Perpetrators of domestic, family and sexual violence

Special Collection: June 2019

ANROWS

AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL RESEARCH ORGANISATION FOR WOMEN'S SAFETY

to Reduce Violence against Women & their Children
Perpetrators of domestic, family and sexual violence

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(updated June 2020)
Welcome to the updated second edition of the ANROWS special collection on perpetrators of domestic, family and sexual violence.

Research in this area has been flourishing in Australia in recent years, providing policymakers and practitioners with a growing evidence-base for their work.

This collection brings together peer-reviewed publications and grey literature to provide a guiding resource on the available literature.

While the first edition of this collection included both Australian and international research, for the second edition in 2019 we limited the collection to Australian literature only. This updated second edition published in June 2020 includes 12 additional ANROWS reports that have been published since June 2019.

As the local evidence-base grows, distinct areas of research are developing and deepening our understanding of different aspects of perpetrator behaviour and interventions. To make sense of these areas we have categorised publications under the following headings:

1. General
2. Perpetrator characteristics and patterns of offending
3. Prevention
4. Perpetrator programs/interventions
5. Legal and justice responses
6. Statistics

A collection like this will always be a work in progress, and we welcome your contributions to future editions. If you know of other publications or resources that might be included, please forward them to enquiries@anrows.org.au, with the subject “For special collection - perpetrators of domestic, family and sexual violence”.

We also welcome your feedback on this special collection. Please write to enquiries@anrows.org.au and let us know how you have used this collection, what you found helpful, and what could be improved.

With much appreciation,

Dr Heather Nancarrow
CEO, ANROWS.
1. General


An Australian first, these state of knowledge papers map the pathways and interventions for perpetrators of domestic and family violence (DFV) and sexual assault through civil and criminal legal systems; and examine the responses and service systems currently available to DFV and sexual assault perpetrators in each jurisdiction. The papers find there is a need for extensive further research on what works and for whom in the Australian context. Four key areas for further investigation were identified: 1) systems effectiveness; 2) effectiveness of interventions; 3) models to address the diversity of perpetrators; and 4) interventions developed by, with, and for Indigenous communities.


No to Violence undertook a grass-roots listening tour in areas of family violence high incidence across Victoria in September and October 2018. The objective for the Listening Tour was to listen closely to the needs of practitioners and service providers, identify priorities for those working with perpetrators, and report those to government.
2. Perpetrator characteristics and patterns of offending


“Stalkers can be violent, and empirical studies have sought to identify factors associated with violence perpetrated by the stalker. Most of these works view physical violence as a homogeneous construct and do not differentiate between moderate and severe violence. The present study aims to identify correlates of nonviolent, moderate, and severe physical violence within an archival sample of 369 domestically violent police incident reports, where stalking behavior was indicated.”


“Some previous approaches to family violence offenders have assumed that these offenders exclusively commit violent offences against partners or family members and do not commit other types of crime. This is known as ‘specialisation’ in offending. A substantial amount of research has been conducted examining specialisation in criminal offending, but fewer studies have focused on specialisation in family violence, particularly in the Australian context. This study examines the recorded family violence incidents and non-family violence offences for a cohort of family violence perpetrators over a five year period from 2012 to 2016.”


“A systematic review of longitudinal studies that have prospectively investigated childhood and/or adolescent predictors of domestic violence perpetration and/or victimisation among adult men and women in intimate relationships.”

“This paper considers some of the ways in which intervention approaches for perpetrators of intimate partner violence (IPV) might be enhanced through the explicit consideration of the offense process. It is suggested that those who are experts in perpetrating this type of violence routinely use coercive controlling violence in intimate relationships. This group, for whom violence is instrumental, are not only likely to be at highest risk of offending, but also the most difficult to treat. They are more likely to have long developmental histories of violence, hold entrenched attitudes, and utilize knowledge about the effects of intimidation to avoid detection. It is suggested that specific consideration of what is known about the causes and correlates of IPV in those who follow this approach-explicit pathway can improve the outcomes of current perpetrator behavior change programs.”


“This project […] draws on the insights of 120 people who have experienced adolescent family violence and 45 Victorian experts, service providers, general practitioners and health service providers to provide new insights into the nature and impact of adolescent family violence, the adequacy of current criminal justice, service and therapeutic responses, and the needs for future practice and policy reform.”


