

# THE MAKING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

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How Does a Boy Grow Up to Commit Rape?

Evidence from Five IMAGES Countries



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

IMAGES data collection and analysis have been generously funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Government of Norway (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norad), the Ford Foundation and an anonymous donor. Portions of the analysis and country-level work were supported by CARE Norway, UNDP, UNIFEM, and UNFPA.

The authors are grateful to Gary Barker and Ruti Levto of Promundo for their feedback and guidance throughout this analysis and report. We would like to thank our ICRW colleagues Sarah Degnan Kambou, Ravi Verma, Stella Mukasa, Katherine Fritz, Jennifer Abrahamson, and Jocelyn Lehrer for their helpful input to this report.

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**Suggested citation:** Heilman, B.; Hebert, L.; and Paul-Gera, N. The Making of Sexual Violence: How Does a Boy Grow Up to Commit Rape? Evidence from Five IMAGES Countries. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Washington, DC: Promundo. June 2014.

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### Evidence from Five IMAGES Countries

#### INTRODUCTION

Women and girls around the world experience staggering levels of rape and other forms of sexual violence. This violence devastates lives, unhinges communities, and hampers greater social and economic development. While the severity, frequency, and purpose of this violence can broaden during times of conflict or emergency, its foundations are laid during “peacetime,” as is underscored by the extreme levels of violence observed consistently across the globe. Yet it is only in recent decades that policymakers, researchers, and programmers have begun to pay closer attention to this urgent violation of human rights and barrier to sustainable development.

The most recent international data show that one in three women worldwide experience physical and/or sexual violence by a partner or sexual violence by a non-partner in their lifetimes.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, between 6 and 59 percent of ever-partnered women experience sexual violence (whether by a partner or non-partner) in their lifetimes.<sup>2</sup> This report adds to the evidence base by investigating the prevalence of sexual violence perpetration—as well as risk and protective factors—among men in five study sites of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Moreover, it provides a unique contribution to existing research on sexual violence by using data from low and middle-income countries, by focusing on men’s reports of perpetrating violence, and by addressing sexual violence specifically (as opposed to grouping it with other forms of physical and/or emotional violence against women as a single variable).

The IMAGES survey includes a series of seven questions (included in the box on page 6) on male respondents’ perpetration of various forms of rape, and this report presents data that emerge from these seven questions. The survey does not address all the broad forms of sexual violence, including but not limited to: sexual jokes, street



harassment/“eve-teasing”, leering, unwanted touching/kissing/groping, stalking, or flashing. As such, when connected to findings from IMAGES data in this report, the phrase “sexual violence” refers specifically to the forms of rape included in the survey. The term “rape” will also appear to refer to these responses. When not specifically connected to IMAGES data, the phrase “sexual violence” may refer to the broader array of forms of sexual violence.

This report proceeds as follows. First, it presents an overview of the IMAGES study. Second, it outlines the data and analytical methods used for this report. Third, it presents findings related to men’s self-reported perpetration of sexual violence. Fourth, it investigates seven domains of possible influences on men’s sexual violence perpetration. Fifth and finally, it closes with actionable lessons and recommendations.

<sup>1</sup> World Health Organization (2013). Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence. World Health Organization.

<sup>2</sup> García-Moreno, C., Jansen, H. A., Ellsberg, M., Heise, L., & Watts, C. (2005). WHO multi-country study on women’s health and domestic violence against women: initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women’s responses. World Health Organization.

## THE IMAGES STUDY: OVERVIEW

The research base on sexual violence, while growing, has used the lens of women's victimization almost exclusively.<sup>3</sup> Yet simultaneously, activists, programmers, and policymakers around the world have come to realize that it is crucial to engage men and boys in efforts to prevent this violence and to promote broader gender equality. To leave men out of this equation is tantamount to burdening women and girls with the task of ending global epidemics that vastly occur in the form of men's actions. It also underutilizes the positive potential influence of the many men—the majority, in most cases—who do not perpetrate violence against women.

If we are to succeed in engaging more men and boys as key stakeholders in the pursuit of gender equality, it is critical that research explores men's attitudes and practices related to gender and violence. IMAGES, a research effort co-coordinated since 2008 by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Promundo, helps to address this gap. IMAGES is a multi-year, multi-country initiative that gathers household-level data on men's gender-related attitudes and practices, along with women's opinions and reports of men's practices. The survey explores a broad range of issues, including: childhood experiences, relationship dynamics, fatherhood, gender equality, violence, health and diversity.

