Deliverable n. 2.2

MAP OF NEEDS AND RESOURCES

ViDaCS - Violent Dad in Child Shoes	
Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme *Agreement number* *Project number 810449*	
Start date:	12 September 2018
Duration:	24 months
Coordinator:	DSU
Partners:	CTS, RIA, OLV, VDG, PROTOM

Co-funded by
the European Union's Rights,
Equality and Citizenship Programme
(2014-2020)

Document control information	
Title:	**Map of needs and resources**
Reference WP:	2
Responsible of this deliverable:	Unina
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Dissemination level	☐ **CO** Confidential, only for members of the Consortium (including the Commission Services) ☐ **RE** Restricted to a group specified by the Consortium (including the Commission Services) ☒ **PP** Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services) ☐ **PU** Public
Status	☐ **Draft** ☐ **WP Manager accepted** ☒ **Consortium accepted**
Deadline	10 January

Versions			
Version	**Date**	**Change**	**Comment/Editor**
1.0	30/12/2018		
2.0	09/01/2019		

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1. INTRODUCTION

Task 2.3 "In field research", was conducted to give voice to the various actors of different systems involved with domestic violence in order to inspire the correct planning and implementation of ViDaCS serious game and professional skills building.

The study has provided a map of needs and resources (Deliverable 2.2) which offers an overview of the social representation of specialists and stakeholders working in the field of domestic violence, along with the needs and resources they have highlighted within the context of the project.

In order to produce a serious game capable of representing the widespread phenomenon of domestic violence, a preliminary study of literature was carried out (Deliverable 2.1), describing the motivation and assessment of men who want to stop their violent behaviour in the domestic environment.

2. RESEARCH

Participants: 45 women and 5 men with experience in prevention, management and domestic violence treatment were selected to be intervieweed. There were aged between 27-70, both volunteers and professionals with years of service ranging from 1 to 45, with different professional roles: psychologists, psychotherapists, social workers, honorary judges, technical consultants, regional councillors, public health administrators (A.S.L. NA 1 Centro), family mediators, educators, lawyers, criminologists, nurses, emergency doctors, Regione Campania officials).

The respondents were selected among cultural, political, healthcare and social workers involved with domestic violence. 46% of the respondents had personally worked with perpetrators and the others had been directly involved with victims of violence or in the design and execution of ad hoc projects.

3. PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

Non-probability sampling was used. Contact was made by telephone to make appointments, following the identification of the most highly accredited settings and professionals in the city of Naples. The interviews, conducted by two psychologists involved in the project, were held in the work settings of the respondents or on the premises of Federico II University. They were held in a quiet private environment and lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours, with an average of 50 minutes. Much attention was paid to the respondents' convenience regarding appointment times and dates, offering the use of the university facilities for the interviews. Respondents signed an informed consent form and authorised the use of the data collected for research purposes.

3.1 Instruments

A focused interview format (Arcidiacono, 2012) was used. This research instrument offers the opportunity of developing the researcher's themes of interest while allowing the respondent to propose themes and subjects of their own interests. It does not include predetermined questions, but offers a guideline to the themes to discuss, a 'blank canvas' which guides the interviewer in the interaction. The structure and the conducting of the

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interview presume a familiarity of the themes discussed and the general and specific aims of the study, along with interview conduction skills. The interviewer must be able to recognise the innovative and specific contribution of the respondents, in order to delve into the enriching new content, and must know how to not pass judgement while keeping up an active and stimulating attitude towards the interlocutor and their reflexivity skills (Suffla et al., 2015).

The themes of interest of the interviews were the following:

a. Expectations, desires and motivation regarding the profession in reference to the management of domestic violence perpetrators

b. Representation of the phenomenon of domestic violence

c. Representation of women as victims

d. Representation of the perpetrator

e. Representation of the experiences of children who have been exposed to violence

f. Procedures of intervention which have been used and those suggested but not yet put into practice

g. Workers gender bias in therapeutic relationships

h. The settings of violence.

These categories were identified in relation to the aims of the study (to examine the experience of the perpetrator and their perception) and of the project (to construct and experiment a serious game aimed at awareness on the part of the perpetrator).

