriately to domestic or sexual violence within faith communities, and American experience suggests that such initiatives have a positive impact on

clergy attitudes and knowledge of responses associated with victim safety (Jones *et al.* 2006; Wolff *et al.* 2001).[3]

In relation to mass media

At least four kinds of intervention are relevant in relation to the media's influence on community attitudes towards violence against women: social marketing, better news reporting, media literacy, and regulation.

First, social marketing is an obvious strategy to encourage community attitudes which are intolerant of violence against women. Particular campaigns have produced positive change in attitudes, and experience in relation to other social problems such as drink-driving suggests that comprehensive communication strategies are an effective tool of attitudinal and even behavioural change.

Second, interventions among media outlets and journalists should highlight the impacts, positive and negative, of media coverage of violence against women, and encourage appropriate portrayals through news guidelines and other mechanisms. Media organisations such as Commercial Radio Australia and the Australian Broadcasting Commission do have codes of practice which discourage sensationalised or victim-blaming treatments of violence against women, but these inclusions are brief. While more substantial guidelines for media coverage of violence against women in Australia do not appear to have been developed, overseas experience suggests that such an intervention can make a significant difference to news coverage. Using relation-building and participatory communication approaches, the Rhode Island Coalition against Domestic Violence worked with journalists to develop a best practices handbook on news coverage of intimate homicides. Such incidents had often been portrayed as unpredictable private tragedies, but post-intervention they were more likely to be framed as social problems requiring public intervention (Ryan *et al.* 2006).

Third, we should be encouraging media literacy, especially among children and youth but also among adults. Teaching critical viewing and thinking skills improves viewers' ability to ignore or resist anti-social messages and reduces the negative impact of portrayals of violence (Strasburger and Wilson 2002: 317, 346-363). As one intervention with American sixth-graders found, such interventions encourage critical thinking about media violence (Scharrer 2006). Skills in the critical analysis of representations which encourage violence against women can be integrated into school curricula, and could even include education to address harmful aspects of such media forms as pornography (Flood and Hamilton 2003b: 11-14).

Perhaps the most controversial form of intervention into media is the regulation of media content. Australian government regulations already have strong prohibitions on the portrayal of violence in film and television, and these include prohibitions on portrayals of sexual violence or coercion in adults-only pornographic materials (Office of Film and Literature Classification 2000). However, two aspects of media content whose regulation should be considered concern portrayals of violence in children's television and forms of Internet pornography. In relation to the latter for example, children and adults alike in Australia are routinely exposed online, both accidentally and deliberately, to forms of Internet pornography which are outside Australian

---

[3] Resources such as the *Journal of Religion & Abuse* include a variety of explorations of the ways in which scripture, theology, and spiritual ethics can be mobilised in service to the cause of preventing and responding to violence against women.

classification guidelines and which include sexually violent and misogynistic portrayals (Flood and Hamilton 2003a). While a detailed discussion of the merits and dangers of any extension of Australia's regulatory regime is beyond the scope of this report, this possibility at least deserves investigation.

Criminal justice system

The criminal justice system only responds to a very small proportion of domestic violence and sexual assault matters, given both low rates of reporting and attrition through the legal process (Stubbs 2001). At the same time, the criminal justice system does have an important symbolic role in shaping community perceptions of violence against women, and strong legal sanctions do encourage community intolerance for this violence (as we documented in Section 7.5.2). Therefore, strengthening legal responses to violence against women will have positive effects not only for the victims and survivors of this violence but for community attitudes in general.

In medicine and health systems

The attitudes of doctors and other health professionals towards violence against women have wider implications for the trajectories and recovery of the female victims of violence they see (as well as others involved in this violence such as perpetrators and children). Interventions to train health personnel and improve their attitudes are therefore desirable (Taft 2004), in addition to strategies such as routine screening and other case-finding approaches (Laing 2001).

In relation to lawyers, doctors, and other professionals who respond to the women and men affected by violence against women, another avenue for attitudinal change concerns professional training. Universities, TAFE institutions, and other professional bodies involved in training social workers, judges, police, priests, and other professions should integrate materials on violence against women in their curricula.

Through community development and mobilisation

One of the most powerful ways in which men's and women's attitudes towards violence against women can be transformed is through direct participation in activities, groups, and networks aimed at challenging this violence, as Section 7.5.4 documented. Of course, it would be unrealistic to expect that large proportions of the Australian population could be mobilised to participate in activist networks, although it is certainly possible to persuade large numbers to take an action as simple as wearing a White Ribbon.[4] However, events, activities and networks at the level of local communities represent powerful and effective ways in which to improve participants' attitudes towards violence against women and to transform community norms. The disadvantage of their smaller scale is balanced by the advantage of their significant educational and social impact.

Community development strategies therefore should be central to health promotion efforts aimed at attitudinal and behavioural change. In the following, we briefly outline issues relevant to such strategies in four (overlapping) types of community.

In immigrant and refugee communities: Our review has demonstrated that it is important to develop culturally-sensitive messages appropriate to the cultural norms of each community.

---

[4] During the 2005 White Ribbon Campaign in Australia, over 200,000 men and women wore white ribbons.

Almeida and Lockhard (2005) have developed a 'cultural context model' for educating members of culturally-diverse communities about privilege and oppression and building communities that support non-violence. The cultural context model utilises male sponsors from the community who support non-violence to mentor men towards non-violence and culture circles whereby extended members of the family become involved in challenging men's violence.

In Indigenous communities: We need to locate an understanding of men's violence in indigenous communities within the context of colonisation and dispossession. Community education campaigns to target community attitudes that condone violence against women have already been developed in some Indigenous communities. In some communities special Aboriginal courts have been established whereby Aboriginal elders provide advice and assistance to magistrates on relevant cultural issues (Williams 2004). In other communities, restorative justice practices have been utilised to enable community-wide healing and education (Nancarrow 2003). It is agreed that all family violence interventions in Indigenous communities must be community driven by Indigenous people (Stubbs 2004).