The findings highlighted in this brief draw from IMAGES datasets from five countries: Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico and Rwanda. The survey was carried out with men and women ages 18-59 and was guided by several parameters. These include that the survey instruments were pre-tested in the participating countries and that the study protocol was approved by ICRW's institutional review board (IRB) and by in-country IRBs when

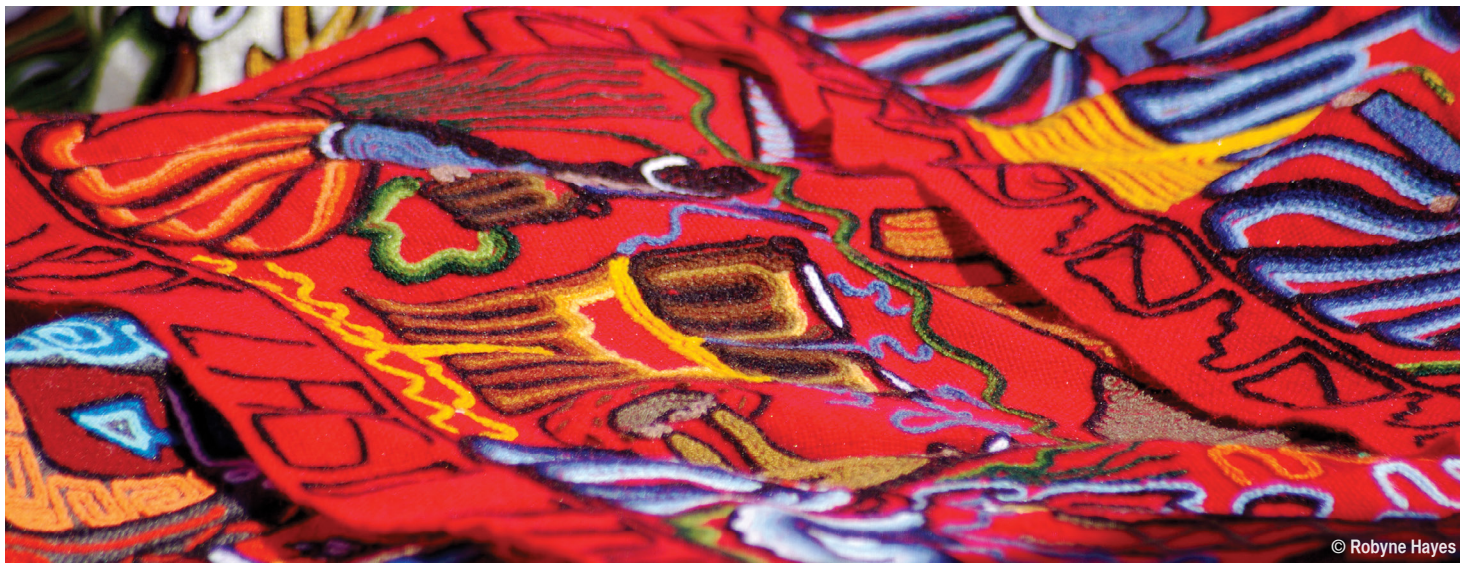
such existed. Additionally, all research sites followed standard World Health Organization practices for carrying out research on intimate partner violence, including training interviewers to offer referrals for services and other information to interviewees. For more detailed information on IMAGES data collection methodology and limitations, please see the report “Evolving Men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey,” available at [www.icrw.org/publications/evolving-men](http://www.icrw.org/publications/evolving-men).

A concise overview of survey administration in each of the IMAGES study sites appears in the table below. It is important to note that only the Rwanda dataset is nationally representative; the remaining four datasets are representative only of the specific study sites referenced in the table. The selected sites were chosen to match major urban areas with a secondary city or cities in each country. Country names are sometimes used to label data in this report for the sake of convenience, not to suggest that the data are representative of the country as a whole.

The data presented in this paper were collected between 2008 and 2010. To date, the IMAGES survey has been conducted in a total of ten countries, with two additional country studies already underway.<sup>4</sup> The cumulative global sample now exceeds 12,000 men and 6,000 women respondents in countries where the survey has been completed. This report focuses specifically on men's reports of perpetrating sexual violence.

<sup>3</sup> Ricardo, C. & Barker, G. (2008). Men, Masculinities, Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Violence: A Literature Review and Call for Action. Oak Foundation and the Swedish International Development Cooperation.

<sup>4</sup> Completed: Bosnia, Brazil, Chile, Croatia, DRC, India, Mali, Malawi, Mexico, and Rwanda. Underway: Mozambique and Nigeria.





## Data collection details among men age 18-59 in five IMAGES study sites

	Chile	Croatia	India	Mexico	Rwanda
<b>Sample size</b>	1192	1501	1534	1001	2301
<b>Sites</b>	<b>Three metropolitan areas:</b> Valparaíso, Concepción, and Santiago	<b>One metropolitan area and two rural areas:</b> Zagreb and towns and villages in two counties in Eastern Croatia	<b>Two metropolitan areas:</b> Delhi and Vijayawada (state of Andhra Pradesh)	<b>Three metropolitan areas:</b> Monterrey, Queretaro, and Jalapa	<b>Nationally representative sample covering all provinces</b>
<b>Sample stratification strategy</b>	Stratified by place of residence and socioeconomic level	Stratified by age and place of residence (rural/urban)	Census block selected by probability proportional to size, systematic random sampling to select household	Stratified by age and place of residence	Stratified by age and place of residence
<b>In-country research partner</b>	CulturaSalud, EME	CESI-Center for Education, Counseling and Research	ICRW, SIGMA Research and Consultancy Pvt. Ltd.	El Colegio de México, D.F	Rwanda Men's Resource Centre (RWAMREC)
<b>Questionnaire Application Process</b>	Paper Survey (interviewer-administered)	Paper Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer administered)	Handheld Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer administered)	Paper Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer administered)	Paper Survey (interviewer administered)

