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Leighton Andrews AM
Minister for Public Services
National Assembly for Wales
Cardiff
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4 February 2015

Dear Mr Andrews,

A public challenge to recognize male victims of domestic violence in Wales, and to provide them with appropriate support

I lead the only political party in the English-speaking and Welsh-speaking worlds campaigning for the human rights of men and boys. Our 80-page general election manifesto¹ makes proposals in 20 areas where those rights (and sometimes the rights of girls) are assaulted by the actions and inactions of the state.

One of the most egregious inactions of the state is the continuing failure to provide appropriate support to male victims of domestic abuse (DA) and domestic violence (DV). We recently submitted a 154-page report to the Home Office in response to their consultation exercise on strengthening the law on intimate partner violence (IPV).² The report outlined the anti-male biases of senior politicians (including Theresa May and Yvette Cooper) as well as the anti-male biases of public bodies (notably the Crown Prosecution Service, the police, and the justice system). It detailed the scandalous lack of support for male victims of domestic violence.

We have been observing with mounting concern the obdurate refusal of the Welsh government to acknowledge the existence of a huge and growing body of evidence and clinical practice that shows a gender inclusive approach to DV is more effective in ending DV compared with the long-discredited and discriminatory feminist 'male control theory' of DV, which relentlessly portrays all victims as women, and all perpetrators as men, which flies in the face of what has been known about DV for decades.

Last year there was substantial media coverage of a report by three leading researchers in the field of IPV – Elizabeth Bates, Nicola Graham-Kevan, and John Archer. The report was titled, 'Testing Predictions From the Male Control Theory of Men's Partner Violence'.³ The full Abstract:

¹ <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/141228-v6-general-election-manifesto.pdf>

² <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/141026-submission-to-home-office-improved-layout.pdf>

³ <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/140729-elizabeth-bates-report-on-dv.pdf>

The aim of this study was to test predictions from the male control theory of intimate partner violence (IPV) and Johnson's [Johnson, M.P. (1995). *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57, 282–294] typology. A student sample (N = 1,104) reported on their use of physical aggression and controlling behavior, to partners and to same-sex non-intimates. **Contrary to the male control theory, women were found to be more physically aggressive to their partners than men were**, [my emphasis] and the reverse pattern was found for aggression to same-sex non-intimates.

Furthermore, there were no substantial sex differences in controlling behavior, which significantly predicted physical aggression in both sexes. IPV was found to be associated with physical aggression to same-sex non-intimates, thereby demonstrating a link with aggression outside the family. **Using Johnson's typology, women were more likely than men to be classed as "intimate terrorists," which was counter to earlier findings. Overall, these results do not support the male control theory of IPV** [my emphasis]. Instead, they fit the view that IPV does not have a special etiology, and is better studied within the context of other forms of aggression.

Policy directions (and funding directions) resulting from this demonstrably incorrect theory cannot hope to deal effectively with the realities of complex human intimate relationships in difficult circumstances, and they condemn future generations of boys and girls in Wales to be steeped in and to learn DV at home, and to perpetuate DV in their own homes as they grow up and have children of their own. The Welsh government's adoption of the 'male control theory' of DV will inevitably lead to this bleak outcome.

In September 2014 we publicly challenged Eleri Butler, CEO of Welsh Women's Aid, to retract two lies in the WWA's submission to the Welsh Assembly's CELG committee. A copy of our letter is attached. We sent a copy (via email) to you, to other members of the CELG committee, and to every other Welsh Assembly member. Neither Ms Butler nor any Welsh Assembly members responded to it. A short excerpt from the letter, each point in this list is referenced in the attached letter:

1. Women are as physically aggressive towards intimate partners as men, or more aggressive.
2. The people reporting the highest levels of partner abuse are lesbians.
3. In 2012/13 the British Crime Survey reported that 38% of the victims of partner abuse (PA) – of which IPV is a part – were men in the preceding year.
4. The same survey reported that among victims of PA in the preceding year, 54% of both male and female victims had experienced at least one incident of IPV in the preceding year. A higher proportion of male victims (34%) than female victims (28%) had experienced at least one incident involving *severe* force.
5. The same survey reported that 21% of both male and female victims of partner abuse had experienced three or more incidents of PA in the preceding year.
6. While most IPV is reciprocal, in cases where it's one-way, the perpetrator is more likely to be a woman than a man.
7. Only 4% of female perpetrators of IPV report self-defence as a motivation.
8. When the number of IPV-induced suicides is added to the number of murders by intimate partners and ex-partners, more men than women die as a result of IPV.