A study of 17 fathers participating in a men’s behaviour change program in Australia. Analyses men’s perceptions of identity and masculinity and how these characteristics contribute to the diversity of harmful fathering practices.

“Drawing on repeat victimisation studies, and analysing police data on domestic violence incidents, the current study examined the prevalence and correlates of short-term reoffending.

The results showed that a significant proportion of offenders reoffended in the weeks and months following a domestic violence incident. Individuals who reoffended more quickly were more likely to be involved in multiple incidents in a short period of time. Offenders with a history of domestic violence – particularly more frequent offending – and of breaching violence orders were more likely to reoffend. Most importantly, the risk of reoffending was cumulative, increasing with each subsequent incident.”


This paper reviews data on violence against women involving multiple perpetrators, and the negative mental and physical health outcomes for victims/survivors. It highlights two particularly vulnerable groups of women and girls: those that are partnered to gang members or organised crime groups, and those from some ethnic minority communities. The cross-cultural role of masculine honour in collective violence against women is also evident in the working class and impoverished communities of majority cultures. The paper discusses the implications for intervention and treatment services.


“Drawing on in-depth interviews with incarcerated Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mothers in Western Australia, we report on the women’s use of violence in their relationships with others. Results reinforce that Aboriginal women are overwhelmingly victims of violence; however, many women report also using violence, primarily as a strategy to deal with their own high levels of victimization. The “normalization” of violence in their lives and communities places them at high risk of arrest and incarceration. This is compounded by a widespread distrust of the criminal justice system and associated agencies, and a lack of options for community support.”
3. Prevention


This paper draws together various disciplinary and professional perspectives on how to approach preventing violence in Australia. The book has been written by experts in violence prevention, including forensic, clinical and developmental psychologists, criminologists and sociologists, social workers, and specialists in public policy, law, and education. It tells us how they understand violence and about those prevention strategies that they know to be effective.


This paper provides a critical assessment of efforts to involve men in the prevention of men’s violence against women. Although there is a substantial evidence base attesting to the effectiveness of at least some strategies and interventions, violence prevention efforts have often focused on changing men’s attitudes, rather than also seeking to transform structural and institutional inequalities. Much violence prevention work often assumes a homogenously heterosexual male constituency. Too often this work is conceptually simplistic with regard to gender. This paper contests and complicates several assumptions that are part of an emerging consensus in men’s violence prevention: first, that it is in men’s interests to support progress towards nonviolence and gender equality; second, that the best people to engage and work with men are other men; and finally, the strengths and limitations of inviting and drawing on “real men”.


“The Man Box is the first study that focuses on the attitudes to manhood and the behaviours of young Australian men aged 18 to 30. It involved an online survey of a representative sample of 1,000 young men from across the country, as well as focus group discussions with two groups of young men. This study is modelled on research in the United States, United Kingdom and Mexico that was released by Promundo in 2017 (Heilman, Barker, Harrison, 2017). The Man Box is the set of beliefs within and across society that place pressure on men to act in a certain way. Our study explored how young men encounter the Man Box rules in society and internalise them personally by asking their views on 17 messages about how a man should behave. These 17 messages were organised under seven pillars of the Man Box which are: self-sufficiency, acting tough, physical attractiveness, rigid gender roles, heterosexuality and homophobia, hypersexuality, and aggression and control.”

“The primary objectives of the literature review were to analyse existing research with respect to family violence involving LGBTI people; and facilitate a greater understanding of what is required to prevent family violence against this diverse population.”
4. Perpetrator programs / intervention


“Family violence significantly impacts upon Aboriginal women and children globally. Despite this fact, there is a scarcity of published knowledge regarding the nature and efficacy of Aboriginal programmes for men who use violence against women. This article reports the findings from interviews with 15 facilitators of Australian Aboriginal men’s healing, fathering and family violence programmes. From these interviews, we have developed a conceptual model of working with Aboriginal men. It accommodates the collective, generational and individual trauma of both perpetrator and victim, while privileging gendered accountability for violence as a central tenet to the work.”