## Questions on Sexual Violence in the IMAGES Study

For the purpose of this analysis, an answer of “yes,” “once,” or “more than once” to any of the following seven questions was coded as reported perpetration of sexual violence:

- How many times have you had sex with a woman or girl when she didn’t consent to sex or after you forced her?
- How many times have you had sex with a woman or girl when she was too drunk to say whether she wanted it or not?
- Have you ever forced your current girlfriend or wife into having sex with you?
- Was there ever a time when you forced a former girlfriend or wife into having sex?
- Did you ever force a woman who was not your wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex with you?
- How many times have you and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she didn’t consent to sex or you forced her?
- How many times have you and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she was too drunk to stop you?

It is worth noting that these questions address seven different forms of rape by a man against a woman, including marital rape, gang rape, rape of a woman under the influence of alcohol, and others. This report does not account for the many other types of sexual aggression and violence, including: sexual jokes/leering/”eve-teasing”, unwanted touching/brushing/groping, stalking, flashing, or acts of sexual violence by men against men.

Because of these limitations, it is important not to read the reported rates as indicative of the prevalence of all forms of sexual violence in the study sites. Also, because there are almost certainly men who chose not to disclose acts of the sexual violence included in the survey, it is important also to read the reported rates as underestimates of the actual prevalence of these forms of rape in the study sites.

## METHODOLOGY: WHICH POTENTIAL INFLUENCES ARE LINKED WITH MEN’S PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE?

This analysis investigated approximately two dozen variables organized into seven domains of potential influences on men’s likelihood of reporting sexually violent behavior. These seven domains span multiple life stages and draw on prior research on the factors that influence sexual violence. The seven domains, and the independent variables that comprise them, are:

- 1. Demographic characteristics:** age, education, marital status, fatherhood, and employment status;
- 2. Childhood risk factors:** witnessing violence between one’s parents, experiencing childhood neglect, experiencing physical violence as a child, and experiencing sexual violence as a child;
- 3. Sexual aggression in youth:** reported sexual harassment and group sex when under age 18;
- 4. Perpetration of physical intimate partner violence:** This includes affirmative responses to any of a list of five physically violent acts against one’s current or former partner;
- 5. Alcohol use and abuse:** ever use of alcohol and regular binge drinking;
- 6. Attitudes of male privilege and entitlement:** a summative, standardized score from a list of statements on gender, violence, sexuality, masculinity, and reproductive health; and
- 7. Coinciding sexual behaviors:** transactional sex and number of sexual partners.

We tested associations between these independent variables and perpetration of sexual violence by using bivariate and multivariate regression analyses. This findings presented below emerge from both bivariate and multivariate analyses, and are labeled as appropriate.

## FINDINGS: SELF-REPORTED PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Adult male respondents to the IMAGES survey report high levels of sexual violence perpetration: rates of perpetrating rape range from 4% to 25% in the five study sites. Nearly one quarter of respondents in India report perpetrating sexual violence at some point, the vast majority against an intimate partner (wife or girlfriend). Nearly one in ten men in Chile, Croatia and Rwanda report some form of sexual violence perpetration, while four percent of men in Mexico report perpetrating sexual violence. The analysis by potential influences below will shed light on the different dynamics of sexual violence perpetration in the five study sites.

Sexual violence against women manifests in many ways, most commonly against intimate partners (wives or girlfriends). In all study sites, men report use of sexual violence against current partners, previous partners and non-partners. Sexual violence is most commonly perpetrated against intimate partners (wives or girlfriends). In some cases, alcohol is associated with the perpetration of sexual violence, which this report addresses in more detail later.

IMAGES respondents' reported rates of perpetrating rape fall within the range of other recent international studies,<sup>5</sup> and demonstrate the ubiquity of this devastating crime around the world. They also show that most men from the same geographic/demographic settings do not perpetrate rape. An ongoing challenge for the violence prevention community, then, is to enlist the support of men who reject violence in order to transform the norms and behaviors of the many men who use violence.

**Sexual and Intimate Partner Violence in Seven Additional States in India**  
 A version of the IMAGES survey was recently conducted in seven states in India. The reported prevalence rates of intimate partner sexual violence among men in this study ranged from 7.5% to 29.6% (this does not include violence against non-partners). In this same study, women's reported rates of experiencing any form of intimate partner violence (including emotional, physical and/or sexual violence) in the last 12 months ranged from 14.2% to 59.1%. While this study did not test the relationship between attitudes and sexual violence, it did find that men who held more rigidly masculine attitudes were three times more likely to perpetrate physical intimate partner violence than men who held equitable gender attitudes. For more information, please see: <http://www.icrw.org/publications/masculinity-son-preference-intimate-partner-violence>

Percentage of respondents who report ever perpetrating rape

<b>Chile</b>	<b>9.4%</b>
<b>Croatia</b>	<b>8.8%</b>
<b>India</b>	<b>24.5%</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	<b>4.3%*</b>
<b>Rwanda</b>	<b>9.1%</b>

As mentioned above, it is important to interpret these rates as underestimates of the actual prevalence of sexual violence in these sites. These rates refer only to men's perpetration of one or more of the seven types of rape addressed in the survey.