In rural communities: While rural communities are diverse, there are conservative ideologies in relation to gender and violence against women that are particular to these communities (Hastings and Maclean 2002). Thus community education campaigns need to engage community groups and informal networks in rural communities to gain community support to raise awareness about domestic violence. The emerging literature on the construction of rural masculinities (Campbell and Bell 2000) provides some guidance to how gender role attitudes are formed and expressed in rural communities.

In low-socio-economic communities: As we have shown, while men's violence against women occurs in all classes, there is evidence to indicate that it is more prevalent in low socio-economic communities. Poverty, unemployment, isolation and overcrowding are contributing factors to men's violence against women. Evans (2005) argues that structural factors such as class and poverty need to be recognised more fully in domestic violence interventions. While men's violence against women is not just a working-class problem, there are class differences in the formation of men's gendered attitudes towards women that need to be addressed in community education campaigns. Hurst (2002) argues that working-class masculinities constitute a form of culture and that educational interventions with white working-class men need to be culturally specific and avoid middle-class language.

Including community mobilisation through events, networks, and campaigns: Community development strategies are complemented by strategies of community mobilisation. We must not only educate men and women but also organise them for collective action (Greig and Peacock 2005). In other words, attitudinal and behavioural change also can be fostered by creating opportunities for individuals to mobilise their communities through events, networks, and campaigns. Examples of key strategies here include community workshops and events (in which both the preparation process and the product are tools of education and mobilisation), work with influential groups and community 'gatekeepers', cultural tools of art and drama such as murals, competitions, and street theatre, and fostering grassroots men's and women's groups and networks committed to advocacy for non-violence and gender equality. (Greig and Peacock 2005). It is particularly important that we mobilise men through such work, because of many men's greater endorsement of violence-supportive attitudes, men's roles as community leaders and gatekeepers, and men's relative absence from efforts to end violence against women.

11. References

Abrahams, N., R. Jewkes, R. Laubscher, and M. Hoffman (2006) Intimate partner violence: Prevalence and risk factors for men in Cape Town, South Africa. *Violence and Victims*, 21(2), April, pp. 247-264.

Access Economics (2004) *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy*. Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Australian Government.

Alder, C.M. (1992). Violence, Gender and Social Change. *International Social Science Journal*, 44(132), May, pp. 267-276.

Ajzen, I., and M. Fishbein (2005) The influence of attitudes on behavior. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Albarracin, D., B. Johnson, M. Zanner, and G. Kumkale (2005) Attitudes: Introduction and scope in D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Allen, M., D. D'Alessio, T. Emmers, and L. Gebhardt (1996) The role of educational briefings in mitigating effects of experimental exposure to violent sexually explicit material: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Sex Research*, 33(2), pp. 135-141.

Allen, M., T. Emmers, L. Gebhardt, and M. Glery (1995) Exposure to pornography and acceptance of rape myths. *Journal of Communication* 45(1), Winter, pp. 5-26.

Almeida, R., and J. Lockard (2005) The cultural context model: A new paradigm for accountability and the development of critical consciousness against domestic violence, in N. Sokoloff and C. Pratt (eds) *Domestic Violence at the Margins: Readings on Race, Class, Gender and Culture.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Anastasio, P., and D. M. Costa (2004) Twice Hurt: How newspaper coverage may reduce empathy and engender blame for female victims of crime. *Sex Roles*, 51(9/10), pp. 535-542.Anderson, I., and V. Swainson (2001) Perceived motivation for rape: Gender differences in beliefs about female and male rape. *Current Research in Social Psychology*, 6(8), pp. 107-122.

Anderson, K., and D. Umberson (2001) Gendering violence: Masculinity and power in men's accounts of domestic violence. *Gender & Society*, 15(3), June, pp. 358-380.

Anderson, V.N., D. Simpson-Taylor, and D.J. Hermann (2004) Gender, age, and rape-supportive rules. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 50(1-2), Jan, pp. 77-90.

ANOP Research Services Pty Ltd (1995) *Community Attitudes to Violence Against Women: Detailed report*. Canberra: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Office of the Status of Women.

Aromaki, A.S., K. Haebich, and R.E. Lindman (2002) Age as a modifier of sexually aggressive attitudes in men. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 43, pp. 419-423.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996) *Women's Safety Australia*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics (No. 4128.0).

Bacci, C. (1999) *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problems*. London, Sage.

Barker, G. (2001) 'Cool Your Head, Man': Preventing gender-based violence in Favelas. *Development*, 44(3), September.

Barongan, C., and G.C.N. Hall (1995) The influence of misogynous rap music on sexual aggression against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 19, pp. 195-207.

Bassili, J., and R. Brown (2005) Implicit and explicit attitudes: Research, challenges and theory. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bell, S.T., P.J. Kuriloff, and I. Lottes (1994) Understanding attributions of blame in stranger rape and date rape situations: An examination of gender, race, identification and students' social perceptions of rape victims. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24, pp. 1719-1734.

Berkel, L., B. Vandiver, and A. Bahner (2004) Gender role attitudes, religion, and spirituality as predictors of domestic violence attitudes in white college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 45(2), March-April.

Berkowitz. A.D. (2003) The Social Norms Approach: Theory, Research and Annotated Bibliography. Unpublished paper

Berkowitz, A.D. (2004) Working With Men to Prevent Violence Against Women: An Overview. (Part One) National Resource Centre on Domestic Violence: VAWnet Applied Research Forum, October.

Billig, M., S. Condor, D. Edwards, M. Gane, D. Middleton, and A. Radley (1988) *Ideological Dilemmas: A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking*. London: Sage

Black, A.E., and J.L. Allen (2001) Tracing the legacy of Anita Hill: The Thomas/Hill hearings and media coverage of sexual harassment. *Gender Issues*, Winter, 19(1).

Boeringer, S. (1999) Associations of rape-supportive attitudes with fraternal and athletic participation. *Violence against Women*, January, 5(1), pp. 81-90.