“This report supports the creation of a network of place-based Indigenous family violence strategies owned and managed by Indigenous people and linked to initiatives around alcohol reduction, inter-generational trauma, social and emotional wellbeing, and alternatives to custody. These initiatives may be constructed differently depending on context, but would ensure that responses to family violence reflect the needs of local women”.


“In September 2016 the Centre for Innovative Justice (CIJ) was commissioned to do some targeted work to map the journey of perpetrators of family violence when the service system becomes aware of their behaviour. The work is intended to function as a high level overview - a ‘snapshot’ of the things a perpetrator may (or may not) experience when moving through the system, and the people and services which might be encountered along the way.”

[…]In 2017 the CIJ embarked upon a more-detailed second phase of the project, *Bringing Pathways Towards Accountability Together* […] To do this, the CIJ developed a framework of roles and responsibilities which deliberately moved away from the siloed service approach on which the system has previously relied. Instead, the framework was based on the function and timing of an intervention or interaction in relation to a perpetrator of family violence.
This framework was then tested with over 100 different service types during more than 20 workshops to confirm the extent to which it resonated with services. Activities of services were then mapped within this framework and an internal report of the results of this specific mapping exercise was provided to Government.


Despite underreporting, available data suggest that adolescent violence in the home (AVITH) is a significant issue. Adolescents who use violence are currently subject to legal responses when their use of violence comes to the attention of the legal system, however, there is a gap in knowledge regarding the nature and impact of these responses. The PIPA project explores this gap, and aims to improve evidence regarding:

- legal responses to AVITH as it presents in different justice and service contexts
- the co-occurrence of AVITH with other issues and juvenile offending
- current responses and gaps in service delivery.


This report explores opportunities within the justice system to interrupt family violence and to hold perpetrators accountable through monitoring; court processes; connecting with appropriate services; considering alcohol and drug, mental health, and accommodation issues; and other factors that might assist behaviour change.


This project provides a deeper understanding of how men’s behaviour change programs (MBCPs) support women and children through partner contact.

By exploring how partner contact is practiced in MBCPs across Australia, the study identified different approaches and minimum requirements for success, gaps between theory and
practice, and barriers to prioritising partner contact in environments with limited resources. The evidence suggests that every woman with a current or former partner involved with such a program should be offered this kind of support from the program or a partner organisation.

The research resulted in the development of a Practice guide to help frontline workers apply the evidence and prioritise victim/survivor safety when working with perpetrators of domestic and family violence.


This project comprised ten research studies that examined Australian perpetrator intervention systems. The studies focused on the most common pathways of identification, assessment and intervention with perpetrators and examined how the engagement and retention of perpetrators within systems can be enhanced.

Together, the studies provide a comprehensive analysis of integrated systems and interventions for perpetrators, and a mapping of current domestic and family violence responses to perpetrators.


“Current evidence about the impact of specialized sex offender treatment on reoffending remains inconsistent, drawing attention to the need to focus more on those program characteristics that potentially moderate outcome. This review considers current professional perspectives and evidence on two defining aspects of treatment: its intensity and timing. It is concluded that insufficient evidence currently exists to articulate best practice in this area and there is a pressing need to collect empirical evidence about the effectiveness of different intensity treatments offered at different stages of sentence.”

This research aimed to identify how to improve the quality of MBCPs, how to measure outcomes, and how to develop standards and accreditation processes that will improve the quality and consistency of practice. The research involved three elements:

1. A review of the published literature.
2. A jurisdictional scan of the MBCP landscape, comprising a review of grey literature and contact with a representative from each jurisdiction (i.e. state/territory).
3. Focus groups and in-depth interviews with
   - correctional staff from South Australia and Victoria;
   - community providers from Western Australia and Victoria; and
   - female partners of program participants.


This article reports on research undertaken in Victoria with workers from men’s behaviour change programs to explore the collaboration established with police, child protection, and other human service organizations. It questions how regional collaborative arrangements and pathways to referral reflect the responsiveness of these programs to domestic violence service integration? It builds on research highlighting the significance of the wider domestic violence intervention system in holding men who use violence accountable.


This project developed a set of best practice principles for interventions with men from refugee backgrounds who use domestic and family violence.

The study identified that when working with men from refugee backgrounds, it is important to understand violence in the context of refugee trauma and settlement challenges, and recognise and work within refugee family and community structures.