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, and analysed according to Braun & Clark thematic analysis (2006). The following are the thematic analysis results of the interviews, presented in the light of what has been described in literature until now.

4.RESULTS

4.1 Expectations, desires and motivation regarding the profession in reference to the management of domestic violence perpetrators

Among the respondents a mediocre awareness of current interventions and treatment of the perpetrators of domestic violence towards partners or ex-partners emerged. This is due to either the specificity of the work setting of the respondents (e.g., anti-violence centres) or to a personal lack of interest and awareness of the issue.

At the same time most of the respondents declared themselves to be absolutely in favour of interventions for the perpetrators of domestic violence, but in settings dedicated exclusively to the treatment of women an agreement subject to economic issues came up. The resignation towards the difficulty of change in men who perpetrate domestic violence brings to light the issue of the already scarce funds dedicated to anti-violence centres for women. Funding for men seems to be seen as 'wasted' compared to the great need for providing for

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the victims of violence committed by these men, as if intervening on these men were not a resource but a useless investment.

It is important to note that only recently funding for the protection, management and support for victims of domestic violence has been granted, and that projects aimed at perpetrators fall under this general budget, both for the national and for regional funding bodies.

The respondents suggest a management intervention for the perpetrator which develops via different levels of action:

- Divulgation: information and training of awareness, especially in schools and specific and non-specific services law enforcement, healthcare settings etc.
- Education: Mostly about how childhood is the real potential turning point for the much-needed social and cultural change
- Treatment: The non-psychologists mostly talk about the effectiveness of psycho-educational intervention, while the psychologists believe psychotherapeutic interventions are more appropriate for the treatment of these men.

In regards to communication and comparison among all the applications of treatment of the phenomenon, all the respondents highlight the importance and the need for sharing and collaboration between the various institutions and organizations active in the field, even though in reality there appears to be a lack of communication between anti-violence centres for woman and those dedicated to men.

4.2. Representation of the phenomenon of violence

Domestic violence is defined during the interviews as the type of violence which takes place "inside the home", within the context of a relationship which "should" offer love, serenity and protection, a place of "care" in which, paradoxically, one can also lose one's life.

As in literature (Riddle, 2017), the respondents highlighted all the manifestations of violence. These include emotional, psychological, physical, sexual, abusive, controlling and threatening violence and bullying. The respondents underline, above all, economic and psychological violence as being the least visible violence recognised by individuals and by legislation.

Respondents working exclusively with women use a more 'feminist' and social approach in their representation of domestic violence, affirming the role of patriarchal culture and gender stereotypes among the causes of domestic violence. This is perpetrated by men, as Chiurazzi e Arcidiacono state (2017), in order to maintain or re-establish their control over women.

Furthermore, for this reason, interviewees confirm the existence of the cyclic nature of violence which is defined in literature by Walker (2009) This manifests in the alternating of explosions of tension with reconciliation, followed by forgiveness, thus keeping the women "tied" to the man without any modification of the relationship; the forgiveness re-ties the woman to her partner, perpetuating the violence.

On the other hand, those working in more systematic settings seem to present a more multidimensional perspective and an ecological approach to the phenomenon, recognising the different levels: individual, rational and sociocultural. This perspective, as defined in literature by Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky (2007), offers a more holistic and complete view of male violence towards women, and examines the issue from different points of view.

All the respondents confirm the influence of family and personal history on the perpetrator's acquisition of models of violence. According to literature, on a family and relationship level, the theory of attachment would be the most widely accepted to explain domestic violence (Dutton & White 2012 Ogilvie et al., 2014), whereby the influence of the family would be the cause of the actual violence, and can perpetuate throughout generations according to role scripts passed on from parents to children (Pollak, 2004).

As far as risk factors are concerned, Ruddle et al. (2017) also observed: inadequate family relationships, parents' violence and developmental mental disorders.

According to the respondents, confirming these aspects, this influence can be manifested through:

- Reiteration of shared family gender roles, bias and stigma;
- Repetition of experienced violent behaviour;
- The woman's belief that the violence experienced is "normal", interpreted as "too much love"; and
- A constant expectation by the man of confirmation of power as identity.