\*In the Mexico sample, some men were interviewed by women about their perpetration of violence. The IMAGES team suspects that this anomaly in data collection led to particularly low reporting of violence.

<sup>5</sup> Fulu, E., Warner, X., Miedema, S., Jewkes, R., Roselli, T., & Lang, J. (2013). Why Do Some Men Use Violence Against Women And How Can We Prevent it. UNDP; UNFPA; UN Women; UN Volunteers.

## FINDINGS: INFLUENCES ON MEN'S PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

This section explores the links between sexual violence and seven domains of potential influences.

### 1. Demographic characteristics

- **While demographic trends related to sexual violence are visible in some study sites, the data do not support the notion that perpetration of rape is significantly related to education level, employment status, age, or marital status.** In India, husbands and fathers are more likely to report sexual violence than men not in union or without children. Being employed and having more than a primary education are also associated with sexual violence perpetration in the India study sites. Similarly, Rwandan men who are more educated, are in a union and have children are more likely than their less educated, single, and childless counterparts to report having ever perpetrated sexual violence.

**Across all sites, sexual violence is not associated with most demographic characteristics in the analysis, including age, marital status, and employment.**

#### “Bridges to Adulthood”

“Bridges to Adulthood,” a 2012 ICRW-Promundo study, used IMAGES data in the same countries to test the broad lifelong influences of men’s childhood experiences of violence. That study also found strong links between childhood risk factors and adult perpetration of violence. The report also investigated links between violent experiences in childhood and other aspects of adult life. It found that respondents in certain sites who experience violence as children are, for instance, less likely to participate in domestic duties or communicate regularly about life problems with their partners. Many victims of violence as children also exhibit lower self esteem as adults. To read more, please see:

<http://www.icrw.org/publications/bridges-adulthood>

### 2. Childhood risk factors

- **Men’s childhood experiences are powerfully tied to their perpetration of sexual violence.** Men who have been exposed to a number of risk factors in their childhood tend to perpetrate sexual violence at higher rates than men not exposed to such factors. These men were very often themselves victims of physical or sexual violence as children, or experienced neglect in their childhood homes. Men who witnessed violence against their mothers are also consistently and significantly more likely to have reported perpetrating sexual violence.
- **Being a victim of violence as a child influences a man’s likelihood of perpetrating sexual violence as an adult.** In Chile, for example, 23% of men who were victims of sexual abuse in childhood report perpetrating sexual violence themselves, compared to just 8% of those who were not victimized sexually as children. Among Indian men, 34% of those who were sexually abused in childhood report sexual violence perpetration, compared to 22% of those who were not. Both relationships are statistically significant at the  $p < .001$  level.