“Utilising a scoping review methodology, this paper examined and summarised the available Australian and international literature available pertaining to these programs. Furthermore, from the findings of the scoping review the authors present a conceptual model for the purpose of discussing the complexities of tackling family violence issues in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men’s group programs.”


The “heterosexual face” of domestic violence can disguise the fact that domestic and family violence and intimate partner violence also occurs in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and/or queer (LGBTQ) relationships. This can leave LGBTQ people struggling to find and access appropriate interventions, with the problem affecting those seeking support after experiencing violence and abuse, as well as those who wish to change their violent and abusive behaviours.

This research explores how we might begin to improve the recognition and understanding of LGBTQ intimate partner violence among both mainstream and domestic and family violence service providers, and within LGBTQ communities.

The research identifies unique tactics of abuse, used to threaten, undermine or isolate a victim/survivor. These include identity-based abuse that capitalises upon a victim’s/survivor’s fear of exposure (“outing”), or their experience of discrimination and internalised homophobia.


“The Invisible Practices project investigated what skills and organisational supports are necessary to allow [child protection] practitioners, specialist DFV practitioners, justice services and family services practitioners to work well with fathers who use violence.
Invisible Practices was an action research project that involved a whole-of-family approach called the Safe & Together™ Model. The Safe & Together Model is a complex systems intervention which is explicit in situating worker skills development in the context of organisational change. The Invisible Practices project harnessed practice-led knowledge at five geographic sites in Australia: two in New South Wales, one in Victoria, one in Queensland and one in Western Australia. The project delivered an evidence-informed Practice Guide for workers and highlights the need for organisations to undertake systemic change to embed new practice approaches.


“This paper responds to a challenge that has continued to frustrate workers attempting to intervene to support women and children living with domestic and family violence. The challenge that arises when women and children may not be in a position to separate from their abusive and violent partners, and when women and children’s wellbeing and safety may not be enhanced by separation. In particular, this paper is focused on fathers who use violence and whether there are strategies that engage and address the issues for children, women and men who are continuing to live with DFV.”


The purpose of this study was to inform the development of a specific quality of life measure for women experiencing intimate partner violence. This measure could be applied in evaluations of interventions for men who use violence.

This study found that women experienced a broad range of fears which impacted on their quality of life. Women’s top priorities for quality of life were autonomy, informal relationships and emotional health. This study developed a proposed set of additional items for assessing quality of life in the context of intimate partner violence, to be tested and validated in the World Health Organisation’s Quality of Life instrument (short version) (WHOQOL-BREF).

“With growing evidence that punitive responses alone have a limited deterrent effect on perpetrators, behaviour change programs play a significant role in creating accountability and improving safety for victims and children. Motivating perpetrators to engage in such programs can, however, be challenging. Few perpetrators seem to recognize the need to change for their intimate (ex)-partner due to victim-blaming attitudes and a sense that relationships are replaceable. Relationships with their children on the other hand seem to hold more value. This article explores the role of fatherhood as a motivating factor for male perpetrators to engage in relevant behaviour change programs.”


This seminar was co-hosted by ANROWS and Monash University in February 2018 and provided an overview of current research into understanding perpetrators of violence against women, and intervention programs to address this violence.


“Post-structural ideas have influenced therapists to work more holistically with men who abuse and to view them as more than only their use of violence. This has created possibilities for collaborative and restorative work that diverges from the didactic and punitive engagement that typified early work in Men’s Behaviour Change Programs (MBCPs). This article explores how practitioners can remain open to collaborative and holistic practice with men who abuse while privileging the safety of women and children. It explores therapeutic frameworks that assume that men have preferences for safe and respectful relationships. These frameworks hold practitioners accountable to a de-centered and influential therapeutic posture that challenges the rhetoric that men cannot or do not want to change their abusive behaviors.”

This project developed a guide for evaluating behaviour change programs for men who use domestic and family violence. Following on from the ANROWS-funded project “Evaluation readiness, program quality and outcomes in men’s behaviour change programs”, this research updated existing evidence on best practice principles and guidelines for evaluating complex interventions, as well as reviewing a number of validated tools that could be used to evaluate men’s change and women’s and children’s safety.

The evaluation guide is pitched at men’s behaviour change practitioners who might be conducting an in-house evaluation, or commissioning an external evaluation.


