

Risk Factors for Male Perpetration of Sexual Violence

Intention of This Document:

This document is intended to provide additional information on the risk factors for male perpetration of sexual violence. The risk factors discussed in this document were identified by the Centers for Disease Control and Injury Prevention (CDC) and the World Health Organization (WHO), as was the supporting research. This document is not intended to provide a comprehensive review or guide of the literature on men's perpetration of sexual violence against women.

Definition of Risk Factor:

Both CDC and WHO define risk factors for perpetration as "factors that increase the likelihood of perpetration." Other public health researchers have utilized definitions and criteria that acknowledge the unclear nature of risk factors and causality. Fris and Sellers, in *Epidemiology for Public Health Practice* (2003), define a risk factor as "an exposure that is associated with a disease, morbidity, mortality, or adverse health impact." It may be helpful to keep in mind the concept of association while reviewing this document, since some the relationships between particular risk factors and sexual violence remain unclear.

Points of Consideration:

- **These factors are specific to males.** Both the CDC and WHO have focused their attention on males as perpetrators because, statistically, males perpetrate the majority of sexual violence. Males also constitute the majority of perpetrators of more generalized violence, such as homicide and battery, regardless of the sex of the victim. Additionally, as is evident in reviewing the literature, many of these risks factors are tied specifically to social constructions of masculinity and the socialization of men. As such, utilizing them as the basis of programs aimed at preventing women's use of violence would be counterproductive.
- **Not all males perpetrate violence against women.** While men perpetrate the majority of sexual violence, this does not mean that the majority of males perpetrate sexual violence. Given that many men are exposed to similar attitudes and beliefs that support sexual violence but do not ever perpetrate sexual violence, a better

understanding of the complex interrelationship of risk factors at various levels of the social ecology is necessary to develop effective prevention programming. Many of the risk factors articulated here reinforce each other.

- **The factors are specific to perpetration.** Factors that increase the likelihood of victimization differ from those that increase the likelihood of perpetration. Focusing on perpetration increases the likelihood of preventing first-time perpetration and places accountability on the appropriate group, perpetrators.
- **Risk factors may be causal or correlative.** Due to limitations in the research, it is important to bear in mind that the relationship between many risk factors and the causes of sexual violence is unclear. In some cases, it is difficult to determine if the risk factor occurred prior to the sexual violence or as a result of the sexual violence or, in fact, if both the risk factor and the violence are the result of an unknown additional factor.

Caveats:

- **The current research base is limited.** Only recently have researchers begun to look at the question of how settings and factors across the social ecology lead some individuals to perpetrate sexual violence. Much of the data comes from North America and it is unclear if the information will apply beyond North America. Additionally, many of the studies are limited in their methodology and insufficient evidence exists to indicate if these initially identified risk factors are causative or correlations. As the research expands, additional factors may be added.
- **This document is not a comprehensive review of the literature related to men's perpetration of sexual violence.** Rather, it seeks only to briefly explain risk factors identified by the CDC and the WHO for sexual violence. In identifying these risk factors, the CDC draws heavily on WHO's *World report on violence and health*, edited by Etienne G. Krug, Linda L. Dahlberg, James A. Mercy, Anthony B. Zwi and Rafael Lozano (Geneva, World Health Organization, 2002) (cited in this document as WHO, 2002, for ease of reading). Given this intent, there are numerous additional citations supporting these risk factors that have not been included in this document.

Level of the Social Ecology: Individual

Risk Factor	Explanation	Selected Supporting Literature
Coercive Sexual Fantasies	Sexually violent men are more likely to assign responsibility for rape to women and to have less sense of the impact of rape on the victim. Since they already assign responsibility to the victim, they are more likely to read cues from women as “wanting” the rape and to suppress associations between sex and aggression. They have sexually coercive fantasies about sex and these are fed by pornography. (WHO, 2002)	<p>Drieschner K, Lange A. A review of cognitive factors in the etiology of rape: theories, empirical studies and implications. <i>Clinical Psychology Review</i>, 1999, 19:57–77.</p> <p>Dean KE, Malamuth NM. Characteristics of men who aggress sexually and of men who imagine aggressing: risk and moderating variables. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i>, 1997, 72:449–455.</p> <p>Malamuth NM, Addison T, Koss MP. Pornography and sexual aggression: are there reliable effects and how can we understand them? <i>Annual Review of Sex Research</i>, 2000, 11:26–91.</p>
Preference for Impersonal Sex	Sexually violent men tend to have a preference for impersonal sexual relationships, as opposed to emotional bonding. They also tend to have numerous sexual partners and to assert their own needs or preferences with disregard to others. (WHO, 2002)	Malamuth NM. A multidimensional approach to sexual aggression: combining measures of past behavior and present likelihood. <i>Annals of the New York Academy of Science</i> , 1988, 528:113–146.



