

THE MEN'S PROJECT



EXPLORING RESPONSES TO MEN
WHO ARE VICTIMS OR PERPETRATORS
OF FAMILY AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



Department for Community Development
Government of Western Australia
Family and Domestic Violence Unit

FOREWORD FROM THE MINISTER



I am very pleased to introduce *The Men's Project – Exploring Responses To Men Who Are Victims Or Perpetrators Of Family and Domestic Violence*.

This initiative is an important step in engaging men in the reduction of family and domestic violence. It recognises that responsibility for violence needs to be borne by the perpetrators of that violence.

It is an unavoidable fact that if we are to reduce family and domestic violence then we must address the behaviour of men. Although individual men may choose to act violently, we as a government and as a community must provide a clear response that clearly states that violence is unacceptable and must be challenged.

The Men's Project report is part of a larger project exploring the issues of men who are victims or perpetrators of family and domestic violence. It contains a number of responses, all aimed at reducing family and domestic violence.

One of the major themes of the report is the impact that men's silence can have in relation to domestic violence. This silence can perpetuate an environment where men are left unchallenged about their violent choices. *The Men's Project* identifies that all men can play a role in addressing family and domestic violence by actively challenging destructive behaviour.

We need to explore the role of culture in the development of male violence and how culture can create masculinity that can be either helpful or destructive. As men, we have responsibility to explore the forms of masculinity that promote and foster fairness, decency and non violence. We need to recognise that the majority of men are decent loving people and that modelling positive masculinity has a profound effect on our young boys and girls.

By addressing the issues raised in this report, we will move forward in reducing violence in our families and our community.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "David Templeman". The signature is fluid and cursive.

David Templeman MLA

Minister for Community Development; Seniors and Volunteering; Youth

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Family and Domestic Violence Unit

Level 7, 2 Havelock Street

West Perth

Western Australia 6005

Tel: 6217 8300

Email: fadvu@dcd.wa.gov.au

Web: www.domesticviolence.wa.gov.au

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE MEN'S PROJECT

Exploring responses to men who are victims or perpetrators of family and domestic violence

The purpose of the Men's Project is to explore existing services, resources, and responses for men who are victims or perpetrators of domestic violence, and to report on the key issues identified. The aim is to identify the key issues that will inform the direction the Family and Domestic Violence Unit will take in response to men and family and domestic violence.

The Men's Project arose in response to the Western Australian Family and Domestic Violence State Strategic Plan 2004 - 2008. The plan identifies the need to conduct further research and consultation examining abuse experienced by men. The Family and Domestic Violence Unit expanded the enquiry to include men's experiences as both victims and perpetrators of family and domestic violence.

In December 2004 a number of new legislative changes came into effect through the *Acts Amendment (Family and Domestic Violence) Act 2004*, which strengthened the existing Violence Restraining Order (VRO) legislation and introduced Police Orders. The changes enshrine in legislation significant differences in how Police are able to respond to family and domestic violence, making it possible for officers to adopt a more proactive stance. The legislative changes have a direct impact on men, women, and children in Western Australia. The Men's Project gathered anecdotal evidence of the impact of these changes.

The Western Australian Family and Domestic Violence State Strategic Plan 2004–2008 proposes significant policy initiatives that have led to increased activity in the family and domestic violence service sector. One of the most important initiatives is increased coordination between the government and non-government sectors in order to provide an interagency response that improves service coordination and strengthen interagency partnerships. The Men's Project worked in close consultation with key stakeholders who participate in a coordinated response to ensure that a wide spectrum of opinion would be represented in this report.

Consultations and Interviews

Consultations were conducted with a diverse range of stakeholders involved in the current coordinated response to family and domestic violence. These included service providers from the government and non-government sectors in metropolitan and rural settings, including:

- perpetrator programs;
- women's refuges and other women's interest groups;
- culturally and linguistically diverse community members;
- homosexual men
- the Men's Domestic Violence Helpline and other Department for Community Development staff;
- men's groups;
- the Western Australia Police;
- lawyers and a magistrate;
- Indigenous men and women throughout the State; and
- allied health professionals.

The Men's Project undertook a number of community consultations in rural and remote locations, including the Kimberley, Pilbara, Goldfields, Wheatbelt and the Great Southern Districts.

Methodology

A qualitative research methodology was employed, in which semi-structured interview techniques were used in conjunction with an 'emergent design' data analysis process. Interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, exploring four main areas of interest:

- the impact of the recent changes to family and domestic violence legislation and Police Orders on men in the community and on the safety of women and children;
- the services available to men for the purpose of accountability for the cessation of family and domestic violence;
- extent and impact on male victims of family and domestic violence; and
- suggestions for strategies and future directions that could improve the safety of women and children in relation to men who are violent in intimate relationships.

After the interviews were gathered and the analysis applied, themes emerged from the interview text, and these became the presenting data that informs this report. The technique is designed to capture the expertise and lived experiences of the key stakeholders for the purpose of recognising the knowledge they bring to furthering the understandings of family and domestic violence.

Key Findings: Overarching Themes

The data analysis revealed that, despite the complexity and variety of respondents interviewed, three overarching themes arose consistently. These three overarching themes form the central issues dealt with in this report, and they have implications for a larger policy framework. They are:

1. challenging men's politics of silence;
2. men's accountability, responsibility, ownership, and healing; and
3. men's help-seeking behaviour.

Challenging Men's Politics of Silence

The first theme refers to the silence that surrounds family and domestic violence in relation to men. Men can be complicit in the propagation of family and domestic violence by simply remaining silent. If certain expressions of masculinity are left unchallenged by men, then the transmission of destructive behaviours is assured, and the impact is felt mostly by women and children. Men from all parts of the community can play a significant role in the reduction of family and domestic violence by challenging the silence with open and constructive dialogue and by promoting positive and healthy, egalitarian relationships. The cessation of male violence starts with men in all settings including the work place, sports, industry and wherever men are found.

Men's Accountability, Responsibility, Ownership, and Healing

Accountability refers to men's recognition of the criminality of family and domestic violence and that such violence is no longer considered to be a private matter that can be separated from the public domain.

Responsibility refers to the recognition that culpability for violence and abuse needs to be fully borne by the perpetrator, rather than being attributed to others' provocation or external factors.

Ownership suggests that achieving positive change requires men to own the process; that men's proactive engagement with the issue of violence and its eradication is the only way to ensure long-term change. In relation to Indigenous men, ownership also encompasses the need for a place of belonging so that men can collectivise to address the family violence that directly affects their communities.

Healing recognises the role of therapeutics in addressing the complexity of male violence, and the use of the term is intended to broaden understandings of therapeutics to include means of addressing male violence in more holistic ways. Healing suggests that, if any long-term change is to occur in men, therapeutics must be employed in conjunction with criminal sanctions as a way of providing safety for women and children.

Men's Help-Seeking Behaviour

The final theme refers to the gap that exists between the services available to men and how men proactively access those services. An often-neglected area is the question of what engages men to access and attend domestic violence services. Frequently, a great emphasis is placed on service provision for men without consideration of what would persuade men to access or attend these services. Men's help-seeking behaviour has implications for both engaging men in seeking the assistance they require and for the function and sustainability of targeted services for men.

Issues underlying these overarching themes are: the construction of masculinity, which encompasses the way in which some men use violence to resolve conflict; the ways in which men take responsibility for their actions and behaviour; and, finally, the barriers to seeking assistance. Clearer understanding of these areas will assist in reducing family and domestic violence and will ultimately provide safety for women and children.

Key Responses

The interviews, which were conducted with a wide range of stakeholders and in multiple settings, produced complex information. In order to represent the findings in an accessible and meaningful way, the data was separated into two categories: 'generic issues' and issues related to 'rural and remote areas'.

Generic Issues

Each of the sub-headings is explored in greater depth within the report. The suggested responses provide direction and initiatives relevant to each area.

POLICING AND LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

Consultations with Police suggest that, in order to increase the effectiveness of Police Orders and Violence Restraining Orders, men must be referred to interventions that address their offending behaviour in a timely manner. In rural and remote locations, Police had a limited ability to provide men with accommodation if they have been issued with a Police Order and cannot make alternative housing arrangements.

Suggested Responses

- Establish timely referral pathways to programs aimed at behavioural change for men who have been issued a Police Order.
- Establish a pilot program providing outreach support to men and women affected by Police Orders.

- Initiate community discussion regarding use of violence restraining orders in ways which respond to a variety of circumstances.
- Ensure coordination between the Department for Community Development and the Police in order to provide emergency accommodation for men, where required.
- Consider residential therapeutic treatment programs for men.

PERPETRATOR PROGRAMS

Facilitators of perpetrator programs suggested that service delivery could be improved significantly if the programs reviewed current practices and explored the latest literature regarding effective interventions for men. The effectiveness of perpetrator programs is contentious, and further development in this sector would assist in reducing male-perpetrated family and domestic violence.

Suggested Responses

- Conduct a review of the best-practice guidelines for perpetrator programs.
- Initiate a process through which all perpetrator programs staff are able to:
 - share practice wisdom and intervention techniques;
 - discuss the latest literature on, and directions of, male behavioural change programs and their efficacy; and
 - integrate initiatives that may improve the perpetrator program service sector.
- Engage in research partnerships with universities to conduct rigorous follow-up studies of men who attend perpetrator programs and the efficacy of program delivery.

MEN'S GROUPS

Men's groups can play a role in a coordinated response to family and domestic violence. Providing men's groups with information and resources will assist in engaging men in the process of reducing family and domestic violence. It will be beneficial for the sector to engage men's groups to participate in a coordinated response rather than risking the potential of groups becoming established in opposition to domestic violence services.

Suggested Responses

- Foster links with active men's groups in order to provide responses and offer training regarding working with men in a family and domestic violence context.
- Encourage men's groups and services to participate in coordinated response structures for the purpose of ensuring a collaborative response to family and domestic violence.
- Encourage the establishment of men's groups, particularly in regional areas, that promote alternative and non-confrontational masculinity.
- Support the formation of Indigenous men's groups to tackle endemic abuse in rural and remote communities.

WOMEN'S REFUGES

Women's refuges have an interest in engaging men to take responsibility for reducing family and domestic violence. It was suggested that greater sharing of information and open dialogue between men's services and women's services would assist in providing greater safety for women and children escaping family and domestic violence. Women's refuge workers voiced some concern regarding the deviation of funds from women's services to services aimed at men, but they recognised that some form of intervention is required in order to hold men accountable for their actions and behaviours.

Suggested Responses

- Foster links between perpetrator programs and refuges in order to share knowledge and safety information.
- Provide information to promote greater awareness of Violence Restraining Orders and Police Orders within rural and remote Indigenous communities.
- Ensure that decision-makers consider the safety and wellbeing of children when determining parental access.
- Involve victim's experiences in the formulation of responses to men.

HOMOSEXUAL MEN

Domestic violence within the homosexual community is suggested to be as prevalent as violence within the heterosexual community. The predominant concerns for homosexual men are homophobia and services being too heterosexual in their focus, marginalising the concerns of homosexual men. Greater awareness of the needs of homosexual victims of domestic violence was viewed as necessary, and appropriate referral pathways and service delivery need to be established for these men.

Suggested Responses

- Establish training and education for relevant health professionals and service providers to create awareness of the specific issues affecting homosexual victims of domestic violence.
- Ensure that practices and provisions are inclusive of homosexual men's needs.
- Ensure that individual counselling and support is made available for homosexual victims of domestic violence.
- Cater for homosexual perpetrators of domestic violence within current intervention models.

MALE VICTIMS

The greatest difficulty facing male victims of domestic violence was the establishment of clear definitions of what constitutes a male victim. The experiences of men who claim to be victims of domestic violence are different to those of women. Although the prevalence of male victims is not comparable to that of female victims, male victims do exist, and their specific needs require consideration within current interventions.

Suggested Responses

- Engage in research partnerships with universities to ascertain the number and prevalence of male victims of domestic violence.

- Develop good-practice guidelines for identifying and responding to male victims of family and domestic violence.
- Develop and provide training for health professionals to provide appropriate responses to male victims of domestic violence.
- Create appropriate referral pathways to assist male victims of domestic violence to access existing services.

CaLD COMMUNITIES

Each culturally and linguistically diverse community has specific issues that impact on family harmony. This situation provides a challenge to those addressing family and domestic violence within these varied contexts. Unemployment, the disempowerment of male roles, and the differing cultural rights and freedoms afforded by Australian society are cited as particularly challenging for men in these communities. Most encouraging is the enthusiasm of men who wish to be educated on the impact of family and domestic violence; such men have also expressed a willingness to challenge other men within their communities and to play a role in reducing family violence.

Suggested Responses

- Identify, engage, and resource ‘men of standing’ with information, responses, and interventions targeting men to reduce domestic violence within culturally and linguistically diverse communities.
- Integrate current responses with an awareness of culturally appropriate approaches in domestic violence interventions.
- Disseminate information targeting practitioners and service providers, informing them of the cultural, religious, and ethnic issues impacting on culturally and linguistically diverse men.
- Provide an opportunity for newly arrived and culturally and linguistically diverse men to be educated on Australian laws and mainstream cultural considerations.

RURAL AND REMOTE AREAS

Indigenous Communities

Indigenous men recognise that family violence is greatly affecting Indigenous communities, and they suggest that men need to get back to land, Indigenous customary law, and culture as a way of addressing family violence. Indigenous men recognise the reduction of elders’ authority over young men, and they suggest that a formalised place for men to meet and discuss ways to address family violence could address this issue. Interviewees identified a window of opportunity of five to seven years for the transferral of culture from elders to young men and boys; the elders’ mortality rate is particularly alarming. Indigenous men also recognise the contribution strong women’s groups have made to Indigenous communities, and they wish to work in partnership with the women to achieve stronger families. In general, the interviewed men want assistance to formalise structures, such as men’s groups and gatherings with young men and boys, in order to challenge the destructive nature of family violence.

Suggested Responses

- Create places of belonging in which Indigenous men can explore their language, land, and Indigenous customary law.

- Foster and encourage linkages between Indigenous elders and young adults and boys in order to provide positive male role models.
- Assist in the formulation of programs that engage Indigenous men in responsibility, healing, and ownership of family violence.

Mining Communities

Mining communities are often made up of transient populations of men whose presence is determined by ‘fly-in, fly-out’ shift work rosters. In some communities, this transience has resulted in a reduction of community participation and cohesion. The key stakeholders consulted reported that domestic violence is prevalent in mining communities, and that it is also a significant issue for the metropolitan area, where most of the men return in their time off. Police and other service providers reported a lack of services that specifically target men. They suggested that timely interventions are needed to hold men accountable and to offer practical solutions to male violence.

Suggested Responses

- Work in partnership with the mining industry to reduce family and domestic violence within mining towns and communities.
- Support existing services that work with men within mining communities, providing resources and information that target the reduction of family and domestic violence.
- Conduct awareness campaigns to address the impact of family and domestic violence and to provide practical solutions to conflict in intimate relationships.
- Provide good-practice guidelines to ensure that services for men in mining communities are relevant and provided in a timely manner.

Farming Communities

Geographical dispersion and variable earning capacity differentiate farming communities from mining communities. The dispersion of population presents a considerable challenge to services, particularly throughout the Wheatbelt. Variable income was reported to be a significant barrier to men’s attendance of services, and attendance was further constrained by the travelling distances involved. Similar to mining communities, Police and other key stakeholders reported a lack of services that specifically target men and family and domestic violence. Those services that are available are often inaccessible. Stakeholders in farming communities suggest that educational programs targeting young men and women at school would be an important early intervention technique that could help produce generational change to the prevalence of family and domestic violence.

Suggested Responses

- Develop protocols between Police and the Department for Community Development in relation to securing emergency accommodation payments for displaced men.
- Explore the feasibility of an outreach service targeting men in farming communities.
- Undertake community education programs targeting young men and women in schools.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

THE MEN'S PROJECT

Exploring responses to men who are victims or perpetrators of family and domestic violence.

Description of the Project

The Men's Project is an initiative of the special interests projects component of the Western Australian Family and Domestic Violence State Strategic Plan.¹ The Strategic Plan identifies ten specific interest groups for further research and consultation to develop targeted strategies and initiatives. One of the areas of interest is abuse experienced by men. The Family and Domestic Violence Unit has expanded the enquiry to include men's experiences as both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence.

The Men's Project is also in accord with Focus Area One of the Family and Domestic Violence Action Plan 2004–2005:

Focus Area One — Identify and address emerging areas for research.

