



Gender-based Violence Among UK University Students and Staff: A Socio-ecological Framework

Working paper 3 from the GW4 project “Investigating GBV Intersectional (Dis)Advantages and Legal Duties - A Scoping Study of UK Universities”

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There is an international body of evidence indicating that universities are significant sites for gender-based violence (DeGue, 2014). Gender-based violence (GBV) is understood to be any act of violence and abuse that disproportionately affects women and is rooted in systematic power differences and inequalities between men and women (Hester and Lilley, 2014). Understanding the prevalence, characteristics, and impacts of GBV among university students and staff is essential for universities to effectively prevent and combat it. In the UK, a limited number of studies have started to address this gap (e.g. NUS, 2011) but they have not been guided by a contextualised theoretical framework nor have they been reviewed and synthesised to create an overall picture of what is known and not known about GBV. The work undertaken in Workstream 1 of this project addressed this gap (Jones et al., 2020).

Theories have been used to explain GBV in universities in the U.S. (See for example Tewksbury and Mustaine (2001) application of routine activities theory to explain male sexual victimisation or Gervais, DiLillo and McChargue (2014) application of sexual objectification theory to explain men's sexual violence perpetration), but the history, composition, geography, and culture of UK universities is different (Phipps and Smith, 2012; Stenning et al., 2012). Due to these differences, a theoretical framework relevant to UK universities is needed to guide studies and contextualise findings. As a starting point, the project will use and develop Hagemann-White et al.'s (2010) framework, which was developed for the European Union. To date, this framework is the most researched, demonstrated and wholistic model for the EU. The framework used an ecological model to identify and categorise factors facilitating and scaffolding GBV, including policies, sanctions, redress and implementation of laws, to provide nation states with a framework to guide developing and implementing policies that would more effectively prevent and combat GBV. This project in Workstream 3 aimed to tailor Hagemann-White et al.'s model to UK universities, using a more sophisticated understanding of intersectional (dis)advantage (such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality, disability, class, age), men and masculinities, peer-group support for violence, environmental time-space and power relations, and legal duties in prevention and response.

This working paper describes the work undertaken in Workstream 3. The following questions guided this work:

1. To what extent does Hagemann-White et al.'s model apply to GBV in UK universities?
2. How can the findings from Workstream 1 be situated in an ecological model for UK universities?
3. What factors not already identified in Workstream 1 may be significant, e.g. cultural factors, institutional factors?
4. How can an ecological model specific to UK universities help identify future directions in GBV research?

The working paper describes first the development of the ecological model specific to UK universities that contains six levels of social systems followed by critically reviewing research relevant to each system and concluding with a discussion on prevention and policy implication and future research.

Ecological model for UK Universities

A multitude of perspectives have been used to investigate causal factors of GBV, from psychological (e.g. Shorey et al., 2011) to community (e.g. Beyer et al., 2015) to sociological (e.g. Brenner, 2013). While providing insight, systematic reviews highlighted

that each perspective in and of itself had weak explanatory power (e.g. O'Hare and O'Donohue, 1998; Sugarman and Frankel, 1996), in turn suggesting an approach is needed that integrates these perspectives. One of the most prevalent and widely used models to do so is ecological. An ecological approach looks at the individual, the individual's environment, and the interactions of the individuals with the environment and vice versa. (Arguably) Bronfenbrenner's seminal work on the ecology of human development (1979; 2005) describing the multiple influences on an individual's behaviour has been an important cornerstone of the popularity of the model. Bronfenbrenner proposed that an individual's environment could be thought of as four nested layers or systems: micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro- (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). A brief description of each system are presented below:

- The microsystem is "the pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations... in a given face-to-face setting" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39).
- The mesosystem contains "the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40).
- "The exosystem comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the...person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the ...person lives" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40).
- "The macrosystem consists of the overarching pattern of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture or subculture, with particular reference to the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures..." (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40).

Within the field of GBV, Bronfenbrenner's ecological model has been used as a framework to organise factors linked to aetiology (e.g. Belskey's work in 1980 on child abuse and neglect), risk of victimisation and perpetration (e.g. Stith et al.'s 2004 work on physical partner abuse), prevention and intervention (e.g. McMahon's work in 2015 on university environment's influence on bystanders). Common throughout these applications was the understanding GBV is caused by factors located at each system level (Heise, 1998) and thus requires prevention and response efforts addressing all levels (Banyard, 2011). Differentiating these applications were the number of systems included and the methods for identifying factors. For instance, Heise (1998)'s ecological model provided a narrative review of factors and placed them in one of four systems whereas Stith et al. (2004) conducted a meta-analysis of factors and located them in one of three system. These variations highlight how easily ecological models can be adapted to specific areas of research and the strength of using them as heuristic tools for organising research. The ecological model developed in this working paper follows this, as it is not intended to be definitive but to provide a heuristic tool for contextualising current and future research on GBV in UK universities.

As stated earlier, we have taken Hagemann-White et al.'s (2010) ecological model of factors facilitating perpetration of GBV as a starting point for creating a model specific to UK universities. Hagemann-White and colleagues conducted systematic reviews of dominant forms of GBV (i.e. sexual violence; intimate partner violence and stalking; honour-based violence and forced marriage; violence against children; violence based on gender identity or sexual orientation), evaluating the strength of evidence for identified factors and then placing them into one of four levels (ontogenetic, micro, meso, and macro): the ontogenetic level referred to individual biographical factors that contribute to using violence; the micro level described the day-to-day interactions with peers, immediate family, and colleagues; the meso level that includes the institutions regulating social life;

and the macro level which refers to societal structures. While there is an overall agreement between Hagemann-White et al.'s model and Bronfenbrenner's model, the exo level is noticeably absent in Hagemann-White's model. They developed their model in response to the European Commission's call for a review of knowledge that could be used to enhance European legislation and policies on prevention and intervention, which indicates a need to have a larger societal focus. If directly applied to universities, universities as distinct social sites may be rendered invisible and reduce the importance of universities function in larger society. Universities are regarded as sites of transition from adolescence to adulthood or as sites of emerging adulthood that shapes collective and individual identities (Sykes, 2016). As the number of students increases year upon year (HESA, 2019a), universities as social sites influencing collective and individual identities becomes increasing important, in turn emphasising the need to understand their internal dynamics and relations to the local community and wider society. An ecological model is needed that considers universities as unique social institutions in which whole community programmes can be developed and implemented to improve prevention of and responses to GBV and its impacts.

GBV is recognised as "a global health problem of epidemic proportions" (WHO, 2013, page 4). Though a variety of studies provided evidence linking GBV perpetration and victimisation to experiencing mental and physical health problems in the UK (e.g. Hester et al., 2015; McCarry, Hester, and Donovan, 2008; Meltzer et al., 2009), a limited number of studies have explored this link among students (e.g. CUSU, 2014; NUS, 2011; Stenning et al., 2012;). Findings highlighted that 47% to 85% of victim survivors experienced mental health problems (Jones et al., 2020), which indicates GBV is pressing health problem for UK universities. Public health practitioners and academics have a long history of developing community wide prevention programmes using an ecological approach (McLaren and Hawe, 2005). McLeroy, Steckler, and Bibeau's (1988) ecological model of health promotion has been adapted by the American College Health Association (ACHA, 2018) to provide a framework universities could use to explore how they can understand how university, interpersonal, and individual factors influence health. We adopted this approach to allows us to address the health impacts of GBV on UK university students and staff. In the ACHA ecological framework, there are five systems: ontogenetic, micro, meso, exo, macro. The ontogenetic, micro, and macro systems were similar to those proposed by Bronfenbrenner's and Hagemann-White et al. but the meso and exo systems differed. The meso and exo systems focused on the university as a social institution and the community where the university was located. All are described in more detail below.

In constructing the model, we integrated three elements. The first was the perpetration factors identified by Hagemann-White et al. This working paper focuses on sexual violence (SV) and domestic violence and abuse (DVA) so we will draw from Hagemann-White's work factors they identified as facilitating perpetration of each. Identified factors will be described in the relevant sections below. The second was ACHA's proposed systems and factors specific to universities. The third was Bronfenbrenner's chrono system that emphasises the importance of the change and consistency over time of individuals, systems, and interactions of individuals and systems. This system will help us to ask questions about repeat perpetration and victimisation, and the longitudinal impacts of GBV and prevention work. Figure 1 brings these elements together and places identified factors into systems. The placement of factors in certain systems is not meant to be definitive because research is newly emerging. It is meant to be a way to organise and consider factors in a more wholistic way. Arrows are included in Figure 1 to indicate that each system can influence the other and directly influence perpetration of GBV. Perpetrating GBV is the outcome variable of interest for this paper. For each system of the proposed

ecological model, we describe prevention and response implications based on factors identified.

Before proceeding to review research evidencing factors, the limitations of the methods used by Hagemann-White et al. to identify factors are noted. A team of researchers conducted systematic reviews of GBV against children (specifically physical and psychological abuse; neglect; sexual abuse; sexual exploitation), GBV against women (specifically rape, sexual coercion, and sexual assault; DVA and stalking; honour-based violence and forced marriage; trafficking; sexual harassment), and GBV based on gender identity or sexual orientation. Then they prepared an overview of factors facilitating each form of GBV, which was the basis for the summary of the main results presented in their report. The summary described the strength of factors for each form of GBV and highlighted where factors were relevant for multiple forms of GBV. While this process provides guidance to national and international governing bodies on where and how to develop and implement prevention work, it does not provide insight into how factors may function within specific social sites and intersecting social positions.