		<p>Malamuth NM et al. The characteristics of aggressors against women: testing a model using a national sample of college students. <i>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology</i>, 1991, 59:670–681.</p>
Hostility Toward Women	<p>In addition to having greater preference for impersonal sex and higher rates of coercive sexual fantasies, men with higher levels of hostility toward women were more likely to perpetrate sexual violence against women. Sexually violent men indicated greater levels of hostility toward women across a number of measures that included higher levels of annoyance with women and lower levels of regard for women's abilities. Additionally, sexually violent men tended to display more adversarial attitudes toward women, holding that women were opponents to be challenged and conquered. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Koss M, Dinero TE. Discriminant analysis of risk factors for sexual victimization among a national sample of college women. <i>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology</i>, 1989, 57:242–250.</p> <p>Malamuth NM. A multidimensional approach to sexual aggression: combining measures of past behavior and present likelihood. <i>Annals of the New York Academy of Science</i>, 1988, 528:113–146.</p> <p>Ouimette PC, Riggs D. Testing a mediational model of sexually aggressive behavior in nonincarcerated perpetrators. <i>Violence and Victims</i>, 1998, 13:117–130.</p>

		<p>Malamuth, N.M. 1986 Predictors of naturalistic sexual aggression. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> 50(5): 953-962.</p> <p>Lisak D, Roth S. Motives and psychodynamics of self- reported, unincarcerated rapists. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i>, 1990, 55:584–589.</p>
Hypermasculinity	Hypermasculinity is an exaggeration of stereotypical masculine constructions of behavior, such as associating strength with toughness, virility and aggression. In American culture, cultural constructions of masculinity often include sexual prowess and power and control over others, particularly women and children. In the context of sexual violence, hypermasculine men may see the use of sexual violence as reinforcing their role as a “man” or justifying their behavior (i.e. teaching her not to question him, teaching her a lesson, men can’t control themselves, etc.). Sexually violent men tend to display more hypermasculinity.	<p>Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i>. Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.</p> <p>Mosher, D.L., and R.D. Anderson 1986 Macho personality, sexual aggression, and reactions to guided imagery of realistic rape. <i>Journal of Research in Personality</i> 20:77-94.</p>
Impulsive and Anti-Social Tendencies (Not synonymous with DSM diagnosis)	Men’s increased risk of sexual violence against women is associated with decreased adherence to social norms, increased disregard for others, rationalizing hurtful behaviors, irresponsibility and	Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i> . Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.

	<p>deceitfulness. Sexually violent men also tend to give in to impulsive tendencies more frequently. In the context of sexual violence toward women, this may take the form of disregard for the impact of the behavior on women, justifying the violence by ascribing it to the characteristics or behaviors of the victim (she wanted it, she's a whore, etc.), or disregarding social norms that prohibit such behaviors.</p>	
<p>Witnessed Family Violence as a Child</p>	<p>Witnessing family violence as a child has been linked to both sexual violence and intimate partner violence for men. This may be linked to patriarchal family structures since men raised in such families have been shown to be more likely to become violent, to rape and to use sexual coercion against women compared to men raised in more egalitarian homes. (WHO, 2002)</p> <p>Studies have also found, however, that not all boys who witness or experience abuse grow up to be perpetrators. More research is needed to explain these differences. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i>. Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.</p> <p>Ouimette PC, Riggs D. Testing a mediational model of sexually aggressive behavior in nonincarcerated perpetrators. <i>Violence and Victims</i>, 1998, 13:117–130.</p> <p>Borowsky IW, Hogan M, Ireland M. Adolescent sexual aggression: risk and protective factors. <i>Pediatrics</i>, 1997, 100:E7.</p> <p>Dobash E, Dobash R. <i>Women, violence and social change</i>. London,</p>