We understand the title of the bill currently being debated is the Violence Against Women Bill. The claim that this title isn't a reflection of anti-male bias, and there are equal concerns about male victims of DV, is ludicrous. It would also make more sense to title the bill the Violence Against Men Bill? After all, men and boys are still – by a considerable margin – the majority of the victims of violence.⁴ The claim that males are innately violent is victim blaming and discrimination of a most pernicious kind, and should have no part in the deliberations of the Welsh government.

⁴ Task and Finish Group Report, Robinson 2012, page 14

Tony Stott, leader of the organization Healing Men, submitted a petition to the Petitions Committee (P-04-540 Stop Sexism in Domestic Abuse). We gather that William Powell, the committee chairman, will be writing to you, and including a 12-page letter from Mr Stott, dated 13 January 2015. The letter is well worth reading carefully, including the commentary about the discriminatory practices of the Dyn Project against vulnerable men, and how school and pre-teen boys (but not girls) are being singled out, denied refuge places, and made the butt of jokes by members of the Welsh establishment.

The adoption by the Welsh government of the feminist ‘male control theory’ of DV, and the lack of consideration of what has long been known by researchers about DV, have resulted in a deeply flawed process, which will inevitably mean – if the bill is passed as it currently stands – that the support provided to male victims of DV in Wales will continue to be deeply inadequate. To the best of our knowledge, the CELG committee failed to consult with researchers with strong international reputations in the field of DV – people such as Dr Nicola Graham-Kevan (University of Central Lancashire) and Dr Elizabeth Bates (University of Cumbria). For the CELG committee to have been influenced by such an ideologically-motivated organisation as Welsh Women’s Aid – whose CEO, I repeat, lied at least twice in her submission to the CELG committee – is beyond the pale.

This brings me to my public challenge of you, which I’ll be posting shortly on our website:⁵

I challenge you (and any politicians and/or officials you deem appropriate) to hold a video recorded meeting with one or more internationally renowned researchers in the field of DV, as well as myself, so that you might better understand why the policy direction of the Welsh government is deeply flawed, and will inevitably fail to deliver appropriate support to male victims of DV – both men and boys.

Support for male victims of DV in Wales has long been woefully inadequate, and need to improve dramatically. Hopefully our meeting can be the start of that process. With your support, Wales could take a global lead in providing appropriate support to male victims of DV.

Finally, because all the major political parties are institutionally anti-male, J4MB plans to field a number of candidates in the 2016 Welsh Assembly elections, to raise public awareness about the Welsh Assembly’s anti-male policy directions, in this area and others. We have seen considerable mainstream media interest in our policy positions, with increasing exposure on the BBC and ITV, articles in the *Telegraph*, *Observer*, *Independent*, *Express*, *Mirror*... the days when politicians can assault the human rights of men and boys without electoral consequences are numbered.

Yours sincerely,

Mike Buchanan

PARTY LEADER

⁵ <http://j4mb.org.uk>

Copies of this document have been emailed to:

Lesley Griffiths, Minister for Local Government and Government Business
Christine Chapman, chair, Communities, Equality and Local Government Committee
Clerk, Communities, Equality and Local Government Committee

CELG Committee members

Peter Black
Jocelyn Davies
Janet Finch-Saunders
Mike Hedges
Mark Isherwood
Gwyn Price
Jenny Rathbone
Rhodri Thomas

Other Welsh Assembly members

Mick Antoniw
Mohammad Asghar
Angela Burns
Rosemary Butler
Jeff Cuthbert
Alun Davies
Andrew Davies
Byron Davies
Keith Davies
Paul Davies
Suzy Davies
Mark Drakeford
Dafydd Elis-Thomas
Rebecca Evans
Russell George
Vaughan Gething
William Graham
Janice Gregory
John Griffiths
Llyr Gruffydd
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Julie James
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Alun Ffred Jones
Ann Jones
Carwyn Jones
Elin Jones
Ieuan Wyn Jones
Huw Lewis
David Melding
Sandy Mewies
Darren Millar
Julie Morgan
Lynne Neagle
Eluned Parrott
William Powell
Nicholas Ramsay
David Rees
Aled Roberts
Antoinette Sandbach