Working directly with clients to identify needs, particularly safety needs, is both an informed and empowering approach. Researching new and emerging areas creates the foundation for an evidence-based approach and better practice.²

Focus Area One recognises that research informs the foundations of best practice. The area of working with men in domestic violence is most certainly an emerging field, one with an ever-increasing body of research suggesting best-practice models and types of interventions and responses that are effective for men. The Men's Project explores some of the debates found in literature on the role of men in reducing family and domestic violence. Included in the debate are targeted group-work programs for men. The efficacy of programs aimed at behavioural change, such as perpetrator programs, is highly contested. The programs are a relatively new initiative in relation to the history of interventions aimed at reducing domestic violence, and greater research is required to ensure that they are effective. The engagement of men within the domestic violence service sector is an emerging area that requires greater consideration.

The Men's Project recognises that a coordinated, collaborative response to domestic violence necessarily includes men. The Project considers the responses currently in place for male perpetrators of domestic violence and asks what could be done to better ensure the safety of women and children. In addition to examining the role of men as perpetrators of violence, the project also explores the area of male victims of domestic violence and the most appropriate responses to address their needs.

Purpose of the Project

The purpose of the Men's Project is to explore existing services, resources and responses available to men who are victims or perpetrators of domestic violence, and to report on the key issues identified by this exploration. These key issues will inform the recommendations, further directions and actions the Family and Domestic Violence Unit may take in relation to men and domestic violence.

1 Family and Domestic Violence Unit, *Western Australian Family and Domestic Violence State Strategic Plan 2004–2008*, Department for Community Development, Perth, 2004 p 35.

2 Family and Domestic Violence Unit, *Western Australian Family and Domestic Violence Action Plan 2004–2005*, Department for Community Development, Perth, 2004, p 3.

As part of the Project's investigations, a broad spectrum of the community has been consulted, including members from culturally and linguistically diverse (CaLD) communities, homosexual men, and Indigenous people. Across the metropolitan area, a number of government and non-government service providers were consulted, including women's refuges and other women's interest groups. Rural and remote communities have also been engaged in the Project, from areas including the Kimberley, Pilbara, Goldfields, Wheatbelt, and the Great Southern Districts.

The responses suggested by this broad range of people provide direction for future initiatives to engage men in the process of reducing family and domestic violence. The information gathered provides a greater understanding of the issues facing men and the most effective direction to take in order to reduce male violence.

Family and Domestic Violence in Western Australia

The Men's Project is timely, as many people seem to be asking the question: What is the role of men's participation in reducing domestic violence? A greater awareness of the impact of domestic violence perpetrated by men seemed to lead naturally to an exploration of what will ultimately assist in reducing male violence. The community has recognised that domestic violence is a gendered issue; if any meaningful and long-term change is to occur, it is imperative to address the main perpetrators: men. Recent research undertaken by Access Economics found that 87% of victims of domestic violence are women, with 98% of perpetrators identified as men.³

In the early 1990's Western Australia was introduced to the American *Duluth Domestic Violence Intervention Project* model, which was instrumental in the formulation of types of interventions for men. The Duluth model provides two main components. The first component is an emphasis on a criminal justice response, so as to make it clear that domestic violence is a criminal act and should incur the full force of the law. The second component is the introduction of a formalised, coordinated response involving a wide variety of stakeholders working together to tackle domestic violence. Initially, local domestic violence action groups took up this role. Over time, it became more structured under the auspices of the Regional Domestic Violence Committees (RDVCs), whose function is to provide an interagency response to improve service coordination and strengthen interagency partnerships. Recently, some of these RDVCs have been vocal about addressing men's participation in domestic violence, and they have held forums in which the question of where to head with men has been raised. An example is the Mirrabooka RDVC's hosting of a forum entitled 'A Holistic Family Focus Demystifying Working with Men' in May 2005.

Recent Developments in Innovative Interventions

Recent developments in domestic violence intervention include the establishment of Communicare's Breathing Space program in Calista, a therapeutic community for men who choose to use violence in intimate relationships. Communicare's Breathing Space is a unique 12-bed, 24-hour service offering a three-month intensive intervention program targeting male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. The three-month program is followed by a nine-month outreach service. Communicare's Breathing Space offers a range of services, including individual counselling, group work, parenting courses, 'men relating safely' programs, and a number of other programs designed to reduce family and domestic violence. Breathing Space offers a unique opportunity to explore a range of intervention techniques that target men directly, and the program has become another important development in working with men to address family and domestic violence.

3 Access Economics Pty Ltd, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part 1, Partnerships Against Domestic Violence*, Office of the Status of Women, Canberra, 2004.

The Joondalup Family Violence Court (JFVC) was established in 1999 as Western Australia's first specialised court dealing exclusively with family violence matters. The JFVC uses an approach that combines interagency services with criminal case management and alternative sentencing. Offenders are encouraged to enter an early guilty plea and take part in a perpetrator program in order to receive a reduced sentence. The offender is then supervised and monitored via an interagency case management team. The case management team includes specialist staff from the Department of Justice (Community Justice Services and Victims Support Services), Western Australia Police, Department for Community Development and Relationships Australia (which operates a men's domestic violence program).

An evaluation report conducted in 2002 suggested that the JFVC was considered a 'qualified success'.⁴ The model provides a tailored criminal justice response that incorporates a specialised understanding of the dynamics involved in responding to domestic violence.

The Domestic Violence Advocacy Support (DVAS) Central was launched in September 2003 as an integrated, collocated service model that provides a 'one-stop shop' to women and children affected by family and domestic violence.

The DVAS Central model provides a number of relevant services in one location, offering women seeking support a seamless and more holistic response. DVAS Central minimises the need for women to repeat their story to different service providers, thereby reducing the trauma associated with having to repeat the details of harrowing events. DVAS is built on three key principles:

- collocation of key agencies;
- collaboration and coordination of service delivery; and
- provision of crisis support within the two streams of support/advocacy and Police/legal responses.

DVAS Central has a number of services working together on the premises, including the Department for Community Development, Western Australia Police, the Legal Aid Commission, and the Domestic Violence Legal Unit; it also has working partnerships with external agencies. In April 2004, a Memorandum of Understanding between government and non-government agencies was signed to formalise their partnership commitment with DVAS Central.

Legislative Changes

On 1 December 2004, the *Acts Amendment (Family and Domestic Violence) Act 2004* was proclaimed by the Western Australian Government. This Act constituted a range of amendments to the *Restraining Orders Act 1997*, the *Bail Act 1982*, and the *Criminal Code*. In response to the new legislation, a change in how Police respond to domestic violence has occurred. The legislative changes have engendered a shift in emphasis from removing women and children from violent family environments to, instead, removing men. The shift reinforces the facts that family and domestic violence is a criminal offence and that men need to be held accountable for their violence. The shift recognises that it is better to leave the women and children supported in their communities and to remove the perpetrator; however, after removal, it appears the men can be left unchallenged and unaccountable. Although, in general, the community has been appreciative of the legislation and the new level of Police response, it has become increasingly clear that more is needed to effect meaningful change within men and to complement the current criminal justice response. A broader range of responses that engage men in the cessation of violence is required.

⁴ Court Services Division, Department of Justice, and Crime Prevention and Community Support Division, West Australian Police Service, *Joondalup Family Violence Court: Final Report*, Department of Justice, February 2002, p 84.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Research Methods

The Men's Project is not a quantitative research project; rather, it is a consultative and scoping exercise. The Project captures what key stakeholders consider to be effective responses that reduce male-perpetrated family and domestic violence.

The theoretical underpinning of the Men's Project is best aligned with a qualitative research approach, employing a semi-structured interviewing technique. This process captures people's qualitative, lived experiences; the 'data' gathered is the story of their experiences. Similarly to ethnographic or in-depth interviewing techniques, the qualitative research approach recognises that the way people impart knowledge through their story-telling can often give great insight into social phenomena. The method produces 'rich' data.⁵ The purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews, in a qualitative sense, is to capture lived experiences and to present the interviewees' stories in helpful and meaningful ways.⁶

The stages of project development are detailed below.

Determination of Key Stakeholders and stages of development

The implementation of the Men's Project stages of development were as follows:

1. The Men's Project aimed to capture and represent the collaborative, coordinated response to family and domestic violence from government and non-government service agencies, and other interested parties, in Western Australia. This aim has ensured that the stakeholders consulted represent a diverse range of people. A list of the key stakeholders consulted forms Appendix 1.
2. The semi-structured interviews were formulated (see Appendix 2).
3. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with stakeholders.
4. The data gathered from interviews was compiled and analysed; findings were reported and recommendations made.

Data Analysis and Reporting

The information gathered was analysed through the application of an emergent design technique.⁷ This is a process whereby, instead of having a rigidly pre-determined set of criteria into which to fit the data, the data 'speaks for itself': themes emerge from the data, and the information is organised into various headings that with greater refinement become consistent themes. This process is described as emergent; the hidden meanings, both overt and covert, become clearer over time.

The themes then become key issues that inform the report, and appropriate responses for men are drawn from the themes. The process is designed to capture the concerns and opinions of the community and represent them within the report.

5 C. Hakin, *Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1997.

6 D. Ezzy, *Qualitative Analysis: Practice and Innovation*, Routledge, London, 2002.

7 M. Ely, et al., *On Writing Qualitative Research: Living by Words*, The Falmer Press, London, 1997.

Emergent Themes

Making sense of the interviews presented a challenge in terms of how best to represent the diversity of responses. The flow of analysis can be likened to a distilling process, starting with a large cluster of themes, which are separated into two headings and finally split into sub-headings. Three themes were consistent across all the interview text, and these represent a cluster called the overarching themes:

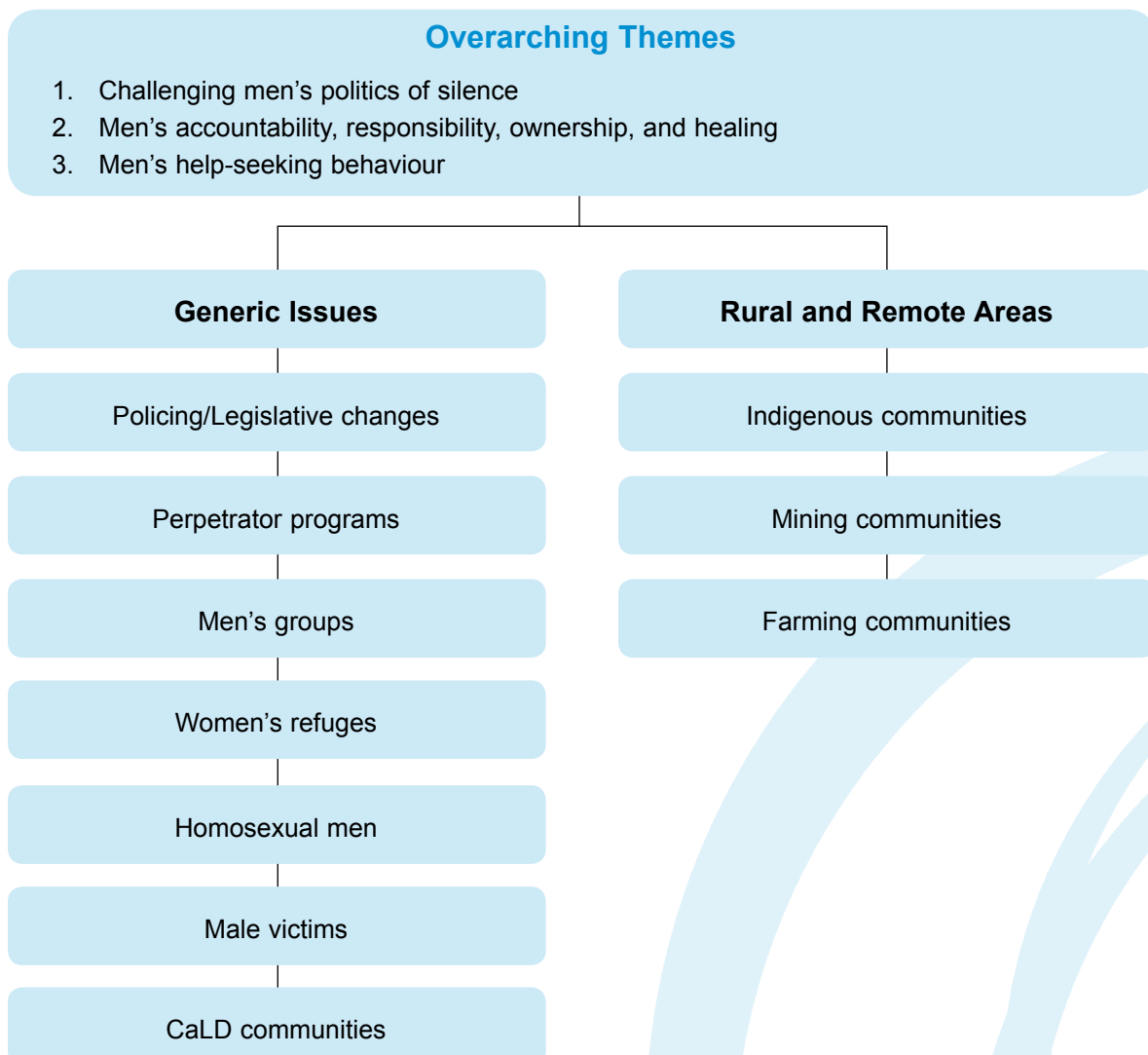
- challenging men's politics of silence;
- men's accountability, responsibility, ownership, and healing; and
- men's help-seeking behaviour.

These three overarching themes recur throughout the report.

From the cluster of the overarching themes emerged two headings: 'generic issues' and 'rural and remote areas'. The geographical diversity of Western Australia necessitated that the data be separated into these two headings, as the interview data gathered in rural and remote communities revealed unique circumstances affecting family and domestic violence. Finally, ten further categories emerged from the data, and these form sub-headings, making up the body of the report.

The structure of the interview text is represented in Diagram 1, below.

Diagram 1: Semi-structured interview text and emergent design analysis



OVERARCHING THEMES

Each of the three overarching themes should be viewed as greater meta-themes that provide future directions for policy.

Challenging Men's Politics of Silence

This refers to the silence in which men engage and which creates an environment that allows family and domestic violence to exist. This silence is not limited to perpetrators of violence only; it extends to include all men within a community. It is clear that the denial or minimisation of the impact of domestic violence on women and children is well entrenched within men.

Generally, all men need to be made aware of the issues of domestic violence and how certain modes of masculinity are complicit in its propagation. For example, entrenched machismo that encourages men to objectify women and children as property, or to develop an overwhelming sense of entitlement, is an expression of masculinity that needs to be challenged if the issue of domestic violence is to be addressed at its root. Conversely, men being silent about positive masculinity that fosters healthy egalitarian relationships denies men the opportunity of examples of non-destructive ways of relating. Silence and passivity are two most common themes associated with men and domestic violence. Only when men start to play a role in holding other men accountable for the conditions that condone abuse will we see any significant reduction of male-perpetrated family and domestic violence.

Without engaging men and challenging them to be proactive in the campaign to end domestic violence, its effects will go on being felt throughout the community. This drive to engage men is inclusive of health professionals, magistrates, Police and other men who have direct or indirect involvement with victims of domestic violence. It would also include community institutions associated with entertainment, sport, and industry, which all play a significant role in men's lives and can act as a conduit to men. All men are able to play a role in exposing the impact of family and domestic violence and ultimately hold the key to its cessation.

Practical provisions aimed at addressing men's politics of silence could include training for health professionals, legal services, community leaders, Police and other interested parties, as part of a range of responses. Consciousness-raising exercises and community awareness campaigns would also assist in confronting the silence that surrounds male family and domestic violence.

Men's Accountability, Responsibility, Ownership, and Healing

An overarching theme to emerge from the interview data is the need for men to be more responsible and accountable for their violence beyond relying solely on a criminal justice response. Even where Violence Restraining Orders and Police Orders were issued, community consultations revealed that men were largely left unaccountable in terms of provisions that made men aware of the impact of their violent behaviour.

Police in rural areas, in particular, reported a high level of frustration at not being able to refer men to a service or program that targets domestic violent behaviour specifically. Men also need to be offered meaningful assistance to develop practical skills that will reduce offending behaviour beyond a token anger management course.

Men's accountability and responsibility for their actions need to be addressed in a more timely fashion than is currently the case. The responses need to be immediate and not reliant on the motivation or willingness of the perpetrator to seek help.