		Routledge, 1992.
Childhood History of Sexual and Physical Abuse	<p>Experiencing sexual violence as a child may elevate men's risk of perpetrating sexual violence, particularly for those who perpetrate child sexual abuse. Statistics indicate that one in five sexually abused boys molest children later in life. Again, the link between experiencing child sexual abuse and adult perpetration is unclear, since four out of five sexually abused boys do not perpetrate child sexual abuse later in life. Studies suggest that for those who do later become perpetrators, early experiences may lead to a pattern of justifying violence, denying wrongdoing and unhealthy concepts of sexuality. (WHO, 2002)</p> <p>Male children who experience physical abuse or who experience emotionally unsupportive environments or emotionally distant fathers also demonstrate higher risk for sexual violence later in life. Intimate partner violence and child maltreatment co-occur at high rates, ranging from 30 to 60 percent. Increased risk for perpetrating sexual violence may be linked to patriarchal family structures since men raised in such families have been shown to be more likely to become violent, to rape and to use sexual coercion against women compared to men raised in more egalitarian homes. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Watkins B, Bentovim A. The sexual abuse of male children and adolescents: a review of current research. <i>Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry</i>, 1992, 33:197–248.</p> <p>Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i>. Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.</p> <p>Ouimette PC, Riggs D. Testing a mediational model of sexually aggressive behavior in nonincarcerated perpetrators. <i>Violence and Victims</i>, 1998, 13:117–130.</p> <p>Borowsky IW, Hogan M, Ireland M. Adolescent sexual aggression: risk and protective factors. <i>Pediatrics</i>, 1997, 100:E7.</p> <p>Dobash E, Dobash R. <i>Women, violence and social change</i>. London, Routledge, 1992.</p>

		Bancroft L, Silverman JG. <i>The Batterer as Parent</i> . Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 2002.
Alcohol and Drug Use	Alcohol and certain drugs (particularly cocaine) have been shown to have a disinhibiting effect, impairing judgment and reducing the ability to interpret social cues. While there does appear to be a biological connection between alcohol and drugs and impairment, the relationship appears to be more complex than simply a pharmacological one. Cross-cultural studies suggest that the relationship between violence, drinking and drunkenness are socially learned. Boys and men learn that certain types of behavior, such as violence and sexual aggression, are expected and excused based on the use of alcohol and drug use. Thus, alcohol and drug use are seen as cultural “break times” and men and boys will not be held accountable for their actions while under the influence. Alcohol and drug use are also often constructed as male bonding rituals and inhibitions in such settings may be further reduced in favor of the norms or behaviors of the larger group. (WHO, 2002)	<p>Miczek KA et al. Alcohol, drugs of abuse, aggression and violence. In: Reiss AJ, Roth JA, eds. <i>Understanding and preventing violence. Vol. 3. Social influences</i>. Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1993:377–570.</p> <p>Grisso JA et al. Violent injuries among women in an urban area. <i>New England Journal of Medicine</i>, 1999, 341:1899–1905.</p> <p>Abby A, Ross LT, McDuffie D. Alcohol's role in sexual assault. In: Watson RR, ed. <i>Drug and alcohol reviews. Vol. 5. Addictive behaviors in women</i>. Totowa, NJ, Humana Press, 1995.</p> <p>McDonald M, ed. <i>Gender, drink and drugs</i>. Oxford, Berg Publishers, 1994.</p>

Level of the Social Ecology: Relationship

Risk Factor	Explanation	Selected Supporting Literature
<p>Association with sexually aggressive and delinquent peers</p>	<p>Sexual aggression is often seen as a rite of passage or a marker for men coming of age. Young men may associate sexual aggression with high status among peers. Associating with sexually aggressive and delinquent peers may have the effect of reinforcing such behaviors among boys and men. Studies also suggest that men with sexually aggressive peers report more coerced sex both within and outside of the group context. (WHO, 2002)</p> <p>This risk factor intersects with other risk factors regarding rigid gender-roles, hypermasculinity and patriarchal structures since single-perpetrator or gang rape may be used as “punishment” for women who violate gender expectations. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Quimette PC, Riggs D. Testing a mediational model of sexually aggressive behavior in nonincarcerated perpetrators. <i>Violence and Victims</i>, 1998, 13:117–130.</p> <p>Bourgois P. <i>In search of respect: selling crack in El Barrio</i>. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.</p> <p>Petty GM, Dawson B. Sexual aggression in normal men: incidence, beliefs and personality characteristics. <i>Personality and Individual Differences</i>, 1989, 10:355–362.</p> <p>Borowsky IW, Hogan M, Ireland M. Adolescent sexual aggression: risk and protective factors. <i>Pediatrics</i>, 1997, 100:E7.</p> <p>Gwartney-Gibbs PA, Stockard J, Bohmer S. Learning courtship aggression: the influence of parents,</p>