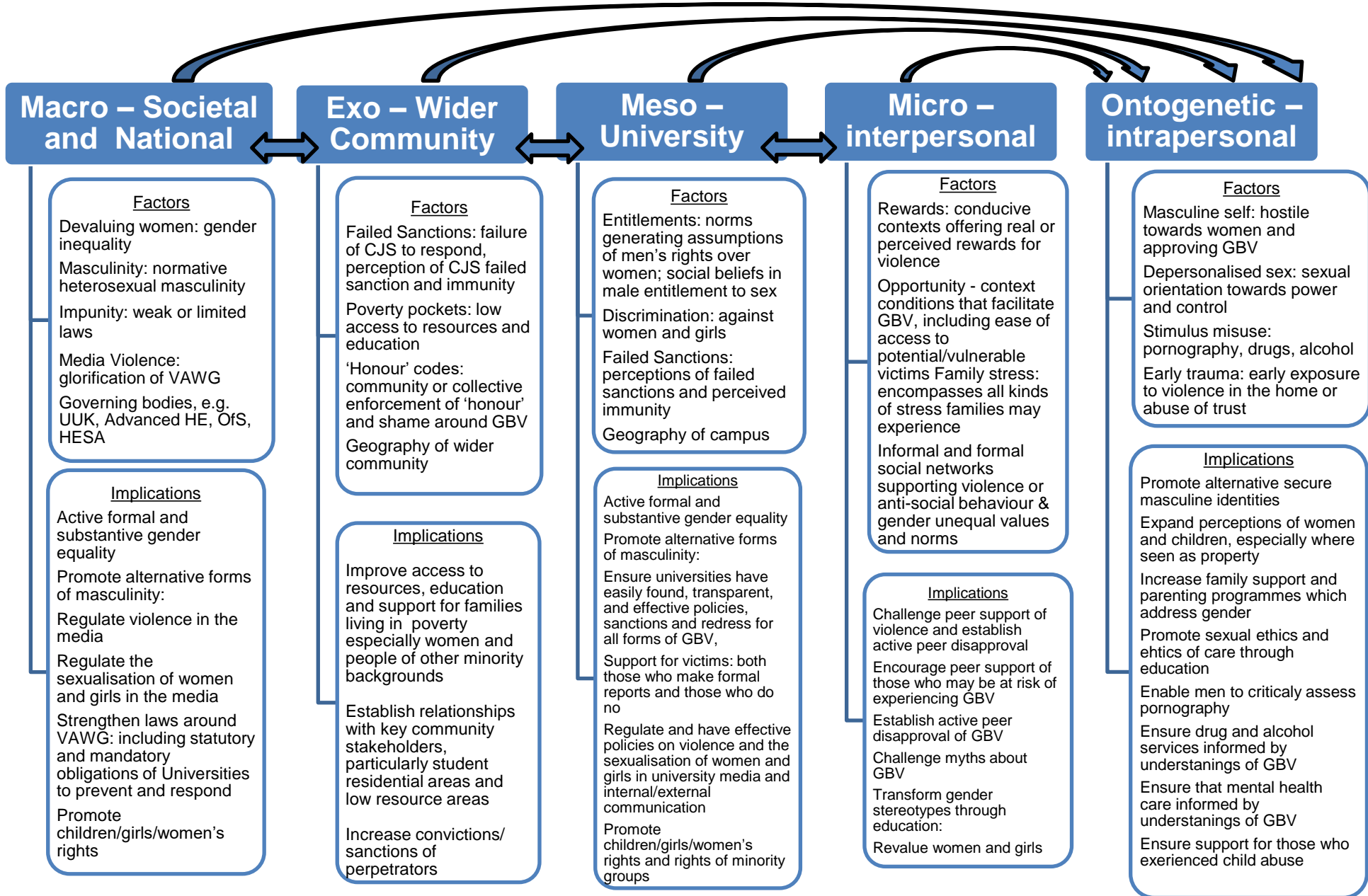
When putting together the knowledge base evidencing factors specific to U.K. universities, two overarching limitations arose. One of the most glaring was there was a dearth of research on GBV among staff and only a few studies on GBV between staff and students (e.g. Bull and Rye, 2018; NUS, 2018). The other overarching limitation was there was a limited amount of evidence, especially quantitative evidence, that could be drawn from U.K. studies and even those were generated from studies with methodological limitations. The U.K. studies that were available focused mostly on victimisation so there was little information available on perpetration. When available we described information from U.K. studies, noting their limitations. To account for this limitation, we drew from quantitative studies in the U.S. where there is a substantial evidence base.

It was mainly for the ontogenetic and micro systems that we drew from robust quantitative studies looking at U.S. students' perpetration of GBV. We focused on U.S. studies because there is a long history of research on this topic going back to the 1970's (e.g. Straus et al., 1973) which in turn provides a breadth and depth of information. Additionally, the UK system of higher education is moving closer and closer to resemble the neoliberal system in the U.S. (Locke, 2007). We consider robust quantitative studies to have a longitudinal design that assesses changes over time in attitudes (e.g. rape myth acceptance), behaviours (e.g. alcohol consumption), and perpetration of GBV (Caruana et al, 2015; Kalaian and Kasim, 2008). As opposed to cross-sectional studies which can provide insight into relationships at a particular point in time, longitudinal studies provide insight into how changes in attitudes and behaviours within the social site of the university influence perpetration. In addition to longitudinal studies, we also considered systematic reviews and meta-analyses to be robust studies. When areas of research were not as well development and robust studies could not be located, such as the area focused on the influence of poor parenting on perpetration, we drew from any available studies published in English speaking countries, in order to be familiar with the knowledge base; most were cross-sectional studies of behaviours self-reported in surveys and used nonprobability sampling. Cross-sectional studies measure attitudes and behaviours at one point in time for one group of participants, so they are useful to estimate the prevalence of GBV perpetration (Sedgwick, 2014). However, they cannot show if and how changes in causal factors lead to changes in perpetration and findings may be an artefact of factors not assessed (Payne and Payne, 2004). When participants self-reported their perpetration behaviours in the studies described below, they may have minimised their perpetration to make themselves appear to be less socially undesirable (Tourangeau et al., 2000).

Nonetheless, the procedural format, i.e. men completed the surveys themselves, reduced the likelihood of underreporting. Previous research showed that self-administered paper and online surveys were the most effective in eliciting information about sensitive topics like sexual violence (e.g. Tourangeau and Yan, 2007; Tourangeau et al., 1997). Nonprobability sampling (e.g. purposive sampling or convenience sampling) is a technique for recruiting participants that does not give every individual who belongs to a certain population (e.g. all students at a university) an equal chance of being included in the study (Etikan, Musa and Alkassim, 2016), which means the study participants may not be representative of the population and the findings may not be generalizable.

For the exo, meso, and macro systems we drew from U.K. literature on sociology of higher education literature, socio-legal studies, and research on the English and Welsh criminal justice system, as well as current legal and policy debates. Much of this criminal justice system literature relies on legal commentary or interviews with key stakeholders, and to a less extent, case file analysis and court observations. Most studies are qualitative and focus on single site analysis of relatively small samples, however there is remarkable consistency over the findings across these studies and so they were deemed to triangulate each other.

Figure 1. Socio-ecological model of GBV factors facilitating perpetration and implicationsⁱ



Ontogenetic System Factors

The ontogenetic system focuses on the characteristics and history of the individual. Hagemann-White et al identified six overarching factors in this system that influence perpetration of sexual violence and DVA: masculine self, depersonalised sex, emotional and cognitive deficits, growing up in families that cannot provide basic care, stimulus misuse, and early trauma. We will review Hagemann-White et al.'s definitions of each and then provide a brief narrative review of relevant research on U.S. universities and, where available, research on UK universities.

Masculine Self & Depersonalised Sex

The factor masculine self describes research that found a link between supporting the use of GBV and having hostile attitudes towards women. Attitudes were assessed with quantitative scales asking about rape and DVA myth acceptance (e.g. Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, McMahon and Farmer, 2011; Domestic Violence Myth Acceptance Scale, Peters, 2008), beliefs about traditional gender roles (e.g. Social Roles Questionnaire, Baber and Tucker, 2006), and attitudes toward women (e.g. Attitudes Toward Women Scale, Spence and Hahn, 1997). Previous research on men attending U.S. universities found sexual violence perpetrators in comparison to non-perpetrators to endorse rape myths more (e.g. Mouilso and Calhoun, 2013) and to have more traditional views on gender roles (e.g. Abbey et al., 2001) and more hostile attitudes towards women (e.g. DeGue and DiLillo, 2004). No study could be identified that looked the links between the use of GBV and attitudes among UK university students or staff but there was one that explored incoming university students' beliefs in sexual violence and DVA myths (Fenton and Jones, 2017). Analysis of cross-sectional data from 381 students showed that male student respondents endorsed myth significantly more than female students and endorsement of rape myths predicted DVA myth endorsement.

Masculine self is often measured together with another factor identified by Hagemann-White and colleagues - depersonalised or impersonal sex. Impersonal sex has been measured by querying university students about the number of sexual experiences and perceived closeness to a sexual partner, with more sexual experiences with partners not well known indicating less intimacy and bonding (Boot, Peter and van Oosten, 2014). Malamuth and colleagues theorised that impersonal sex in conjunction with hostile attitudes toward women would predict an increased likelihood of perpetrating sexual violence (Malamuth and Hald, 2017; Malamuth et al., 1995). There is empirical support for this theory from a variety of samples (Malamuth and Hald, 2017), including universities. In a one-year study of 197 men attending a U.S. university, Abbey and McAuslan (2004) tracked the number of times men perpetrated sexual assault and when they perpetrated sexual assault. They grouped men according to their sexual assault perpetration history: non-assaulters who did not perpetrate before or during university ($n = 117$; 59%), prior assaulters who perpetrated one or more assaults prior to university ($n = 52$; 26%), new assaulters ($n = 11$, 6%) who did not perpetrate before university but reported perpetrating one or more during the year, and repeat assaulters ($n = 17$, 9%) who perpetrated one or more assaults before and during university. Using multivariate analyses of covariance, the findings showed repeat assaulters had significantly more hostility towards women than the other groups and prior and new assaulters had similar levels of hostility that was greater than the non-assaulters.

In a larger and longer study, Zinzow and Thompson (2015) queried 352 U.S. men once a year over a four-year period about their sexually coercive behaviour, beliefs and attitudes supporting sexual violence (i.e. hostility towards women, and beliefs about rape), and risky behaviours (i.e. number of sexual partners, alcohol and drug use). Behaviours and

attitudes were used to predict via multinomial logistic regression if men were more likely to be a non-offender, one-time offender, or repeat offender. In line with the study by Abbey and McAuslan (2004), Zinzow and Thompson found one-time offenders and repeat offenders had significantly higher scores on attitudes and beliefs endorsing sexual assault and engaged in more risky behaviours than non-offenders and repeat offenders reported higher levels of each than one-time offenders.

Using the same sample and data, Thompson et al. (2015) examined which factors contributed to men decreasing or increasing their use of sexually aggressive behaviours. Men completed the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss et al., 2007) once a year for each of the four years they attended university to assess their perpetration of sexual violence. Their reports were used to calculate scores for severity and frequency with higher scores reflecting increased severity and frequency, which were then used in a latent growth modelling analysis. The analysis showed there were four groups of men: 1) men who engaged in low levels or no sexual violence at each time point (70.9%); 2) men who perpetrated before university but did not at each time point during university (12.4%); 3) men who were more likely to use of sexually aggressive behaviours over time (8.1%); 4) men who consistently used high levels before and during university (8.6%). Of particular interest was the group of men who perpetrated prior to university but decreased perpetration during university. This group reported decreases in beliefs and attitudes supporting sexual assault, though they did increase their engagement with pornography. As expected, men who increased their perpetration reported larger increases in hostility towards women and number of sexual partners. Surprisingly, beliefs supporting the use of rape decreased for all groups. The findings suggest that it is the complex interactions of beliefs, attitudes, prior behaviours, and current behaviours that facilitates perpetration. Indeed, Abbey et al. (2001) found a constellation of attitudes and behaviours accurately predicted for 75% of perpetrators the types of sexual violence used (sexual coercion, forced contact, and attempted or completed rape).