Bograd, M. (1999) Strengthening domestic violence theories: Intersections of race, class, sexual orientation and gender. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 25(3), pp. 275-289.

Bohner, G., F. Siebler, and J. Schmelcher (2006) Social Norms and the Likelihood of Raping: Perceived Rape Myth Acceptance of Others Affects Men's Rape Proclivity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, March, 32(3), pp. 286-97.

Bolzendahl, C.I., and D.J. Myers (2004) Feminist attitudes and support for gender equality: Opinion change in women and men, 1974-1998. *Social Forces*, December, 83(2), pp. 759-790.

Boswell, A., and J. Spade, (1996) Fraternities and collegiate rape culture: Why are some fraternities more dangerous places for women? *Gender & Society*, 10, April, pp. 133-147.

Brinol, P., and R. Petty (2005) Individual differences in attitude change. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Brown, T., K. Sumner, and R. Nocera (2002) Understanding sexual aggression against women: An examination of the role of men's athletic participation and related variables. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Sept., 17(9), pp. 937-952.

Bryant, A. (2003) Changes in attitudes toward women's roles: Predicting gender-role traditionalism among college students. *Sex Roles*, February, 48(3/4)

Bulbeck, C. (2004) Gender issues and the women's movement: Attitudes of young people in USA, Australia, Canada, China, India, Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea, Japan. Unpublished.

Burt, M.R. (1980) Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, pp. 217-230.

Bush, D. (1992) Women's movements and state policy reform aimed at domestic violence against women: A comparison of movement mobilization in the U.S. and India. *Gender and Society*, 6(1), pp. 587-608.

Buzawa, E., and C. Buzawa (1993) The scientific evidence is not conclusive: Arrest is no panacea. In R.Gelles and D. Loseke (eds) *Current Controversies on Family Violence*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Campbell, H., and M. Bell (2000) The question of rural masculinities. *Rural Sociology,* 65(3), pp. 145-153.

Carll, E. (2003) News portrayal of violence and women: Implications for public policy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(12), August.

Carlson, B., and A. Pollitz Worden (2005) Attitudes and beliefs about domestic violence: results of a public opinion survey: I. definitions of domestic violence, criminal domestic violence, and prevalence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20(10), October, pp. 1197-1218.

Carr, J., and K. Vandeusen (2002) The relationship between family of origin violence and dating violence in college men. *Journal Of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(6), June, pp. 630-646.

Carr, J., and K. Vandeusen (2004) Risk factors for male sexual aggression on college campuses. *Journal of Family Violence*, 19(5), pp. 279-289.

Chng, C.L., and S. Burke (1999) An assessment of college students' attitudes and empathy toward rape. *College Student Journal*, 33, pp. 573-583.

Ciabattari, T. (2001) Changes in men's conservative gender ideologies: Cohort and period influences. *Gender & Society*, 15(4), August, pp. 574-591.

Coker, D. (2002) Anti-subordination processes in domestic violence. In H. Strang and J. Braithwaite (eds) *Restorative Justice and Family Violence*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Consalvo, M. (1998) "3 shot dead in courthouse": Examining news coverage of domestic violence and mail-order brides. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 21.

Coulter, R. (2003) Boys Doing Good: Young men and gender equity. *Educational Review*, 55(2).

Cousineau, M., and G. Rondeau (2004) Towards a transnational and cross-cultural analysis of family violence. *Violence Against Women*, 10(8), pp. 935-949.

Cowan, G. (2000) Beliefs about the causes of four types of rape. *Sex Roles*, 42(9/1), May, pp. 807-823.

Davis, T., and C. Lee (1996) Sexual assault: Myths and stereotypes among Australian adolescents. *Sex Roles*, 34(11-12), pp. 787-803.

Davis, T., and D. Liddell (2002) Getting inside the house: The effectiveness of a rape prevention program for college fraternity men. *Journal of College Student Development*, 43(1), January/February.

De Judicibus, M., and M.P. McCabe (2001) Blaming the target of sexual harassment: Impact of gender role, sexist attitudes, and work role. *Sex Roles*, 44(7/8), April, pp. 401-417.

DeKeseredy, W., and K. Kelly (1995) Sexual abuse in Canadian university and college dating relationships: The contribution of male peer support. *Journal of Family Violence*, 10, pp. 41-53.

DeKeseredy, W., M. Schwartz, and Shahid Alvi (2000) The role of profeminist men in dealing with woman abuse on the Canadian college campus. *Violence Against Women*, September, 6(9), pp. 918-935.

Delsol, C., and G. Margolin (2004) The role of family-of-origin violence in men's marital violence perpetration. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 24(1), March, pp. 99-122.

Donovan, R., and R. Vlais (2005) *VicHealth Review of Communication Components of Social Marketing / Public Education Campaigns Focused on Violence Against Women*. Melbourne: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation.

Douki, S., F. Nacef, A. Belhadj, A. Bouasker, and R. Ghachem (2003) Violence against women in Arab and Islamic countries. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, 6(3), August.

Dugan, L. (2003) Domestic violence legislation: Exploring its impact on the likelihood of domestic violence, police involvement and arrest. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 2(2) pp. 283-312.

Eagly, A., and S. Chaiken (1993) *The Psychology of Attitudes*. Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Ely, G. (2004) Domestic violence and immigrant communities in the United States: A review of women's unique needs and recommendations for social work practice and research. *Stress, Trauma and Crisis*, 7, pp. 223-241.

Evans, I. (2001) Desperate lovers and wanton women: Press representations of domestic violence. *Hecate*, 27(2).

Evas, S. (2005) Beyond gender: Class, poverty and domestic violence. *Australian Social Work*, 58(1), pp. 36-43.

Fabiano, P, W. Perkins, A. Berkowitz, J. Linkenbach, and C. Stark (2004) Engaging men as Social Justice Allies in Ending Violence Against Women: Evidence for a Social Norms Approach. *Journal of American College Health*, 52(3), pp. 105-112.