		<p>peers and personal experiences. <i>Family Relations</i>, 1983, 35:276–282.</p> <p>Jenkins C. Sexual behaviour in Papua New Guinea. In: <i>Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the International Network on Violence Against Women</i>, January 1998. Washington, DC, International Network on Violence Against Women, 1998.</p>
Family environment characterized by physical violence and few resources	<p>Risk of male perpetration of sexual violence has been found to increase in men who were raised in family environments characterized by physical violence and few resources. Boys may experience the violence directly or may witness violence by male role models toward female family members. Physical violence in the family of origin may serve as a template during socialization, providing messages for boys about the use of violence and its acceptability, as well as gender-role expectations. Such men are more likely to justify later violent behavior or to attribute blame for the behavior to victims. (WHO, 2002)</p> <p>Sexually violent behavior has also been associated with family environments that have few resources (including financial, environmental, social, etc.). (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i>. Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.</p> <p>Ouimette PC, Riggs D. Testing a mediational model of sexually aggressive behavior in nonincarcerated perpetrators. <i>Violence and Victims</i>, 1998, 13:117–130.</p> <p>Borowsky IW, Hogan M, Ireland M. Adolescent sexual aggression: risk and protective factors. <i>Pediatrics</i>, 1997, 100:E7.</p> <p>Dobash E, Dobash R. <i>Women</i>,</p>

		<i>violence and social change</i> . London, Routledge, 1992.
Strong patriarchal relationship or familial environment	<p>While sex is a biological characteristic, concepts of gender and the appropriate role of a given gender are socially constructed, and transmitted to individuals beginning at the time of birth. Gender socialization occurs through a number of everyday mechanisms. Although gender-role socialization is not inherently problematic, the ways in which masculinity is typically understood may predispose men to sexual violence against women. Some of the traditional aspects of the construction of masculinity include dominating and aggressive play in the family of origin, stereotypic and sexist gender-role attitudes and behaviors toward women, fear of femininity and emasculation, and patterns of gender-role conflict (i.e. power, control, homophobia, heterosexism). These traditional constructs of masculinity are modeled and reinforced when the family of origin is characterized by a strong patriarchal relationship.</p> <p>Men raised in such families have been shown to be more likely to become violent, to rape and to use sexual coercion against women compared to men raised in more egalitarian homes. (WHO, 2002)</p>	Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i> . Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.
Family honor considered more important than the	Beliefs that emphasize female sexual “purity” or virginity and link such status to the honor of the	Wood K, Maepa J, Jewkes R. <i>Adolescent sex and contraceptive</i>

health and safety of the victim	family may create a family response that emphasizes blaming the victim over punishing the men who perpetrate sexual violence. While steps may be taken to hide sexual violence committed against women, social pressure on men committing the violence is often lacking. In some cases, violence against the victim by male family members may be seen as the best way to restore family honor and the subsequent murder of the victim (often by a brother or other male relative) may even be acquitted in legal proceedings. (WHO, 2002)	<p><i>experiences: perspectives of teenagers and clinic nurses in the Northern Province</i>. Pretoria, Medical Research Council, 1997 (Technical Report).</p> <p>Hadidi M, Kulwicki A, Jahshan H. A review of 16 cases of honour killings in Jordan in 1995. <i>International Journal of Legal Medicine</i>, 2001, 114:357–359.</p>
Emotionally unsupportive familial environment	Studies of violent criminals and sex offenders have found that their family of origin was often characterized by poor parental childrearing, poor supervision, physical abuse, neglect, and separations from their parents. Sexually violent men often also have emotionally unavailable fathers. (WHO, 2002)	Crowell NA, Burgess AW, eds. <i>Understanding violence against women</i> . Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 1996.