The faster the response is able to offer services to men, the greater the likelihood that they will change their behaviour. Immediacy, in terms of referral and uptake into programs, is crucial in engaging men in programs of behavioural change and is akin to early intervention. All too often, large amounts of time elapse between a man's engagement in the justice system and the delivery of services that help him to address his violent behaviour. If the men are left unattended the intervening period can often correlate with an escalation of violence.

In rural and remote areas, there were very few programs or interventions in place to target male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. Police officers have expressed the fear that a Police Order can inadvertently collude with the cycle of violence by providing a 'cooling-off' period, particularly if the man is left unchallenged on the subject of his actions and returns to the family home to repeat the behaviour. A criminal justice response without accountability in terms of programs or therapeutics runs the risk of inadvertently involving the system itself in an enmeshed cycle of violence.

Responsibility was an issue raised frequently by stakeholders. A suggested response was the introduction of 'early intervention' style education programs in schools. Responsibility and accountability of the impact of male-perpetrated domestic violence needs to be fostered within young men if a generational reduction of family and domestic violence is to occur.

Healing is predominantly an issue for Indigenous men, who reported that to take responsibility for their violent behaviour would also require the recognition of their own core hurts. This group of stakeholders recognised that there was a need for Indigenous men to come to terms with the pain of being colonised and displaced people. Healing would need to be a part of the process of tackling family violence. The men recognised a link between being disempowered and the need to heal long-entrenched hurt within themselves. Notions of healing, then, should be seen in the light of therapeutics for men.

Having said that, it should be made abundantly clear that the need for therapeutics and healing do not provide excuses for men's violent behaviour, and the intention is not to collude with, or minimise the impact of, male violence. It should be considered an opportunity to provide an environment of change for men, challenging their ways of relating and improving their relationship skills, which will ultimately increase the safety of women and children.

Men's Help-Seeking Behaviour

Men's help-seeking behaviour should be understood in the light of it being complex, contextual and conceptual. The diversity revealed by the Project interviews makes it clear that to universalise men's experiences of family and domestic violence underestimates the order of complexity experienced. Although it may be tempting to simplify men's violence, the issues that impact on male violence are often very complex and multilayered. It is important to recognise this complexity.

Men's help-seeking behaviour is contextual, as location and environment are factors in the social pressures that impact on men; therefore, men's violence and help-seeking need to be understood within that context. Issues affecting men in Karratha can be vastly different to those affecting men in Mirrabooka. Innovative thinking that is inclusive of these differences is required to address domestic violence effectively.

All too often, well-considered programs are thought of as failures because of a lack of attendance, when it is the difficulty of attracting men to the service that is the problem, rather than the service itself. This issue has made some stakeholders unnecessarily despondent. It is necessary to give more consideration to concepts or processes that encourage men to access services.

The greatest challenge facing those working with male perpetrators of domestic violence is finding innovative ways to bridge the gap between services and the men who need them. Although goodwill and knowledge is brought to services that target men directly, the area in greatest need of attention is often overlooked: men's help-seeking behaviour. Research and innovative thinking is required to find out what would motivate men to not only attend programs but also, and more importantly, to stay engaged with them and to openly support their existence.

GENERIC ISSUES

POLICING AND LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

On the first of December 2004 a number of new legislative changes came into effect through the *Acts Amendment (Family and Domestic Violence) Act 2004*, which strengthened existing Violence Restraining Orders (VRO) legislation and introduced Police Orders. The Act made changes to the *Restraining Orders Act 1997*, the *Bail Act 1982* and the *Criminal Code*. The Men's Project examines, through anecdotal information, the impact these changes are having on male violence and, more importantly, their implications for the safety of women and children in the community.

Police Orders

The legislative changes give stronger powers to Police, assigning officers a statutory obligation to investigate if they have a reasonable suspicion that an act of family and domestic violence has occurred. This change also has the effect of taking the onus off the victim.

Police now have stronger powers of investigation, allowing them to enter and search premises without a warrant (but with the approval of a senior officer at the level of Inspector or above) for the purposes of establishing whether domestic violence has occurred, and to provide protection. Police may remain on the premises for as long as necessary to investigate or ensure the safety of a person. Under the current legislation, if Police investigate or enter a premises, they must either take action (apply for a VRO or make a Police Order) or write a report explaining why no action was taken.

Police are also now able to issue on-the-spot Police Orders. These Orders can last for 24 hours without victim consent, or up to 72 hours with victim consent. A Police Order can effectively remove from a residence a person suspected of posing a risk to another, without the requirement of evidence to lay charges. Police Orders are particularly useful to Police if they do not have sufficient evidence to charge a person but recognise that there is a serious risk of the escalation of violence if the suspected perpetrator (who is most commonly male) is left in close proximity to their partner. The majority of Police interviewed endorsed the use of the Police Orders as being effective and felt that the community responded well to them.

Prior to the introduction of the legislative changes, community concerns existed that suggested the 24-hour and 72-hour Police Orders would create a worrying number of displaced men who may potentially return to their residences in a rage, if Police could not place them in a secure environment. The fear was that, ultimately, Police Orders could put women and children at greater risk. The Men's Project asked all stakeholders if there had been any worrying developments associated with the use of Police Orders or VROs in terms of increased risk in their community. Interestingly, there was no significant report of displaced men who returned to the scene of the conflict and posed a risk to women or children. When asked where the men were going, the most common answer within the metropolitan area was 'to their mates' place' or 'to relatives'. Although rural and remote areas confirmed similar scenarios, rural Police reported that it was more difficult to place men with friends or relatives, and some were spending nights on the street or, more disturbingly, resorting to the use of Police lock-ups. The options for a man within a country town to stay with friends or relatives appeared to be significantly reduced when compared to his city-dwelling counterpart. Police in rural locations have mentioned that accommodating men in Police

lock-ups may become a worrying development; ultimately, alternative arrangements may need to be established between Police, the Department for Community Development, and other service providers.

While Police Orders are used effectively to remove men from their primary residences, and while (in a majority of cases) the removed men stay with friends, the concern expressed by Police was that the men were essentially colluding with their friends about what they consider to be the unjust nature of what had transpired. Worse still, the men could project the blame on to women, abdicating responsibility for their behaviour. Police expressed the view that without follow-up or some form of intervention, there is a significant likelihood of repeat behaviour or, worse, an escalation of violence. The Police officers interviewed in rural and remote settings are alarmed at the lack of services to which they can refer men for the purpose of holding them accountable and to offer useful skills for relating safely once they return home. Generally, the Police believe that there needs to be some form of intervention offered to men in addition to the Police Orders, particularly if there is to be a significant reduction in male violence.

Communicare's Breathing Space is a therapeutic community for men that is staffed 24 hours per day. The program upon assessment can accommodate a man after he receives a VRO or Police Order, and it also provides a program through which his violent behaviour can be addressed. Breathing Space has 12 beds, and the facility is often full, with a waiting list. Some voices within the community have appealed for more services of this type to be provided to men as a way of ameliorating the fears they had in relation to the use of Police Orders and VROs — and, more importantly, as a way to offer therapeutics to men who are violent in intimate relationships. In lieu of a Breathing Space-type program for men, the Police, particularly in rural and remote areas, wanted to be able to refer men to services that were local, immediate in delivery and that promoted accountability and provided strategies for men to relate safely.

In general, the Police Orders are welcomed, but Police consider that they may become less effective longitudinally without some form of meaningful intervention that can be offered to men in conjunction with Police Orders. Currently, men are receiving the Order and returning to their homes without any third party offering education or intervention.

During the period of the enquiry, the use of VROs and Police Orders rose initially, then reduced gradually. This was experienced throughout the State. One Police officer offered three explanations for this occurrence:

1. a gradual tailing-off of use after initial Police enthusiasm at the introduction of Police Orders;
2. a greater awareness of appropriate use of VROs and Police Orders by both the general public and the Police; and
3. the VROs and Police Orders were reducing the incidence of domestic violence within the community.

At the time of the enquiry, the change of legislation had only been in effect for six months, and it was considered too early to give an exact reason for the pattern of use of Police Orders.

Violence Restraining Orders (VROs)

The effectiveness of VROs has been strengthened by the Acts Amendment (Family and Domestic Violence) Act 2004, which came into effect on the 1st of December 2004.

The 1997 Act made provision for two types of Orders: a Violence Restraining Order and a Misconduct Restraining Order (MRO). The new Act reclassifies the Orders and removes the option for a MRO in incidents of family and domestic violence. This means that in a family or domestic relationship, the higher level of protection is automatic if a VRO is granted. MROs will now be available only in non-domestic situations.

The new legislation has also changed the test for the appropriateness of a VRO.

A court may make a VRO for an adult if it is satisfied that:

- the respondent has committed an act of abuse against the person seeking protection and is likely to again commit such an act against that person; or
- a person seeking to be protected or the person who has applied for the order on behalf of that person, reasonably fears that the respondent will commit an act of abuse against that person; and
- that making the order is appropriate in the circumstances.

An “act of abuse” means an “act of family and domestic violence” where there is a family and domestic relationship and otherwise means an “act of personal violence”.

A court may make a VRO for a child in circumstances of family and domestic violence if the court is satisfied that:

- the child has been exposed to an act of family and domestic violence committed by or against a person with whom the child is in a family and domestic relationship and the child is likely to again be exposed to such an act; or
- the applicant, the child or a person with whom the child is in a family and domestic relationship reasonably fears that the child will be exposed to an act of family and domestic violence committed by or against a person with whom the child is in a domestic relationship.

VROs have created mixed feeling within the community, and their effectiveness is often contested. The legislative changes have been welcomed, but confusion and misinformation about VROs is still widespread. Refuge workers often reported that women were unlikely to take out a VRO until they had been fully informed by a paralegal person or well-informed health professional. There is a need for greater community awareness of what constitutes a VRO, especially for Indigenous women and men.

The Thungula Goothada family support legal centre in Kalgoorlie suggested that once men were informed of the workings of the VRO and what their rights are, they became much more compliant and less likely to breach the Order. Misinformation and ignorance tended to exacerbate family violence.

Within rural and remote Indigenous communities, VROs can become unworkable. Kalgoorlie Indigenous workers have noticed that what may make sense in the metropolitan area has not translated well in rural communities. Familial structures within Indigenous communities can be very complex, and they can clash with the mechanism of VROs.

Kalgoorlie Police reported that a six-month VRO placed on an Indigenous man, banning him from contacting his partner directly or via a third party, can be almost impossible to comply with, as often the communities are very small and highly transient. Often the man has no practical place to go but to other communities that due to the transience associated with these communities, often see

him in contact with his partner and hence in breach of the order. If remote Indigenous communities offer few real alternatives in terms of accommodation, VROs are set up to fail. What alternative response is there for Indigenous men in remote communities?

Indigenous women from the Goldfields expressed concerns and fears relating to employing a VRO due to retaliatory actions instigated by the male partner or his extended family. Indigenous women in the Kimberley reiterated the same fears. These issues were raised frequently by women in rural and remote areas when discussing their reluctance to use a VRO.

Refuge workers reported that VROs are useful but are by no means a 'cure-all'. An Albany refuge worker reported her clients' concerns:

The question still remained, why do women still need to be removed from their place or residence? If the VROs are designed to get men to take responsibility for their behaviour by removing them from the centre of violence, then why do women still need to get to refuges?⁸

This sentiment was expressed with some frequency, which suggests that women within refuges want more to be done to ensure the safety of women and children in situations of domestic violence.

Another concern mentioned, particularly by women within refuges, is the inconsistency with which magistrates enact the powers vested in them. It was suggested that magistrates require a greater awareness of the impacts of domestic violence, and that consistent sentencing must be given for the purpose of sending a clear message to perpetrators. Media reports were considered to be unhelpful, particularly when they suggested that VROs are 'toothless tigers', and interviewees considered that such reports instil fear among women instead of providing some assurance of the effectiveness of VROs.

Suggested Responses

- Establish timely referral pathways to programs aimed at behavioural change for men who have been issued a Police Order.
- Establish a pilot program providing outreach support to men and women affected by Police Orders.
- Initiate community discussion regarding use of violence restraining orders in ways which respond to a variety of circumstances.
- Ensure coordination between the Department for Community Development and the Police in order to provide emergency accommodation for men, where required.
- Consider residential therapeutic treatment programs for men.

PERPETRATOR PROGRAMS

The Men's Project conducted a number of interviews with facilitators of perpetrator programs around the State. The interviews were conducted with Relationships Australia, Centrecare, Anglicare, Communicare, and the Department of Justice. Funding for men's behavioural change programs is provided by the State Government to non-government organisations (NGO), which compete for funding through a tendering process. Some NGOs, such as Anglicare, have secured

8 Refuge worker, Anglicare Albany Women's refuge, 1st June 2005.

funding from a federal government source but provide a comparable service. The programs have mixture of mandated clients and volunteered clients. Those programs funded by the Department of Justice have clients who have Court Orders requiring them to attend perpetrator programs. All of the service staff interviewed reported that they were extremely busy, and most had lengthy waiting lists.

Duluth Domestic Violence Intervention Project

The Duluth Domestic Violence Intervention Project is an internationally recognised model of intervention for family and domestic violence. Western Australia has adopted many attributes of the Duluth intervention program as a response to family and domestic violence. In relation to men, the Duluth model provides a framework for working with perpetrators that focuses on education while maintaining that the safety of women and children should be the paramount concern. The Duluth model also has a strong emphasis on the criminal nature of domestic violence, which is addressed by using criminal sanctions. Another central tenet of the Duluth model is the requirement for perpetrators to acknowledge power/control issues and the effects of gender and masculinity. The majority of the perpetrator programs are conducted within the frameworks offered by the Duluth model, which also guides a majority of the principles found within the best-practice model.

One of the strengths of the Duluth model is that it provides a coordinated response to domestic violence by encouraging all key stakeholders to work together in a collaborative working relationship. Preferably this would include the facilitators of the perpetrator programs who could participate on Regional Domestic Violence Committees by sharing information and new developments regarding working with men to reduce family and domestic violence.

Perpetrator Programs

The perpetrator programs are conducted according to the guidelines provided by the Family and Domestic Violence Unit's best-practice model, which emphasises the fact that violent behaviour is solely the responsibility of the perpetrator. The model has a strong emphasis on a psycho-educational approach, employing cognitive behavioural strategies that attempt to establish empathy for the victim within the perpetrators.⁹ The best-practice model promotes respectful and egalitarian non-violent relationships; it also critiques the gender roles that reinforce controlling and intimidating behaviour by men. This is facilitated by a group-work process, although some programs, such as Communicare's Breathing Space, can provide individual counselling in conjunction with group work.

The majority of the programs offer a 24-week two-hour program, although Anglicare has an 18-week program and a 16-week program. Most programs do not have a closed-group policy; rather, they have staggered intakes over the duration of the program to allow for greater flexibility in the uptake of clients. Some service providers have indicated that the best-practice requirements relating to the length of the programs are too prescriptive, and they have expressed a belief that the programs could be delivered in more efficient and effective ways.

⁹ Domestic Violence Prevention Unit, Western Australia, Best Practice Model for the Provision of Programs for Perpetrators of Domestic Violence in Western Australia, Department for Community Development, Perth, 1999.

Enhancing Program Delivery

The interviews revealed that, despite the diversity of the government and non-government service providers operating perpetrator programs throughout the State, there was consistent service delivery. Further, the interview data indicated that there are more similarities between the programs than there are differences. The service providers have not at any time gathered together to share information or to discuss recent research relevant to perpetrator programs. When asked if they thought that they would benefit from meeting in order to share their knowledge, the facilitators unanimously agreed with the initiative.

A barrier to such information-sharing cited by service providers was the competitive tendering process and the subsequent fear of giving away a competitive edge to another competing program. However, program facilitators recognised the sharing of information with colleagues, and the consequential improvements in service delivery, as being much more important than any fears associated with competition.

It seemed quite clear that program operators were not aware of one another; however, most had a genuine interest in sharing intervention techniques, and they suggested that this process should be formalised. Interviewees expressed the belief that encouraging the perpetrator programs to liaise more closely with one another could ensure a more cohesive coordinated response in terms of services for men and raise the profile of perpetrator programs within the domestic violence service sector.

Terminology

The majority of Australian perpetrator programs and services became available in 1990s, and the body of literature on, and research into, such programs has been increasing ever since.¹⁰ Many of the program facilitators interviewed thought it important to discuss the latest findings in relation to perpetrator programs and to challenge some of the assumptions associated with best-practice models. One of the assumptions identified by interviewees is the current use of the terminology 'perpetrator' and 'victim'. The majority of facilitators felt that the term 'perpetrator' was too legalistic and that it inadvertently promotes labelling behaviour in men. In addition, some women did not want to be associated with the term 'victim'.