Fabrigar, L., T. Macdonald, and D. Webener (2005) The structure of attitudes. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Feather, N.T. (2004) Value Correlates of Ambivalent Attitudes Towards Gender Relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(1), January: 3-12.

Feder, L., A. Jolin, and W. Feyerherm (2000) Lessons from two randomized experiments in criminal justice settings. *Crime and Delinquency*, 46(3), pp. 380-400.

Felson, R., S. Messner, A. Hoskin, and G. Deane (2002) Reasons for reporting and not reporting domestic violence to the police. *Criminology*, 40(3), August.

Ferguson, T., J. Berlin, E. Noles, J. Johnson, W. Reed, and C. Spicer (2005) Variation in the Application of the 'Promiscuous Female' Stereotype and the Nature of the Application Domain: Influences on Sexual Harassment Judgments after Exposure to the Jerry Springer Show. *Sex Roles*, 52(7-8).

Fiske, S. (1998) Sterotyping, prejudice and discrimination. In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske and L. Gardner (eds) *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 2, 4th Ed, Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Flake, D. (2005) Individual, family and community risk markers for domestic violence in Peru. *Violence Against Women,* 11(3), pp. 353-373.

Flood, M. (2002) Pathways to manhood: The social and sexual ordering of young men's lives. *Health Education Australia*, 2(2), pp. 24-30.

Flood, M. (2005) Men's collective struggles for gender justice: The case of anti-violence activism. In *The Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*. Eds Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R.W. Connell. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Flood, M. (2006a in press) Changing men: Best practice in sexual violence education. *Women Against Violence*.

Flood, M. (2006b in press) 'Fathers' rights' and the defense of paternal authority. *Violence Against Women*.

Flood, M., and C. Hamilton (2003a) *Youth and Pornography in Australia: Evidence on the extent of exposure and likely effects*. Canberra: The Australia Institute, Discussion Paper No. 52, February.

Flood, M., and C. Hamilton (2003b) *Regulating Youth Access to Pornography*. Canberra: The Australia Institute, Discussion Paper No. 53, March.

Foulis, D., and M.P. McCabe (1997) Sexual harassment: Factors affecting attitudes and perceptions. *Sex Roles*, 37(9-10), pp. 773-798.

Funder, K. (1996) Family law reforms and attitudes towards parental responsibility: The question of the match. Paper presented at the *Australian Family Law Conference,* Canberra, October.

Funk, J.B. (2002) Electronic Games. In *Children, Adolescents, & the Media*. Eds. V. C. Strasburger and B. J. Wilson, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Funk, J.B., H.B. Baldacci, T. Pasold, and J. Baumgardner (2004) Violence exposure in real-life, video games, television, movies, and the internet: is there desensitization? *Journal of Adolescence*, 27, pp. 23-39.

Gamson, W. (1990) *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Wadsworth Publishing Company, New York.

Garner, H. (1995) *The First Stone*. Sydney: Picador.

Gengler, S.W., and J.W. Lee (2003) Catholic male priests, Protestant female ministers and Protestant male ministers. *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, 3(3), pp. 41-52.

Gerbert, B., P. Abercrombie, N. Caspers, C. Love, and A. Bronstone (1999) How health care providers help battered women: the survivors' perspective. *Women and Health*, 29(3), pp. 115-135.

Gilgun, J., and L. McLeaod (1999) Gendering violence. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 22, pp. 167-193.

Gilligan, C. (1982) *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, J. (2000) Punishment and violence: Is the criminal law based on one huge mistake? *Social Research*, 67(3) Fall, pp. 745-761.

Godenzi, A., M.D. Schwartz, and W.S. DeKeseredy (2001) Toward a social bond / male peer support theory of woman abuse in North American college dating. *Critical Criminology*, 10, pp. 10-16.

Gold, J., and S. Villari (2000) Peer education: Student activism of the nineties. In Jodi Gold and Susan Villari (eds) *Just Sex: Students Rewrite The Rules on Sex, Violence, Activism, and Equality*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield (pp. 145-156).

Golden, J., C. Johnson, and R. Lopez (2001) Sexual harassment in the workplace: Exploring the effects of attractiveness on perception of harassment. *Sex Roles*, 45(11/12), December

Good, G.E., M.J. Heppner, T.L. Hillenbrand-Gunn, and L.F. Wang (1995) Sexual and psychological violence: An exploratory study of predictors in college men. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 4(1), August, pp. 59-71.

Goodkind, J.R., T.L. Gillum, D.I. Bybee, and C.M. Sullivan (2003) The impact of family and friends' reactions on the well-being of women with abusive partners. *Violence Against Women*, 9(3), pp. 347-373.

Gregory, J., A.S. Lewton, D. Schmidt, D. Smith, and M. Mattern (2002) Body politics with feeling: The power of the clothesline project. *New Political Science*, 24(3), September, pp. 433-448.

Greig, A., and D. Peacock (2005) *Men as Partners Programme: Promising Practices Guide*. EngenderHealth (Draft only).

Hajjar, L. (2004) Religion, state power, and domestic violence in Muslim societies: A framework for comparative analysis. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 29(1), Winter.

Haj-Yahia, M. (2003) Beliefs about wife beating among Arab men from Israel: The influence of patriarchal ideology. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 18(4), pp. 193-205.

Hall, C., and M. Crum (1994) Women and body-isms in television beer commercials. *Sex Roles*, 31(5-6), pp. 329-337.

Harris, R., J. Firestone and W. Vega (2005) The interaction of country of origin, acculturation and gender role ideology on wife abuse, *Social Science Quarterly*, 86(2), pp. 465-483

Harris, R., and J. Firestone (1998) Changes in predictors of gender role ideologies among women: A multivariate analysis. *Sex Roles*, February, 38(3/4).

Harrison, D. (2002) *The First Casualty: Violence Against Women in the Canadian Military*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company.

Hart, P., and Associates (2002) *Changing Public Attitudes Towards the Criminal Justice System*. The Open Society Institute, New York.