Level of the Social Ecology: Community

Risk Factor	Explanation	Selected Supporting Literature
Weak community sanctions against sexual violence perpetrators	Male perpetration of sexual violence against women is often supported by entrenched beliefs regarding male superiority and male entitlement to sex. Such community values or norms often result in minimal (if any) community sanctions against perpetrators. The lack of sanctions may take the form of a failure to recognize/ acknowledge sexual violence, failure to intervene in sexual violence, minimization of sexual violence, or a lack of consequences for perpetrators of sexual violence. Potential community sanctions could include a range of criminal and non-criminal sanctions.	<p>Heise L, Moore K, Toubia N. <i>Sexual coercion and women's reproductive health: a focus on research</i>. New York, NY, Population Council, 1995.10:355–362.</p> <p>Jenkins C. Sexual behaviour in Papua New Guinea. In: <i>Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the International Network on Violence Against Women, January 1998</i>. Washington, DC, International Network on Violence Against Women, 1998.</p> <p>Rozee PD. Forbidden or forgiven? Rape in cross- cultural perspective. <i>Psychology of Women Quarterly</i>, 1993, 17:499–514.</p>
Lack of institutional support from police and judicial system	Strong institutional support from police and judicial systems may provide one form of community sanctions for sexual violence perpetrators. Lack of institutional support may take a number of forms, such as failure to investigate, failure to prosecute or minimal consequences for perpetration. Lack of	Heise L, Moore K, Toubia N. <i>Sexual coercion and women's reproductive health: a focus on research</i> . New York, NY, Population Council, 1995.10:355–362.



	<p>institutional support from police and judicial systems may also result in victim blaming. These failures tend to decrease the likelihood of the reporting of sexual violence, as well as supporting perpetrators.</p> <p>Institutionalization, that is building support into not only attitudes and beliefs but also leadership, regulations, policies, laws and practices, ensures the appropriate response regardless of / in spite of individual beliefs.</p>	<p>Jenkins C. Sexual behaviour in Papua New Guinea. In: <i>Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the International Network on Violence Against Women, January 1998</i>. Washington, DC, International Network on Violence Against Women, 1998.</p> <p>Rozee PD. Forbidden or forgiven? Rape in cross- cultural perspective. <i>Psychology of Women Quarterly</i>, 1993, 17:499–514.</p>
Settings that support sexual violence	<p>Some research suggests that certain settings may foster or support the perpetration of sexual violence. These may include resource factors (i.e., neighborhoods with high levels of poverty and other types of violence). They may also include settings where there are strong norms supportive of sexual violence (i.e. fraternities, college campuses with high levels of sexual violence or harassment, schools/ workplaces/ institutions with high levels of tolerance for sexual harassment).</p>	<p>Loh, C et. Al. A Prospective Analysis of Sexual Assault Perpetration. <i>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</i>, 2005, 20: 1325-1348.</p> <p>Benson ML et. Al. The Correlation between race and domestic violence is confounded with community context. <i>Social Problems</i>, 2004, 51(3): 326-342.</p>
General tolerance of sexual violence within the community	<p>Community and societal support for male superiority and male sexual entitlement is associated with a general tolerance of sexual violence against women. Communities that tolerate sexual violence perpetrated by men may minimize sexual violence,</p>	<p>Heise L, Moore K, Toubia N. <i>Sexual coercion and women's reproductive health: a focus on research</i>. New York, NY, Population Council, 1995.10:355–362.</p>

	blame victims for the violence, offer few options for victims, and/or enact few sanctions against perpetrators. When tolerance for sexual violence is high, sexual violence is more prevalent.	<p>Jenkins C. Sexual behaviour in Papua New Guinea. In: <i>Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the International Network on Violence Against Women, January 1998</i>. Washington, DC, International Network on Violence Against Women, 1998.</p> <p>Rozee PD. Forbidden or forgiven? Rape in cross- cultural perspective. <i>Psychology of Women Quarterly</i>, 1993, 17:499–514.</p>
Lack of employment opportunities	Since job and/or economic success is intricately linked to social constructions of masculinity, a lack of employment opportunities may result in the reassertion or shifting of masculinity through sexual violence against women. (WHO, 2002)	<p>Morrell R, ed. <i>Changing men in Southern Africa</i>. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2001.</p> <p>Jewkes R. Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. <i>Lancet</i>, 2002, 359:1423–1429.</p> <p>Bourgois P. In search of masculinity: violence, respect and sexuality among Puerto Rican crack dealers in East Harlem. <i>British Journal of Criminology</i>, 1996, 36:412–427.</p> <p>Wood K, Jewkes R. "Dangerous"</p>