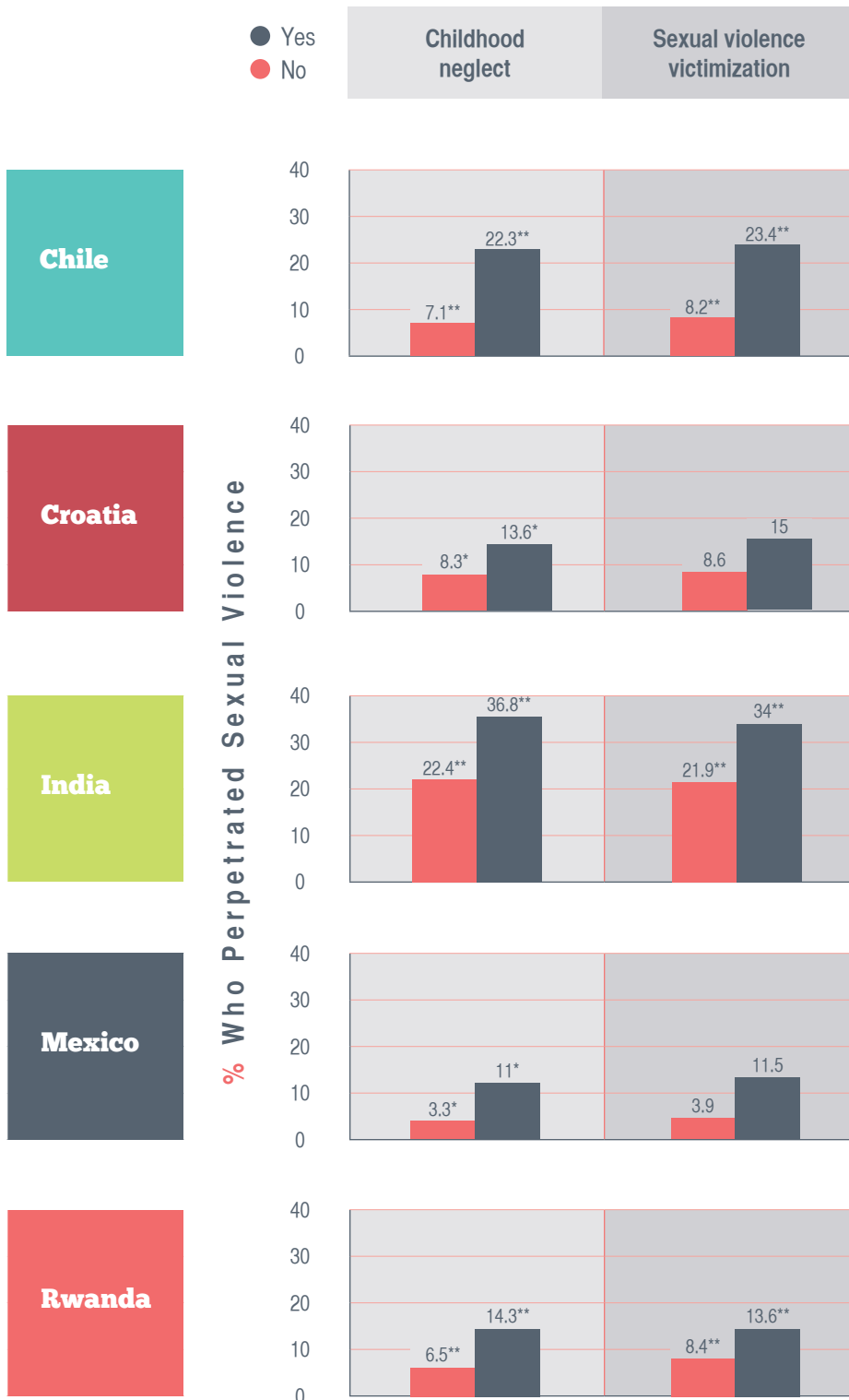


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# LINKS BETWEEN CHILDHOOD RISK FACTORS AND ADULT PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

In all sites, men who experienced neglect or sexual violence as children are more likely to report perpetrating sexual violence. Relationships marked with one asterisk are statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level; those marked with two asterisks are significant at the  $p < .001$  level.



### 3. Sexual aggression in youth

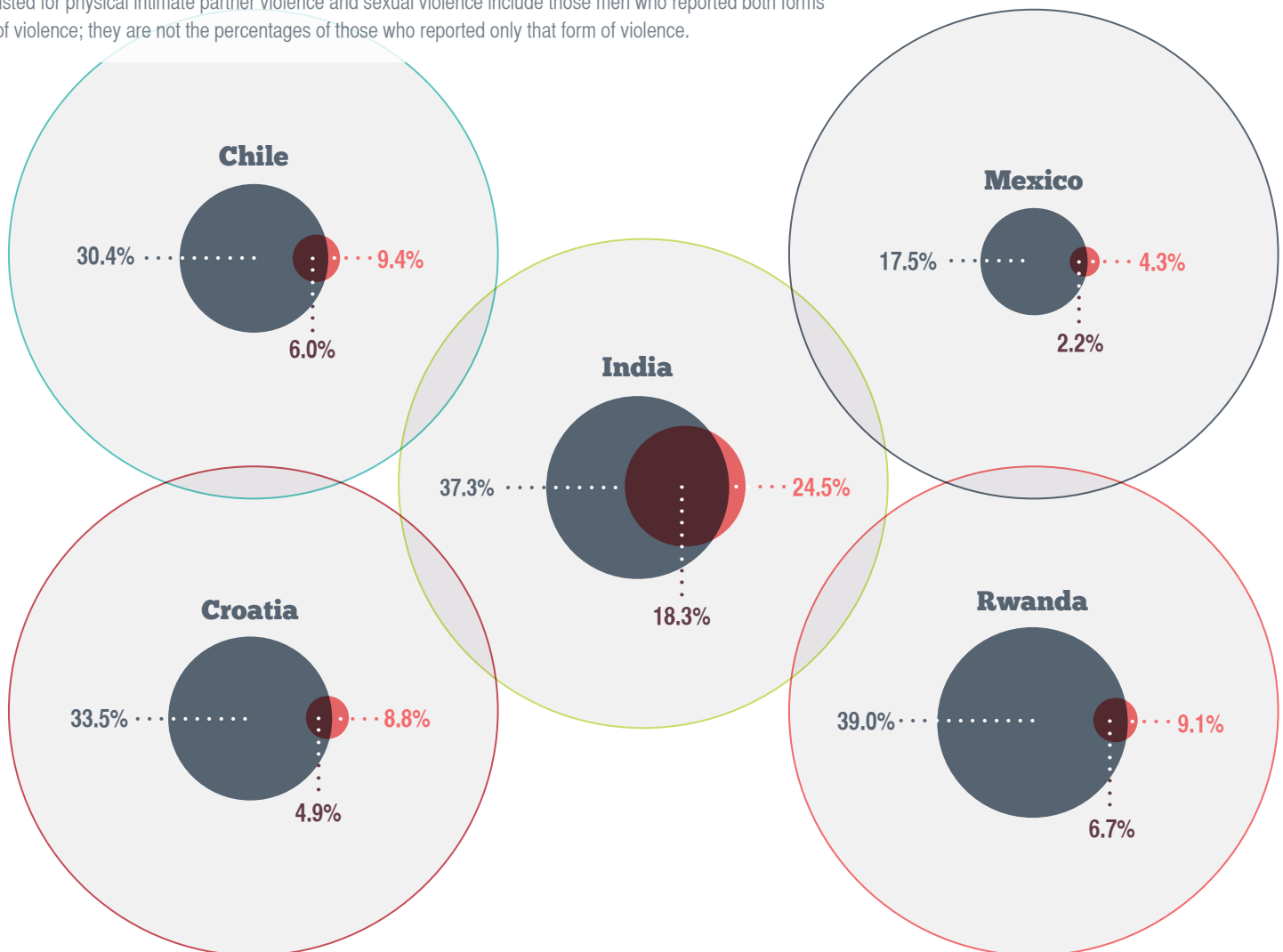
- **Sexually violent behaviors begin to appear during men's youth.** In all five sites, men who reported sexually aggressive behaviors during youth (including sexual harassment/teasing and group sex) were significantly more likely to report perpetrating rape as adults than men who did not report sexual aggression during boyhood.