Hasso, F. (2001) Feminist generations? The long-term impact of social movement involvement on Palestinian women's lives. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 107(3), November, pp. 586-611.

Hassouneh-Phillips, D.S. (2001) "Marriage is half of faith and the rest is fear Allah": Marriage and spousa abuse among American Muslims. *Violence Against Women*, 7(8), August, pp. 927-946.

Hastings, C., and K. Maclean (2002) Addressing violence against women in a rural context'. Paper to *Expanding Our Horizons: Understanding the Complexities of Violence Against Women*, 18-22 February, University of Sydney.

Heaven, P.C.L., J. Connors, and A. Pretorius (1998) Victim characteristics and attribution of rape blame in Australia and South Africa. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 138(1), pp. 131-133.

Heise, L. (1998) Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. *Violence Against Women*, 4(3), June, pp. 262-283.

Helliwell, C. (2000) 'It's only a penis': Rape, feminism, and difference. *Signs*, 25(3), pp. 789-816.

Herek, G. (1999) The social construction of attitudes: Functional consensus and divergence in the US public's reaction to AIDS. In G. Maio and J. Olson (eds) *Why We Evaluate: Functions of Attitudes*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hickman, L., and S.S. Simpson (2003) Fair Treatment or Preferred Outcome? The Impact of Police Behavior on Victim Reports of Domestic Violence Incidents. *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 37, Iss. 3, September.

Hill, M.S., and A.R. Fischer. (2001) Does entitlement mediate the link between masculinity and rape-related variables?. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. 48(1): pp. 39-50, Jan.

Hillier, L., and M. Foddy (1993) The role of observer attitudes in judgments of blame in cases of wife assault. *Sex Roles*, 29(9/10), November.

Hinck, S.S., and R.W. Thomas (1999) Rape myth acceptance in college students: How far have we come? *Sex Roles*, 40, pp. 815-832.

Hird, M., and S. Jackson. (2001) Where 'angels' and 'wusses' fear to tread: Sexual coercion in adolescent dating relationships. *Journal of Sociology*, 37(1), May, pp. 27-43.

Hogan, M.J. (2005) Adolescents and media violence: Six crucial issues for practitioners. *Adolescent Medicine Clinics*, June, 16(2), pp. 249-268.

Holcomb, D.R., L.C. Holcomb, K.A. Sondag, and N. Williams (1991) Attitudes toward date rape: Gender differences among college students. *College Student Journal*, 25, pp. 434-439.

Hong, L.L. (2000) Toward a transformed approach to prevention: Breaking the link between masculinity and violence. *Journal of American College Health*. 48(6), May, pp. 269-279.

Howe, A. (1997) 'The war against women': Media representations of men's violence against women in Australia. *Violence Against Women*, 3(1), February, pp. 59-75.

Humphrey, S., and A. Kahn (2000) Fraternities, athletic teams, and rape: Importance of identification with a risky group. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Dec., Vol. 15, Iss. 12, pp. 1313-1322.

Hurst, D. (2002) Transcultural masculinities: Engagement of men in domestic violence prevention: Key issues. Paper to *Expanding Our Horizons: Understanding the Complexities of Violence Against Women*, 18-22 February, University of Sydney.

Hutchinson, R., D. Tess, A. Gleckman, C. Hagans, and L. Reese (1994) Students' perceptions of male sexually aggressive behavior as a function of educational level and gender. *Sex Roles*, 30(5/6), March, pp. 407-422.

Issaacs, T. (2005) Domestic violence and hate crimes: Acknowledging two levels of responsibility, *Criminal Justice Ethics*, 20, pp. 1-13.

Johnson, B., G. Maio, and A. Smilth-McLallen (2005) Communication and attitude change: Causes, processes and effects. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Johnson, G., and R. Knight (2000) Developmental antecedents of sexual coercion in juvenile sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: Journal of Research & Treatment*, 12(3), pp. 165-178.

Johnson, J.D., M.S. Adams, L. Ashburn, and W. Reed (1995) Differential gender effects of exposure to rap music on African American adolescents' acceptance of teen dating violence. *Sex Roles*, 33, pp. 597-605.

Jones, A.S., T.S. Fowler, D.F. Farmer, R.T. Anderson, and D.W. Richmond (2006) Description and evaluation of a faith community-based domestic violence pilot program in Forsyth County, NC. *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, 7(4), pp. 55-87.

Kalof, L. (1999) The effects of gender and music video imagery on sexual attitudes. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 139(3), pp. 378-385.

Kelly, L. (1996) 'It's everywhere': Sexual violence as a continuum. In *Feminism and Sexuality: A Reader*. Eds. Stevi Jackson and Sue Scott. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kennedy, M., and B. Gorzalka (2002) Asian and Non-Asian Attitudes Toward Rape, Sexual Harassment, and Sexuality. *Sex Roles*, 46(7/8), April.

Kilmartin, C. (2001) *Sexual Assault in Context: Teaching College Men About Gender*. Holmes Beach, FL: Learning Publications.

Kim, J., and C. Emery (2003) Marital power, conflict, norm consensus and marital violence in nationally representative sample of Korean couples. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 18(2), pp. 197-219.

Kingsnorth, R., and R. MacIntosh (2004) Domestic violence: Predictors of victim support for official action. *Justice Quarterly*, Vol. 21, Iss. 2, June.

Kitzinger, J. (1995) 'I'm sexually attractive but I'm powerful': Young women negotiating a sexual reputation. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 18(2), pp. 187-196.

Klein, E, J. Campbell, E. Soler, and M. Ghez (1997) *Ending Domestic Violence: Changing Public Perceptions / Halting the Epidemic*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Korn, A. and S. Efrat (2004) The coverage of rape in the Israeli popular press. *Violence Against Women*, 10.

Koss, M.P., and M.R. Harvey (1991) *The Rape Victim: Clinical and community interventions* (2nd ed.) Sage Publications, Inc; Newbury Park, CA.