Young people account for a significant proportion of perpetrators of sex abuse against children and young people and many have a history of childhood trauma including exposure to domestic and family violence.

This project utilised the knowledge of practitioners and other stakeholders to better understand the complex interplay between program design and outcomes and contextual factors that shape therapeutic responses in order to support a practice-informed understanding of good practice principles of specialised interventions, informing future therapeutic approaches.


“This paper is a comprehensive review of published literature to present the current state of knowledge, practice and responses to violence against women in Australian Indigenous communities”.

Perpetrators of domestic, family and sexual violence: Special collection

This study estimated an unbiased effect of commencing the EQUIPS Domestic Abuse Program (DVEQUIPS) on general reoffending and domestic violence (DV)-related reoffending, and found no evidence of a treatment effect for those who started DVEQUIPS within 12 months of referral when compared with offenders who were referred but did not start.


This evaluation examined data for all 587 offenders referred to the VOTP between 2007 and 2014, who were released from prison. The study found that VOTP appears to be associated with lower rates of general reoffending and return to custody, noting that these correlations may not represent causal effects.


The project explored the perceptions of multiple stakeholders about how the client-worker relationship influences each man’s change in attitude and behaviour, as well as his engagement in men’s behaviour change programs (MBCPs).

The study found that facilitators of MBCPs can build personalised client-worker relationships, using self-disclosure to forge an emotional bond and build trust with participants. These personalised client-worker relationships can create an environment conducive to behavioural and attitudinal change. The study highlighted that there is a risk of collusion when facilitators have a strong emotional investment in participants and identified ways in which collusion can be prevented. The study also found that maintaining personalised client-worker relationships can heighten the emotional load on facilitators, and that this can manifest in gendered ways.

This study examined two community-based reintegration programs for sexual offenders currently operating in South Australia (Circles of Safety and Accountability) and Queensland (Cultural Mentoring Program) to further understanding of how these types of programs can impact recidivism rates.

Key findings included:

• Circles of Support and Accountability were shown to help participants build new identities as non-offenders, while holding members to account by providing them with a network of community-based volunteers.

• The Cultural Mentoring program works with released Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders, building strong and positive non-offending cultural identities with a focus on connections with family, culture and Country.

• While their views were diverse, victims/survivors said that these programs helped to increase their sense of safety as the perpetrator is being monitored by services who are able to report concerns. They advised a response to offenders that is pragmatic, not punitive.


“Our intention with this discussion paper is not to develop or propose a specific outcomes framework. One of our central recommendations is that the development of a national program level outcomes framework would necessitate a broad and deep consultation process, spanning more than one iterative round. This is far beyond the scope of this discussion paper. Rather, we hope to scope out some of the pertinent issues involved in the development of a framework, to encourage critical thinking and reflection.”


“This report offers a national view of trends and developments ranging from the systemic level to daily practice, to stimulate discussion and action about the next steps needed to build perpetrator intervention systems which will strengthen existing FDV efforts and MBCPs within that system.”

This qualitative study explored how invitational narrative ways of working successfully engage men and enable behavioural and attitudinal change. The study explored the historical and philosophical foundations of invitational narrative practice, and the principles and skills that practitioners use in their work.

Project outcomes provided greater understanding of the therapeutic and service delivery practices that lead men to engage with or disengage from programs. Specifically, the findings contributed to the growing understanding of key values and principles of invitational narrative ways of working that support engagement and enable change when working with men who use violence in their intimate partner relationships.
5. Police/ legal /justice responses


“To determine whether (1) adult offenders found guilty of a serious non-domestic assault offence are more likely to be imprisoned or given longer prison sentences than adult offenders found guilty of a serious domestic assault offence and (2) whether Indigenous offenders who commit domestic assaults are treated more harshly than non-Indigenous offenders who commit domestic assaults.”


“Protection orders are a common legal response to domestic violence which aim to prevent further re-victimisation by the perpetrator. The current study systematically reviews research into the use and impact of protection orders, using the EMMIE framework (Effectiveness, Mechanisms, Moderators, Implementation and Economy).

Meta-analysis is used to examine the overall effect of protection orders, while narrative synthesis is used to examine the underlying mechanisms and moderators of their effectiveness, their implementation and economic viability.