Carl Sargeant
Ken Skates
Gwenda Thomas
Simon Thomas
Joyce Watson
Lindsay Whittle
Kirsty Williams
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7 September 2014

Dear Ms Butler,

A public challenge to retract two lies in your submission to the Welsh Assembly's Communities, Equality and Local Government Committee, and to update obsolete statistics on your website

I lead the only political party in the English-speaking world campaigning for the human rights of men and boys, and we're considering contesting the Conservative marginal of Cardiff (North) at the next general election. We have a strong interest in the almost total absence of state support for the large number of men who are victims of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). The prime reason is that since the early 1970s radical feminists have run the organisations which operate refuges, which explains why of over 4,000 refuge places in the UK today, just 17 places are available exclusively to male victims.¹ I believe the 48% of the Welsh electorate who are men have been done a grave disservice by your recent submission to the CELG committee, which is why this letter is also being emailed to Lesley Griffiths, Minister for Local Government and Government Business, Christine Chapman, chair of the CELG committee, and other Welsh Assembly members.

A few facts about IPV which present a *very* different picture to that portrayed by organisations such as your own:

1. Women are as physically aggressive towards intimate partners as men, or more aggressive.²
2. The people reporting the highest levels of partner abuse are lesbians.³
3. In 2012/13 the British Crime Survey reported that 38% of the victims of partner abuse (PA) – of which IPV is a part – were men in the preceding year.³
4. The same survey reported that among victims of PA in the preceding year, 54% of both male and female victims had experienced at least one incident of IPV in the preceding year. A higher proportion of male victims (34%) than female victims (28%) had experienced at least one incident involving *severe* force.³
5. The same survey reported that 21% of both male and female victims of partner abuse had experienced three or more incidents of PA in the preceding year.³
6. While most IPV is reciprocal, in cases where it's one-way, the perpetrator is more likely to be a woman than a man.⁴
7. Only 4% of female perpetrators of IPV report self-defence as a motivation.⁴
8. When the number of IPV-induced suicides is added to the number of murders by intimate partners and ex-partners, more men than women die as a result of IPV.⁵

In recent weeks we've publicly challenged Polly Neate (Chief Executive, Women's Aid)³ and Sandra Horley (Chief Executive, Refuge)⁶ over lies and/or misleading statements made by them and / or their organisations' spokeswomen. Women's refuge organisations have a long inglorious tradition of lying and making misleading statements to further their agendas.

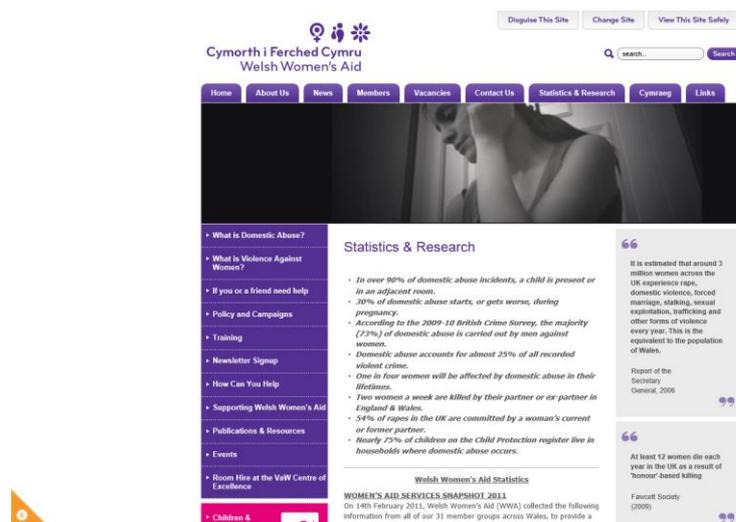
We turn to your latest submission to the CELG committee⁷ which is as full of radical feminist ideology – with its lack of concern for male victims of IPV – as I would expect. Your suggestion that the term 'Violence against women' should be re-introduced into the title of the bill is *obscene* given what has long been known about the non-gendered nature of IPV. A recent study by Dr Elizabeth Bates⁸ concluded that there is no evidence to support the feminist 'male coercion theory' of IPV – the theory that IPV (and the threat of IPV) are used by men (as a class) to control and oppress women (as a class). Indeed the report found that women are more likely than men to be 'intimate terrorists'.