The facilitators' experiences indicated that men do not respond well to the term 'perpetrator', and, if it was used too often, the men could over-identify with the term as a way of avoiding responsibility. Shaming men into action was not considered the most effective strategy of working with men who are violent.¹¹ Facilitators suggested the terminology oversimplified and universalised men's experiences, which they found to be counterproductive in the quest to achieve behavioural changes in men. Facilitators reported that they had achieved better results from working with men in a 'strength-based' way. The strength-based responses employed by the programs are mostly informed by work associated with the Alan Jenkins 'invitational' model and Steve Stosny's 'core hurts and compassion' model.¹²

All perpetrator programs incorporate an educational component, through which men are encouraged to explore their issues in relation to power and control and their sense of entitlement.

10 Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, Working with Men: Key Findings, Office of the Status of Women, Canberra, June 2000.

11 J. Brown, 'Shame and domestic violence: treatment perspectives for perpetrators from self psychology and affect theory', *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, Vol. 19, No. 1, February 2004.

12 A. Jenkins, *Invitations to Responsibility: The Therapeutic Engagement of Men who are Violent and Abusive*, Dulwich Centre Publications, Adelaide, 1990.

In addition, the programs employ a number of other techniques to complement their intervention. The facilitators recognised the need to address the core hurts that some men carry, which require a therapeutic approach as part of the process of addressing their offending behaviour. The facilitators suggested that successfully promoting meaningful change in some men's lives requires the recognition that the men have their own significant issues, such as abandonment, attachment issues, or abuse in their families of origin, and these issues cannot be ignored when addressing offending behaviour. Often, these issues had to be addressed as part of a range of responses that promoted behavioural change in men.

The facilitators recognised that it was not only important to challenge some entrenched beliefs the men had about relationships, they also needed to provide relationship skills. It was not enough to simply critique behaviour and challenge men's assumptions; behavioural change required a therapeutic component that was essentially strength-based and male-positive.

The interviews often revealed a certain tension that is implicit in the role of facilitators, whose task it is to provide an educational program, and who see the need to provide therapeutics for men, but who are acting within the context of a punitive criminal justice response. These three elements were not always complementary, and facilitators reported that balancing the different aspects of the program presented a significant challenge. Most facilitators agreed that, ultimately, increased recognition of the role of therapeutics within perpetrator programs will be necessary to reduce domestic violence at the hands of men.

Evaluation and Follow-Up Studies

There appeared to be no longitudinal follow-up evaluation of men who have completed perpetrator programs and whether the programs have assisted in the reduction of their offending behaviour. The facilitators had no real way of knowing whether their programs are successful and consequently could not refine their service delivery. Although some programs did contact participants three months and six months after they undertook the program, the feedback gained in this way was unreliable because it depended on the testimony of the men rather than that of their partners. Often, the men would re-partner, and in such cases no valid means of monitoring the effectiveness of the program existed. It was suggested that rigorous, independent evaluation of the effectiveness of perpetrator programs is required in order to provide a mechanism for the review and tailoring of programs to ensure the best possible outcomes.

There appears to be no clear consensus among practitioners in the field of domestic violence services, nor within literature on the topic, on a reliable strategy for the effective treatment of men who are violent in intimate relationships. What does seem clear is that the community would like to see men held accountable for violence in relationships, and that programs of behavioural change play a significant role in that process. It is also clear that the issues that inform and foster male violence are complex; therefore, a range of strategies are required to effectively combat male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. Co-morbidity issues, such as drugs, alcohol or mental illness, coupled with poverty and dysfunctional family dynamics, increase the complexity of male violence and present a significant challenge for perpetrator programs.

Perpetrator programs provide a most important role in the reduction of male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. Such programs can only improve the safety of women and children if they provide an effective service. Without processes that can monitor the effectiveness of the programs, the safety of women and children is compromised. The family and domestic violence sector

could benefit from ensuring that the most effective interventions that target men are employed in perpetrator programs, whose ultimate aim is to reduce male-perpetrated family and domestic violence and provide safety for women and children.

Suggested Responses

- Conduct a review of current best-practice guidelines for perpetrator programs.
- Initiate a process through which all perpetrator program staff can meet to:
 1. share experience, knowledge, and intervention techniques;
 2. discuss recent literature, research and directions relevant to male behavioural change programs and their efficacy; and
 3. integrate initiatives that may improve the perpetrator program service sector.
- Engage in research partnerships with universities to conduct rigorous follow-up studies of men who attend perpetrator programs and examine the efficacy of program delivery.

MEN'S GROUPS

There are not many active men's groups in Western Australia — in all, about twenty — and attendance of such groups tends to fluctuate due to varying interest. They tend to meet fortnightly or monthly, and attendance varies from small gatherings of four or five men to much larger numbers. The groups fall into two main categories: those that are formal, and those that are informal.

Formal men's groups are those that often have a paid facilitator and which may be associated with a service provider or affiliated body, such as a church/religious group or lobby group. They often become an incorporated body. They tend to have formalised structures, are psycho-educational in delivery, and often attract a fee for service. Other men's groups have more of an advocacy role, such as the Men's Confraternity, so are not educational in nature but, instead, provide support in relation to issues affecting men.

Informal men's groups are those where men gather but do not adhere to a formalised structure. Such groups rarely have a regular facilitator and a structured purpose or mandate; they are simply a gathering of men who wish to explore issues impacting upon them. Often, this type of group lasts only as long as the enthusiasm of the main initiator is sustained; they rarely have longevity. Some gatherings of Indigenous men, particularly in rural and remote settings, constitute a men's group, although they have no formalised structure. This is not to say they are illegitimate. Rather, they have a different structure of governance and often have very different outcomes to formalised men's groups.

Formal men's groups generally tackle a range of issues, such as parenting, mental health issues like depression and anxiety, relationship issues, and general consciousness-raising around male oppression. Some broach the issue of family and domestic violence, but do not make it the main focus of attention. There is a perception among some men's groups that the field of domestic violence services sometimes 'railroads' men's groups into focusing on the singular issue of domestic violence, and this has the effect of disenfranchising men, at least at the level of the group process. Some men's groups perceive the process of 'railroading' as being achieved through the demonisation of men by powerful lobby groups, which, they say, use 'advocacy' research for the purpose of reinforcing a particular agenda.

In this context, the notion of advocacy research suggests that feminist lobby groups employ dubious research methods that co-opt research out of context in order to advance an agenda that describes men in pejorative terms for the purpose of securing power, funding and influence. Some men who subscribe to this view also suggest that the language used is purposefully gendered to demonise men and is fundamentally biased to discriminate against men. They propose that this bias against men manifests in child-support payments, the family law courts and the recent legislative changes to VROs and Police Orders. They would agree that these interventions are required for what they consider the most 'chronic end of the spectrum' but believe that the vast majority of men are caught up in a system with a gender bias, which they view as being unjust in its construction, application, and purpose.

Aggrieved Men

Men who have been through an acrimonious family separation may find a sense of belonging within men's groups, particularly those groups that view their primary role as advocating for men who have been unwitting victims of an unjust system. They are men who feel aggrieved by the judicial process and who feel alienated and discriminated against. They challenge statistics that identify 87% of victims of domestic violence as women and 98% of perpetrators as men.¹³ They also suggest that women are equally violent and manipulative, and believe that until women recognise they are equally culpable in domestic violence, no real justice will occur for men.

This approach raises several concerns: it is adversarial in nature, often directing its argument against feminists; and, in terms of its structural and organisational approach, it often resembles a dysfunctional, abusive relationship. Aggrieved men often report themselves to have been victims of domestic violence, and they frequently recount an incident of female-perpetrated violence to verify their claim, though these incidents may well be taken out of the context of a relationship involving ongoing domestic violence.

The majority of credible research overwhelmingly reports that men are, by and large, the perpetrators of family and domestic violence.¹⁴ Some men's groups are reticent to recognise this fact, and some argue that men are victims of domestic violence in equal proportions. The problematic nature of this argument becomes apparent when considering the ability of a victim of domestic violence to leave an abusive relationship without fear of retribution. Often, men have a greater ability to leave a violent relationship than women do and rarely fear retribution from their partners, so their experiences are very different.¹⁵ Some men's groups spend a majority of their energies espousing the view that women and men are equally violent, rather than conceding to some unpalatable facts and fostering meaningful dialogue that addresses violence in relationships.

Other men's groups, such as MATES in Busselton, have a different agenda. MATES provides services, resources and programs for men who are violent in intimate relationships, as well as tackling other issues men face, such as unemployment and homelessness. It appears that MATES has responded to a need in the community to provide a 'quasi-perpetrator' program for men, as opposed to the standard consciousness-raising exercises that typify most men's groups. MATES

13 Access Economics Pty Ltd, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part 1, Partnerships Against Domestic Violence*, Office of the Status of Women, Canberra, 2004.

14 S. Fisher, 'Are men and women equally violent? Understanding claim-making', *Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearing House Newsletter*, No. 21, April 2005.

15 Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre, *Men as Victims of Domestic Violence: Some Issues to Consider*, Discussion Paper No. 2, 2001.

recognises a need to provide psycho-educational programs for men, including anger management, life skills, parenting courses and relationship counselling, and the group provides general advocacy that is male-positive. The group's structure is very similar to formalised perpetrator programs in terms of providing a group-work process, but it is not accredited and is therefore not required to comply with the best-practice guidelines governing funded perpetrator programs.

MATES is a good example of a men's group formulated by a local, concerned man from the ground up, and its founder is to be commended. However, its existence raises some concerns about the quality of services provided by men's groups, which tend to develop on an *ad hoc* basis and which are not required to adhere to best-practice guidelines. Important developments in best-practice are made available to perpetrator programs which are incorporated into the Government's manual for service providers. Such developments include pro-social modelling, which requires both males and females to be present as group facilitators. These and other important principles can be overlooked because of a well-intentioned desire to create reconciliation between the partners in a relationship. This priority may override the fundamental principle of ensuring the safety of women and children as the primary concern.

The developments and principles found within the Government's best-practice manuals are designed to ensure that the potential for programs to collude with violent men is reduced, and to suggest that working with domestic violence is not necessarily about creating happy families but about providing a safe and secure environment for women and children. Men's groups that wish to address violent behaviour in men could benefit from resources such as perpetrator program best-practice manuals as well as establishing formal linkages with other service providers who work specifically with men who are violent in intimate relationships.

MATES does in fact provide a valuable service and an important place in which men can have their experiences heard, while also providing an environment for reflection and support for men who desire to make significant changes in their lives.

The MATES program is a participant in the South West Regional Domestic Violence Committee. This brings to the debate the role of interventions for men within a coordinated response, which is a most important development for fostering open dialogue with other service providers and stakeholders. Ideally, open dialogue and the participation of men's groups on RDVCs would help to foster an environment where the exchange of knowledge and resources could see men becoming engaged in the process of reducing domestic violence at a community level.

An important question is how to engage men's groups in reducing family and domestic violence in meaningful ways. The challenge for the family and domestic violence service sector, including women's refuges and policy initiatives, is how to successfully engage emerging and established men's groups as allies in a coordinated response. It would be considered more advantageous if men's groups form part of a range of interventions, rather than feeling discriminated against and disenfranchised.

Ownership

Ultimately, men's groups should be driven by local initiatives in order to be considered locally relevant and to ensure longevity. Local ownership is vital if men's groups are to have authority and authenticity. This is most relevant to CaLD and Indigenous communities, where enthusiasm for such initiatives exists, but where the resources and knowledge of how to start such enterprises may be lacking.

Community initiatives that address male violence often propose that a men's group should be established. This proposal should be supported and encouraged, as such a group could offer a means of promoting awareness of the impact of male violence, could act as a conduit to men within differing communities, and could effect behavioural changes among men. Successfully integrating these community initiatives with existing RDVCs could vastly improve the coordinated response to family and domestic violence.

Sensitivity is required in order to tackle some men's groups' perceptions of being 'railroaded' and to avoid alienating and disenfranchising men's groups. It would be more prudent to offer resources and training to men's group facilitators on the impact of male violence than to critique the groups' relevance. Providing training and resources to men's groups would assist in challenging the incorrect assumptions and misinformation that discourages men from taking responsibility for their behaviour and actions. Unifying men's groups' responses to the issue of male violence could assist in reducing male-perpetrated family and domestic violence.

Men's groups are centres where men gather to discuss issues affecting their lives. The importance of creating environments in which men can safely discuss family and domestic violence cannot be underestimated. Inventive ways of accessing men and engaging them in meaningful, helpful debate are required if men's politics of silence is to be challenged successfully. The debate between domestic violence service providers and men's groups needs to move beyond apportioning blame. It is important to encourage men's groups and allow local ownership to occur. Such groups should be provided with resources on the latest intervention techniques and with literature and research aimed at reducing male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. It is also important to foster an environment where men can respectfully challenge one another to take responsibility and be accountable for their actions, and to promote healing for themselves and others who have been affected by family and domestic violence.

Suggested Responses

- Foster links with active men's groups to provide responses and offer training in best practices for working with men in a family and domestic violence context.
- Encourage men's groups and services to participate with coordinated response structures for the purpose of ensuring a collaborative response to family and domestic violence.
- Encourage the establishment of men's groups, particularly in regional areas, that promote alternative and non-confrontational masculinity.
- Support the formation of Indigenous men's groups to tackle endemic abuse in rural and remote communities.

WOMEN'S REFUGES

In general, the staff of women's refuges were cautiously optimistic about the process of engaging men in the cessation of family and domestic violence. A paramount concern for refuge workers is the safety of women and children. In terms of responses for men, the workers and victims state these should always be subservient to the safety concerns of women and children, and initiatives should consult with women who have been victims of domestic violence. The main area of contention is the tension between a socio-political/criminal justice approach and a social construction/therapeutic response for men. It seems that the more that safety is guaranteed, the less latitude is given to therapeutics and programs for behavioural change targeting men. Some

concerns expressed by staff at women's refuges were that a policy response for men, even with the best intentions, may inadvertently weaken the hard-won safety mechanisms in place for women. Although these tensions were articulated, refuge workers agreed that there is a need to engage men in the process of reducing family and domestic violence in more meaningful ways than the ones currently in place.

Deviation of Funding

The distribution of funding and resources is another issue of concern for women's refuges. The deviation of funding away from women's services to those targeting men was questioned by interviewees in terms of ethics and appropriateness. Some refuge workers suggested that Western Australia required more refuges, and they were concerned that priority might be given to men's services at the expense of refuges. The suggestion that men had a role to play within a coordinated response was met with some caution and debate. Although there appeared to be some consensus among refuge workers in support of the need for more effective responses for men, there was also caution that such initiatives might lead to an inadvertent shift of focus towards men, jeopardising funding for women's services. One refuge worker suggested that all funding for men should be sourced from areas other than the domestic violence service sector. When the debate was framed in terms of a coordinated response to the reduction of domestic violence that included men, a more conciliatory response was offered. Although the debate varied, most refuge workers agreed that it is time for responses to be available for men to contribute to the reduction of family and domestic violence.

VROs and Police Orders

Refuge workers suggested that there is still a lot of misinformation surrounding VROs and Police Orders among women. Refuge workers had difficulty convincing women of the merits of employing VROs and Police Orders. The most significant barrier cited by women was that the VROs were considered 'toothless tigers' and their use only inflamed their partners.

Indigenous women in rural and remote locations were the most reluctant to employ VROs. The reasons given for this reluctance were, firstly, that the women feared family reprisal, and, secondly, as one Indigenous woman put it: 'I didn't want to be responsible for any more of our men ending up in jail'. The decision to take out a VRO was reported to be very difficult for Indigenous women due to kinship arrangements. Social sanctions were often applied to Indigenous women who considered taking out a VRO on their male partners. The decision to employ a VRO would affect an entire community, not just the man himself.

An Indigenous worker in Kalgoorlie stated that it would be beneficial for both men and women to be educated on the effect of these new Orders so that blame wouldn't be shifted onto women. He suggested that men's negative reactions were based in fear and ignorance of the workings of VROs and Police Orders, and he felt that education would empower men to take more responsibility, as opposed to being reactive and acting out violently.