		<p>love: reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth. In: Morrell R, ed. <i>Changing men in Southern Africa</i>. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2001.</p> <p>Silberschmidt M. Disempowerment of men in rural and urban East Africa: implications for male identity and sexual behavior. <i>World Development</i>, 2001, 29:657–671.</p>
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Level of the Social Ecology: Societal

Risk Factor	Explanation	Selected Supporting Literature
Societal norms that support sexual violence	<p>The majority of sexual violence committed by men is rooted in ideologies of male sexual entitlement. Under such belief systems women have few options for rejecting male sexual advances. In some cases, it may not even occur to men that women might want to or could reject sexual advances. For example, in some societies, both women and men are socialized to believe that married women are always sexually available to their husbands and thus, the concept of marital rape does not exist. Even in societies where marital rape is recognized in laws and policies, a social norm may still exist that husbands have absolute sexual access to wives. Often, this is rooted in historical and/or current conceptions and laws that treat women and children as the property of males.</p>	<p>Jewkes R, Abrahams N. The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: an overview. <i>Social Science and Medicine</i>, 2002, 55(7): 1231-44.</p> <p>Ariffin RE. <i>Shame, secrecy and silence: study of rape in Penang</i>. Penang, Women's Crisis Centre, 1997.</p> <p>Bennett L, Manderson L, Astbury J. <i>Mapping a global pandemic: review of current literature on rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment of women</i>. Melbourne, University of Melbourne, 2000.</p> <p>Sen P. <i>Ending the presumption of consent: non-consensual sex in marriage</i>. London, Centre for Health and Gender Equity, 1999.</p> <p>Buckley T, Gottlieb A. <i>Blood magic: the anthropology of menstruation</i>.</p>



		Berkeley, CA, University of California, 1998.
Societal norms that support male superiority and sexual entitlement	<p>Norms of male superiority and sexual entitlement have been strongly linked to male sexual violence. The devaluation of women (and other groups) results in the justification of violence against that group, with few consequences attached since women, by definition in such a context, are less important than men. Belief in male sexual entitlement (i.e. men have sexual needs, men's sexual needs are more important than the needs of others, men have a right to use women as they wish, etc.) leaves women with few options for refusing male sexual aggression. Consequences for male perpetration of sexual violence, if any, may be linked to the violation of other men's honor or property.</p> <p>Norms of male superiority become particularly problematic when they emphasize male dominance, physical strength and male honor. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Jewkes R, Abrahams N. The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: an overview. <i>Social Science and Medicine</i>, 2002, 55(7): 1231-44.</p> <p>Ariffin RE. <i>Shame, secrecy and silence: study of rape in Penang</i>. Penang, Women's Crisis Centre, 1997.</p> <p>Bennett L, Manderson L, Astbury J. <i>Mapping a global pandemic: review of current literature on rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment of women</i>. Melbourne, University of Melbourne, 2000.</p> <p>Sen P. <i>Ending the presumption of consent: non-consensual sex in marriage</i>. London, Centre for Health and Gender Equity, 1999.</p> <p>Sanday P. The socio-cultural context of rape: a cross-cultural study. <i>Journal of Social Issues</i>, 1981,37:5–</p>

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Societal norms that maintain women's inferiority and sexual submissiveness	Traditional gender norms set out expectations for appropriate behavior based on culturally constructed concepts of masculinity and femininity. These norms are communicated and reinforced through numerous social practices and in the majority of settings (i.e. classrooms, sports, media, interpersonal relationships). Traditional gender norms typically devalue the feminine while glorifying the masculine and attach social "penalties" for violating these norms. Traditional definitions of masculinity generally include the use of physical force, aggressiveness, power and control and abhorrence of the feminine. Traditional feminine gender norms discourage achievement, overemphasize appearance and beauty, and encourage dependency and submissiveness, particularly sexual submissiveness. These may result in attitudes, beliefs and behaviors that support male perpetration of intimate partner violence against women.	<p>Jewkes R, Abrahams N. The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: an overview. <i>Social Science and Medicine</i>, 2002, 55(7): 1231-44.</p> <p>Bennett L, Manderson L, Astbury J. <i>Mapping a global pandemic: review of current literature on rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment of women</i>. Melbourne, University of Melbourne, 2000.</p> <p>Sanday P. The socio-cultural context of rape: a cross-cultural study. <i>Journal of Social Issues</i>, 1981, 37:5–27.</p> <p>Carr, J. L., and Van Duesen, K. M. (2005). Risk factors for male sexual aggression on college campuses. <i>Journal of Family Violence</i>, 19(55), 279-289.</p>
Poverty, mediated through forms of crisis of male identity	Masculinity is often associated with economic success and may include the role of "family provider." Men who are unable to achieve these expectations may	Morrell R, ed. <i>Changing men in Southern Africa</i> . Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2001.