Krosnick, J., C. Judd, and B. Wittenbrink (2005) The measurement of attitudes. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kruglanski, A., and W. Stroebe (2005) The influence of beliefs and goals on attitudes: Issues of structure, function and dynamics. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lane, B., and A. Knowles (2000) Community attitudes to domestic violence: Attributions of responsibility, and suggested punishments related to alcohol consumption and level of violence. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 7(1), pp. 51-58.

Laing, L. (2001) Routine screening for domestic violence in health services. Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse Topic Paper.

Lanis, K., and K. Covell (1995) Images of women in advertisements: Effects on attitudes related to sexual aggression. *Sex Roles*, 32(9-10), May, pp. 639-649.

LaRocca, M., and J. Kromrey (1999) The perception of sexual harassment in higher education: Impact of gender and attractiveness. *Sex Roles*, 40(11/12).

Larson, M. (2003) Gender, race, and aggression in television commercials that feature children. *Sex Roles*, Jan., 48(1/2).

Lichter, E., and L. McCloskey (2004) The effects of childhood exposure to marital violence on adolescent gender-role beliefs and dating violence. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, December, 28(4).

Lievore, D. (2003) *Non-reporting and Hidden Reporting of Sexual Assault: An international literature review*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Locke, B., and J. Mahalik (2005) Examining masculinity norms, problem drinking, and athletic involvement as predictors of sexual aggression in college men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(3), July, pp. 279-283.

Locke, L., and C. Richman (1999) Attitudes Towards Domestic Violence: Race and Gender Issues. *Sex Roles*, 40(3/4), pp. 227-247.

Macdonald, H. (1998) *What's in a Name? Definitions and Domestic Violence*. Brunswick, VIC: Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre.

Magdol, L., T. Moffitt, A. Caspi, and P. Silva (1998) Developmental Antecedents of Partner Abuse: A Prospective-Longitudinal Study. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 107(3), August, pp. 375-389.

Malamuth, N., T. Addison, and M. Koss (2000) Pornography and sexual aggression: Are there reliable effects and can we understand them? *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 11.

Margolis, D. (1998) Culturally Sanctioned Violence Against Women: A Look at Attitudes Toward Rape. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Graduate School of Education, Boston College, Boston.

Mankowski, E.S., J. Haaken, and C.S. Silvergleid (2002) Collateral damage: An analysis of the achievements and unintended consequences of batterer intervention programs and discourse. *Journal of Family Violence*, 17(2), pp. 167-184.

Markowitz, F.E. (2001a) Attitudes and Family Violence: Linking intergenerational and cultural theories. *Journal of Family Violence*, 16(2), pp. 205-218.

Markowitz, F.E. (2001b) Socioeconomic disadvantage and violence: Recent research on culture and neighborhood control as explanatory mechanisms. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 8, pp. 145-154.

Maxwell, K, J. Garner, and J. Fagan (2001) The effects of arrest on intimate partner violence: New evidence from the Spouse Assault Replication Program, Washington DC: National Institute of Justice.

May, I. (1991) *Collective Responsibility*. Lanham, Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield.

Michalski, J. (2004) Making sociological sense out of trends in intimate partner violence: The social structure of violence against women, *Violence Against Women*, 10(6), pp. 652-675.

Mills. M. (1998) Challenging Violence in Schools: Disruptive Moments in the Educational Politics of Masculinity. PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane.

Mori, L., J.A. Bernat, P.A. Glenn, L.L. Selle, and M.G. Zarate (1995) Attitudes toward rape: gender and ethnic differences across Asian and caucasian college students. *Sex Roles*, 32(7/8), April, pp. 457-467.

Mouzos, J., and T. Makkai (2004) *Women's Experiences of Male Violence: Findings from the Australian Component of the International Violence against Women Survey (IVAWS)*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Murnen, S.K., C. Wright, and G. Kaluzny (2002) If 'boys will be boys,' then girls will be victims? A meta-analytic review of the research that relates masculine ideology to sexual aggression. *Sex Roles*, June, 46(11-12), pp. 359-375.

Nagel, B., H. Matsuo, K.P. McIntyre, and N. Morrison (2005) Attitudes toward victims of rape: Effects of gender, race, religion, and social class. *Journal of Interpersonal violence*, 20(6): 725-737.

Nancarrow, H. (2003) In Search of Justice in Domestic and Family Violence. Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University, Queensland.

Nason-Clark, N. (1997) *The Battered Wife: How Christians confront family violence*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Nathanson, C. (1999) Social movements as catalyst for policy change: The case of smoking and guns. *Journal of Health, Politics and Policy Law,* 24(3), pp. 421-488.

National Campaign Against Violence and Crime (1998) *Working With Adolescents to Prevent Domestic Violence*. Canberra: NCAVAC Unit, Attorney-General's Department.

National Crime Prevention (2001) *Young People & Domestic Violence: National research on young people's attitudes and experiences of domestic violence*. Canberra: Crime Prevention Branch, Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department.

Nayak, M., C. Byrne, M. Martin, and A. Abraham (2003) Attitudes towards violence against women: A cross-nation study. *Sex Roles*, 49(7/8), pp. 333-342.

Neville, H., M. Heppner, E. Oh, L. Spanierman, and M. Clark (2004) General And culturally specific factors influencing black and white rape survivors' self-esteem. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(1), March.

Office of Film and Literature Classification (2000) *Guidelines for the Classification of Films and Videotapes*. Amendment No. 3, Schedule 2.

Oh, E., and H. Neville (2004) Development and validation of the Korean rape myth acceptance scale. *Counseling Psychologist*, 32(2), March, pp. 301-331.

Olson, J., and J. Stone (2005) The influence of behaviour on attitudes. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

O'Neil, J.M., and M. Harway. (1997) A multivariate model explaining men's violence toward women: Predisposing and triggering hypotheses. *Violence Against Women*. 3(2), April, pp. 182-203.