There is a great deal in your submission I could challenge, but lack of time means I cannot do so. I'll focus on two lies, and I publicly challenge to retract them, by writing to the Clerk of the Committee, and the Committee members. In section 5.6 of your submission you state the following, and I've highlighted the lies in yellow:

As women and girls are the overwhelming majority of victims of these types of violence and abuse, and 95% of perpetrators have been found to be men, the benefit of retaining this term within the Bill far outweighs any initial confusion that may be caused in regards to coverage.

The links I provided earlier show the first statement to be a lie. The second lie has an associated reference, linking to a 2008 CPS report.⁹ That report does *not* state that '95% of perpetrators (of IPV) have been found to be men'. It states that 95% of those *charged* with IPV (over April – September 2006) were men – a *very* different matter. There are a number of reasons for this high proportion. Over many years British Crime Surveys have consistently reported that male victims of IPV are far more reluctant than women to report their abusers to the police and others. The justice system is institutionally biased against men, and treats women far more leniently in the area of IPV as in others, for evidence of this we refer you to the report *Partner Violence Against Men and the Gender Bias of Public Bodies*.¹⁰ Historically the police/CPS have been far more ready to take proceedings against male perpetrators than female perpetrators, but this is changing, and in recent years the number of female perpetrators being charged with IPV has risen dramatically.

We turn now to two obsolete statistics on your website¹¹ shown on the following screen shot:



At least two of the statistics are obsolete, and incorrect – we don't have time to check the others. You state:

- According to the 2009-10 British Crime Survey, the majority (73%) of domestic abuse is carried out by men against women.
- Two women a week are killed by their partner or ex-partner in England & Wales.

Why would you still be reporting the 73% figure from the 2009/10 BCS? The 2011/12 survey stated a figure of 60%, the 2012/13 survey 62%.

Two women a week are *not* being killed by partners or ex-partners in England and Wales. The latest official figure is below 1.5 per week, so it would be more accurate, if you must engage in ‘rounding’ numbers, to state *one* woman per week. Laura Bates of The Everyday Sexism Project reported the same ‘two women per week’ lie in a talk she gave a few months ago. A leading blogger, Herbert Purdy, has just posted a lengthy blog piece¹² in which he states:

When Ms Bates so simperingly complains that ‘Over two women a week are being killed by their male partners’ etc., she is lying: nakedly, baldly, and culpably.

I look forward to you confirming you’ve emailed the Clerk of the CELG committee retracting the lies in your recent submission, and you’ve updated the statistics on your website. In the meantime we’ll be posting this public challenge on our website¹³ and we shall, of course, also report your retraction of the lies and the updating of statistics, should you have the humanity and integrity to do these things.

Yours sincerely,

Mike Buchanan

PARTY LEADER

References

¹ <http://mankind.org.uk/factsmalevicitms.html>

² <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-women-are-as-physically-aggressive-as-or-more-aggressive-than-men-in-their-relationships-with-intimate-partners/>

³ <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/womens-aid-our-public-challenge-of-polly-neate-ceo/>

⁴ <http://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/140514-mankind-conference-slough-2013-female-perpetrators-of-intimate-partner-violence.pdf>

⁵ <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-more-men-than-women-die-as-a-result-of-it/>

⁶ <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/refuge-our-public-challenge-of-sandra-horley-chief-executive/>

⁷ http://www.welshwomensaid.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=598:gbv&catid=35:news&Itemid=168

⁸ <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/07/29/a-study-on-the-male-control-theory-of-intimate-partner-violence/>

⁹ http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/equality/vaw/vaw_cia.html

¹⁰ <http://redpilluk.co.uk/PartnerViolenceAgainstMen.pdf>

¹¹ http://www.welshwomensaid.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49&Itemid=55

¹² <http://herbertpurdy.com/?p=646#more-646>

¹³ <http://j4mb.org.uk>

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