	<p>use sexual violence to prove their masculinity through sexual aggression and violence. Men may also use sexual violence to control women when they are no longer able to through traditional social structures or economics. Masculinity may also be reshaped to emphasize violence, substance abuse, misogyny, xenophobia and racism. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Jewkes R. Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. <i>Lancet</i>, 2002, 359:1423–1429.</p> <p>Bourgois P. In search of masculinity: violence, respect and sexuality among Puerto Rican crack dealers in East Harlem. <i>British Journal of Criminology</i>, 1996, 36:412–427.</p> <p>Wood K, Jewkes R. "Dangerous" love: reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth. In: Morrell R, ed. <i>Changing men in Southern Africa</i>. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2001.</p> <p>Silberschmidt M. Disempowerment of men in rural and urban East Africa: implications for male identity and sexual behavior. <i>World Development</i>, 2001, 29:657–671.</p>
Weak laws and policies related to gender equity	<p>Gender inequity intersects with a number of other risk factors for male perpetration of sexual violence. Gender inequity often results in lack of economic, legal and social power for women, thus reducing their access to resources and social and legal remedies.</p>	<p>Watts C, Zimmerman C. Violence against women: global scope and magnitude. <i>Lancet</i>, 2002, 359:1232–1237.</p>

	<p>Lower status of women is also associated with strong norms of male superiority and sexual entitlement, as well as the devaluation of women. Lack of access to economic resources makes women more vulnerable to particular types of sexual violence, such as sexual trafficking and sex work. Economic policies may also increase unemployment and poverty, other risk factors for male perpetration of sexual violence. (WHO, 2002)</p> <p>A lack of strong policies and laws supporting gender equity reinforces norms and beliefs that support gender inequity, such as classism, ethnocentrism, and sexism. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Antrobus P. Reversing the impact of structural adjustment on women's health. In: Antrobus P et al., eds. <i>We speak for ourselves: population and development</i>. Washington, DC, Panos Institute, 1994:6–8.</p>
High tolerance levels of crime and other forms of violence	<p>Social norms around the acceptable use of violence to achieve specific ends are strongly associated with the prevalence of rape. Societies with a culture of violence or where violent conflict is taking place experience higher rates of all types of violence, including sexual violence. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Sanday P. The socio-cultural context of rape: a cross-cultural study. <i>Journal of Social Issues</i>, 1981, 37:5–27.</p> <p>Gartner R. The victims of homicide: a temporal and cross-national comparison. <i>American Sociological Review</i>, 1990, 55:92–106.</p> <p>Briggs CM, Cutright P. Structural and cultural determinants of child homicide: a cross-national analysis. <i>Violence and Victims</i>, 1994, 9:3–16.</p>

		<p>Smutt M, Miranda JLE. El Salvador: socialización y violencia juvenil. [El Salvador: socialization and juvenile violence.] In: Ramos CG, ed. <i>América Central en los noventa: problemas de juventud. [Central America in the 90s: youth problems.]</i> San Salvador, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, 1998:151–187.</p>
Weak laws and policies related to sexual violence	<p>Assessment of the strength of laws and policies related to sexual violence can include a number of factors, including the amount of funds dedicated to sexual violence victim services and perpetrator accountability, definitions of rape (broad vs. narrow), the degree and prioritization of investigation and prosecution of sexual violence, and the emphasis on training of medico-legal personnel regarding sexual violence. An additional consideration is the standard of evidence required for a sexual violence conviction and the treatment of victim testimony/ victims in the legal process. (WHO, 2002)</p>	<p>Krug EG et al., eds. <i>World report on violence and health</i>. Geneva, World Health Organization, 2002.</p>