### 4. Perpetration of physical intimate partner violence

- **Sexual violence often overlaps with physical violence against a partner.** In all study sites, men who report physically abusing an intimate partner were significantly more likely to report also perpetrating sexual violence. Nearly half of sampled Indian men who have physically abused a partner report also perpetrating sexual violence, for example. Men in the Mexico sample who report perpetrating physical violence were nearly six times more likely to report perpetrating sexual violence than those who did not report physical intimate partner violence.

## OVERLAPS BETWEEN PHYSICAL INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE (AGAINST PARTNERS OR NON-PARTNERS)

In this graphic, the prevalence rate of physical intimate partner violence in each site is represented by a gray circle, and the prevalence rate of sexual violence (as defined elsewhere in this report, rape against a partner or a non-partner) is represented by a red circle. The percentage of respondents who report perpetrating both these forms of violence appear as the **overlap** between the two circles. The percentages listed for physical intimate partner violence and sexual violence include those men who reported both forms of violence; they are not the percentages of those who reported only that form of violence.



## 5. Alcohol use/abuse

- **IMAGES data show links between alcohol use and sexual violence perpetration.**

Among men in Chile and India, any alcohol use is associated with sexual violence perpetration. In all sites, binge drinkers (men who report having at least 5 drinks on one occasion monthly or more) are more likely to commit sexual violence than men who do not binge drink.

**Alcohol use is one among many inter-linked factors contributing to sexual violence, but alcohol use alone cannot be said to cause sexual violence.**

## 6. Attitudes of male privilege and entitlement

- **Men who hold attitudes of male privilege and entitlement are consistently more likely to perpetrate rape.** IMAGES uses the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale to measure men's attitudes on the topics of gender, violence, homophobia, masculinity, and reproductive health. As the box below shows, below-average scores on the GEM Scale multiply the likelihood of men's reported sexual violence by as much as 3.5 times. The relationship between gender attitudes and reported rape is statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level in all five sites.

<sup>6</sup> Pulerwitz, J. & Barker, G. (2008). Measuring attitudes toward gender norms among young men in Brazil: development and psychometric evaluation of the GEM scale. *Men and Masculinities*, 10, 322-338.

<sup>7</sup> Barker, G., Contreras, J. M., Heilman, B., Singh, A. K., Verma, R. K., & Nascimento, M. (2011). Evolving men: initial results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.

## "No Means Yes..."

...means higher prevalence of reported rape.

The prevalence of reported rape among men in Croatia with below-average GEM Scale\* scores is

**3.5 times higher**

than the prevalence among men with above-average scores.

**In Mexico: 3.2 times higher**

**In Chile: 1.7 times higher**

**In Rwanda: 1.7 times higher**

**In India: 1.4 times higher**

All five findings are statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

The GEM Scale has now been widely used in diverse settings and has high rates of internal reliability in all five sites.<sup>6</sup>

The scale is not the same in all countries; items have been added for cultural specificity and other items that show limited variation and limited contribution to the scale in that site have not been used in the final analysis.<sup>7</sup>