In classic feminism and sexual difference theory (Irigaray 1974; Cavarero 1987; Muraro 1995) the real origin of male power is found in patriarchal logic, wherein the male gender is based on the concept of masculinity which is seen as strength, power, possession and superiority.

As far as conflictual relationships that give rise to violence are concerned, the interviewees confirm the aspects highlighted by Chiurazzi e Arcidiacono (2017) , namely destructivity (in both a material and psychological sense) and Control and Frailness of identity.

The former manifests itself through the breaking of objects, physical violence and also through a series of demands that "cancel out" the other person determining an ongoing sort of psychological death. The woman is controlled in every move, threatened and belittled. All forms of freedom are denied to her.

The latter, it is reported, is when the man's identity is structured around the woman's identity, his strength and superiority are based on her weakness and inferiority, and she is kept immobile "at all costs" so he does not lose his identity as a man.

In addition, these types of relationships may also involve:

Connivance and collusion not to be confused with the justification of the man, nor placing the blame on the woman. The woman "shares" the convictions and dynamics of the violent relationship, providing her motivation is not merely economic:

- Mutual affective dependency between the two partners;
- Economic dependency of the woman;
- Jealously and possessiveness of the man; and
- Expectation of adhesion to gender roles.

Violence therefore manifests itself, according to the interviewees through:

- Destruction of material objects and "psychological destruction" of the woman through isolation, disparagement (sometimes also seen in the woman towards the man), limitations of freedom (prohibition of going out, wearing certain clothes etc.)
- Control: of devices, clothing, other relationships etc.
- Demands for silence and immobility of the woman, on whom the man bases his male identity and on whom he invests, as stated also by Mizen (2016), hostile

parts of himself through a mechanism of protective identification. The Silence of the man is recognised as a form of violence because it represents a further disparagement of the woman (silence communicates that "you don't exist" and therefore "it's not worth answering you")

- Emotional and economic blackmail which often involves children
- Arguments for often "trivial" reasons (simple disagreements activate an escalation which develops into physical violence.

Often the "inadequacy" of appropriate legislation is highlighted, especially when child protection is involved; any initiative for the minor requires the father's authorisation and this procedure is almost always used by the man as a "instrument" for blackmail, control and power against the woman.

The phenomenon of domestic violence, moreover, is seen to be underestimated by the funding bodies and according to the interviewees they are granting too few funds for the dedicated centres.

4.3 Representation of the woman victim of violence

According to the initial results of the interviews, the representation of women victims of violence emerges as being non-stereotypical; there appears to be no single social status, education or personality type. This is all relative, but often the following traits have been recognised among the women:

- Dependency (both emotional and economic)
- Fragility often seen as a consequence of a sort of introjection of all the belittlement and constant attacks the man subjects her to

- Low self-esteem is also ascribed especially as a kind of "interiorisation" of the disparagement of the man: "they convince themselves that they are everything the man says they are: incapable, weak and worthless"
- Impotence
- Weakness
- Collusion with the will of the man to isolate her; the woman considers his gestures as signs of love.

The interviewees confirm the existence among the women of the Battered Woman Syndrome (Walker, 1979; 1992; 2009) which characterises women victims of violence: intrusive memories of traumatic events, high anxiety, avoidance behaviour, cutting out personal relationships, distorted body image, and intimacy and sexual problems.

Confirming several psycho-dynamic theories (Nunziante Cesàro & Troisi, 2016; De Vincenzo & Troisi, 2018) some of the interviews highlighted the role of shame, guilt and terror in women victims of violence.

In the relationship, specialists and stakeholders believe, the women express themselves by:

- "Connivance" and Collusion; and
- "Active" role in the conflictual dynamics.

Sometimes denigration and insults, reported, however, only by the professionals who do not work exclusively with women in anti-violence centres. Those working only in these centres report that it is the women who is mostly "subjected" to this.