Ostrowski, C.J. (1996) The clothesline project: Women's stories of gender-related violence. *Women and Language*, 19(1).

Pancer, S. (1997) Social psychology: The crisis continues. In D. Fox and I. Prilleltensky (eds) *Critical Psychology: An Introduction.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Pavlou, M., and A. Knowles (2001) Domestic violence: Attributions, recommended punishments and reporting behaviour related to provocation by the victim. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law,* 8(1), pp. 76-85.

Pease, B. (2002) (Re)Constructing men's interests. *Men and Masculinities*, 5(2), pp. 165-177.

People, J. (2005) Trends and patterns in domestic violence assaults. *Crime and Justice Bulletin*, No. 89, October. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

Phillips, R. (2006) Undoing an activist response: Feminism and the Australian government's domestic violence policy, *Critical Social Policy*, 26(1), pp. 192-219.

Plummer, D. (1999) *One of the Boys: Masculinity, Homophobia, and Modern Manhood*. New York: Harrington Park Press.

Polletta, F., and J. Jasper (2001) Collective identity and social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, pp. 283-305.

Potter, J. (1998) Discursive social psychology: From attitudes to evaluations, *European Review of Social Psychology,* 9, pp. 233-266.

Potter, J., and M. Wetherell (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour.* Newbury Park CA: Sage.

Prislin, R., and W. Wood. (2005) Social influence in attitudes and attitude change. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Queensland Government (Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy and Development). (2000) *The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence Report.* Qld (2nd edition, March).Quinn, B.A. (2002). Sexual harassment and masculinity: The power and meaning of "girl watching." *Gender & Society*, June, 16(3), pp. 386-402.

Radzik, L. (2005) Collective responsibility and duties to respond. *Social Theory and Practice,* 27(3), pp.1-16.

Reitzel-Jaffe, D., and D. Wolfe (2001) Predictors of Relationship Abuse Among Young Men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 6(2), February, pp. 99-115.

Roberts, J., and G. Hougheds (2002) *Changing Attitudes to Punishment: Public Opinion, Crime and Justice*. Willan Publishing, Portland, Oregon.

Rosen, L.N., R.J. Kaminski, A.M. Parmley, K.H. Knudson, and P. Fancher (2003) The effects of peer group climate on intimate partner violence among married male U.S. Army soldiers. *Violence Against Women*, 9(9), September, pp. 1045-1071.

Ryan, C., M. Anastario, and A. DaCunha (2006) Changing Coverage of Domestic Violence Murders: A Longitudinal Experiment in Participatory Communication. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21, pp. 209-228.

Sakalh, N. (2001) Beliefs about wife beating among Turkish college students: The effects of patriarchy, sexism, and sex differences. *Sex Roles*, 44(9/10), May.

Salazar, L. (2005) Moving beyond the individual: Examining the effects of domestic violence policies on social norms. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 32, (3-4), pp. 1-12.

Sanday, P. (1996) Rape-prone versus rape-free campus cultures. *Violence Against Women*, 2(2), June.

Sawyer, R., E. Thompson, and A. Chicorelli (2002) Rape myth acceptance among intercollegiate student athletes: A preliminary examination. *American Journal of Health Studies*,18(1), pp. 19-25.

Scharrer, E. (2006) "I noticed more violence:" The effects of a media literacy program on critical attitudes toward media violence. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 21.

Schmidt, J., and L. Sherman (1993) Does arrest deter domestic violence? *American Behavioral Scientist,* 36(5), pp. 601-609.

Sellers, C., J. Cochran, and K. Branch (2005) Social learning theory and partner violence: A research note. *Deviant Behavior*, 26(4), July-August, pp. 379-395.

Schwartz, M., and W. DeKeseredy (1997) *Sexual Assault on the College Campus: The Role of Male Peer Support*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (1999) Towards a cultural definition of rape: Dilemmas in dealing with rape victims in Palestinian society. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22(2), pp. 157-173.

Sheldon, J.P., and S.L. Parent (2002) Clergy's attitudes and attributions of blame toward female rape victims. *Violence Against Women*, 8(2), pp. 233-256.

Shoham, E. (2005) Gender traditionalism and attitudes toward domestic violence within a closed community. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology,* 49(4), pp. 427-449.

Simonson, K., and L. Subich (1999) Rape perceptions as a function of gender-role traditionality and victim-perpetrator association. *Sex Roles*, 40(7/8).

Smith, S.L., and A.R. Boyson (2002) Violence in music videos: Examining the prevalence and context of physical aggression. *Journal of Communication*, 52(1), March.

Snell, W., Jr. (1993) Social reactions to depictions of casual and steady acquaintance rape: The impact of AIDS exposure and stereotypic beliefs about women. *Sex Roles*, 29(9/10), November.

Stalans, L., and M. Finn (2000) Gender differences in officers' perceptions and decisions about domestic violence cases. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 11(3), September.

Taket, A., A. Beringer, A. Irvine, and S. Garfield (2004) *Tackling Domestic Violence: Exploring the Health Service Contribution*. London: Home Office Online Report 52/04.

Tolman, R., and A. Weisz (1995) Coordinated community intervention for domestic violence: The effects of arrest and prosecution on recidivism of woman abuse perpetrators. *Crime and Delinquency*, 41(4), pp. 481-495.

Steinmetz, S., and M.M. Haj-Yahia (2006) Definitions of and beliefs about wife abuse among ultra-Orthodox Jewish men from Israel. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21(4), April, pp. 525-554.

Stewart, A., and K. Maddren (1997) Police officers' judgements of blame in family violence: The impact of gender and alcohol. *Sex Roles*, 37(11/12), pp. 921-933.

Strasburger, V., and B. Wilson (eds) (2002) *Children, Adolescents, & the Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Straton, J. (2002) Rule of Thumb Versus Rule of Law. *Men and Masculinities*, 5(1), July.

Stubbs, J. (2004) Restorative justice, domestic violence and family violence. *Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse*, Issues Paper 9.