The fact that women still need to go to refuges confounded many of the victims interviewed, in the sense that the legislative changes were designed to assist women to stay in their own communities and homes, while the man was required to be held accountable for his actions. In general, the legislative changes were welcomed, but no illusions were held about VROs or Police Orders being a cure-all for family and domestic violence.

Perpetrator Programs

Workers in the refuge sector felt that they would like more information on how the perpetrator programs work and whether they are successful in reducing family and domestic violence. Refuge workers had a genuine curiosity about, and ignorance of, perpetrator programs for men. It was considered beneficial, in terms of a coordinated response, to have more formal linkages between refuges and perpetrator programs. It appears that there is a great separation between the two services. It was thought that it may allay the anxieties women in refuges may have regarding perpetrator programs if refuge workers could explain some of the processes that the programs involve and dispel some of the myths associated with them. The refuge workers suggested that they could impart meaningful information to perpetrator programs and could help refine their practices, learning about the experiences of men in the process. This information-sharing could assist in building a bridge between the two service modalities and ensure a more collaborative response in future.

Key Issues Affecting Women in Relation to Men

In terms of services for men, survivors of domestic violence in an Albany refuge mentioned that their partners often threaten suicide, and they had concerns that men are not getting the help they require. Although the women recognise that such threats can be an example of manipulative and controlling behaviour, they feel that more needs to be done, as the threats are also distressing to women and children. The reluctance of men to seek help was also identified as a problem.

Refuge workers reported that their clients had, on several occasions, encouraged their partners to phone for help or attend services, but the men were very reluctant to seek help for themselves. This barrier that men have in seeking assistance or help mystified the women. They suggested that accessing help for men is something that intimate partners, in these circumstances, cannot do and that it may require other innovative methods to get men to realise the benefits of reaching out for assistance. It maybe a role that only other men can perform, as the women had no success and, as the relationships disintegrated, it became appropriate for the women to assist their partners in this way.

Another issue that was reiterated throughout the interviews with refuge clients and workers was the concerns regarding fathers' supervised access of their children. The women still recognise the role of fathers in the lives of their children, but they wished for contact to be supervised, so as to ensure the children's safety. They mentioned the need for services that provide a qualified supervisor to make sure that the children are in a safe environment when with their fathers, as this would go a long way to alleviate some of the anxieties women felt in relation to child access. In addition to this process, parenting courses targeting men would also assist men in the difficult process of re-familiarising themselves with their children after separation.

Suggested Responses

- Foster links between perpetrator programs and refuges in order to share practice knowledge and safety information.
- Provide information to promote greater awareness of Violence Restraining Orders and Police Orders within rural and remote Indigenous communities.
- Ensure that decision-makers consider the safety and wellbeing of children when determining parental access.
- Involve victims' experiences in the formulation of responses to men.

HOMOSEXUAL MEN

Homosexual men are often overlooked in the debate on men and domestic violence, particularly in relation to male victims of domestic violence. Often, people tend to think of male victims in heterocentric terms. The homosexual men interviewed felt that they tend to be missed in service delivery and responses to domestic violence. The men interviewed suggested that the prevalence of domestic violence in the homosexual community is comparable to that found among heterosexuals. They added that there was little documented research available in relation to the prevalence of gay domestic violence within Western Australia, so they could offer only anecdotal numbers. Generally, it was reported that the subject of domestic violence was not talked about in the gay community, as the stigma attached to it encourages victims to keep the incidents well hidden.

Homophobia

The main concern for homosexual men, as both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence, is the fear of a homophobic response to their experiences. Homophobia, particularly from Police, is cited as a barrier to gay men reporting domestic violence. Male workers from the AIDS Council do offer training to Police about sexual orientation, diversity and discrimination, but they do not broach the topic of domestic violence with the Police in any great detail. It was suggested that more education, information and general awareness of the impact of domestic violence in the homosexual community is required. This would include ensuring that service providers are aware of the needs of homosexual men in terms of service delivery, and aware that men in violent homosexual relationships require services as much as their heterosexual counterparts do.

There appears to be a lot of silence surrounding domestic violence within the homosexual community; it was a subject that seemed to be taboo. It was suggested by a worker at the AIDS Council that some gay men may not be aware that they are in a relationship that involves domestic violence, or they may be unaware of the use of VROs or Police Orders. It is believed that an awareness campaign on these issues would benefit gay men and would make some headway in the task of tackling domestic violence in the homosexual community.

Program Preparedness for Homosexual Men

Gay men expressed a reluctance to access services because they felt that the 'group work' style of interventions, which most programs offered, would be attended by homophobic men and facilitated by people who were not aware of the issues affecting gay relationships; further, they felt that the predominance of heterosexual relationships within the group work could become problematic. Gay men would need to be assured that they would be safe before attending such a service. The perpetrator programs interviewed could not recall having gay men in any of their groups, and they suggested that the inclusion of gay men could be inappropriate at certain times, depending on the level of homophobia of a group. The facilitators of the perpetrator programs were more than willing to have gay men within the group work setting, but they could also sympathise with the reluctance of homosexual men to attend. It was suggested by most service providers that individual counselling may be more appropriate for gay male perpetrators of domestic violence, as the numbers presented to their services was so small that group work would be difficult to justify. Gay victims of domestic violence would also benefit from individual counselling, but concern was raised about the difference in fee structure between service providers, some of which offer group work for free, compared to individual counselling which often attracts a fee.

One Degree of Separation

Another barrier to gay men disclosing domestic violence was described as ‘one degree of separation’. This is a term that describes the level of familiarity among men within the gay community. Gay victims of domestic violence felt it impossible to reveal their circumstances to other members of the community for fear of being socially sanctioned or ostracised — particularly if the partner has a high profile or is well known. The fear of disclosing that a partner has been violent can potentially limit the victim’s chances of re-coupling in subsequent relationships because of the stigma associated with domestic violence; further, the relatively small number of gay men in Perth means that anonymity is not guaranteed. The exposure of domestic violence was therefore seen as detrimental to both men, potentially limiting their social networks. The predominant emotion expressed by homosexual men was that of feeling trapped and helpless in relation to domestic violence.

It was suggested that some perpetrators of domestic violence in homosexual relationships are men who have ‘not come out’ in relation to their sexuality, or men who may struggle to accept their own homosexuality or bisexuality, and who may subsequently project their internal struggle onto their intimate partners in the form of violence. This is a group of men who would not necessarily claim to be gay but who struggle with some level of ambiguity in relation to their sexuality, which can ultimately result in violence against homosexual men. It illustrates that a level of complexity is associated with homosexual men’s experiences with domestic violence that may not necessarily be catered for in current interventions. Greater understanding of gay men’s experiences is required to accommodate them within the domestic violence service sector.

Suggested Responses

- Establish training and education for relevant health professionals and service providers to create awareness of the specific issues affecting homosexual victims of domestic violence.
- Ensure that practices and procedures are inclusive of homosexual men’s needs.
- Ensure that individual counselling and support is made available for homosexual victims of domestic violence.
- Cater for homosexual perpetrators of domestic violence within current intervention models.

MALE VICTIMS

An area of interest to the Men’s Project was the number of males reporting to be victims of domestic violence. Some men’s groups such as the Men’s Confraternity have raised the issue of male victims of domestic violence, the number of which, they suggest, is much higher than reported. The debate about male victims is a highly contested area. The controversy stems from the notions of what constitutes a male victim of domestic violence.

When exploring the notion of male victims, it is important to consider that men who report that they are victims of domestic violence often employ victimhood as a part of their manipulative and controlling behaviour. A man who reports to be a victim of domestic violence, upon further investigation, often reveals a protracted abusive relationship where he has been the main perpetrator of the violence.¹⁶ Although male victims do exist, there is still considerable debate to be had about what constitutes a male victim of domestic violence.

16 M. Flood, “Claims about “husband-battering”, *Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre Newsletter*, No. 4, Summer 1999, pp 3–8.

For the purpose of this enquiry, it was made clear to the respondents that the Men's Project wanted to uncover 'bona fide' male victims of family and domestic violence. The criteria included not only physical abuse but also emotional, psychological and financial abuse, and extended to the ability to leave an abusive relationship without fear of reprisal or retribution.

Literature on male victims of domestic violence cites the major difference between male and female victims as being the ability to leave an abusive relationship.¹⁷ Some major barriers to leaving a relationship are socio-economic ramifications and the fear of reprisal. It is suggested that men have a greater ability to leave an abusive relationship, in terms of financial independence, and they are seldom fearful of violent reprisal. Another major difference is that men rarely live under a regime of constant fear, which is a very different experience from that of many women in violent relationships. This context was made clear to all interviewees before they offered their information.

It is important to note that the number of male victims is difficult to ascertain, mainly due to the fact that there is no consistent agreement on what constitutes a male victim. Any percentages or numbers provided by respondents were purely anecdotal.

Different Reporting between Metropolitan and Rural and Remote Areas

There was a marked difference between metropolitan and rural and remote settings in terms of reporting the advent of male victims to the Project. Rural and remote areas were much more forthcoming regarding the examples of male victims of domestic violence. Male victims in rural and remote areas tend to be Indigenous men. Police and service providers in Kalgoorlie, Karratha and Broome, in particular, suggested that such violence was mostly retaliatory action or self-defence undertaken by the partners of violent men. DCD workers and Police in Merredin were quite adamant that rural areas have a number of male victims and offered comments like 'we build our women tough, here in the bush' in explanation. This explanation is suggestive of retaliatory violence that is enmeshed in an intimate relationship, becoming the only method of conflict resolution. Again, it was extremely difficult to ascertain exact numbers, but it seemed that rural and remote communities included relatively high number of male victims of domestic violence.

The metropolitan interviews, by contrast, revealed very low numbers of male victims. Each of the perpetrator program staff interviewed reported seeing, on average, one or two male victims per year, but they often qualified that figure by recognising that it is unlikely that men who were solely victims of domestic violence would present at a perpetrator program. Other service providers across the metropolitan area suggested that, at best, one to three of their male clients per year could be categorised as victims.

Areas of Presentation of Male Victims

The three main services to which men are likely to present as victims of domestic violence are:

1. the Men's Domestic Violence Helpline;
2. hospital emergency departments; and
3. reactive men's groups.

The reasons for these three services to be a first point of contact for male victims of domestic violence are as follows. The Men's Domestic Violence Helpline is a good anonymous conduit for men who are seeking help both as victims and as perpetrators, and the staff are well aware of the different presentations.¹⁸

17 Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse Newsletter, p 9. No. 21 – April 2005

18 Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre, *Men as Victims of Domestic Violence: Some Issues to Consider*, Discussion Paper No. 2, 2001.

Hospitals are another service that may see male victims of family and domestic violence. Some literature suggests that men who are victims of domestic violence are more likely to present at emergency departments from wounds inflicted from domestic disputes than any other service, due to shame, fear and entrenched conceptions of masculinity prohibiting them from accessing regular counselling services.

Finally, reactive men's groups provide solace for men who feel ignored by current services and who find in the groups solidarity and a place to have their stories heard.

The Men's Domestic Violence Helpline

One worker at the Men's Domestic Violence Helpline suggested that 8% of his calls are from men he would class as *bona fide* male victims. Another worker suggested the percentage was much higher, at around 20%. The workers suggested that the numbers did fluctuate, and that the helpline is not necessarily designed to cater for male victims, but they believe that their service does attract distressed males who are victims of domestic violence.

The helpline workers reported that male victims were very frustrated with counselling services because they felt that people did not believe them. The victims said they spent most of their time trying to convince service providers that they were victims of domestic violence rather than exploring suitable interventions. Victims also reported that some Police had ridiculed them for being weak and ignored their requests for assistance. Male victims reported they felt ashamed and marginalised, and they said they felt like 'collateral damage in the war against domestic violence'.

Hospital Emergency Departments

There was a stark contrast between metropolitan and rural settings in terms of male victims of domestic violence presenting at hospitals. Interviews with social workers at Royal Perth Hospital and Fremantle Hospital said that they had not seen any male victims presenting to the emergency department. The social worker at Royal Perth Hospital had been in the position for five years and was not aware of any referrals of male victims in that time from medical staff or other allied health staff. The Sir Charles Gardner Hospital social worker confirmed two male victims in two and a half years — one of which he considered a *bona fide* male victim, and the other likely to be the predominant perpetrator of violence in his relationship. In terms of the metropolitan area, the numbers of men presenting themselves as victims of domestic violence was generally very low.

The hospitals in rural locations, by contrast, reported a significant number of men as presenting with wounds that were related to domestic violence. The Kalgoorlie hospital social worker mentioned that a number of Indigenous men are treated weekly for wounds they report as resulting from family violence. Other regional medical centres in rural locations have had similar experiences but did qualify that they have women presenting to the centres as well.

A recent study conducted by the Injury Research Centre looked at hospital admissions due to intimate partner violence in Western Australia over a period of eighteen months between July 2002 and December 2003. The study reports the following:

When the relationship was as intimates, females were overrepresented in the hospitalisations comprising 85% (n = 820) of all hospitalisations for intimate partner violence (Table 6.3).

However, when the relationship was either as strangers, or as individuals who were acquainted but not related (ie friends, acquaintances), males were over-represented, comprising 82% (n = 366) of all hospitalisations for stranger violence and 68% of all hospitalisations for violence

perpetrated by friends or acquaintances. Finally, when the relationship was as family members, males and females each comprised approximately half of all violence hospitalisation (Table 6.3).¹⁹

Table 6.3: Hospitalisations due to interpersonal violence by relationship of victim to perpetrator and sex of victim, Western Australia, July 2002 – Dec 2003

Relationship of victim to perpetrator	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL ^a
	n	%	n	%	N
Spouse/partner/ex	141	14.7	820	85.3	961
Family member	221	52.7	198	47.3	419
Friend/acquaintance	127	67.9	60	32.1	187
Unknown to victim	366	81.7	82	18.3	448
Total^a	855	42.4	1,160	57.6	2,015

a Excludes 2,971 hospitalisations in which relationships between victim and perpetrator was coded as 'other specified person' and 'unspecified person'.

Reactive Men's Groups

Many men who have had a difficult separation or who have felt aggrieved by the Family Court process have found solace in belonging to a men's group that suggests that the men are themselves victims. Such groups view men as victims of a system that unjustly privileges the female partner in a relationship, discriminating against men. The groups' emphasis on male victimhood is often legalistic and adversarial in nature, promoting a dichotomous debate, in terms of perpetrators and victims, that seeks to apportion blame. The binary terms of the debate thus framed oversimplifies the complexity of interpersonal relationships and shifts the argument away from the context of violence.

The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) is cited by some men's groups as a source that promotes a measured response to violence in a relationship and which suggests that violence is equal among men and women. The CTS proposes to measure the number of conflicts that occur in a relationship, which is believed to bring clarity to the exchange of violence, including the gender of the instigator of violence within a relationship.²⁰

The CTS is critiqued for leaving out important forms of violence, for analysing violent acts out of context, and for depending only on reports given by only one partner in the relationship, despite poor interspousal reliability.²¹ For example, the model does not recognise the potential for female violence in self-defence, and minor acts (such as breaking a teacup) are given equal weight to major aggression (such as breaking a rib).²²

Some men's groups, such as the Men's Confraternity, have kept a log of messages left at their internet web site from men who report to be victims of domestic violence. These messages number

19 A. L. Gavin, C. Gillam, Hospital Admissions due to Intimate Partner Violence in Western Australia 1994–2004, Injury Research Centre, School of Population Health, University of Western Australia, Perth, p12, March 2005.

20 M. Flood, "Claims about "husband-battering", Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre Newsletter, No. 4, Summer 1999, pp 3–8.

21 M. Flood, "Claims about "husband-battering", *Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre Newsletter*, No. 4, Summer 1999, pp 3–8.

22 F. Stephen, Are men and women equally violent? Understanding claim making, *Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse*, April 2005, No. 21 pp 9.

in the hundreds. The approach of the Men's Confraternity is similar to that of the CTS, focusing on incidents of violence that predominantly report men to be innocent victims of violence at the hands of their partners.

The Complexity of Male Violence

The notion of male victims is predominantly understood in terms of heterosexual couples and often fails to recognise other manifestations of family and domestic violence. Violence associated with elder abuse, particularly of fathers suffering at the hands of children or partners, is not unheard of but is rarely mentioned in debates on domestic violence. Indeed, young males who witness family and domestic violence are victims themselves, and same-sex couples are often ignored in the debate on male victims. These examples of male victims of family and domestic violence represent demographics that are very difficult to access, and the current default heterosexual view of domestic violence tends to occlude these men from research.²³

Further, the debate surrounding victims of domestic violence is still centred on physical violence, even though the widely agreed-upon definition of domestic violence includes emotional, psychological and financial abuse. The area that is often neglected in relation to male victims of domestic violence is violence that does not include physical acts.