Among U.S. university students, there is limited evidence for the constellation of impersonal sex and hostile attitudes towards women facilitating DVA perpetration because DVA studies tended to focus on other factors like parental attachment, mood (i.e. anger, anxiety), and type of relationship (Duval, 2018). For instance, Gover, Kaukin, and Fox (2008) found attachment to father decreased the chance of perpetrating DVA.

Alcohol and Substance Misuse

Hagemann-White identified misuse or abuse of alcohol and drugs, and excessive or habitual use pornography as an ontogenetic factor facilitating perpetration. A few UK studies asked about alcohol use and found that 37% to 78% of perpetrators were under the influence of alcohol (CUSU, 2014; Stenning et al., 2012) and 9% to 42% of perpetrators provided the victim with alcohol or drugs (CUSU, 2014; NUS, 2011).¹ These studies provide limited descriptive information. For more robust evidence, we turn to longitudinal studies and bodies of work examining university students in the U.S.

Testa and Cleveland (2017) followed 658 men attending one university for 5 terms, asking them each semester about heavy episodic drinking (number of drinks per occasion during a week), location of alcohol use (e.g. bars), hostility towards women, impersonal sex orientation, and SV perpetration. Consistent with Zinzow and Thompson, Testa and Cleveland found perpetrators had significantly more heavy episodic drinking, reported a greater orientation towards impersonal sex, and went to bars and parties more often.

¹ The wide range can be attributed to inconsistent methods. For further details refer to the first working paper.

Terms in which individual men attended more parties than they normally did were characterised as times in which men were more likely to perpetrate.

There is a body of studies using a cross-sectional design that evidence an association between alcohol use and perpetrating DVA (Shorey Stuart and Cornelius, 2011). This association was found in studies that examined only men (e.g. Baker and Stith, 2008), only women (e.g. Baker and Smith), and men and women together (e.g. Taft et al., 2009). When men or women perpetrate DVA, they are often under the influence of alcohol (Rousdari et al., 2009) or recently consumed alcohol (Shook et al., 2000). While these studies indicate alcohol consumption facilitates DVA, further research is needed to understand the differences between male and female perpetration and alcohol consumption that takes into account the different power dynamics underlying male and female perpetration (e.g. DeKeseredy et al., 1997; Kimmel, 2002; Swan and Snow, 2006). This line of research would help to explain why men are 7 times more likely to perpetrate whereas women were only 1.6 times more like to perpetrate (Moore et al., 2011).

One study was located that used a longitudinal design to explore how alcohol and drug use was associated with perpetration. Shorey et al. (2014) conducted a longitudinal study of 67 university men on their daily alcohol and marijuana use and DVA perpetration every day for 90 days, to explore how changes in alcohol and marijuana use influence perpetration. Results suggested that on any given days increased alcohol but not marijuana use increased the odds of perpetration.

Excessive Use of Pornography

In a national survey of 2,502 UK students (NUS, 2015), 85% of men and 45% of women reported they consumed porn, and 71% described viewing porn as a normal part of everyday life. The University of Bristol Students' Union ran a survey in 2018 that replicated and extended the NUS study by asking students about their consumption of pornography and how it affected their relationships. Out of the 693 students who responded, 55% viewed pornography and when broken down by gender, 87% of men and 42% of women consumed pornography. Approximately one in five students (17%) reported consuming pornography had a negative impact on their relationships. Both studies suggest that pornography is regular part of student lives and point towards pornography harming students' relationships. To understand the role pornography can play in influencing relationships, we look at the findings of the only longitudinal study of university students that could be located.

Thompson et al. (2011) asked 652 male students attending a U.S. university who were at the end of their first year of university and then again at the end of their second year of university about the duration of pornography consumption each week, alcohol intake, negative childhood experiences, perceived peer norms of sexual violence, attitudes supporting sexual violence, and sexual violence perpetration. The aim was to explore if and how peer norms and attitudes mediated the relationships between pornography, alcohol, childhood experiences and sexual violence perpetration. (Peers norms will be discussed in more detail below in the micro system as a factor facilitating perpetration. It is included here to provide an example of how systems of the ecological model intersect and to show the links are between factors facilitating perpetration.) Peer norms and attitudes supporting sexual violence were significantly correlated and predicted perpetration. Peer norms and attitudes did not mediate the relationship between pornography and perpetration but did mediate the relationships between alcohol intake, negative childhood experiences and perpetration. These findings should not minimise the importance of considering the influence of pornography on perpetration. Indeed, a recent meta-analysis

of studies examining the direct influence of pornography on perpetration among community samples found a significant association for longitudinal studies (Wright, Tokunaga and Kraus, 2015). Similarly, a study of 463 male US college students used a threshold analysis to test the limits of porn's predictive power on sexually coercive behaviours (Marshall, Miller and Bouffard, 2017). The study found that while increased frequency of use had some correlation with increased sexual coercion, the number of modalities (e.g. internet, magazines) by which porn was more strongly significant. When testing for predictive thresholds, it was found that *any* pornography use was predictive of physical coercion, while accessing porn via two or more modalities was predictive of both physical and verbal coercion (Marshall et al., 2017).

Emotional and Cognitive Deficits

Hageman-White et al. identified emotional and cognitive deficits as another key factor in the ontogenetic system, defining emotional deficits as personality dysfunctions (e.g. empathy deficits, inability to handle aggressive tendencies) and cognitive deficits as poor social information processing and unrealistic perceptions of women, children, and others different from the self. Hageman-White et al. concluded that emotional deficits do not reliably predict sexual violence or DVA. Supporting this conclusion, a systematic review (Pornari, Dixon and Humphreys, 2013) that included clinical, community, and university samples found varying support for this factor. As the quality and level of support for university students was not clear, we removed emotional deficits from our model, but this does not mean emotional deficits do not play a role in facilitating perpetration. At this point in time, evidence is not strong and conclusive enough to include in our model.

Hageman-White et al. noted that cognitive deficits are a component of the factor masculine self. To avoid repeating research evidencing this concept and for simplicity sake, we removed cognitive deficits from our model.

Early Trauma

The final two factors identified by Hagemann-White et al. were early trauma and poor parenting. Early trauma refers to traumatic childhood experiences and exposure to violence in the home and is supported by the large body of studies finding that childhood abuse can lead to later perpetration (Tharp et al., 2012). However, many of these studies were retrospective in design. In a longitudinal prospective study, Loh and Didycz (2006) asked 253 university men to report at two time points their experiences of childhood sexual abuse, perpetration of sexual violence after the age of 14, and perpetration of DVA, and alcohol use. Men described their experiences at baseline and 3 months later. Men who experienced childhood sexual abuse were six times more likely to perpetrate sexual violence after the age of 14 and before starting the study. Men who had a history of perpetrating rape were nine times more likely to perpetrate SV in the follow up period. Childhood sexual abuse was not related to perpetrating SV in the follow up period, nor was it related to alcohol use or DVA.

White and Smith (2009) expanded the work of Loh and Didycz when they explored how childhood victimisation influenced perpetration of dating and sexual violence during adolescence and undergraduate study. Male students completed surveys once a year for four years. Nearly 10% (9.5%) of men experienced child sexual abuse and 30.7% experienced parental physical abuse or witnessed DVA. Examining changes in perpetration over time, White and Smith found that the proportion of men who used sexual and dating violence, as well as the frequency of use, decreased from adolescence to the 4th year of undergraduate study. There was a small number of men who continued to perpetrate. For these men, the likelihood of reoffending increased over time. Childhood

victimisation had a complex relation with perpetration over time, with a significantly higher proportion of men who experienced parental physical violence perpetrating during adolescence than during university and a significantly higher proportion of men who witnessed DVA as a child perpetrating during the first year of university. Childhood victimisation did not predict perpetration in subsequent years of university.

Poor Parenting

Poor parenting refers to families that cannot provide basic care and secure attachments, which may damage or inhibit emotional security and in turn may lead to perpetration. There is little evidence for this mechanism among university students because most studies used community or clinical samples (Tharp et al., 2012). In a cross-sectional study, Sutton et al. (2014) examined this mechanism for undergraduate male students, finding that insecure attachment was a significant link between parental characteristics (hostile parenting, aggressive and violent interactions between parents) and DVA perpetration. Until further research is conducted that substantiates this study and examines this relation over time, we have chosen to leave this factor out of our model.

Summary of research evidencing ontogenetic factors

In summary, the strength of evidence supporting the ontogenetic factors identified by Hagemann-White et al. could not be identified for university staff and was mixed for university students. Masculine self (as defined by hostile attitudes towards women, accepting GBV myths, and impersonal sex) and misuse/abuse of substances were assessed in multiple longitudinal studies. These studies showed masculine self and substance misuse/abuse worked in conjunction with each other to facilitate perpetration. The influence of early trauma on perpetration changed from adolescence to university, with early trauma having a stronger influence on adolescence perpetration than on perpetration during university. The strength of evidence for emotional and cognitive deficits and poor parenting was limited and removed from our model, which is not to say it does not influence perpetration. Further evidence is needed.

These studies inform which concepts need to be addressed for prevention work but leaves open which university groups might need to be targeted, i.e. what are the demographic risk factors for perpetration. We draw some knowledge from the first working paper which found men comprised a much higher proportion of perpetrators. This is consistent with U.S. studies (e.g. Krebs et al., 2016). Other demographic characteristics of perpetrators were not clear, as some studies asked if victims knew the perpetrator (e.g. Revolt, 2018) and others asked if the perpetrator was a fellow student (e.g. CUSU, 2014; QUB, 2016). Further research is needed to understand more fully the demographic characteristics of perpetrators (e.g. student status, socio-economic status) and the relationship of these characteristics to factors included in our model. This line of research would extend the Hagemann-White model and facilitate applications to UK universities and provide crucial information for prevention work.

Ontogenetic system – prevention and response implications

Hagemann-White et al. made two sets of recommendations for prevention and response in the ontogenetic systems. The first set focused on changing attitudes and beliefs to prevent GBV: Promote alternative secure forms of masculine identities; Promote sexual ethics and ethics of care through education; Enable young men to critically assess pornography; Expand perceptions of women and children especially where they are seen as property. The second set focused on responding to perpetrators by providing direct support: Ensure support for staff and students who have been abused as children; Ensure drug/alcohol

misuse services and mental health services are informed by understanding of GBV; Increase family support and parenting programme which address gender.