Stubbs, J. (2003) Sexual Assault, Criminal Justice, and Law and Order. Paper to *Practice and Prevention: Contemporary Issues in Adult Sexual Assault in New South Wales*. Sydney: University of Technology, 12-14 February 2003.

Szymanski, L. (1993) Gender role and attitudes Toward rape in male and female college students. *Sex Roles*, 29(1/2), July.

Taft, A. (2002) Pandora's many faces: Culture and difference in family doctors' responses to intimate partner violence against women. Paper to *Expanding Our Horizons: Exploring the Complexities of Violence Against Women: Meanings, Cultures, Differences*. Sydney: University of Sydney, 18-22 February.

Taft, A. (2004) A model health system approach to gender-based violence. *Australian Health Review*, 28.

Tang, C.S., and F.M. Cheung (1997) Effects of gender and profession type on definitions of violence against women in Hong Kong. *Sex Roles*, 36(11/12), pp. 837-849.

Tilden, V., T. Schmidt, B. Limandri, G. Chiodo, M. Garland, and P. Loveless (1994) Factors that influence clinicians' assessment and management of family violence. *American Journal of Public Health*, 84(4), April.

Tolman, D., R. Spencer, M. Rosen-Reynoso, and M. Porche (2003) Sowing the seeds of violence in heterosexual relationships: Early adolescents narrate compulsory heterosexuality. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(1), pp. 159-178.

Trioli, V. (1996) *Generation f: Sex, Power & the Young Feminist*. Port Melbourne: Minerva.

Truman, D.M., D.M. Tokar, and A.R. Fischer (1996) Dimensions of masculinity: Relations to date rape supportive attitudes and sexual aggression in dating situations. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 74, pp. 555-562.

Tsoudis, O. (2000) Do social sanctions matter in domestic violence?: A pilot study. *Web Journal of Current Legal Issues*, 2, pp. 1-12.

Tuffin, K. (2005) *Understanding Critical Psychology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Vandello, J.A., and D. Cohen (2003) Male honor and female fidelity: Implicit cultural scripts that perpetuate domestic violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, May; 84(5): 997-1010.

VicHealth (2005) *The Health Costs of Violence: Measuring the burden of disease caused by intimate partner violence*. Melbourne: VicHealth.

Viki, G., and D. Abrams (2002) But She Was Unfaithful: Benevolent sexism and reactions to rape victims who violate gender role expectations. *Sex Roles*, 47(5/6), pp. 289-293.

Viki, G., D. Abrams, and P. Hutchison (2003) The 'True' Romantic: Benevolent Sexism and Paternalistic Chivalry. *Sex Roles*, November, 49(9/10).

Wade, J., and C. Brittan-Powell (2001) Men's Attitudes Toward Race and Gender Equity: The Importance of Masculinity Ideology, Gender-Related Traits, and Reference Group Identity Dependence. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 2(1), January.

Ward, C. (1995) *Attitudes Towards Rape: Feminist and Social Psychological Perspectives*. London: Sage.

Ware, K.N., H.M. Levitt, and G. Bayer (2004) May God help you: Faith leaders' perspectives of intimate partner violence within their communities. *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, 5(2), pp. 55-81.

Warner, K. (2004) Gang rape in Sydney: Crime, the media, politics, race and sentencing. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 37(3), August, pp. 344-361.

Wehbi, S. (2005) 'Women with nothing to lose': Marriageability and women's perceptions of rape and consent in contemporary Beirut. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25(3), pp. 287-300.

West, A., and M.L. Wandrei (2002) Intimate partner violence: A model for predicting interventions by informal helpers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(9), pp. 972-986.

Wetherell, M., and J. Potter (1992) *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation*. London: Harvester.

Whatley, M. (2005) The effect of participant sex, victim dress, and traditional attitudes on causal judgments for marital rape victims. *Journal of Family Violence*, 20(3), June.

White, B.H., and S.E.R. Kurpius (2002) Effects of Victim Sex and Sexual Orientation on Perceptions of Rape. *Sex Roles*, 46(5/6), March.

White, B.H., and S.E.R. Kurpius (1999) Attitudes toward rape victims: Effects of gender and professional status. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14(9), pp. 989-995.

Williams, V. (2004) *The Approach of Australian Courts to Aboriginal Customary Law in the Areas of Criminal, Civil and Family Law*. Aboriginal Legal Service, Background Paper 1.

Wilson, T., D. Kraft, and S. Dunn (1989) The disruptive effect of explaining attitudes: The moderating effects of knowledge about the attitude object. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* 25, pp. 379-400.

Wilson, T., S. Lindsey, and T. Schooler (2000) A model of dual attitudes: The moderating effects of knowledge about the attitude object. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 25, pp. 379-400.

Wolff, D.A., D. Burleigh, M. Tripp, and A. Gadomski (2001) Training clergy: The role of the faith community in domestic violence prevention. *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, 2(4), pp. 47-62.

Wool, J., and D. Stemen (2004) *Changing Fortunes or Changing Attitudes: Sentencing and Corrections Reforms in 2003*. Vera Institute of Justice, New York.

Workman, J., and K. Johnson (1991) The role of cosmetics in attributions about sexual harassment. *Sex Roles*, 24(11/12), June.

Wyer, R., and D. Albarrcin (2005) Belief formation, organisaton and change: Cognitive and motivational influences. In D. Albarracin, B. Johnson and M. Zanna (eds) *The Handbook of Attitudes*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Xenos, S., and D. Smith (2001) Perceptions of rape and sexual assault among Australian adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, November, 16(11), pp. 1103-1119.

Yoshioka, M.R., J. DiNoia, and K. Ullah (2001) Attitudes towards marital violence: An examination of four Asian communities. *Violence Against Women*. 7(8), August, pp. 900-926.

Young, M., J. Byles, and A. Dobson (2000) The effectiveness of legal protection in the prevention of domestic violence in the lives of young Australian women. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice,* No. 148, March. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.