The discussions entered into with respondents inevitably lead into a debate about how some men claim to be victims of manipulation, psychological abuse and humiliation from their partners. These men have been subjected to abusive verbal humiliation that has left them feeling disempowered and emasculated. It is very unlikely that these men will access services, as men's help-seeking behaviour is frequently constrained by their association of masculinity with strength and control, not vulnerability and need. Consequently, it is very difficult to ascertain how many such men exist in Western Australia, firstly, because they are unlikely to present themselves to services, and, secondly, because very little research has explored the issues affecting male victims of domestic violence and their willingness to seek help.²⁴

As the definition of domestic violence has broadened to include non-physical domestic violence, it will inevitably include men's experiences that fall into this category. The interviews revealed that these subjects are contentious. They represent an emerging area in domestic violence services, and they require greater consideration in responses to domestic violence. The difficulty lies in the fact that such men's experiences tend to be offered by a third party and are largely anecdotal, which presents a challenge for researchers. More thorough research is required in order to debate properly the notions of male victims of domestic violence and to obtain a clear understanding of what would constitute appropriate responses.

The data gathered by the Men's Project has in many ways mirrored the debate surrounding this most contested and vexed area, with some sectors — such as perpetrator programs and hospitals — reporting very small numbers of male victims, while others claim hundreds of male victims. Mostly, the anecdotal evidence gathered from respondents suggests that the percentages reflect

23 Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre, *Men as Victims of Domestic Violence: Some Issues to Consider*, Discussion Paper No. 2, 2001.

24 'Barriers that prevent country men from accessing domestic violence services', Report to Family and Domestic Violence Unit & Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, <http://www.community.wa.gov.au/Resources/FamilyDomesticViolence/Publications.htm>.

those found in credible research.²⁵ The confusion does not arise from the question of whether male victims exist but from the contested definitions that cloud the debate.

If any distinctions are to be made between the experiences of male and female victims of domestic violence, then the following factors must be taken into consideration:

- In general, men have greater opportunity to leave abusive relationships.
- Men rarely report that they live under a regime of constant fear of their partner, with the exception of some homosexual men.
- Men are consistently reported to be victims of domestic violence at a far lower rate than women in data gathered by Police, hospitals and credible research.
- Domestic violence against women perpetrated by men is more severe than that inflicted against men by women, and that violence is more likely to inflict severe injury.²⁶

Although some men claim to be victims of domestic violence, it is clear that their experiences, compared to those of women, have significant differences that create problems for men's status as victims. It is naive to believe that there are no male victims, but these distinctions can provide service providers and policy with a framework through which to discern the claims of male victims of domestic violence. Ultimately, it will assist in resolving the debate, in accessing men who are in genuine need of assistance, and in providing timely responses to their specific needs.

Greater understanding of men's experiences will assist service providers to be more discerning about men claiming to be victims of domestic violence; more importantly, this understanding will minimise the potential for service providers to collude inadvertently with men who use their status as victims to obtain power and control by disempowering women's experiences. Clearer understanding will also enable service providers to offer meaningful support to men who are truly suffering as a result of family and domestic violence.

Unfortunately, the most important issue — the question of what type of intervention is required for male victims of domestic violence — can be subsumed by a 'blame game'. It is clear that male victims exist, but more research is required to move beyond the current adversarial, blame-based debate to a situation where it is possible to offer real and practical solutions to all people who suffer as a result of domestic violence.

Suggested Responses

- Engage in research partnerships with universities to ascertain the number and prevalence of male victims of domestic violence.
- Develop good-practice guidelines for identifying and responding to male victims of family and domestic violence.
- Develop and provide training for health professionals to acknowledge male victims of domestic violence and provide appropriate responses.
- Create appropriate referral pathways for male victims of domestic violence to existing services.

25 Access Economics Pty Ltd, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part 1, Partnerships Against Domestic Violence*, Office of the Status of Women, Canberra, 2004

26 Fisher, op. cit.

CaLD COMMUNITIES

The Family and Domestic Violence Unit (FDVU) and the Office for Women's Policy (OWP) have been working closely with various CaLD communities. The African Communities Forum and other initiatives conducted by the FDVU and the Multicultural Women's Consortium have developed a number of recommendations that directly target men. The African Communities Forum conducted in April 2005 reported that men's support groups were seen as 'a great need',²⁷ and the Muslim Women's Support Centre also reported the need to educate Imams (religious leaders) in relation to the dynamics of domestic violence. Great inroads have been made in making domestic violence in CaLD communities an issue that the various communities are willing to address. Muslim men and women suggested that there is now a need to move to the next stage, from raising community awareness of domestic violence to working with men in more practical ways.

Cultural and Religious Considerations

CaLD communities have suggested that raising the profile of domestic violence within their communities was an important step to challenging the silence of men, but requested specific training for men of standing in the various communities to enable them to respond appropriately to domestic violence. CaLD communities often appoint certain men, for social and religious reasons, who have influence and authority over the community and who can act as an active agent of change. These men are important stakeholders who have a role in ensuring the accountability of violent men within their communities. It was suggested that these 'men of influence' require training in order to respond correctly to male domestic violence and to challenge those colluding with or propagating violent behaviour.

An Imam and other religious leaders reported that they did not know where to access training that could prepare them to work with men who are violent in interpersonal relationships. These religious leaders are dedicated to reducing violence in their own communities, and they recognised that they needed to learn practical intervention techniques. They stressed the point that, for any intervention to have an impact on Muslim men, it would need to be related to the Qur'an. They see the need to build a bridge between the current secular response to family and domestic violence and the values of their own communities by working in culturally appropriate ways that incorporate the Islamic faith.

The Imam believes that most Muslim men would not respond to services that do not integrate the Islamic faith. The Imam was willing to provide the Islamic element to any such program, but he could not find any program that would train him to work with men and domestic violence. Examples such as this represent lost opportunities to combat domestic violence in CaLD communities and to challenge men's politics of silence.

People Fleeing Oppression

The African communities consulted as part of the Men's Project expressed similar concerns in relation to the lack of training available to men in their communities, but the responses differed in the sense that the predominant issue reported by African men was feelings of disempowerment and trauma. Some African men have fled traumatic events and now suffer from post-traumatic stress, which brings a different complexity to issues contributing to domestic violence in African communities.

²⁷ Family and Domestic Violence Unit, *African Communities Forum on Domestic Violence Report*, Department for Community Development, Perth, April 2005.

Other major issues for African men are the loss of meaningful roles and racism. The difference in the status and authority afforded to men in an African setting and in an Australian setting can often mean that migration to Australia involves a process of disempowerment for African men. Such men then tend to assert their authority in destructive ways within the domestic sphere. The African community's suggestion that a men's support group is required is thus a call to address the issue of men's diminished role and their disempowerment.

The myriad issues that contribute to male violence in CaLD communities are complex; to reduce violence in these settings requires a multi-systemic approach. Unemployment, women's access to economic independence, domestic violence legislation and the process of adjusting to Australian culture are but a number of issues impacting on CaLD men. CaLD men realise that none of these issues can be dealt with in isolation if domestic violence is to be addressed effectively, and they recognise that men can play a significant role in reducing violence but lack the skills and resources to respond.

The most predominant issue to arise from the interviews was the need to work in culturally sensitive ways. Masculinity is informed by a number of influences, including the culture and location the men find themselves in. It is important to recognise these influences and to incorporate them into any responses aimed at reducing male violence.

Suggested Responses

- Identify, engage and resource 'men of standing' with information, responses and interventions targeting men to reduce domestic violence within culturally and linguistically diverse communities.
- Integrate current responses with an awareness of culturally appropriate approaches in domestic violence interventions.
- Disseminate information targeting practitioners and service providers, informing them of the cultural, religious, and ethnic issues impacting on culturally and linguistically diverse men.
- Provide an opportunity for newly arrived and culturally and linguistically diverse men to be educated on Australian laws and mainstream cultural considerations.

RURAL AND REMOTE AREAS

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Indigenous communities in rural and remote locations have high levels of family and domestic violence and sexual abuse, which are often generational and can appear intractable. Violence is often seen as a legitimate way of resolving conflict; its use has been left mostly unchallenged and so has become the norm. The centrality of kinship and familial arrangements within Aboriginal culture, and their significance for social cohesion, cannot be underestimated. Kinship was suggested to be both the weakness and the strength of Indigenous communities. Feuding among families can be generational and deeply complex, and it needs to be understood as part of a cluster of issues contributing to family violence.

Due to the remoteness of these communities, they often have few services and little access to resources. It was reported by community members and service providers that remote Indigenous communities that are included in outreach services are visited with such infrequency that it has been very difficult to provide continuity of service; therefore, these services are unlikely to have any meaningful effect. In the Kimberley and Pilbara, some remote communities can become inaccessible during the wet season, which makes service delivery almost impossible. These are just some of many difficulties faced by remote Indigenous communities.

The Men's Project met with several Aboriginal men's groups within these remote Indigenous communities. The groups ranged from three young Aboriginal boys from a school in Beagle Bay to men's groups consisting of six or seven men, including elders and Aboriginal community youth workers. The discussions with Aboriginal men took place in the following locations: Beagle Bay, Lombadina/Djarindjin, One Arm Point, Derby, Broome, Roebourne, South Hedland and Kalgoorlie.

In addition to the consultations conducted with rural and remote indigenous men, the Men's project consulted with Noongar men in Maddington who were in the process of organising a Noongar men's forum. Yalgarra Maarmen (Canning River men) is an Indigenous men's group exploring strategies to engage metropolitan Noongar men in addressing issues impacting their community. The project confirmed the key issues and recommendations offered by rural and remote indigenous men with metropolitan Indigenous men. This process revealed a striking parallel between the two groups in terms of impacting issues and remedies offered. Although the impact of colonisation and displacement was felt by all Indigenous men across the state, it was much more acutely felt by metropolitan Indigenous men as they are located closer to the centre of colonisation. This difference presents a greater challenge to metropolitan Indigenous men in terms of connection to land and culture as often they felt more estranged from this connection compared to their rural and remote brothers.

Complexity and Contextuality

It became very clear that the men recognised that family violence within their communities was having a devastating effect on both Indigenous families and on Aboriginal culture itself. The men talked of the differences of Aboriginal familial ties and arrangements to those of non-Aboriginal families, and they felt that clear understandings of these kinship laws are required before service providers can work successfully with Aboriginal people. Kinship arrangements can be so integral to Indigenous communities that only a holistic response that engages all of the community would

be sufficient to tackle the complexity of family violence²⁸. Also, issues of poverty, unemployment, poor education, meaningful engagement in activities, housing, transience, physical and mental health issues, and drug and alcohol problems cannot be seen in isolation from family violence. Field workers for the Department for Community Development stressed that all these issues need to be tackled together if family and domestic violence is to be addressed successfully in Indigenous communities.

Further, it has been made very clear that working with Indigenous men in rural and remote locations to stop family violence must be considered contextually. A 'one size fits all' approach would be destined to fail. Each community reported unique circumstances that would require innovative thinking if the issues specific to that community are to be addressed. Some communities throughout the Dampier Peninsula, for instance, suggested that a trusted male community member would be required to engage violent men and to effect change, while others suggested that only a person impartial to the kinship arrangements and not known to their particular community would have sufficient influence to perform that role. Whatever initiatives are considered as possible responses to domestic violence in remote communities, they must be decided upon with community consultation, as local ownership of any initiative is crucial for its success. A community can only feel that they own an initiative if they are listened to deeply and if their suggested initiatives are honoured and supported.

An encouraging universal theme emerged from consultations with Indigenous communities: the Indigenous men interviewed were willing to take an active role in the reduction of family violence, but they lacked the knowledge, skill and resources to start. The Indigenous men recognised that there are services and responses for women, such as the Strong Women's Group in the Pilbara, which they saw as being obviously beneficial to the women, and they wished for an equivalent group for men. The Yalgarra Maamen men's group also recognised the obvious benefits and achievements of women's services and believed it to be an important model to emulate. They by no means expressed these sentiments with resentment or in an adversarial manner but with the recognition that they wanted to offer similar support to men.

Responsibility, Healing, and Ownership

At a community meeting with Aboriginal men at the Broome Men's Outreach Service, it was suggested that the way forward for men was characterised by responsibility, ownership, and healing. The Indigenous community in general placed a much greater emphasis on repairing broken relationships because the cohesion of the family unit is seen as an integral part of Aboriginal culture. Wider consultation, particularly in the Goldfields, revealed that Aboriginal people desired reconciliation and mediation between couples more frequently than was desired by non-Indigenous people. Again, it was felt that this was important because familial ties are fundamental to Aboriginal communities' cohesiveness, and the separation of partners affected the functioning of the whole community, not just the immediate family.

The Indigenous men interviewed realised that shifting blame onto women, society, or other factors was, ultimately, not going to be helpful. They recognised that men within each community had to take responsibility for actions and behaviours associated with family violence and also to become accountable for its cessation. The men believed that the steps to healing were, first, to take responsibility for the propagation of violence and, second, to promote healing among men.

28 Taylor J, Cheers B, Weetra C, Gentle I. Supporting Community Solutions to Family Violence. Australian Social Work/ March, 2004, Vol. 57, No. 1

Indigenous men recognised that it was crucial for men to heal the pain in their own lives. The men shared how they had suffered from social exclusion, racism, homelessness, unemployment, sexual abuse, and from a lack of cultural identity and belonging. Their internal suffering needed to be healed as a way of addressing both family violence and other forms of violence. The men felt that this healing needs to be conducted in accordance with their Indigenous culture and laws, and they recognise the primacy of Aboriginal spirituality in the healing process. Although non-Aboriginal people may call the process therapeutics, healing for Aboriginal men did not exclude therapy, but they did insist that healing needs to be conducted within an Aboriginal spiritual context.

Reconnection with the land was considered by Indigenous men to be an important component of the healing process. Without exception, the Indigenous men interviewed wanted to take the young men and boys of their communities on camping trips to enable them to reconnect with traditional Indigenous customary law, language, and the land. The Indigenous men of the Goldfields mentioned that they saw a five-year window of opportunity to pass invaluable language and Indigenous customary law down from the male elders to the current generation before it is lost. As the years pass, the urgency for such measures increases, and the men believed that assisting the young men to access traditional Aboriginal culture would ultimately give them a sense of pride and belonging, which would assist in the reduction of family violence. A number of initiatives targeting men are currently being trialled around Australia that addresses the same concerns expressed by Western Australian Indigenous men²⁹. These other initiatives could provide a framework for both existing and developing programs targeting Indigenous male-perpetrated family and domestic violence.

Indigenous men are aware of the success of various women's health initiatives, and they have suggested that similar initiatives would benefit men. Indigenous men recognised the need for a place for men to go and congregate that was solely for the use of men. The need for a place where men could feel a sense of belonging and support was considered to be urgent, and it was suggested as the most important initiative that could help restore pride among Indigenous men. Indigenous men in urban settings reiterated the same sentiments.

Some of these kinds of facilities for men already exist. Broome men have access to the Men's Outreach Service, which consists of a house that is staffed during office hours to provide advocacy and counselling for men. It also provides a life-skills program for men who are on parole and who are making the transition back into the community. The service also offers a place where men can have a shower and get a change of clothes and some food, providing some level of dignity to men in crisis. The service also provides anger management courses and acts as a conduit to men who are displaced or who require assistance. The Derby Men's Service is open during office hours, and an Indigenous worker with the Aboriginal Health Clinic in South Headland was in the process of starting a men's group. People within the Pilbara and the Kimberley Districts seemed to be much more progressive on this matter than those in the Goldfields or Great Southern Districts. Interviewees in the Goldfields District were unaware of the existence of these services in the north, and they were keen to have a similar service for Indigenous men in their area. Metropolitan Indigenous men were also unaware of initiatives in others parts of the state and were keenly interested in establishing a metropolitan equivalent. There were no formal linkages or sharing of experiences or knowledge between existing programs, but they indicated that they believed they

29 Cunneen C. Preventing Violence Against Indigenous Women Through Programs Which Target Men. University of New South Wales, Law Journal Vol, 25 (1)

would benefit from sharing knowledge on engaging Indigenous men in the task of reducing family violence by consolidating their experiences and knowledge.