## 7. Coinciding sexual behaviors

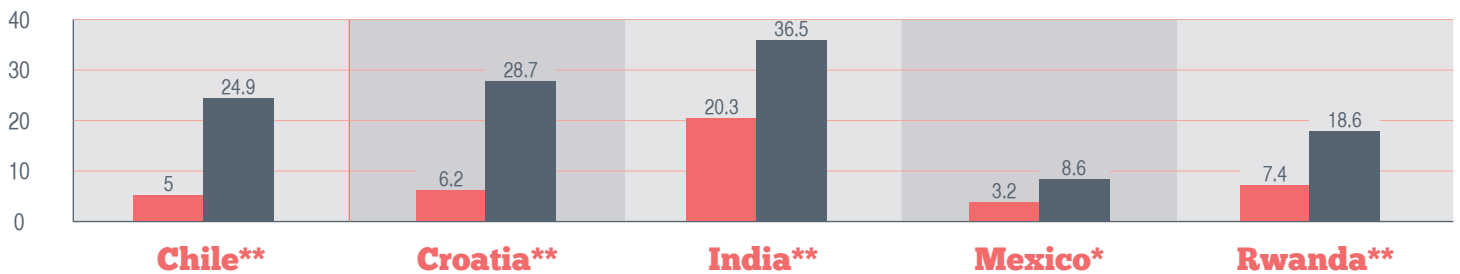
- **Men who pay for sex are more likely to perpetrate sexual violence.** In all five countries, men who reported ever using the services of sex workers were more likely to report sexual violence perpetration compared to men who had never paid for sex.
- **Having more sexual partners in the past year increases likelihood of sexual violence perpetration.** Among men in all five countries, those who reported 3 or more partners in the past year were more likely to report sexual violence perpetration than those with fewer partners.

We observe relationships between certain sexual behaviors and men's likelihood of perpetrating rape.

### LINKS BETWEEN TRANSACTIONAL SEX AND PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

- Never paid for sex
- Ever paid for sex

In all sites, men who report paying for sex are more likely to also report perpetrating rape against a partner or non-partner. Relationships marked with one asterisk are statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level; those marked with two asterisks are significant at the  $p < .001$  level.



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## RISK FACTORS FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE PERPETRATION FROM MULTIVARIATE (ADJUSTED) REGRESSION ANALYSES

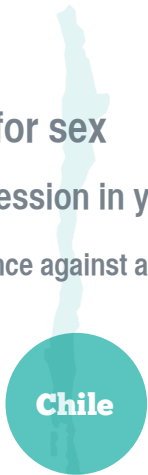
This graphic presents the risk factors for men's perpetration of sexual violence that emerged as strongest in multivariate regression analyses in each site. The findings are presented as adjusted odds ratios. In the case of Chile, even accounting for all other variables in the analysis, men who report ever paying for sex have 3.42 higher odds of also reporting sexual violence perpetration than men who did not pay for sex.

The graphic only presents the risk factors that maintained a statistically significant relationship in the regression analysis. Protective factors, such as higher scores on the Gender Equitable Men Scale, do not appear in the graphic, but were included in the analysis. And any risk factors that did not maintain statistical

significance do not appear in the graphic, but were also included in the analysis. Perpetrating physical violence against one's partner is the one factor that has a significant relationship with perpetrating rape in all sites. Witnessing violence between one's parents maintains a significant relationship in three sites.

The most significant risk factors for rape (among those included in the IMAGES survey) are not identical across sites.

Ever paid for sex	3.42
Sexual aggression in youth	3.37
Physical violence against a partner	2.65
Binge drinking	2.01



Witnessed violence between parents	3.07
Physical violence against a partner	2.78



Sexual aggression in youth	3.55
Drinks alcohol	2.66
Has children	1.99
Physical violence against a partner	1.79
Witnessed violence between parents	1.53



Ever paid for sex	3.42
Has children	3.37
Physical violence against a partner	2.65



Physical violence against a partner	2.69
More than primary education	2.04
Witnessed violence between parents	1.98
Victim of childhood neglect	1.85
Sexual aggression in youth	1.71



## LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The above findings on the prevalence and influences of sexual violence perpetration in IMAGES study countries point to multiple actionable lessons and recommendations.

### FOCUS ON ATTITUDES AND ENTITLEMENT

**Sexual violence emerges from a mindset that grants men a sense of sexual entitlement and devalues women's bodies and agency in sexual decision-making.** A wide range of institutional, cultural, and other factors combine to underpin violence in society, but this report and other evidence show that attitudes drive sexual violence much more than individual pathologies or demographic indicators do.

- As such, it is critical to dedicate resources and effort to programs that directly tackle issues of power, gender norms, entitlement, and sexism in society, especially with men and boys. These “**gender-transformative**” program approaches<sup>8</sup> are proving significantly more effective at shifting attitudes than program approaches that maintain a neutral or superficial stance on issues of gender and power.
- Violence prevention efforts should also directly engage the particular **settings that propagate men's violent attitudes and sense of sexual entitlement**, including (in some but not all cases): sports teams and other male social spaces at schools, colleges and universities; workplaces; military institutions; religious institutions; and mass media.<sup>9</sup>

### BRING HARMFUL ALCOHOL USE INTO THE CONVERSATION

**The pathways connecting alcohol use and the perpetration of sexual violence are not yet well understood. However, we do know that alcohol use is implicated in the complex web of social, environmental and behavioral predictors of sexual violence.** A variety of programs—including those seeking to prevent violence, to promote sexual and reproductive health and rights, and others—are now encouraging integration with programs to prevent harmful alcohol use. The present evidence, which shows links between alcohol use (in some sites any drinking, in others binge drinking) and rape, lends further support to this development.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> World Health Organization (2007). Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions. Geneva; Greene, M. E., and Levack, A. Synchronizing Gender Strategies: A Cooperative Model for Improving Reproductive Health and Transforming Gender Relations. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau and Washington, DC: Interagency Gender Working Group. September 2010.