Protection orders are associated with a small but significant reduction in domestic violence. They appear to be more effective under certain circumstances, including when the victim has fewer ties to the perpetrator and a greater capacity for independence, and less effective for offenders with a history of crime, violence and mental health issues.”


This project focused on perpetrator interventions that are available to courts to address DFV, namely:

- sentencing for DFV-related offences
- family violence intervention orders (FVIOS)
• perpetrator intervention programs, including voluntary or mandated behaviour change programs and other offender programs, case management and clinical services targeting DFV perpetrators.

Through looking at the role that judicial officers play in administering these three types of perpetrator interventions, the project aimed to support the development of judicial information and guidance to enhance the effective use of perpetrator interventions in Australian state and territory courts.


This article examines the use of Indigenous sentencing courts in Australia and presents findings of offenders’ perceptions of justice. The study concludes that most participants found the Indigenous sentencing court more challenging and confronting, but fairer than a mainstream sentencing court process.


“To date, the majority of attention to technology-facilitated sexual violence (TFSV) in both policy and practice has been on child sexual exploitation and abuse. Far less attention has been paid to digital sexualised violence against adult members of the population. The aim of this paper is to examine police responses to these serious and emerging harms, which we identify as including the following: (1) online sexual harassment; (2) gender and sexuality-based harassment; (3) cyberstalking; (4) image-based sexual exploitation (including ‘revenge pornography’); and (5) the use of communications technologies to coerce a victim into an unwanted sexual act. While these are variously criminal offences, unlawful civil behaviours or not subject to criminal or civil sanctions or remedies, we claim in this paper that they exist on a continuum of violence and yet the ‘real’ harms of TFSV are frequently minimised in practice. Drawing on 30 stakeholder interviews with police, legal services and domestic and sexual violence service sector providers, we explore the issues, challenges and promises of law enforcement in this area. We argue that greater attention must be paid to recognising the serious harms of digital abuse and harassment; the role of criminal law in responding to these behaviours; and the importance of investing in police resources to adequately tackle these growing behaviours in a constantly shifting and amorphous digital era.”

This bulletin examines the question of whether short prison sentences (up to 12 months) exert a special deterrent effect. Results suggest that short custodial sentences exert no more deterrent effect than comparable community orders.


The presence of sex offenders in the community evokes strong reactions from the general public which are influential in the treatment and management of this group. Little is known, however, about the offender and offence characteristics that influence how individuals judge the presence of a sex offender in their community. The current study aims to investigate the extent to which judgements are influenced by the seriousness of the offence and the offender’s risk of reoffending. Results suggest that offence and offender characteristics had little impact on judgements and that the public often views sex offenders as a homogenous group. Implications for future research are discussed.
6. Statistics


“This report builds on the AIHW’s inaugural *Family, domestic and sexual violence in Australia* 2018 report... It presents new information on vulnerable groups, such as children and young women. It examines elder abuse in the context of family, domestic and sexual violence, and includes new data on telephone and web-based support services, community attitudes, sexual harassment and stalking. It also includes the latest data on homicides, child protection, hospitals and specialist homelessness services.”


This report describes findings from a project undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), which explored potential options (or models) for developing national family and domestic violence (FDV) statistics for Australia’s correctional services agencies. For this exploratory project, direct analysis was undertaken using administrative by-product data held in the systems of Corrective Services New South Wales (CSNSW).

One of the key purposes for this exploratory work was to identify potential data sources and methodologies that could be used to develop statistical information to support the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) National Outcome Standards for Perpetrator Interventions (NOSPI).

The ABS was able to develop two conceptually different statistical models that could be used to derive information about FDV offenders in prison. The methodologies are presented separately and provide a basis to determine whether either model could be practically and meaningfully developed for national statistical purposes over time.


This report presents data for the period 1 July 2002 through 30 June 2012 drawn from the Australian Institute of Criminology National Homicide Monitoring Program. Within this data set, domestic/family homicides are sub-classified against five relationship categories: intimate partner; filicide, parricide; siblicide; and other family.

This paper describes selected characteristics of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homicides as recorded within the Australian Institute of Criminology National Homicide Monitoring Program from 1 July 1989 to 30 June 2012.