Prevention

Prevention work in the ontogenetic system should address the multiple beliefs and attitudes identified in the studies described above. Before implementing such prevention work, research needs to be conducted on how beliefs and attitudes change over the course of university and for whom they change or do not change. This information would provide knowledge needed to develop and implement individualised social norms prevention programmes for those at high risk of perpetrating (Berkowitz, 2003). It is generally accepted that men perpetrate most GBV and they are more likely to overestimate their peers' use of SV (Dardis et al., 2015) and DVA (Neighours et al., 2010), as well as their peers' support for perpetration. Programmes should address these misperceptions about peers. Prevention work needs to challenge these misperceptions and provide non-judgemental feedback that considers the likelihood perpetrators have also been victimised (Porta et al., 2017). This kind of prevention work has been found to be the most effective with pre-formed groups, such as sports societies (Berkowitz, 2003).

Response

The second set of recommendations focus on providing services to address the needs of perpetrators. The studies reviewed found the relationship between early trauma, alcohol and substance misuse, and perpetration to be multi-faceted so university services should be informed by these correlates of GBV. The exact nature of university services for students who perpetrate SV or DVA needs further research. Shorey et al., 2012 recommended clinical interventions such as motivational interviewing and mindfulness training for students perpetrating DVA but these types of interventions generally are not based on the understanding that DVA is rooted in unequal gender power relations and ignores larger social cultural influences. Respect is the umbrella organisation in the UK that provides accreditation for perpetrator programmes. Respect does not specify the mode of working with perpetrators, i.e. one-to-one or groups, but it does set out that a critical component of perpetrator programmes seeking accreditation is inclusion of the gendered nature of DVA and its impacts (Respect, 2017). Currently, Respect is working with other non-profit organisations to pilot The Drive Project, a perpetrator programme that address both use of violent behaviour and complex needs, including trauma and alcohol and substance misuse (Drive Project, 2019). Evaluations of the first and second years of the programme suggest it is effective (Hester et al., 2017; Hester et al., 2019). Universities could draw ideas from the Drive Project if they develop their own programmes.

Most services for sexual violence perpetrators in the UK are for those convicted of criminal offences. Effectiveness of these programmes is evaluated in terms of recidivism and shows reductions in recidivism vary across programme types and risk level of offender. For instance, Schmucker and Losel (2009) found cognitive behavioural treatment programmes to more effective than no treatment but less effective than surgical and pharmacological treatments. In a more recent study, Mews, Di Bella, and Purver (2017) showed cognitive behavioural treatment programmes were less effective than no treatment at all. It is not clear how effective these kinds of programmes would be for perpetrators attending or working at universities, as these findings are not generalizable to communities.

Table 1. Ontogenetic factors facilitating GBV perpetration in UK universities

Ontogenetic Factors	Description	Longitudinal studies, systematic reviews or meta-analytic studies evidencing factor in U.S. universities	Studies evidencing factor in U.K. universities
Masculine Self	Refers to a hostile and defensive sense of one's masculinity that can be manifested as hostility towards women, supporting the use of violence and abuse by men (e.g. endorsing rape myths or DVA myths), and behaviours showing one is a "real man."	Abbey and McAuslan (2004); Thompson et al. (2015); Zinzow and Thompson (2015)	
Depersonalised sex	Characteristics related to sex without regard for the needs of the others that can be found in becoming aroused only through domination and control.	Abbey and McAuslan (2004); Thompson et al. (2015); Zinzow and Thompson (2015)	
Stimulus misuse / abuse - alcohol and pornography	Stimulus misuse can influence perpetration when alcohol/drug and pornography use is habitual or excessive.	Abbey and McAuslan (2004); Shorey et al. (2014); Stappenbeck and Fromme (2010); Thompson et al. (2015); Zinzow and Thompson (2015)	Bristol SU (2018); NUS (2011); Stenning et al. (2012); QUB (2016); CUSU (2014)
Early trauma	Early trauma describes early exposure in the home to violence and abuse, abuse of trust, or other traumatic childhood experiences. These experiences in and of themselves do not necessarily leave to violence perpetration. Violence and abuse in the family of origin (e.g. witnessing the father abuse the mother) will increase the likelihood of later perpetration.	Loh and Gidycz (2006); White and Smith (2009)	

Micro System Factors

The micro or interpersonal system describes the face-to-face settings where norms scaffolding GBV are translated into social practices. Hagemann-White et al. placed four factors into this system: peer approval, opportunity, rewards, and family stress. We have amalgamated opportunities and rewards into one factor. The rationale for doing so are explained below.

Peer Approval

Peer approval refers to peer groups supporting the use of violence and reinforcing attitudes hostile to women, children, and anyone different from the peer group. We have refined and extended the peer approval factor by drawing from ACHA's model that described it as informal and formal social networks that may include family, friends, and work colleagues. For university students, networks could come from a variety of sources including but not limited to student halls, seminar groups, degree programme, department, student society, sports clubs, accommodation (both on and off campus), and employment outside of studies and networks for staff could come from family, friends, department, the university, line manager, and other universities. These lists are not meant to be exhaustive. Understanding of how networks influence perpetration is largely from male peer support theory by DeKeseredy and colleagues (DeKeseredy, 1988; DeKeseredy, 1990a; DeKeseredy, 1990b; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1993; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1995; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1998; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 2000) who proposed men who perpetrate GBV have male friends who condone GBV and act in a way to support perpetration, particularly towards women who represent a threat to authority (Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997). Over 30 years of studies have provided evidence for the theory and confirmed that men feel justified to use violence and abuse when male peers support it (DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 2013). While most of the studies looked at White male students and the influence of their peers, there is evidence for this social process occurring among BME and LGBT male students as well (e.g. Jones and Raghavan, 2012; Raghavan et al., 2009).

Bringing together hostile masculinity (a previously discussed factor in the microsystem) with male peer support theory, Swartout (2013) gathered information from 341 men on their peer network density (average strength of relationship between peers as reported by participants), peer support for sexual aggression, and their own hostile masculinity and SV perpetration. Structural equation modelling showed that peer support predicted hostile masculinity which in turn predicted sexual aggression. Peer network density negatively predicted hostile masculinity, suggesting peer network density may be a protective factor for hostile masculinity. Peer support interacted with peer network density to predict hostile masculinity. In other words, the relation between peer network density and hostile masculinity varied according the level of peer support, e.g. men with a high peer network density and low peer support had the lower hostile masculinity than men with a low peer network density and low peer support whereas men with a high peer network density and high peer support had levels of hostile masculinity comparable to men with low peer network density and high peer support. Prevention work should focus on challenging peer support while simultaneously encouraging and providing opportunities for the formation of tightly knit groups of peers.

Opportunity & Rewards

Hagemann-White et al. described opportunity as situations that facilitate using GBV, including situations that make it easier to access potential victim survivors or situations perpetrators perceive to have no consequences, e.g. social situations in which students are not capable of providing consent; staff relationships with postgraduates and early career researchers (Bull and Rye, 2018); relationship characterised by DVA (White and Smith, 2009). Opportunity goes hand in hand with rewards. Rewards encompass any kind of social recognition, material gain, or satisfactions (e.g. sexual satisfaction) which may provide a motive for perpetration. Perpetrators may be more likely to perpetrate if opportunities arose and there were rewards and or no consequences.

Rational choice theory argues that individuals perpetrate when an opportunity presents itself and the benefits outweigh the costs. In one study testing this theory, 129 men read a date scenario and then described the costs and benefits to having sex with the woman after she verbally said she was not interested in having sex (Bouffard and Bouffard, 2011). The findings showed that three-quarters of the men reported potential legal consequences and 29% described a benefit of the possibility of a future relationship. Among the group of men who described this potential benefit, 81% ($n = 30$) reported there could be legal consequences, suggesting this group of men understood having sex could be considered against the law, i.e. a cost, but the potential reward of gaining a romantic relationship was justification for having sex without consent. This group of men were compared to the rest of the men in the study on their likelihood to engage in sexual coercive behaviours in the described scenario. They were significantly more likely to engage in sexual coercion than men who did not perceive a reward and legal cost.

Family Stress

Family stress covers the sources of stress families may experience (e.g. social isolation, depleted resources), which could accumulate and facilitate opportunities for GBV. This factor may be relevant for students who live at home and attend university, mature students with families, and staff. However, there is a dearth of studies in the U.S. In a meta-analysis Stith et al. (2004) found family/life stress to have a medium effect on DVA perpetration but university students were not distinguished from other populations. Family stress may be an increasingly important factor influencing GBV in UK universities, as there are an increasing number of students who are choosing to attend local universities and live at home so they can support their families (Donnelly and Gamsu, 2018; Holdsworth, 2009). Students who do not live at home and attend universities may be impacted by family stress and have an increased likelihood of perpetrating. Research is needed that explores this relationship for students who do and who do not live at home.

Summary of research evidencing micro factors

Taken together, the strength of evidence supporting factors identified by Hagemann-White et al. for the micro system was mixed for university students and did not exist/could not be located for university staff. The breadth and depth of studies examining peer approval provides robust evidence for the factor among White, male students, with the evidence showing that male peers do influence their perpetration and attitudes. Peer approval as a factor needs further research to see if this evidence base can readily be applied to other groups, such as university staff and those who identify as BME or LGBT. For the factor family stress, the limited evidence base from a meta-analysis shows families do influence perpetration. This should be explored further among UK universities, particularly as families may have stronger and stronger influences on students as more and more live at

home. The evidence base for opportunities and rewards indicates men may perpetrate if they think the social reward outweighs the possible legal consequences. Substantial additional research is needed to explore how social consequences and university sanctions or lack thereof may influence perpetration.

Micro system - prevention and response implications

Prevention

Hagemann-White et al.'s recommendations for the microsystem centred on changing individual and peer norms and beliefs sustaining gender stereotypes and condoning GBV (challenge peer support for violence, establish active peer disapproval of GBV, challenge myths about GBV, revalue daughters, transform gender stereotypes through education and public awareness). Bystander education programmes are an increasingly popular way to address these micro system factors. Bystander programmes may include a social norms element to help programme participants understand the social dynamics that inhibit or facilitate their behaviour. For example, The Intervention Initiative (Fenton et al., 2014) is underpinned by the theory of social norms that proposed attitudes and misperception of peer norms influence perpetration and bystander behaviours (Berkowitz, 2010; Fenton et al., 2016). A meta-analysis (Katz and Moore, 2013) of SV bystander programmes in the U.S. showed that bystander programmes are effective in changing attitudes and misperceptions of peer norms but vary in reductions of SV perpetration. For instance, Stephens and George (2009) noted that high risk men in their programme reported in surveys a significant increase in SV behaviours in comparison to high risk men in the control group. Men who were randomly assigned to receive the intervention in the study by Gidycz, Orchowski and Berkowitz (2011) reported a reduction in SV perpetration in a 4 month follow up. It should be noted that this effect was not found for the 7 month follow up. The mixed evidence indicates greater understanding is needed about what inhibits and facilitates bystander behaviours (Labhardt et al., 2017) and how bystander behaviours prevent SV.