But "when do women decide to break the pattern and possibly turn to services?" According to the experiences of the interviewees women put an end to their violent relationship because of:

- Fear for their own or their children's safety;

- For the children: In the case of adolescent children it is often the children who accompany the mother;

- Development into physical violence;

- "Saturation", when one reaches their personal point of tolerance;

- Contact with social networks which activates the awareness of the non-"normality" of violence and informs the user of "ways out" that then become "possible and real"; and

- Autonomy (work, meeting others, etc.).

Some interviews describe cases of violence of women on men and women who "stand up" to the conflict. This aspect has been examined in literature by Lysova (2016) e da Park & Kim (2017).

4.4 Representation of the perpetrator

According to the initial results of the interviews, the representation of male perpetrators of violence emerges as being non-stereotypical, and, as for women, there is no specific social class or generalisation to make. However, often the men present the following traits:

- Fragility and pathological narcissism (power based on maintaining the oppressed);

- Seductiveness and manipulation (even with treatment personnel, male and female);

- Difficulty in communicating and reasoning; these are men who "act" out their emotions, as they find it difficult to tolerate the reasoning process. This confirms what

in literature is defined as lack of emotion regulation and self-regulation (Cole, Martin, & Dennis, 2004; Cook et al., 2005) and lack of interpersonal skills (Davies & Cummings, 1994). These men are often themselves victims of direct or witnessed violence during childhood; and

- Low threshold for frustration and often other addictions (alcohol, drugs, gambling).

Experiences of child abuse and substance abuse have been confirmed by research conducted by Meyer (2017), as have some other risk factors for domestic violence such as:

- Inconsistent work history;
- low educational level and previous convictions for domestic violence;
- vulnerable and sometimes 'deviant' life style;
- highly unstable relationships;
- patriarchal beliefs about gender roles (also confirmed in interviews);
- cases of reciprocal violence in the couple; and
- use of drugs or alcohol also on the part of the victim.

Ruddle et al. (2017) also recognise the role of anger as a psychological process which triggers domestic violence. This is a process that refers to having unwanted intrusive repetitive thoughts that centre around a common theme (Sukhodolsky et al., 2001; Whitmer & Banich, 2007). When this involves the experience of anger and aggressive priming it triggers a cognitive and affective attack and psychologically prepares the individual for attack (Bushman et al., 2005; Pedersen et al., 2011).

Perpetrators of violence, furthermore, according to literature, present distorted awareness of relationships, attitudes and hostile beliefs, and establish poor relationships/networks with peers (Gould et al., 2012).

Going back to what emerges from the interviews, the perpetrators express, within their relationships:

- Possessiveness;
- Control;
- Affective dependency (to problems connected to the process of separation and loss of primary object);
- Constant need for exclusive attention; and
- Lack of recognition of any responsibility for his own violent side (downplaying their violence by justifying it).

These men are excessively attached both to gender roles typical of the patriarchy, and to the definition of masculinity as virility, which is recognised as power, strength and control.

None of the respondents represent the man as a "monster": only a few reported to have done this at the beginning of their career, but then they managed to overcome it.

Many (those who work exclusively with women) assume a detached behaviour, stating that "It's none of my business", while others, with the expression of "the monster is often your neighbour", confirm yet simultaneous disconfirm the idea of the man as a monster.

When faced with a possible change in the men the respondents are mostly almost "resigned", but they recognise that there are valid reasons for the treatment of the men:

- The presence of children: paternity is defined as a "double-bladed sword" and a grey area; it can become a cause for violence ("the beginning of the violence

often starts with a pregnancy" many stated), the object of emotional blackmail, an instrument for control over the woman (denying authorisations in the case of minors);

- The threat of the loss of the woman and/or the role as father;
- The loss of a loved one (e.g. a parent);
- Internal and authentic motivation (supported by insight) is considered the most valid for the maintenance of treatment and change; and
- Extrinsic motivation, like that supported by law enforcement and court orders, or by a partner's wishes, brings about a higher chance of either not applying for treatment or non-compliance in a short time.