<sup>9</sup> Flood, M. & Pease, B. (2009). Factors influencing attitudes to violence against women. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 10, 125-142.

<sup>10</sup> Heise, L. (2011). What works to prevent partner violence. An Evidence Overview. STRIVE Research Consortium. <http://strive.lshtm.ac.uk/resources/what-works-prevent-partner-violence-evidence-overview>

## SET A NONVIOLENT LIFE COURSE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE

**Many of the most consistent influences on men's likelihood of perpetrating sexual violence occur during childhood and adolescence. Policies and programs aiming to prevent violence must therefore place greater emphasis on setting a nonviolent life course among young children and adolescents.** New research is pointing to promising ideas in this regard:

- Recent **school-based programs** aiming to reduce violence and to prompt healthier, more nonviolent lifestyles have shown success in multiple age groups. The Gender Equity Movement in Schools shifted attitudes related to gender among schoolchildren aged 9 to 13 in Mumbai, India, for instance.<sup>11</sup> The Young Men Initiative in the Northwest Balkans, as well as other school-based adaptations of Promundo's landmark Program H curriculum have also shown effectiveness in shifting attitudes related to violence.<sup>12</sup> Psycho-social support is particularly important for those young people who have experienced or witnessed violence while growing up.
- Many **health policies** can better promote the safety and support of young boys and girls and set these children on a lifecourse that is less likely to include perpetration or victimization of violence. Engaging men as fathers and caregivers—including via better paternity leave policies, parenting education courses, presence at childbirth, and involvement in newborn care—helps prompt a stronger bond between a father and his children, leading to less likelihood of violence in the childhood home (a consistently significant driver of violence later in children's lives).<sup>13</sup> Such policies also make a powerful social statement that men have roles to play as caregivers and nurturing fathers and husbands, reinforcing the fundamental equality of men and women in both domestic and economic matters.

<sup>11</sup> ICRW, CORO, and Tata Institute of Social Sciences (2011). Building Support for Gender Equality Among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India. New Delhi: ICRW. <http://www.icrw.org/publications/building-support-gender-equality-among-young-adolescents-school>

<sup>12</sup> For more information, see <http://www.youngmeninitiative.net> and/or <http://www.promundo.org.br/en/activities/activities-posts/program-h/>

<sup>13</sup> Barker, G., Greene, M. E., Goldstein-Siegel, E., Nascimento, M., Segundo, M., Ricardo, C. et al (2010). What Men Have to Do With It. Public Policies to Promote Gender Equality.

## BUILD THE KNOWLEDGE BASE

**IMAGES has added new and valuable information to this conversation, but much more research is needed on the prevalence and dynamics of sexual violence perpetration around the world.**

This includes:

- Research that **focuses specifically on sexual violence—in all its forms**—as separate from other kinds of intimate partner violence and violence against women;
- Research such as IMAGES that explores the **perspectives of men from low and middle-income countries**;
- Research to explore the more surprising trends from this analysis, including the higher reported rates of sexual violence perpetration among more educated men in India and Rwanda; and
- Evaluations of gender-transformative programs to prevent sexual violence in new settings and among broader constituencies.



## INVOLVE, ENCOURAGE, AND LEARN FROM MORE MEN AND BOYS

**It is critical to engage men and boys in efforts to curtail sexual and other forms of violence against women.** The men interviewed in the IMAGES study reported rates of perpetrating sexual violence that in most cases met or exceeded the level of violence reported by women. But at the same time, the majority of men in all sites did not report this violence, and male respondents' attitudes related to gender spanned a range of views, from the rigidly traditional to the more progressive and equitable. This suggests that men across the world hold diverse, shifting views about how men and women should relate. They are not a homogeneous population, and it is very likely that any man with reported violent behaviors also has male friends, colleagues, and/or family members who reject violence.

- An urgent programmatic, research, and policy challenge as we attempt to curtail sexual violence is, then, **to involve, encourage, and learn from those many men who do not use sexual violence and can influence those who do.**

## CONCLUSION

New data from the IMAGES study underscore previous evidence of the tremendous levels of sexual violence that women and girls face around the world. This violence takes many forms, occurs in all types of households, is endemic to “peacetime” as well as conflict, and has devastating intergenerational effects. Nonetheless, we are able to identify certain influential factors that point the way towards policies and programs to prevent this violence before it happens and to mitigate its harmful effects.