More recently bystander programmes have expanded to include DVA (e.g. Coker et al., 2016; Fenton and Mott, 2018; Peterson et al., 2018). Coker et al. was the only study to report changes in perpetration behaviours. This study will be discussed in the section below on prevention in the meso system.

Sexual consent workshops are another increasingly popular type of prevention work to prevent SV. In the UK, approximately 18 of universities deliver either peer-to-peer sexual consent workshops themselves, online training, or outsource workshops, with the content of workshops generally guided by the NUS I Heart Consent Facilitation Guide (Giugni et al., 2018). The NUS guide (NUS Women, 2015b) recommends reviewing with students: their understanding of consent; relevance of consent in the law; rape culture in comparison to consent culture; sexual orientation and sexuality; and how they can effectively challenge myths about consent and sexual violence. Only one evaluation of consent workshops as a standalone prevention effort could be located. Giugni et al. (2018) evaluated consent workshops delivered to Cambridge undergraduate students, finding that workshops were effective in raising awareness but were not effective on their own to change behaviour. Even though the methods used in their evaluation were not clear, the findings were consistent with an evaluation conducted by Borges, Banyard and Moynihan (2008) of a sexual consent program run with students attending a U.S. university. Borges and colleagues recruited students to be a part of a control group, an intervention group that received a 15-minute presentation, or an intervention group that received a 15-minute presentation and then participated in an activity. All students completed a pre-test

questionnaire and a post-test questionnaire two weeks after the interventions were delivered. The intervention group who received the presentation and participated in an activity showed the most improvement in consent knowledge compared to the presentation only group and control group. The authors recommended running this kind of brief training multiple times and in conjunction with multiple other prevention efforts.

The format of consent workshops and the evaluated effectiveness, i.e short-term increased knowledge, is consistent with more robust studies conducted in the U.S. on the effectiveness of sexual harassment training in the workplace. For instance, Roehling and Huang (2018) found in their systematic review of sexual harassment workplace training that knowledge of sexual harassment increased but it was not clear if sexual harassment behaviours were reduced (which is due in large part to organisations' reluctance to share information with researchers that could lead to lawsuits). Knowledge may increase from workshops but may also cause backlash. Studies have documented how men may have adverse reaction to sexual harassment training such as anger when attendance is compulsory or put off by what they perceive to be a patronising feminist agenda (e.g. Giugni et al., 2018). Similar reactions have been described in anecdotal accounts reported in the press (e.g. Pells, 2016). Tinkler (2013) looked at the effect of a sexual harassment training on 97 universities students' adherence to gender norms. Students were randomly assigned to watch a training video or a control video. Students who watched the training video reported stronger adherence to gender norms than students who watched the control video. Bingham and Scherer (2001) randomly assigned 530 male and female university employees to receive sexual harassment training or no training, in order to assess the effectiveness of the training in terms of increasing knowledge of law and policies and increasing likelihood of reporting sexual harassment. As expected programme participants reported more knowledge after the training. It was not expected that men who received the training were significantly less willing to report sexual harassment and more likely to blame victims.

Response

More research is needed to understand how family stress influences student and staff perpetration. If the influence is small or if there is evidence for a small proportion of the university, universities may need to create referral pathways to resources instead of providing resources in house.

Table 2. Micro factors facilitating GBV perpetration in universities

Micro Factors	Description	Studies evidencing factor in U.S. universities	Studies evidencing factor in U.K. universities
Rewards	This covers a range of perceived rewards and satisfaction for using violent and abusive behaviour	Boufard and Boufard (2011); White and Smith (2009)	Bull and Rye (2018); NUS (2018)
Opportunity	Contextual conditions that facilitate the use of violence		
Family stress	This factor covers all kinds of stress for families including social isolation, depleted family resources, low family cohesion.	Stith et al. (2004)	
Informal and formal networks that provide approval of GBV	Peers who condone using violence and abusive behaviour and support hostile masculinity	DeKeseredy, 1988; DeKeseredy, 1990a; DeKeseredy, 1990b; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1993; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1995; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1998; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 2013; Jones and Raghavan, 2012; Raghavan et al., 2009; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 2000; Swartout, 2013	

Meso System Factors

Bronfenbrenner described the meso level as the links and processes between microsystems. A microsystem describes the interaction of an individual with a specific environment, e.g. a male student's interactions with other male students in university accommodation or a female student's interactions with teaching staff. The meso system would then consider the links and social processes between student interactions in university accommodation and student teaching staff interactions. For our purposes, we have placed a boundary around the microsystems related to the university to allow us to explore how university factors scaffold GBV perpetration. We are looking at universities as institutions with organisational structures and cultures that create a social climate tolerating and, in some instances, encouraging GBV. To guide this discussion, we use factors identified by Hagemann-White for the meso system, which were entitlements, failed sanctions, and discrimination and we draw from research on UK universities as social institutions and we draw from the ACHA model which highlighted the importance of environments to propose an additional factor - geography of UK universities.

Entitlements

Entitlements refer to individuals' perceptions that they can act in any manner they think best towards women. A sense of entitlement may spring from interactions of ontogenetic system factors (e.g. masculine self and depersonalised sex) and microsystem factors (e.g. peer norms) to create cultures condoning and in some instances encouraging perpetration. In UK universities this factor can be manifested in 'lad culture,' which is understood to be the hegemonic expression of masculinity among university students (NUS, 2013) that is underpinned by 'drinking, football, and fucking' (Edwards, 1997, page 82, as cited in Dempster, 2009) and involves having a laugh and objectifying women (Phipps and Young, 2015). It is important to note that 'lad culture' refers to only one set of men's gendered practices among the many and not all men will engage in these practices, and men who did engage in these practices were not 'lads' across all time and contexts (Dempster, 2009). Nonetheless, it is a template for university men to 'do gender' (West and Zimmerman, 1987) in a way that is exalted in certain contexts (Mills, 2001). Studies focused primarily on the contexts of the teaching-learning environment and campus culture. Lad culture within the teaching learning environment was characterised by male students achieving top marks without effort, talking throughout lectures, arriving late, and being rude and disrespectful to lecturers (Jackson and Dempster, 2009; Jackson and Sundaram, 2018; Jackson, Dempster and Pollard, 2014), all of which disrupted teaching and learning activities. For example, during a lecture given by a woman on feminism in India in which students were asked how many women were in the Indian parliament, a student replied, 'too many' (Jackson and Sundaram, 2018).

The National Unions of Students (NUS) asked 40 female students (in 21 interviews and 4 focus groups) what campus culture (NUS, 2013) meant to them. There was a consensus that campus culture centred on gendered social activities, including drinking and clubbing, and it was the primary social arena for 'lad culture.'

'Lad culture' was seen as a 'pack' mentality evident in activities such as sport and heavy alcohol consumption, and 'banter' which was often sexist, misogynist, and

homophobic. It was also thought to be sexualised and to involve the objectification of women, and at its extreme rape supportive attitudes and sexual harassment and violence. (NUS, 2013, page 53).

'Lad culture' heavily influenced women's social life and personal life, particularly when they felt pressured to engage with 'lad culture' to fit in (e.g. going clubbing and drinking a lot) or when they became the focal point of 'laddish' behaviour. An example of this kind of behaviour can be found in the *Hidden Marks* survey (NUS, 2011) that asked female students to describe the contexts in which they experienced sexual harassment and violence. One student gave the following description:

"I was approached by a group of male students as I was walking out my halls of residence and they were all shouting sexual things at me and then one of them approached me, grabbed me around the waist and then started to touch my breasts and bottom. He was saying things like 'you know you want this' and 'you know you're up for this'" (NUS, 2011, page 13).

Two-thirds of the women in the study conducted by the NUS (2013) on 'lad' behaviour described experiences, in which they were the target of sexual harassment and violent behaviour by a group of 'lads,' suggesting 'lad' culture is closely linked to ubiquitous nature of sexual harassment and violence in universities. However, no large-scale quantitative study examining the link between 'lad' culture with GBV has been conducted to date. It could be that the students who took part in the NUS studies were more attuned to 'lad' culture and GBV so they were more likely to make the connection. Additional research using a large-scale quantitative design is needed to understand the intricacies of this link, particularly intersectional differences and similarities and the influence of geography on 'lad' culture.

Geographies of UK Universities

In the UK, there has been increasing interest in the field of sociology of higher education to understand the influence of the place and space of universities, i.e. the geography of universities, on students' experiences, where place is understood to be physical locations with defined boundaries and space refers to the flow of people and resources through environments (Budd, 2018). These studies tended to focus on the place and space of student mobility (e.g. Donnelly and Gamsu, 2018) or student accommodation (e.g. Holton, 2016). We will discuss in this section the significance of university student accommodation to student experiences and the social, physical, and virtual geography of universities. In the following section on the exo system, we will discuss how student mobility from local, national, and international contexts influence composition of the student body and the impact of concentrated areas of private student housing on local contexts.

UK undergraduate students tend to have unique 'housing biographies' (Rugg, Ford, and Burrow, 2004) in which they typically move from home to on campus university managed residences in their first year and in following years move off campus to privately managed accommodation (Holdsworth, 2009a; Holton, 2016; Smith and Holt, 2007). Though it is increasingly recognised this transition derives from traditional understandings of students going away to university and has been challenged by the increasing number of students attending local universities who do not live in university residences (Donnelly and Gamsu, 2018; Holdsworth, 2009a; 2009b), university residences (or halls) represent an important anchor point for students transitioning from family homes. Halls provide an environment where students can "develop a sense of home and community" by taking part in the

numerous arranged and spontaneous social activities (Holton, 2016, page 68). At the same time, students may feel pressured to take part in social activities they are not comfortable with, including drinking large amounts of alcohol, to avoid being excluded from peer networks (Holton, 2016). Students with Asperger's syndrome or high functioning autism may find this environment even more challenging (Knott and Taylor, 2014). This tension between creating a home-like environment and trying to fit in with peers may be further heightened by the intense concentration of students, all of whom are learning the 'rules of studenthood' (Chatterton, 1999, page 120). It is in this heightened environment that 28% of students reported they experienced sexual violence (Revolt, 2018).