Social support, in this case, according to literature (Hilder & Freeman, 2016) can be a promoter for change on the part of these men. In fact it has been proven in recent research that the development or maintenance of positive relations outside the intimate relationship with the partner can favour positive change within the latter.

There is also recent evidence that when a perpetrator shares his conditions with family members or friends, his motivation to face up to his violent behaviour is more solid and he is more likely to change (Fagan, 1989, as cited by Walker et al., 2013). This fact is also confirmed, according to specialists and stakeholders, in interviews which report that belonging to a group or family represents a positive factor for change in the men.

Chung e O'Leary (2009) in referring to intrinsic motivation, found that perpetrators are more likely to comply with treatment in situations where the couple want their intimate relationship to last. The quality and the state of the relationship seems, therefore, according

to literature, to greatly affect people (Gray et al., 2016) and this is amply confirmed in the interviews.

The respondents confirm the results of the study conducted by Rebecca Gray, Timothy Broady, Irene Gaffney, Pamela Lewis, Tibor Mokany e Brian O'Neill (2016) that proved that a separation or split in the couple and the connected feelings of distress and frustration can hinder the participation of perpetrators of violence in intervention programmes or reduce their commitment during treatment. This phenomenon is also confirmed by previous research describing the high improbability that domestic violence should cease when a couple's relationship ends. Actually, in some cases it increases (MacKenzie e Woodlock, 2012; Johnson, 2005). The way the perpetrator of violence views the couple's relationship also plays a part in his compliance to treatment. It is therefore important for professionals to focus on the quality and status of the couple (Gray et al., 2016).

In line with the literature, (Hanning & Holdford, 2006; Heward-Belle, 2016), and according to the respondents, one of the major obstacles to the perpetrator' treatment consists in his own attitude of blaming the victim and in the denigration of his relationship with her.

Most men perpetrating violence, downplay, according to the experience of specialists, their abusive behaviour, blaming the victim of provoking and/or exaggerating it. According to Meyer (2017), many men maintain that they have chosen the wrong partner who get the worst out of them: they wouldn't be violent if it weren't for the character or behaviour of the woman. These men judge their partners' behaviour as antisocial and described them negligent and reckless as mothers or as drug or alcohol abusers.

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Both literature (Heward-Belle, 2016) and the interviews reveal that the men feel the right to abuse and control and they don't even recognise the impact and seriousness of their behaviour on their partner and on their children.

All the above factors are obstacles to achieving an awareness of their violence and the chance to ask for help. The difficulty of perpetrators in adhering to treatment programmes has led researchers and professionals to focus their attention on motivational factors capable of supporting them, thereby preventing them from abandoning treatment.

In order to face the problem of scarce demand and low compliance to treatment on the part of domestic violence perpetrators and to ensure the success of treatment programmes, The Council of Europe (2008) has highlighted the importance of interventions aimed at increasing motivation to change.

The issue of motivation to change, however, is particularly complicated in the treatment of domestic violence perpetrators because they find it very difficult to recognise the seriousness of the consequences of their behaviour on their partner and their children (Heward -Belle, 2016). According to several recent studies, the behavioural change must occur within the couple; but it is necessary to identify further potential individual factors to motivate the overcoming of the violence, in order to facilitate the commitment of the men in the programme for behavioural change. In the light of this data the focus of research has now shifted towards the parenting roles in the couple.

Although in recent times the attention of researchers has focused on the responsibility of parents when they expose children to abusive behaviour (Featherstone & Peckover, 2007; Humphreys & Absler, 2011; Strega et al., 2008), little attention has been paid to the role of identity as father as a motivating factor in the need for behavioural change (Stanley et al., 2012). Previous literature has mainly focused on mothers when examining parenting responsibility, due to the fact that they are the primary caregivers (Humphreys & Absler, 2011).

This is problematic, however, in the context of domestic violence, where mainly the mothers are the primary victims of abuse by the fathers, the ones who expose their children to violent behaviour, (Strega et al., 2008).

Often interventions aimed at family well-being highlight the fact that the only way of safeguarding the well-being of the family, and first and foremost of the children, is to stop the abusive relationship (Ewen, 2007; Meyer, 2011) and this need is confirmed by many if the respondents who work exclusively with women in the anti-violence centres for women.