The level of belonging and ownership the men bring to the services underpins the success of these programs. Without the men being actively involved in the direction of the program, the service runs the risk of becoming irrelevant. Ownership also suggests that men who have little pride in other parts of their lives could belong to a place that promotes wellbeing among men. This would include fostering linkages between Indigenous men and boys, who — with appropriate resources and education — could develop an alternative conception of masculinity that refuses to participate in violence against women and children, breaking the link of intergenerational family violence.

Suggested Responses

- Create places of belonging for Indigenous men to explore their language, land, and Indigenous customary law.
- Foster and encourage linkages between Indigenous elders and young adults and boys in order to provide positive male role models.
- Assist in the formulation of programs that engage Indigenous men in responsibility, healing, and ownership of family violence.

MINING COMMUNITIES

Men in mining communities, such as Kalgoorlie, Karratha, Port Hedland and South Hedland, often display an entrenched version of masculinity that promotes big drinking, big money and, often, big problems with relationships. Each regional mining centre reported high levels of domestic violence, both among local residents and those men who perform ‘fly-in, fly-out’ shift work. This is not to say that all men who participate in the mining industry are more likely to be perpetrators of family and domestic violence; rather, the environment provides unique challenges to families and relationships.

It was reported by health workers in Karratha that domestic violence is not just an issue for these regional centres but also for metropolitan Perth, due to the fact that men who are employed there on a ‘fly-in, fly-out’ basis often live in Perth. The same circumstances apply to Kalgoorlie and most other large mining communities. The pressure of shift work, coupled with a rigid conception of masculinity — one centred on patriarchal dominance — can interfere with family harmony and can result in violent relationships.

The Context of Mining Communities

A senior social worker in Karratha reiterated the fact that men felt ill-equipped to resolve conflict within their relationships but felt that they should ‘fix it’ themselves before accessing professional help. The social worker was providing counselling for men in domestic violence relationships, which he stated was not part of his job requirements. He found that, within a month, he was inundated with men seeking his counsel and that the local magistrate was referring men to his service. He stated that this illustrated a huge need for domestic violence counselling, and he feared he could not fulfil the demands, because he was not funded to provide that service and may need to stop the counselling due to the lack of funding. The clients were predominantly men who work in the mining industry, and he was surprised by the lack of support offered by the men’s employers, when the impact this issue was having on the men’s lives and productivity seemed so obvious to him.

The men also requested that counselling services be tailored to suit the shift work required of men in the mining industry. It could be weeks between appointments, not because of lack of willingness to attend but because working shifts makes it difficult for men to attend counselling provided within regular office hours.

Although most mining companies offer an employee assistance scheme that provides a counselling service, the men would not access them. The men had told the senior social worker that the contractual nature of employment has meant that men do not discuss relationship problems with their employers for the fear of receiving a 'black mark' against their name, which may result in losing ongoing employment. The men believed that the employment market was so competitive that, if an employer had any reason to expect difficulties with a worker, it could limit that worker's ongoing employment. This was reported as a significant issue for men who would not mention relationship difficulties to free employer assistance programs, even though early intervention with a counsellor may have been extremely beneficial for both the employee and the employer.

Most respondents believed that the mining industry — particularly large mining companies — could play a role in reducing family and domestic violence by at least recognising the impact it has on their staff and community, by offering support for their employees, and by reassuring them that seeking help would not jeopardise their ongoing employment. It was suggested that more could be done in the way of promotion and awareness campaigns that targeted men in crib rooms and other locations within mine sites. The awareness campaigns would only be successful if they were coupled with local counselling services that understood clearly how to work with men and the complex issues surrounding domestic violence. These services could work with Regional Domestic Violence Committees to provide a whole-of-community response that involved the Police, magistrates, women's refuges, and representatives from the mining industry to promote healthier communities and to involve men in reducing family and domestic violence.

Community Participation

The 'fly-in, fly-out' culture of mining towns had other impacts on towns such as Karratha and South Hedland. Some men do not see any need for a sense of ownership or participation in the communities, and so do little to promote community wellbeing. This attitude tends to undermine social cohesion within the towns, and it fosters some resentment. This lack of community participation by men resulted in diminished involvement in schools, community fundraising and general ownership of the town's future. It was suggested by Department for Community Development workers that the greater involvement of men in community activities would foster a sense of belonging and ownership of the health and wellbeing of community, particularly in relation to stronger families. It was believed that social isolation tends to exacerbate domestic violence, and attempts to provide social networking opportunities would assist in reducing domestic violence within mining towns.

Housing

Police and refuge workers in Karratha had concerns about the impact of the availability of housing. The cost of housing makes it extremely difficult for women escaping violence to find alternative accommodation, for it is virtually impossible to secure housing in Karratha without a high wage. The situation is particularly severe for women who are financially dependent on their partners. The cost of accommodation also affected the ability of men who were issued with a Police Order to find lodgings. Police also recognised that there were no local programs or counselling services

to which they could refer men before a relationship became destructive or violent. Although the domestic violence helpline is useful, the Police felt that proximity of services is crucial to the task of engaging men in promoting change. They suggested that all large regional centres should have at least one counsellor who was dedicated to working with male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. In the absence of such a service, men are likely to repeat their destructive behaviour until such time as they are brought before the courts, which are similarly constrained in their ability to refer men to dedicated programs for perpetrators of domestic violence.

Immediacy of service is an important component of the engagement of men in counselling. The delay between referral to and attendance of a service is crucial to the uptake, ongoing attendance and success of any intervention. The Police mentioned the need for imposing early intervention counselling on men, especially when a relationship was experiencing difficulties, in order to circumvent the escalation of violence and the need for criminal sanctions.

Other concerns expressed by Police are the lack of continuity of counselling staff, and their practical experience, in mining towns. It appears to be very difficult to attract quality, experienced staff for any significant periods of time, because the remuneration is not comparable to that offered in other areas, and it was therefore not considered to be a viable career option for experienced counsellors.

Mining towns have a certain milieu, which produces a culture of masculinity that is inextricably linked to the way domestic violence unfolds within mining communities. The respondents overwhelmingly stressed that the culture of mining towns needs to be understood when considering both how family and domestic violence occurs and what type of interventions are likely to be most effective. This would suggest that the mining industry could play a role in engaging men to strive for safe and egalitarian relationships as a way of promoting happy, healthy men and, consequently, safer communities. The mining industry has access to large numbers of men who are a 'captive audience', and simple awareness campaigns could be very effective in this environment.

The greatest barrier for the mining sector is challenging the separation of the private and the public, and challenging the silence and shame that surrounds family and domestic violence. An opportunity exists to make significant changes in men's attitudes, if it is done in conjunction with systems with which men are already familiar. The ultimate aim would be to create a culture where men refuse to resort to violence in their intimate relationships and instead participate in socially sanctioning other men who use violence in relationships.

Suggested Responses

- Work in partnership with the mining industry to reduce family and domestic violence within mining towns and communities.
- Support existing services that work with men within mining communities, providing resources and information that target the reduction of family and domestic violence.
- Conduct awareness campaigns to address the impact of family and domestic violence and to provide practical solutions to conflict in intimate relationships.
- Provide good-practice guidelines to ensure that services for men in mining communities are relevant and accessible in a timely manner.

FARMING COMMUNITIES

Although farming communities are affected by similar issues to those identified for mining communities, there are two major differences: earning capacity and geographical dispersion.

Earning Capacity

Many workers in farming communities are not able to command the consistent, high incomes earned by workers in the mining sector. Some farming communities struggle financially, and the limited employment opportunities available in such communities mean that many farmers and labourers are unable to supplement their incomes. Community workers in farming communities reported that men often cite financial pressures as the predominant issue contributing to domestic unrest. It was also reported that the cost of counselling or domestic violence services, if provided has a direct impact on the men's attendance. The fees charged by the service are not the only costs affecting attendance: it was not unusual for men to travel a 200-kilometre round trip in order to attend counselling; fuel costs are a major consideration in such situations, and, in combination, high costs often resulted in non-attendance.

Unemployment and under-employment for men in farming communities exacerbated the strain experienced in relationships and resulted in abusive behaviour. Mental health issues and alcohol, as well as other drug misuse, were mostly left untreated, and this was affecting the wellbeing of farming communities and contributing to family and domestic violence.

Geographical Dispersion

In farming communities, small towns and residences are commonly dispersed over vast areas, a circumstance that makes service delivery problematic. It was described by a community development worker as the 'splatter gun' effect. The social worker stated that the Wheatbelt District covers 154,000 square kilometres and has a population of 72,000 people, which makes the provision of access to services very difficult. The population is widely dispersed, with only around 16,000 people located in the main service centres of Northam, Narrogin, Merredin, and Moora, with the remainder spread across the remainder of the district. There are many small settlements scattered over vast distances, mostly on large farming properties. Mining towns, by contrast, have centrally located town sites and are clustered in such a way that they are relatively easy to service. The dispersion of people over vast areas provides a challenge in terms of the provision of adequate services.

A major frustration expressed by health workers in farming communities is their inability to refer men to specific services that target domestic violence. Police reiterated the same concern. The further away from perpetrator programs or similar services — which are provided in Midland, Bunbury, Albany, and other large regional centres — the less likely a man is to attend interventions for his offending behaviour. A widely held concern in farming communities is the apparent lack of provisions for men in terms of individual counselling, group work or community initiatives targeting men who are violent in intimate relationships. There are few meaningful interventions challenging men beyond a criminal justice response. Both geographical dispersion and the lack of intervention options available to men are seen as the two major issues that must be considered when planning responses for violent men in rural settings.

The Impact of Legislative Changes

The use of Police Orders and VROs has been welcomed by the Police, but some concerns have been voiced about the accommodation options available to men who been issued with Orders in farming communities. The men usually stay with friends or family, but some expressed the fear that this would become unsustainable. Alternative arrangements would be required, such as crisis accommodation payments or a protocol agreement between the Department for Community Development, Centrelink, and local Police.

Men in farming communities were reported to have a conservative conception of masculinity that manifested in very firm views of gender roles and the division of labour within the household. This form of masculinity has become a rigid belief system among some rural men, and it leaves little latitude for broader understandings of alternative male and female relationship styles. The broadening of the definition of domestic violence to include emotional and psychological abuse is little understood by men who enact this form of masculinity, and it presents a number of challenges to those working with men in rural settings. The tasks of workers in rural areas would include dispelling the sense of entitlement and proprietorship over women exhibited by men who believe these qualities to be central tenets of masculinity. To some extent, men's behaviour is unlikely to change if it is not, firstly, challenged and, secondly, if they are not offered alternative ways of relating.

The Implications of Group Work

Even the notion of group work presents a challenge to those working with men in farming communities. It was suggested that the traditional group-work model may not be successful in such communities because of what was called 'the bush telegraph factor'. Farming communities' social fabric is often very close-knit, and people are often very aware of one another's activities. A gathering of men for the purpose of addressing domestic violence within some town settings would become well known to the community. It was suggested that the shame associated with such a group would be a significant barrier to men attending a program, and alternative considerations may be required to access men in farming communities. It was suggested that a combination of an outreach, individual counselling service, which could develop into group work, would be more successful in engaging men within these communities

Healthy Relationship Training

Interview respondents consistently recommended that presentations should be made to school children in order to educate young men and women about how to conduct a healthy relationship. There was a concern that some young people did not have the skills to recognise abuse and did not know how to foster a healthy, egalitarian relationship. It is believed that community education programs targeting schools could provide awareness of the destructive impact of domestic violence and develop in students the skills that will enable them to resolve conflict and conduct healthy relationships. This 'early intervention' style approach was suggested to be an effective way of tackling generational abuse and to challenge the entrenched beliefs held by young men that manifest in destructive relationships in adulthood.

Suggested Responses

- Develop protocols between Police and the Department for Community Development in relation to securing emergency accommodation payments for displaced men.
- Explore the feasibility of an outreach service targeting men in farming communities.
- Undertake community education programs targeting young men and women in schools.

CONCLUSION

The goal of reducing family and domestic violence can only be achieved by working with men. As the majority of credible research suggests, the perpetrators of domestic violence are predominantly male; therefore, effective interventions and responses will need to engage men in the process of eliminating family and domestic violence.³⁰ The information gathered by the Men's Project through community consultations reflected these sentiments. A recurring question to arise from the interviews was: 'So, what are we doing about our men?'

The Criminal Justice Response

The main model of intervention for men has been a criminal justice response, which mandates behavioural change programs or perpetrator programs. Although, in general, a criminal justice response was welcomed by the respondents, many also suggested that, without further development in terms of therapeutics for men, and without adopting a strength-based, male-positive approach, it is unlikely that such programs will assist in creating long-term changes in violent men. The Police interviewed were in accord with the request for more meaningful and timely programs targeting men, particularly if VROs and Police Orders are going to assist in the goal of reducing male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. The general sentiment is to strengthen current interventions with programs that hold men accountable for their actions and behaviours. It was thought that responses to men that are purely punitive do not foster meaningful change and, ultimately, do not increase the safety of women and children. Without some concerted effort to challenge destructive models of masculinity with an alternative, positive masculinity, it is likely that male-perpetrated family and domestic violence will continue. A criminal justice response, in which the safety of women and children is the highest priority, combined with timely interventions targeting men, is thought by many community stakeholders to be the most effective response to male-perpetrated family and domestic violence.

Male Silence

The silence that surrounds male-perpetrated family and domestic violence creates an environment that perpetuates that violence. All men can play a part in ending violence in the community by ending the silence on the topic. There is a need to engage men on all levels and from all parts of the community — including the CaLD community, Indigenous men, and homosexual men — to participate in ending violence towards men, women, and children.

The process of challenging men's silence would need to include a range of initiatives, from community education programs targeting young male adults through to engaging the mining and sporting industries, and employing other suitable means of contacting men.

Men's groups could play a significant role in reducing violence by challenging destructive masculine behaviour and beliefs. It is important to engage men's groups in a positive way, as many members of men's groups have felt marginalised and excluded from debate on domestic violence, a situation that fosters resentment and animosity. A positive environment needs to be provided where men can broach the complex issues surrounding domestic violence and offer meaningful solutions.

30 Access Economics Pty Ltd, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part 1, Partnerships Against Domestic Violence*, Office of the Status of Women, Canberra, 2004

The issue of male victims must be debated and, as far as possible, resolved. Clear consensus needs to be sought on what is meant by a male victim so that effective responses can be developed. Providing stakeholders with the latest literature and research would help to foster a constructive discourse and to dispel misinformation about male victims. Unfortunately, the current debate tends to cloud the issue and, all too often, the very people who require assistance are left wanting.

Complexity and Contextuality

Finally, it should be recognised that working with men requires the consideration of issues that are both complex and contextual. Often, mistakes are made through the generalisation of men's experiences, and interventions can be planned incorrectly from that perspective. Generalisations can ignore the interplay between issues such as mental health, drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, location, social exclusion, sexual abuse, family-of-origin abuse, exposure to violence, ethnicity, religion and the complexity of human relationships.

Interventions and responses need to recognise the context in which men find themselves. Mining and farming communities are affected by issues different to those experienced in a metropolitan setting. Indigenous men in rural and remote areas are affected by issues that are very different to those affecting men in Perth. The contexts in which men live often influence their conceptions of masculinity, fostering either helpful or destructive behaviour, and this factor cannot be ignored when responses to male-perpetrated domestic violence are planned.

The Men's Project has revealed that more research is required into the area of working with men to reduce family and domestic violence. Overwhelmingly, the Project discovered that affected communities are broadening their visions to include engaging men in a number of different ways, and this opportunity needs to be embraced.

Appendix 1: Stakeholder List

- **Men's groups, perpetrator programs and other community interest groups targeting men:** MATES in Busselton, other men's groups, and perpetrator programs conducted by both mandated and voluntary groups around the State.
- **Rural and remote communities:** it was important for the enquiry to capture as much of the State as possible
- **Ministry of Justice and legal services:** this included the Department of Justice, Magistrates and Legal Aid lawyers.
- **Police Department:** to ascertain the numbers of VROs and Police Orders issued, their pattern of use, and to gather anecdotal evidence of the number of men displaced as a result of Orders and its impact on safety.
- **Universities:** University of Western Australia, Edith Cowan University, Curtin University of Technology, and literature reviews of men's issues, contested areas of advocacy research, including notions of male victims.
- **Parenting and other community development courses or groups:** this included the Department for Community Development and other non-government organisations that are working with men.
- **Indigenous community:** there is a great need to work with Indigenous men in culturally appropriate ways.
- **Women's refuges:** the Men's Project recognises the importance of working in conjunction with women's interests.
- **CaLD community:** in recognition of Western Australia's diversity of culture, there is a need to engage African men, Muslim men and newly arrived people.
- **Same-sex community:** the voices of gay men are often neglected in family and domestic violence, and this omission must be addressed.