Students unions can be an important focal point for students to mobilise resources and create a critical mass necessary to effect change in universities (Crossley, 2008; Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012), though the physical environment of the student union building and the location on the campus(es) may impact their ability to engage students in political and social activities (Brooks, Byfrord, and Sela, 2016). Like student halls, student unions are a key space for social activities (Andersson, Sadgrove, and Valentine, 2012), particularly for incoming students wanting to develop peer networks. The type of social activities (e.g. paying women to dance onstage for Freshers' Week) put on can have a negative impact on student experiences (Andersson, Sadgrove, and Valentine, 2012). One union reported 19% of sexual harassment experiences occurred in its own building or venue (EUSA, 2014).

The wider social, physical, and virtual geography of a university campus can influence student experiences, particularly those from marginalised backgrounds (Budd, 2018). For instance, the number of disabled students attending university has increased year upon year (HESA, 2019a) but there is little discussion about their experiences of the physical and social environment (Knott and Taylor, 2014). Students with Asperger's Syndrome may find typical university spaces for socialising, such as student unions and pubs, inaccessible because of their sensory impairments (Madriaga, 2010). The lack of or reduced social interactions, particularly in the first year, can lead to a sense of isolation and in turn depression. Similarly, Muslim students have also found the geography of campuses to limit their social interactions when the mosque is located away from other faith buildings and when there are few social spaces where alcohol is not served that are open late (Hopkins, 2011).

Some students may develop greater attachment to the university campus (Holton, 2015) so they spend more time there. Where they spend time on campus can depend on how the campus is laid out and maintained (Speake, Edmondson, and Nawaz, 2013). This would explain the wide variation of students reporting they experienced sexual harassment on university property - EUSA (2014) found 10% of female students reported the location was on university property (this excluded the student union) whereas (Stenning et al., 2012) 51% of female students reported the same.

Far less consideration has been given to the influence of virtual geographies on student experiences even though more and more education and socialising occurs online (e.g. Madge et al., 2009). One university found virtual media to be a platform for sexual harassment, with 10.8% of students reporting they received unwanted sexual images and 13.7% reporting they received unwanted sexual comments via online media (QUB, 2016). Some indications about the use of virtual media in DVA can be found in the work of Barter et al. (2017) who examined young people's experiences of online experiences of DVA.

Nearly half of young women (48%) and one-quarter of young men reported they experienced emotional abuse online.

Discrimination

Hagemann-White et al. noted that discrimination based on gender (and other demographic characteristics) is embedded in social institutions like universities. Universities fall within the Equalities Act of 2010 that protects university staff and students from discrimination based on personal characteristics such as gender, race, and disability. Arguably in large part due to mandates from government and regulatory bodies, universities have been making strides to reduce inequalities and embody a meritocratic system. However, much more work needs to be done, as there is evidence discrimination persists and continues to be scaffolded by the composition and processes of universities. This section provides brief reviews of evidence showing discrimination among staff and then students.

According to Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA, 2019b), during the academic year of 2017 2018, women accounted for 57% of those obtaining a first degree and 59% of those obtaining a postgraduate degree, which generally is the minimum education needed to be employed as an academic. Despite the larger proportion of women obtaining postgraduate qualifications, only 41% of full-time academic staff were women. (The proportion of female part-time academics was higher at 55%. This is discussed further below in relation to the gender pay gap.) The proportion of women was even smaller when looking at higher levels of universities, where 26% of professors, 36% of staff employed on senior academic contracts, and 24% of institutional heads were women. Put another way, women tend to be concentrated at the lower end of the academic hierarchy. There is a similar pattern for ethnicity. Sixteen percent of all academic staff identified as an ethnic minority. The proportion was even smaller among professors (7%) and when looking at gender and ethnicity in combination, only 0.1% of professors were black women. These disparities in conjunction with the gendered and racialised practices of universities, including promoting White men with fewer qualifications than women (Johansson and Sliwa, 2014; Knights and Richards, 2003; Rollock, 2019) create more opportunities for GBV, especially SV (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Gruber, 1992; McDonald, 2012). Insight into the nature of the GBV behaviours used can be found in a UK study by Bull and Rye (2018) who used qualitative methods (i.e. interviews) to look at the SV experiences of 16 women at the bottom of the academic hierarchy, specifically early career academics and postgraduate students who had teaching duties. Academic staff perpetrated a range of SV and DVA behaviours from sexualised communication to stalking to coercion and abuse. When the women reported their experiences to their universities, nearly all of the women were blocked or dissuaded from filing a report. Fernando and Prasad's (2018) study of 31 female academics in UK business schools found the institutional mechanism of silencing victim survivors applied to mid-career academics as well. No quantitative study could be located that investigated the extent of these types of experiences across UK academic staff, so we drew from a study conducted in the U.S. by Richman et al. (1999). The results showed 40% of women experienced sexual harassment. A substantial body of research is needed that assesses the extent of SV and DVA perpetrated towards all UK staff and it should include focused analyses of GBV used against marginalised staff.

More and more universities processes function under neo-liberal theories of management, which views knowledge as a form of capital and uses quantifiable metrics to assign a market value to academics and universities (Morley, 2016). Within this neo-liberal culture, how is (women's and other marginalised staff's) knowledge capital valued? Morley (2016, page 29) observes:

Knowledge production, through academic research, is now part of the neo-liberal project that values income generation, commercialisation, mobilisation and performance management over creativity, criticality, discovery or scholarly independence... knowledge needs to demonstrate its quantifiable use value.

In theory, these economic markers provide an objective framework to evaluate the quality of capital or work and should thus not favour any social group over another. In practice this is not the case. We briefly review the primary framework used to assess research quality and the associated gendered practices to highlight how universities reproduce inequalities.

The primary framework is the Research Excellence Framework (REF), which is a performance-based research funding system introduced in 1986 that assesses every five to seven years outputs (e.g. publications, performances), the environment supporting research (e.g. number of doctoral candidates), and the impact of outputs beyond academia. Universities expect academic staff to produce outputs that are world leading in quality and rigour, supervise post-graduate students, and take part in activities that engage the wider public in their research. Universities, then, use their own internal processes to determine whose work will be included in their submissions. Gender and racial discrimination were found in these internal processes (HEFCE, 2015; Knights and Richards, 2003). For example, in the 2014 REF, 67% of men were selected while only 51% of women and 35% of Black staff were selected (HEFCE, 2015). Inclusion in the REF provides more importance and value to the knowledge produced, effectively giving White men's knowledge more capital and creating a credibility deficit for women and ethnic minorities (Morley, 2016). Failure to be selected could hinder career progression and could be one explanation for the small proportion of women at the top of the academic hierarchy. Another explanation may be that female staff take on or are expected to take on pastoral care of colleagues and students (e.g. Ackers and Feuerverger, 2006). Generally, care work is not included in academic workload, so research must be done outside normal working hours (Barrett and Barrett, 2011), which can be challenging and potentially harmful to wellbeing (e.g. Acker and Armeti, 2004; Savigny, 2014). Other explanations include (but are not limited to): women's workload focuses more on teaching and teaching related activities, which is significantly and negatively associated with seniority (Santos and Dang Van Phu, 2019); fewer women than men apply to professor posts (UCU, 2016); female staff are judged by a higher criteria (Savigny, 2014); gendered construction of criteria to evaluate staff (van den Brink and Benschop, 2011); limited transparency and accountability in the hiring process, creating space for gendered practices that favour men (van den Brink, Benschop, and Jansen, 2010).

The University and College Union (UCU; 2017) compared the median pay of female and male academics for the 2015 2016 year, finding a mean pay gap of 12%. When staff were grouped according to their level in the academic hierarchy, the largest gaps were among more senior levels, e.g. 13.1% for senior management, 10.2% for heads of schools. We drew from the work of the Institute for Fiscal Studies (2018) examining the pay differentials between men and women across the UK to shed light on universities. The IFS found the greater number of women in part-time work to be an important explanatory factor because women in part-time work, on average, received no pay increase at all while women in full-time work received, on average, a 6% increase. Statistics on university academic staff indicated that for the academic year of 2015 2016, 55% of those in part-time academic work were women. The mechanism identified by the IFS may be operating within universities. The UCU (2019) extended their analysis to compare the pay of white

academics with BAME academics. On average white academics were paid 9% more than BAME academics. When broken down further by specific ethnic groups, the largest difference in pay was between Black academics and white academics where the difference was 14%.

The primary lens used to view student discrimination has been underrepresentation of certain social groups in higher education, though there is a growing body looking at the experiences of marginalised students (Budd, 2018). It is generally accepted that the representation of students in higher education has been stratified across social class, gender, and ethnicity (Harrison, 2018) and that students from marginalised backgrounds may experience more challenges at university. For example, lower-socio economic students may have less knowledge of higher education (Pampaka, Williams, and Hutcheson, 2012) and as a consequence, they spend more time getting to know the system to achieve good marks and less on developing other forms of knowledge which enhances employment prospects (Budd, 2018). Another example is the representation of women in STEM degrees. The number of women has been increasing year on year but they are still underrepresented at 42% (HESA, 2018). Similar to female academic staff in male dominated environments, female students studying in STEM may be at particular risk for GBV (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Gruber, 1992; McDonald, 2012). Ethnic minority groups are well represented in the UK student body but this does not reflect more exclusive environments across higher education institutions, especially elite universities (Runnymede, 2015). While there is evidence that the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) students are well supported, LGBT students generally do not perceive or experience universities as social sites that are safe and free from discrimination (Ellis, 2009).

Inequalities in the study body are reflected in leadership of student unions who largely tend to be White men (Brooks Byford and Sela, 2015b). Student unions are independent of their associated university and each union has their own constitution governing them that allows them to set their own priorities (Rodgers et al., 2011). Student union leaders, thus, have a significant and important role in identifying priorities and addressing the needs of the student body. The homogenous makeup of leaders may pose challenges to shifting university cultures, as leadership officers may gravitate toward representing the needs of 'traditional' students, i.e. White, middle class, men (Sheriff, 2012) and this social group can be among the hardest to engage in efforts to prevent GBV (Casey, 2010; Worthen and Wallace, 2017). Even when leaders or union officers make GBV a priority, the effectiveness of their work will be influenced by the extent to which the wider university has the same priority (Rodgers et al., 2011), as well as the relationship between student unions and university higher management (Brooks, Byford and Sela, 2015a; Universities UK, 2016a).

Failed Sanctions

Failed sanctions refer to agencies failing to implement sanctions even though there are legal norms and duties to do so. The main frameworks for developing policies and procedures to investigate GBV are the Human Rights Act (1998) and the Equality Act (2010). As noted by USVreact (2017), most universities are guided by the Zellick Guidelines produced by the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals in 1994 that sets out recommendations on how universities should respond. One of the most influential recommendations was universities should take no internal action unless the victim survivor is willing to go through formal CCJ processes. If the victim survivor chooses to do so, universities should delay internal procedures until the CCJ processes are complete.