On the other hand, empirical evidence suggests that, although in some cases the relationship between the man and women may be over, the abuse continues even after separation and the children are often used by the abuser as instruments for power and control (Bagshaw et al., 2011; Meyer, 2014).

The lack of visibility of fathers in politics, in history and in practice, on the one hand, and the lack of the responsibility for family well-being on the other, has only served to further lay the burden of responsibility for the well-being of the family and children onto the mother, as primary guardian of their safety and welfare (Featherstone & Peckover, 2007; Humphreys & Absler, 2011).

Consequently in research women have been encouraged to take charge of the well-being of the family and invited to work more on their relationships (Humphreys & Absler, 2011), but they have also been led towards simply separating, as a remedy against the family's condition. The invisibility of fathers, therefore, within the construct of family well-being, has allowed them to avoid their social responsibility towards their partner or ex-partner, and his children. (Featherstone & Peckover, 2007; Absler, 2011).

More recently, though, research on paternity has brought to light the desire of many fathers to have a relationship with their own children (Edin & Nelson, 2013; Stanley et al., 2012)

and this desire is often fulfilled through contact and custody arrangements, even for the most violent of men (Bagshaw et al., 2011; Meyer, 2011). This has given rise to a shift in perspective from mothers towards fathers, leading to the exploration of paternity as a motivating factor in treatment, provided that the perpetrators become aware of the effect their violence has upon their children (Rothman et al., 2009; Smith Stover, 2013; Strega et al., 2008). Indeed, many fathers express regret for not having been able to experience life with their children adequately and completely. (Meyer 2017).

At the same time, however, during the interviews a kind of "Paradox of Paternity" emerges, as this can be a strong motivational factor for change in a man, but it can also be a risk factor when it becomes an instrument for revenge against the woman.

In line with what has been presented, some studies have shown that in cases of fathers who committed filicide, it is commonly believed that these men used violence on their children in order to cause harm to the mother or to seek revenge for having started proceedings for separation (Harris Johnson, 2005).

4.5 Children and violence according to the experience of professionals

Although literature has only recently focussed on the consequences of domestic violence on the children who are exposed to it, several studies have examined the different outcomes of such exposure (Devaney, 2015).   Even though the children don't witness the violence directly, they are completely aware of it (Øverlien e Hydén 2009, Swanston et al., 2014). This lack of attention has been due to scarce statistical data and the difficulty of recognising exposure to violence, especially in cases where the violence between parents is mainly psychological and emotional.

Furthermore, research has shown that even actual parents underestimate the phenomenon of exposure to violence (Buckley et al., 2007; Swanston et al., 2014). It is now widely recognised that children who experience family domestic violence are at high risk of being subjected to physical or sexual abuse or negligence.

On a more general level, literature shows how living in a family rife with violence has negative short term and long term implications on children's mental and physical health (Kitzman et al., 2003; Wolfe et al., 2003; Evans et al., 2008). For this reason specialists and stakeholders have also focused on the emotions reported by the children and parents and their representation of their experience as workers who work in close daily contact with episodes and consequences of domestic violence and exposure to violence.

The emotions presented by the children in the form of drawings, stories, by respondents and narration by the parents, are as follows:

- Fear of losing their mother (to death, or being sent away) and sometimes fear of losing their father because he might be 'punished' for what he has done or sent away in the separation;
- Fear of mother being hurt;
- Fear of being taken away by their mother or father (often children witness their parents threatening each other with taking away the children);
- Anger towards their mother who they believe "triggers" the arguments;
- Anger towards both their parents because they are failing to fulfil their protective roles;

- Sense of guilt often supported by real conversations between the parents where the children become the "cause" of the arguments; and
- Sense of impotence and desperation in facing something that is experienced as "too much" for them and where any move or word can cause an explosion.

Children often feel like "little adults" who have to "take care" of their parents and have to constantly pay attention to not provoking their fights, so there are many children who become distrustful and silent, while others tend to vent their anger with challenging and provocative behaviour. During the episodes some children tend to hide and run away, while others defend one of the parents trying to stop the violence.