Appendix 2: Formulation of the Semi-Structured Interviews

The interviews were designed to capture the diversity of stakeholders that are and should be involved in a coordinated response to male-perpetrated family and domestic violence. Interviews with Police, refuge workers, Legal Aid, and perpetrator programs required the questions to be tailored to elicit the most meaningful response from each interviewee. The questions were flexible enough to capture the key issues while maintaining the focus of the enquiry to explore provisions for men that would assist in reducing violence in community.

For example, the interview questions appropriate to workers in a women's refuge are quite different to those designed for a remote Indigenous men's group. In each of the different settings, four fundamental questions were asked, and these underpinned the enquiry:

1. the impact of the recent changes to VROs and Police Orders on men in the community and their effect on the safety of women and children;
2. the provisions available to men for the purposes of accountability and the cessation of family and domestic violence;
3. the interviewees' experience in relation to male victims of family and domestic violence; and
4. the interviewees' suggestions for improving the provision of safety for women and children in relation to men who are violent.

It was important to retain flexibility while posing these questions in different settings, as the context of each interview varied dramatically. Geographical context often determined the types of responses given.

Sampling Technique

A 'snowball' sampling technique was employed. This is a process whereby stakeholders suggest other key people who they consider should be interviewed. In this way, the interviewees were self-selecting.³¹

An example of this technique is as follows: a phone call was placed to a coordinator of a Regional Domestic Violence Committee, who was then asked for the contact details of men's groups, women's refuges, child protection and domestic violence Police officers, Indigenous men, and other interested parties within that location. The contact details were forwarded, contact was made, and interviews were arranged. During the stage of finalising the interview time, the interviewee would inevitably suggest other relevant people who could be interviewed for the project; hence, the snowball effect of locating interviewees.

Data saturation would occur when the same themes emerged over and over again. These themes became the key issues represented within this analysis and its findings. It was not uncommon for the Police, a men's group, and refuge workers to mention the same issue. This triangulation suggested the saturation of data, and it determined the key issues highlighted in this report.

Appendix 3: Contact List of Services for Men in relation to Family and Domestic Violence

Non-Government Perpetrator Programs

Centrecare

Address: Perth: 456 Hay St, Perth, 6000
Kalgoorlie: 7-9 Dugan St, Kalgoorlie 6430
Phone: (08) 9325 6644 Kalgoorlie: (08) 90911833
Email: enquiries@centrecare.com.au
Web Site: www.centrecare.com.au
Services Offered: Men in Relationships Perpetrator Programs run at both Perth and Kalgoorlie

Communicare Breathing Space

Address: 35-41 Kenton Way, Calista 6167
Phone: (08) 9439 5707
Fax: (08) 9439 4437
Email: breathingspace@communicare.org.au
Web Site: www.communicare.org.au [From Communicare]
Services Offered: Breathing Space - Specialist Accommodation

Anglicare Kinway

Address: 23 Adelaide Terrace, East Perth 6004
Phone: (08) 9263 2050
Web Site: www.kinway.org.au
Services Offered: Men's Time; Mums and Dads Forever Changing Tracks

Relationships Australia

Address: Perth: 115 Cambridge St, West Leederville 6007
Fremantle: 1 Ord St, Fremantle 6160
Cannington: Nulsen Haven Suite, 8 Burton St, Cannington 6107
Midland: 27 The Crescent, Midland 6056
Gosnells: Suit 11, 1st floor Agonis Lotteries House, 2232C Albany Hwy, Gosnells 6110
Phone: Perth: (08) 9489 6363
Fremantle: (08) 9336 2144
Cannington (appointments must be made through West Leederville): (08) 9489 6363
Midland: (08) 9250 1242
Email: info@wa.relationships.com.au
Services Offered: Perpetrator Program

Men's Services

Agencies for South-West Accommodation – Men's Relationship Programme

Address: 40 Charles St, Bunbury 6230
Phone: (08) 9791 3213
Fax: (08) 9791 3287
Service Offered: Counselling for men facing relationship issues, particularly around relationship breakdown but also on enhancing relationship skills. Groups on fathering after separation run on a needs basis. Outreach sessions are run in surrounding areas, including Harvey, Collie, Donnybrook and Capel. Counsellors will undertake home visits to clients with mobility problems.

Midwest Men's Health — Crisis Accommodation

Address: 307 Marine Tce, Geraldton 6530
Phone: (08) 9965 5244
Email: mmh@westnet.com.au
Service Offered: Six-bed crisis accommodation. Staff offer advocacy, support and crisis counselling. Provides three meals a day to clients.

Gascoyne Population Health

Address: Corner Johnson St and Cleaver St, Carnarvon 6701
Phone: (08) 9941 0560
Fax: (08) 9941 0563
Services Offered: Carnarvon Health and Men Project

Goldfields Men's Health Inc.

Address: PO Box 4575, Kalgoorlie 6430
Phone: (08) 9021 6610
Fax: (08) 9021 6641
Email: heather@wellman.org.au
Web Site: www.wellman.org.au

Regional Counselling Services

Address: PO Box 1364, Albany 6330 Suite 7 69 Lockyer Ave Albany
Phone: (08) 9842 9699
Fax: (08) 9841 3777
Web Site: Men's Resource Centre

Lifeline

Address: 57 Murray St, Perth 6000
Phone: (08) 9261 4444
Fax: (08) 9421 1247
Web Site: www.lifelinewa.org.au
Services Offered: Dad's@Lifeline

Men's Domestic Violence Helpline

Address: PO Box 8146, Stirling St, Perth 6000
Phone: (08) 9223 1199 or 1800 000599
Services Offered: Men's Domestic Violence Helpline

Men's Outreach Service

Address: 36 Fredrick St, Broome 6725
Phone: (08) 9192 2767
Fax: (08) 9192 2743
Email: menbroomebigpond.com
Services Offered: Men and Family Relationships Programme; Kimberley Community Re-entry Programme; Men's Outreach Service - Drop-in

Midwest Men's Health Inc.

Address: 307 Marine Tce, Geraldton 6530
Phone: (08) 9965 5244
Email: mmh@westnet.com.au
Services Offered: MMH - Crisis Accommodation; MMH - Support Services

Ngala

Address: 9 George St, Kensington 6151
Phone: (08) 9368 9368 or freecall on 1800 111 546
Fax: (08) 9368 9361
Email: ngala@ngla.com.au
Web Site: www.ngala.com.au
Services Offered: Hey Dad WA

Mensplace

Address: 115 Cambridge St, West Leederville 6007
Phone: (08) 9489 4000 or 1300 136 744
Fax: (08) 9489 4040
Email: info@mensplace.net.au
Website: www.mensplace.net.au
Services Offered: Referral services, strategic planning, policy formulation

Derby Men's Service

Address: PO Box 1203, Derby 6728
Phone: (08) 9193 2822
Email: dbmenservice@westnet.com.au
Services Offered: Referral, group work, crisis support, counselling

Crisis Support Centre

Address: PO Box 2335
Footscray Melbourne
Phone: (03) 8371 2800. Mensline: 1300 789978
Web Site: www.crisissupport.org.au
Services Offered: Offer short-term counselling, information and referrals, direct telephone linkage to local services

MATES Men's support group Busselton

Address: PO Box 176
Busselton Wa 6280
Phone: 0439 939 446
Services Offered: Information, advocacy and referral

Salvation Army - Kwinana

Address: Corner Medina Avenue and Hoyle Road
Medina Western Australia
Phone: (08) 9439 1585
Fax: (08) 9439 1405
Email: corps.kwinana@au.salvationarmy.org
Services Offered: Offer 1:1 counselling, groupwork and positive lifestyle programme

WA AIDS Council

Address: 664 Murray Street
West Perth Western Australia
Phone: (08) 9482 0000. Mensline: (08) 9322 8401 or 1800 671 130.
Fax: (08) 9482 0001
Email: waac@waids.com
Web Site: www.waaid.com
Services Offered: Telephone helpline service offering information and referrals for men having sex with other men but who do not see themselves as gay. Professional 1:1 counselling service for men with issues around HIV, including those in high risks groups such as injecting drug users and men who have sex with men.

Men's Groups**Atwell M.A.T.E.S (formerly FIG)**

Meets Mondays 7:00pm
Phone: Christian 9337 9657, Peter 9417 2057

Beldon

Meets Tuesdays 5:30 7:00pm
Phone: The Homestead 9307 6900

Fremantle 'FreeMen'

Meets Wednesday 7:00pm during school terms only
Phone: Colin 9331 1357 Fred Notley Community Centre, Hilton

Inglewood Core Energetics

Meets 3rd Tuesday of every month, 7-9:30pm
Phone: Richard Boyd 9370 2341 0407 577 793

Maylands 'About Blokes'

Meets Wednesdays 6:30 to 9:00pm.
Phone: Geoff 9272 1666 Mb 0408 933 387

Mt Lawley 'Perth Men's Group'

Meets Tuesdays 7:30pm
Phone: Ian 9343 1115

Mount Pleasant

Meets Mondays 7:15pm Applecross Church of Christ Darnell Road Mt Pleasant
Phone: Michael 9387 777 Mb 0438 788 052

Men's Confraternity

Meets Mondays 7:15pm Applecross Church of Christ Darnell Road Mt Pleasant
Phone: Brett Kessner 9470 1734
Fax: 9470 6824
Website: www.mensconfraternity.org.au

North Perth 'Vincent Men's Group'

Meets Mondays 7:30pm
Phone: Dean 9443 4849

North Perth 'Mankind Project'

Meets Mondays 7:00pm North Perth Tennis Club Farmer St, North Perth
Phone: Ken 0422 147 790 Steve 0427 951 732

Wembley Downs

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday of each month at 7:30pm St Pauls Anglican Church
Hall, Woodlands/ Wembley Downs
Phone: Christian 9337 9657, Peter 9417 2057

Hostels for Men**55 Central**

Phone: 9272 1333
Location: Maylands

Lentara Men's Hostel

Phone: 9328 3102
Location: Perth

Tenderra Men's Hostel

Phone: 9271 1209 or 9370 3422
Location: Mt Lawley

St Batholomew's House

Phone: 9325 5100
Location: East Perth

Salvation Army (Bridge House)

Phone: 9227 8086
Location: Highgate

Appendix 4: People interviewed

Service/Agency	Contact	Program Title	Location
Aboriginal Elder	Thomas Jacobs	N/A	Roebourne
Aboriginal Elder	Pastor Trevor	N/A	Roebourne
Aboriginal Medical Services	John Edwards	N/A	South Hedland
Aboriginal Men's Groups	N/A	N/A	Beagle Bay
Aboriginal Men's Groups	N/A	N/A	Lombadina
Aboriginal Men's Groups	N/A	N/A	Djarindjin
Aboriginal Men's Groups	N/A	N/A	One Arm Point
Aboriginal Men's Groups	N/A	N/A	Beagle Bay
Anglicare	Ed Argyle	Perpetrator Program	Albany
Anglicare	Brit Culyer	Perpetrator Program	Albany
Anglicare	Christine	Women's Refuge	Albany
Anglicare	Rod Mitchell	Assisting Torture and Trauma Victims	Perth
Anglicare Kinway	Vanda Franke	Perpetrator Program	Perth
Anglicare Kinway	Ben Bruce	Changing Tracks	Perth/ Gosnells
ASETTS	Rod Mitchell	Assisting Torture and Trauma Survivors	Perth
Beagle Bay Community Worker	Kari Kritiansen	N/A	Beagle Bay
Career Network	Peter Shakeshaft	N/A	Karratha
Centrecare	Grahame Paull	Perpetrator Program	Bunbury
Centrecare	Chantal Drysdale	Perpetrator Program	Bunbury
Centrecare	Sharon Dodd	Perpetrator Program	Perth
Community Law Service Inc.	Cheryl Carrol	Sussex Street Community Legal Service	Perth
Curtin University of Technology	Ian Percy	Lecturer, Social Work Department	Bentley
Communicare	David Cain	Breathing Space	Calista
Communicare	Rebecca Jury	Breathing Space	Calista
Department for Community Development	John Edwards	Community Development Officer	Northam
Department for Community Development	Tracey Nicholson	N/A	Karratha
Department for Community Development	Thomas Cameron	N/A	Onslow
Department for Community Development	Danny Brown	N/A	Roebourne
Department for Community Development	Mathew Tilly	Men's Domestic Violence Helpline	Perth
Department for Community Development	Alec Dan	Senior Officer Aboriginal Services	Broome
Department of Indigenous Affairs Gordon Unit	Eric Hayward	N/A	Perth
Department of Justice	Damien Hart	Community Justice Service	Perth
Department of Justice	Marshall Smith	N/A	Roebourne
Department of Justice	Dianne Dullard	Victims Support Services	Perth
Domestic Violence Advocacy Support Service	Mery Ruka	N/A	Karratha
Department of Education Cannington	Lyll Garlett	N/A	Cannington
Domestic Violence Perpetrator Intervention Program	Kevin Clarke	N/A	South Hedland
DVAS Central	Sarah Newbold	Same-Sex Domestic Abuse Group	Perth

Family and Domestic Violence Unit	Daniel Morrison	Indigenous Policy and Engagement Officer	Perth
Funded by Department of Training	Bob Neville	Bloodwood Tree Association Inc	South Hedland
Fremantle Hospital	David Shub	Social Work Department	Fremantle
Service/Agency	Contact	Program Title	Location
Goldfields Women's Refuge	Krystal Obschonka	Women's Refuge	Kalgoorlie
Imam	Fazil	Religious leader of the Muslim faith	Maddington
Kinway	Gizelle Dias	Kinway Counseling Service	Karratha
Legal Aid Western Australia	Michael Hovane	Legal Aid	Perth
Langford Aboriginal Association	Theo Michael	N/A	Langford
MATES	Robert Reekie	Men's Service	Busselton
Men's Confraternity	Brett Kessner	Men's Group	Perth
Mensplace	Shawn Philips	N/A	Perth
Men's Resource Centre	Carol Pearu	Personal Support Services	Albany
Men's Resource Centre	Len Wilkinson	Personal Support Services	Albany
Men's Resource Centre	Andrew Markovs	Personal Support Services	Albany
Men's Outreach Program	Andy Warren	Men's Outreach Service	Broome
Men's Outreach Program	Richard Daley	Men's Outreach Service	Broome
Ministry of Justice	Magistrate Dr Kate Auty	Magistrate for the Goldfields Esperance Region	Kalgoorlie
Moorditch Koolaak Housing Service/Community Member	Leon Harp	Indigenous Housing	Maddington
Moorditch Koolaak Housing Service/Community Member	Aaron Collard	Indigenous Housing	Maddington
Muslim Women's Support Centre of WA Inc	Wajma Padshah	N/A	Perth
Pat Giles Centre	Kedy Kristal	Women's Refuge	Perth
Pilbara Area Consultative Committee	Cameron Simpkins	N/A	Karratha
Pilbara Regional Domestic Violence Committee	Don Webster	N/A	South Hedland
Relationships Australia	Cynthia Thom	Perpetrator Program	Fremantle
Relationships Australia	Michael Sheenan	FAIR Program	Leederville
Salvation Army	Simon Brooke	N/A	Karratha
Sobering Up Shelter	Ray Fisher	N/A	South Hedland
Solicitors Office	Katherine Sheppard	Honour thesis research	Perth
Soul Stuff	Ann O'Neill	N/A	Perth
Thungula Cothada Aboriginal Health Service	Murray Stubbs	Family Support Legal Centre	Kalgoorlie
Victim Support Service	Heather Cox	N/A	Karratha
WA AIDS Council	Mark Ravenscroft	Gay Education Officer	Perth
Wamba Nilgee Burru Ngardu Derby's Men's Service	Tongia Iga	N/A	Derby
WA Country Health Service	John Hodges	Pilbara Population Health – West	Karratha
WA Police			Karratha
WA Police	Sergeant Greg McDonald	Child Protection and Family Violence	Fremantle
WA Police	Sergeant Merryn Bojcun	Child Protection and Family Violence	Albany
WA Police	Inspector Wayne Silvers		Karratha
WA Police	Sergeant John Bouwman	Children Protection and Domestic Violence Officer	Karratha
WA Police	Sergeant Kellee Walters	Children Protection and Domestic Violence Officer	Northam

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