Universities UK (2016b) summarised the critiques of using the Zellick Guidelines to guide universities internal actions. Some of the critiques are listed here (see the report for the full list):

- They do not reflect more recent legislation (e.g. Equalities Act 2010).
- They do not reflect more recent case law that has established universities can invoke disciplinary procedures on the balance of probabilities.
- If the Crown Prosecution Service decides to not prosecute or if the trial ends with an acquittal, this can result in the university not taking any action.
- Following guidance to not investigate if an incident is not reported could be discrimination under the Equalities Act 2010.
- They do not reflect adequately that universities have a duty of care to students.
- They focus more on protecting universities rather than supporting students.

Updated guidance for universities that took these critiques into account has been released (University UK, 2016b) but significant concerns have been raised for the lack of consideration given to staff to student misconduct (Weale and Batty, 2016). Bull and Rye (2018) described how for the students who took part in their study there was a lack of institutional processes for investigating staff sexual misconduct. Additional concerns were raised by Fenton (2016) who pointed out that the guidance did not explain who should investigate allegations and what kinds of evidence should be collected when determining if it likely or not that sexual misconduct occurs. Fenton explained further concerns when she highlighted that is likely university disciplinary panels and investigators will have to determine the credibility of conflicting accounts when assessing if an incident was consensual. "Rape myths" are used often to determine credibility but the new guidance does not mention the potential influence of rape myths on university disciplinary panels and investigators.

Universities UK in their report *Changing the Culture* (2016a) recommended each university should have policies on acceptable student and staff behaviour and transparent procedures for addressing unacceptable behaviour. While in 1996 only 78% of universities had a general harassment policy (Thomas, 2004), most universities today have an overarching policy (UUK, 2016). This marks a significant improvement for universities but concerns have been raised about the lack of policies and procedures addressing gender-based violence specifically (e.g. NUS, 2015). When policies and procedures are vague and or implemented poorly, institutional norms condoning GBV are supported, which in turn facilitate universities silencing student and staff VS. Indeed, female academics in business schools making complaints about sexual harassment reluctantly chose to be silent when line managers, senior managers, and HR representatives invalidated their complaints by describing incidents as trivial and doubting the reality of accounts and when colleagues suggested no one would want to work with them after stirring up trouble (Fernando and Prasad, 2018). Silencing by universities goes beyond female academics in business schools. Examining FOI data from 96 universities, Croxford (2019) found that UK universities spent approximately £87 million in 4,000 settlements paying staff to not disclose their experiences.

Summary of research evidencing meso factors

In contrast to the ontogenetic and micro systems, there was a large body of research conducted in the UK providing evidence that supported factors identified by Hagemann-White et al. for the meso system. For the factor entitlement, there was depth of evidence in the qualitative studies looking at how entitlements are manifested as 'lad' culture among

students. Similar studies are needed to understand how entitlements generally and 'lad' culture specifically are manifested among staff. Additionally, large scale quantitative studies are needed to explore the extent of this factor among students and staff. There was evidence showing how the geographies of UK universities can lead to and or exacerbate the vulnerabilities of some students, increasing the opportunities for others to perpetrate GBV against them. The specific characteristics of the geography of UK universities discussed were student accommodation, students' unions, online platforms, and the physical environment of campuses. No evidence could be located illustrating how the geographies of UK universities may facilitate GBV among staff. The third factor was discrimination towards staff and students. There was strong evidence documenting how female and other marginalised staff are over-represented at the bottom of the academic hierarchy and receive less pay than their White, male colleagues. Women and other marginalised students are well represented in the overall composition of the national student body but the leadership of students' unions tends to White men. The last factor, failed sanctions, was evidenced largely from reports and the media that documented a lack of clear and transparent policies and procedure for investigating allegations of GBV, which in turn supported and maintained the culture of silence within universities.

Meso System - Prevention and Response Implications

Prevention

Hagemann-White et al. made recommendations that underscored the importance of creating a culture that does not tolerate GBV through challenging male entitlement and eliminating discrimination. Universities in principle do not tolerate GBV but the previous discussions in the meso system highlighted how it is tolerated in practice. Shifting university cultures requires a comprehensive approach that addresses universities as a whole (Banyard, 2014). One approach that looked at whole populations of students and was shown to be effective was described by Coker et al. (2016) in their evaluation of an intervention programme in multiple U.S. universities. One university received the intervention and two universities were the control. At the intervention university there were: motivational speeches to incoming first year students; bystander training for targeted group of popular opinion leaders; social marketing; speeches to university staff; and asking staff to endorse bystander programme in course outlines. At all three universities, the research team obtained demographic and contact information for all students which they then used to create stratified random samples who were asked to complete an online survey at the end of each academic year. The study lasted four years to cover the average length of universities degrees in the U.S. The results of the logistic regression showed at the intervention university the victimisation rate was 17% lower and the perpetration rate was 25.5% lower. Though the whole university approach was shown to be effective, the student population was not diverse, with nearly two-thirds identifying as a woman and approximately 15% identifying as an ethnic minority. Further information is needed on prevention work with marginalised groups of students. A recent study found that White students may be less likely to intervene when they witness ethnic minorities in situations that may lead to GBV (Katz et al., 2017). Additionally, more research is needed on follow-up booster sessions, as they have been proposed to be critical to long-term success but understanding their effects is still in the early stages (McMahon et al., 2019).

There is little information on students with intersectional identities and their views of prevention programmes. Only two studies could be located that brought out intersectional differences and views of programmes. One study by Worthen and Wallace (2017) explored the views of a mandatory SV education programme held by ethnic minority students, LGB students, and women and compared them to White students, heterosexual

students, and men. The results showed the former (ethnic minority students, LGB students, and women) had more favourable views than the latter. White men tended to have angry responses whereas Black men tended to champion the programme. Gay men critiqued the programme for its heteronormative approach. In a subsequent study Worthen and Wallace (2018) looked at the views of survivors and students who knew survivors. Female survivors were supportive of the programme but male survivors were not. Survivors did not support mandatory attendance with most describing strongly negative reactions, most of which centred on the content of the programme triggering them, whereas students who knew survivors did support the programme.

It could be useful to explore how the physical and virtual geography of university campuses influence bystanders intervening to prevent GBV. This line of inquiry will need to be a nuanced line of research to minimise supporting the SV myth the most common form of SV is strangers jumping out of dark places (McMahon, 2015). Important learning points can be gained about “hot spots” for GBV on campuses and to see if these are the same sites for bystander interventions (McMahon, 2015). To increase the likelihood students and staff will intervene, the visual environment both off and online should convey information about bystander interventions (Moynihan et al., 2014) and should include symbols (e.g. pink triangles) students and staff understand to mean it is a safe space.

Response

“[P]revention programmes should be backed up with clear and effective university policies, procedure, and practices, that clearly demonstrate that sexual violence will not be tolerated, and that the university is committed to supporting victim-survivors” (Bows and Westmarland, 2015, page 28). We would extend this recommendation to include DVA (and other forms of GBV). What remains elusive is what policies, procedures, and practices look like in concrete terms. Universities UK shared in their report *Changing the Culture: One Year On* (2018) they are in the process of gathering learnings from universities on implementing the updated disciplinary guidance, with the aim of sharing best practices and piloting a case management system for incidents occurring in the academic year. While the effort and aim of this work is very much needed, the current lack of details underlying this work runs the risk of reproducing the culture of silence embedded in universities.

The overwhelming evidence thus far is universities have responded to disclosures in ways that left victim-survivors feeling victimised again and with no recourse to justice. What justice looks like to victim-survivors is a complicated picture constantly evolving through the lens of different experiences, understandings, and circumstances yet retains the core elements of recognition, voice, and consequences (McGlynn and Westmarland, 2019; McGlynn, Downes and Westmarland, 2017). Recognition refers to the perpetrator taking responsibility for behaviours used and acknowledging the behaviours used have resulted in harm and fear and it refers to friends, family, and communities showing belief and support. Voice encapsulates a multi-faceted concept in which victim-survivors feel they are able talk about the harms they experienced, they have respectful and meaningful conversations with officials, and they have a meaningful say in directing the justice process. A critical component to supporting victim-survivors is meaningful consequences for perpetrators that does not necessarily include the traditional criminal justice idea of punishment. When students were asked what they would like universities to do in response to perpetrators, the overwhelming response was perpetrators should be sanctioned, which may take the form of education about the nature and harm of GBV and or a warning (Tune and Little, 2018).

Table 3. Meso factors facilitating GBV perpetration in universities

Meso Factors	Description	Studies evidencing factor in U.S. universities	Studies evidencing factor in U.K. universities
Entitlements	Assumptions about male superiority and the right of men to make demands of women without being questioned		Dempster (2009); Jackson and Dempster (2009); Jackson and Sundaram (2018); Jackson, Dempster, and Pollard (2014); Mills (2001); NUS (2011); NUS (2013); Phipps and Young (2015)
Discrimination against women and girls	Gender-based discrimination that is embedded in universities.		Acker and Armeti (2004); Ackers and Feuerverger (2006); Barratt and Barratt (2011); Brooks, Byford, and Sela, 2015a; Brooks, Byford, and Sela, 2015b; Budd (2018); Ellis (2009); Fernando and Prasad's (2018); HESA (2018); HEFCE (2015); HESA (2018); HESA (2019b); IFS (2018); Johansson and Sliwa (2014); Knights and Richards (2003); Morley (2016); Pampaka, Williams, and Hutcheson, 2012; Rodgers et al. (2011); Rollock (2019); Runnymede (2015); UCU (2017); Santos and Dang Van Phu (2019); Savigny (2014); UCU (2016); UCU (2017); UCU (2019); Universities UK (2016a); van den Brink and Benschop (2011); van den Brink, Benschop, and Jansen (2010)
Failed Sanctions	When agencies do not implement sanctions (even when there are legal norms), men are more likely to perpetrate SV and DVA. Specifically refers to universities not consistently and clearly sanctioning perpetrators.		Bull and Rye (2017); Croxford (2019); Fenton (2016); Fernando and Prasad (2018); Thomson (2004); USVreact (2017); Universities UK (2016b); Universities UK (2016b); Weale and Batty (2016)
Geography of university	The place and space of the university. Place refers to the environment of the university that is demarcated by a defined boundary. Space refers to the flow of material and social resources through a physical or virtual environment.		Andersson, Sadgrove, and Valentine (2012); Barter et al. (2017); Budd (2018); Chatterton (1999); Crossley (2008); Crossley and Ibrahim (2012); Donnelly and Gamsu, (2018); EUSA (2014); HESA (2019a); Holdsworth (2009); Holton (2015); Holton (2016); Hopkins (2011); Knott and Taylor (2014);

			Madriaga, (2010); Madge et al. (2009); QUB (2016); Revolt (2018); Rugg, Ford, and Burrow (2004); Speake, Edmondson, and Nawaz (2013); Smith and Holt (2007); Stenning et al. (2012)
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Exo System Factors

Bronfenbrenner described the exo system as an extension of the meso system when he stated that it includes not only the systems with which the individual directly interacts but also the linked systems with which the individual does not necessarily interact. This is consistent with the ACHA model (2018) that put forward exo system is the wider community of the university that includes the geography of the wider community. Members of a university may or may not interact with different parts of the wider community, such as local private businesses and their employees or public transportation. In this section we discuss first factors identified by Hagemann-White (failed sanctions, honour codes, and poverty pockets) and then geographical characteristics of the wider community, as it relates to GBV perpetration.