When asked "But do these parents manage to stay aware of the children's presence during the violent episode?" many respondents answered that mostly the men, and some women, stop "seeing" the children during the fights because they are overcome by the conflict which blurs their vision and sense of reality.

4.6 Procedures

23 of the respondents have worked in close contact with perpetrators, utilising psychotherapy. The interviews revealed the need for specific and separate treatments for men and women, keeping in mind the complexity of the phenomenon and of the relationship. In agreement with the Istanbul Convention (2011) the respondents stressed the importance of offering (possibly female) initial reception for women, and treatment which does not include any type of mediation or male presence. The respondents working in systemic settings, however, expressed the need for a threshold of tolerance, because in some cases they would also apply specific family and couples' therapy.

As far as treatment for men is concerned, opinions are divided. In this case the respondents state that punitive treatments have a limited effect on the perpetrators and that for this reason programmes aimed at change should centre around the creation of responsibility for their actions in order to improve safety for themselves and above all for the women and children

Evidence of the efficacy of intervention programmes for perpetrators are not univocal: some assessments do not identify any validity of these programmes, while others have produced promising results (see, for example the systemic review by Eckhardt et al., 2013). Although evidence-based behavioural change programmes are considered crucial in facing the problem of domestic violence, any inconsistency in the programmes' contents, duration, and delivery make it difficult to identify what works and for whom (Carson et al. , 2009; Eckhardt et al., 2013).

In literature the most creditable model of treatment appears to be the Duluth model constructed in 1980; the programme is conducted in weekly sessions of 2 hours by a male and a female facilitator. The responsibility as a father is not specifically focused on in the programme as not all the participants necessarily have children.

In cases of comorbidity, it has been shown that programmes aimed solely at domestic violence are less effective than more holistic interventions which involve other criminogenic risk factors present in the life of the perpetrators. Indeed, some studies have shown that the lack of management of comorbidity of these factors in domestic violence perpetrators does not modify their abusive behaviour nor their parenting skills (Stover Smith, 2013).

Furthermore, according to Saunders et al. (1996) there are different levels of effectiveness for the different types of treatment: behavioural cognitive treatment, which includes a psycho-educational aspect, with a feminist emphasis, involving gender bias, attitudes, reasoning and behaviour of the violent man. They appear to be twice as effective for

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the category of 'antisocial' men, while a more individualised psycho-dynamic approach is twice as effective for the category of "emotionally dependent" men (Hilder & Freeman 2016).

Friend et al. (2011) also maintain that the style and quality of domestic violence must be differentiated; even in cases where they may seem very similar, the domestic violence may be completely different depending on the underlying type of violence (Hilder & Freeman 2016).

Therefore, based on recent literature, it is hoped that future research will focus on the different types of domestic violence in order to construct several focused models of intervention.

The participants reported the importance, in treating the perpetrators, of focusing on the following aspects:

- Trying to get him to put himself in the woman's or children's shoes, to feel like the victim of the violence;
- Always having a non-judgemental attitude;
- Leading the man to recognise his and others' emotions and feel them before acting them out;
- Making him aware of his communicative style which leads to conflict and helping him change it;
- Working on gender stereotypes inherent to personal thoughts, beliefs and usual actions;
- Working on the man's personal history, bringing to light the problematic issues at the basis of the violent behaviour; and

Those working exclusively with women find the treatment of violent men very arduous and difficult to put into practice.

All the respondents confirm that it is important to have networks and communication between the different realities and major agencies that guarantee interventions and treatment of domestic violence.

For an exhaustive view of all the types of treatment for men perpetrators of violence currently in practice and a reasonable map of the anti-violence centres dedicated to these men in Italy, the following texts were consulted: "Il Lato oscuro" by Bozzoli, Merelli e Ruggerini (2013), "Treatment Programs for Perpetrators of Domestic Violence: European and International Approaches" by Chiurazzi, Arcidiacono, Helms (2015) and "I centri per uomini che agiscono violenza contro le donne in Italia" by Bozzoli, Merelli, Pizzonia and Ruggerini (2017).

The most widely practiced treatments worldwide are: the ATV (Alternative to Violence) launched in Norway and the DAIP model (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs) from Duluth, Minnesota. In Italy the major ones are the CAM (Centro di Ascolto per Uomini Maltrattanti) in Florence and the LDV (Liberiamoci Dalla Violenza) in Modena.

In Campania the OLV (Oltre La Violenza) is the first and only location of the region dedicated to the perpetrators of violence and it receives local public healthcare funding. In comparison to treatment settings for violence perpetrators and, in general, domestic violence cases, literature and the interviews reveal the importance of the process of reflection by those working closely with the individuals involved.

4.7 Gender of service' personnel

Granted that it is important to have women working in the intake and management of women victims of violence, most of the respondents state that more than gender, what is important is the professionalism and specific training gained through experience. In the

minds of the respondents, it is the worker's gender which would influence in the treatment the relationship with perpetrators in terms of:

- Male worker: offers an identification and can be seen as an opportunity for confrontation and complicity
- Female worker: offers an opportunity to confront himself with another woman and work on his gender stereotypes and behaviour
- Pair of workers (woman and man): offers an opportunity to compare with different models and relationship styles. Very few consider this option.

4.8 Settings of violence

Compared to the place and time one imagines as "typical" for events of violence, the respondents described: kitchen and living room (meeting places and places that are difficult to escape from), and evening and gathering times. The interviews asked when the famous "point of no return", the moment during the conflict when one isolates oneself from the world and it explodes into fully blown violence, would be reached. Everyone responded that this depends on the threshold for tolerance of the person, so it is quite relative.

For this question many respondents took "point of no return" as meaning the woman's breaking point and her rebellion against the violence. For this reason, many answered with what could be the woman's reasons for change: fear of her and others' safety and after having seen the terror in her children's eyes.

The main settings of violence are reported as follows:

- The man belittling the woman; few recognised the disparaging woman, as an aspect which has been widely examined in research (Lysova, 2016; Park & Kim, 2017);

- Defenestration; many respondents tell stories of the woman being pushed outside onto the balcony as if she were to be thrown out, as if to throw her out of a life which is felt as intolerable. This act, luckily, in the experience of the respondents, has never been brought to completion;

- Jealousy: caused by the extreme terror that the woman might dis-confirm the man's virility by committing adultery with another man and in this way he would lose his sense of possession in which the woman is seen as owned by "her man";

- Argument in the car: women told stories about dangerous car chases in which they feared for their lives; and

- Escalation of a single episode of violence, as well as in the whole history of the couple characterised by violence: the single episodes begin with mere disagreements or futile contrasts, while in the couple's history the story begins with excessive idyllic constant attention and shifts to a lack of attention and continuous "highs and lows", confirming the "cycle of violence" as described by Walker (2009).

When respondents were asked to tell the stories of scenes and episodes they had experienced or heard about from acquaintances, family members or themselves, it was not easy for them to describe a setting of violence that had affected them most deeply. The reasons for this difficulty are varied: professional confidentiality, forgetting, "There are too many events that I am told, it is difficult to choose one", "often the people's stories are not very detailed" etc. It is as if the violence were something "private" not to be discussed.

As far as the timing of the violent episodes is concerned, in many cases it is said that it is difficult to talk about the "moment before" and the "moment after" the episodes of violence, because often the "moment after" coincides with the preparation of the next "moment before" and it all becomes a vicious cycle wherein the beginning "coincides" with the end and vice versa. It would seem to be an infinite yet contained time in a kind of immobility sunk into a sense of helplessness surrounding the whole scenario of violence.

This first report on the actions of the perpetrators of domestic violence is preliminary research for the group work carried out on 17th and 18th December, conducted by psychologists from the Oltre la Violenza ('Beyond the Violence') project, with the participation of all the VIDACS partners described in Deliverable n. 2.3. The reports from both days constitute a common wealth of knowledge of the entire team involved in the project – which, as planned, constitutes a knowledge databank to be used as the basis for further activity in the next phases of the VIDACS project.

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