Failed Sanctions

Hagemann-White et al. included failed sanctions in the meso system. We retained their conceptual definition which is described in the previous section and added it to the exo system to highlight community agencies and institutions (e.g. criminal justice system) that do not consistently implement sanctions, even with legal norms and precedent to do so. We review here studies that looked at the criminal justice system. We have focused on failed sanctions within the criminal justice system.

Whilst criminal justice responses to GBV have changed substantially for the better in the last 40 years, research into (for example Hester and Lilley, 2017; 2018; Smith, 2018) and other evidence of (for example the Dame Elish Angiolini Review, 2015), criminal justice practice indicates that much still needs to change. The large number of studies and intricate legal frameworks around different forms of GBV mean that it is not feasible to cover all of the evidence here. Instead, the literature on criminal justice responses to rape is used as an example of the failed sanctions relevant to exo system causes of GBV at UK universities.

Criminal justice institutions have been in a Sisyphean struggle to improve case outcomes and victim-survivor experiences since the late 1970s (McGlynn and Munro, 2010). There is evidence of improvement in the policing and prosecution of sexual violence over time, with national guidance being in an almost continual state of review to drive forward institutional practices. However, an HMICFRS and HMCPSI report (2012: 5) found 'intelligence gathering is not meeting the demands of the rise in recorded rape' and 'production of statistics for their own sake has overshadowed the importance of forces undertaking a more sophisticated analysis of rape across their areas'. In 2015, the Crown Prosecution Services (CPS) and police joint Rape Action Plan (Saunders and Hewitt, 2015) stated that the discourse on rape within both the police and courts still needed to tackle myths and improve approaches to gaining evidence, as well as updating the joint CPS/police National Protocol on investigation and prosecution. This followed an independent review of rape prosecution in London, which found that joint case building was rare, and that limited resources meant prosecutors could not give adequate attention to each decision (Angiolini, 2015).

The evidence-base on court responses to rape is also relatively limited in England and Wales. Court conviction rates continue to decline, especially for cases involving defendants aged 18-25 and those without additional charges relating to child abuse or domestic violence and abuse (HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate, 2019). Little is known about attrition at the court stage compared with the police and CPS points of attrition, but evidence has suggested convictions are limited by misunderstandings about traumatic memory recall and myths about rape (Hester and Lilley, 2017; Hohl and Conway, 2017).

Of note here, though, are a handful of mock jury studies that examine myths specifically in relation to courts. Ellison and Munro (2010; 2013; 2014; 2015) found that myths about delayed reporting, physical resistance, and inviting the alleged perpetrator to their home all impacted on jury deliberations. While judicial directions about the reality of rape did alleviate some of this impact, myths about physical resistance were unchanged by any form of jury education (Ellison and Munro, 2009). Indeed, Willmott's (2017) study of 27 mock juries found that rape myths are deeply embedded in a comparable manner to racial prejudice, meaning that only 10% of mock jurors were impacted by education aiming to undermine them. Finally, a systematic review of mock jury research in the US, Canada, UK and Germany found that rape myths did impact on decision-making, and that the effect sizes were larger in European studies (Dinos, Burrowes, Hammond and Cunliffe, 2015). Setting aside outcomes, courts have also been accused of failing to sanction rape because the narratives developed at trial are used to imply that some victim-survivors are to blame for their experiences. Smith (2018) observed 18 rape trials and found that barristers frequently trivialized rape and undermined the victim-survivor, supporting Temkin, Gray and Barrett's (2018) findings of the same from a sample of eight trials. This may be linked to the acceptance of the victim-survivors' sexual history being considered relevant to assessing the likelihood that a rape allegation is true, and its seriousness if so (McGlynn, 2017). Indeed, both Smith (2018) and an observation of 30 trials in Northumbria (Durham, Lawson, Lord and Baird, 2016) found that legal restrictions on the use of sexual history evidence were ignored and that such evidence was used in between 36% and 82% of full trials.

For further information on the criminal justice system failing to hold perpetrators of sexual violence accountable see Appendix A.

Honour Codes

Honour codes are embedded in social, legal and community norms, where familial and community honour are seen as vested particularly, though not exclusively in women's bodies (see for example, Welchman and Hossain, 2005; Chantler and Gangoli, 2011; Bates, 2017). The concept of honour as being particularly applicable to some ethnic and religious communities, or parts of the world has been challenged (Gangoli and Chantler, 2015). However, it is important to note that honour norms as linked to gender based violence, and manifested as domestic violence and abuse; forced marriage and female genital mutilation, and based on gendered control of sexuality may appear in the UK to apply more widely to particular communities, for example: South Asian communities. Much of the research on honour based violence and abuse are also confined to domestic and sexual abuse within marriage; for example; women on spousal visa experiencing domestic and sexual abuse and violence from husbands and in laws (see for example: Sundari and Gill, 2015); or younger British Asian women being forced into marriage, particularly with men from their country of origin (Hester et al. 2015; Mulvihill et al. 2018).

Research on age and risk to forced marriage has found that higher education can sometimes be used as a way to postpone or avoid forced marriage (Hester, Chantler, and Gangoli, 2008), but the specific experiences of women in higher education and honour based violence and abuse needs further exploration. There is also some limited research on how some ethnic minority men may be perpetrators of honour based violence, and this may manifest as increased surveillance of young women in the family attending university (Gangoli et al. 2006; 2009) and some on young men being forced into marriage due to their sexual orientation; mental health or learning and physical disabilities (Samad, 2010). Recent research on sexual violence and abuse among refugee and asylum seeking communities (Gangoli and Bates, 2018) highlighted issues of immigration, familiarity with support systems and lack of community support as key barriers in reporting honour based and sexual abuse; and some of these may apply to international students on student visas.

Poverty Pockets

Poverty pockets refer to areas with high levels of poverty and social exclusion that lead to environments with depleted resources and high levels of crime, e.g. high levels of violence on the street or in schools. Using samples from across the U.S., a body of studies showed the risk for DVA victimisation and perpetration is higher in these kinds of environments (Benson et al., 2003; Beyer, Wallis, and Kevin Hamberger, 2015; DeKeseredy et al., 1999; Fox and Benson, 2006; Miles-Doan and Kelly, 1997; Van Wyk, Fox, Benson, and DeMaris, 2003). One model that proposes how environmental characteristics are linked to DVA is collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997). Collective efficacy is a process that can be activated to enforce informal social control. Local residents in a neighbourhood who trust each and who are more willing to intervene to maintain the values of the neighbourhood experience a high degree of social cohesion, from the continual reinforcement of common values in the neighbourhood. This collective effort to maintain certain standards increases informal social control, which in turn reduces crime in the neighbourhood. In neighbourhoods with more crime, local residents are less likely to trust each and intervene, thus creating an environment in which crime may flourish.

Raghavan et al. (2006) offered further clarification when they put forward people living in certain environments may work towards enforcing social control for some values but not others. In a highly disadvantaged neighbourhood, the residents may decide public drug crimes are the most pressing issue, so community resources should be utilised to eradicate public drug crimes. The mobilisation of resources against drug crimes will generate an informal social control, limiting drug crimes. With no effort put forward to eliminate DVA, DVA may still flourish. The relationship between social disorder (i.e. environments with levels of poverty and social exclusion and depleted resources) and IPV may not be as straightforward as originally thought, which led the authors to suggest community violence may mediate the relationship between social disorder and DVA. In their study, the authors asked women throughout the United States who were in drug treatment programs about their neighbourhood experiences, exposure to community violence and DVA experiences. Women who lived in areas of greater social disorder were more likely to witness community violence (e.g. assaults) and experience DVA. In a later study Raghavan and colleagues (Raghavan et al., 2009) used this model to explore perpetration by male students attending an urban U.S. university, they included the influence of male networks of peers who perpetrate DVA (see section *Peer Approval*). The results showed community violence, male networks and DVA are associated and explained how these links function - community violence and perpetrating DVA were mediated by male networks. These associations were found among LGB students, as well (Jones and Raghavan, 2013).

Geography of wider community

In the ACHA model, the geography of the wider community surrounding a university refers to the informal networks, institutions, and relationships among organisations within a defined boundary. Included in the wider geography are: the location in the community, off campus housing, community associations, community leaders, businesses (bars, restaurants, etc), and transportation. Studies providing evidence for off campus housing and businesses will be reviewed here. Other characteristics of the wider community are likely to be relevant but studies explaining how they facilitate perpetration among universities could not be located.

Student mobility influences the composition of universities and the wider community, particularly the housing market with the increased demand for private housing for students. During the process of devolution of the UK, four distinct social systems of higher education developed each of which mostly kept their students (Raffe and Croxford, 2013). Donnelly and Gamsu's (2018) analysis of first year undergraduate students in 2014 supported and extended this theoretical proposal by looking at the influence of home regions in England and individual socio-economic classification. Across the UK, nearly half of all students (47%) moved regions to attend university. Out of the 9 regions (North-East, North-West, Yorkshire and Humberside, East Midlands, West Midlands, East of England, London, South-East, South-West), 6 regions kept at least half of their students. A small proportion of students from the East-Midlands, South-East, and East of England attended university in their home region. Among the different socio-economic classifications, the largest proportion of mobile students (66.7%) were from the most advantaged backgrounds and the smallest (33.3) were from the least advantaged background. Ethnicity was another important factor influencing mobility, with Pakistani and Bagladeshi students the least likely to move region to attend university. Donnelly and Gamsu's work suggest more marginalised students are less mobile in choosing a university to attend, which in turn indicates they are less likely to influence changes in the wider geography of universities. For the 47% of students who move regions, there is evidence showing wider geographies are influenced through the process of studentification.

"[S]tudentification is the process by which specific neighbourhoods become dominated by student residential occupation" (Hubbard, 2008, page 323). The development of areas of high concentration of students near university campuses began with the massification of higher education in the UK, which led to rising student numbers (Smith and Holt, 2007) and increased demand for student accommodation (Hubbard, 2008). The overall effect of studentification on residential areas is perceived generally to be negative (Smith and Holt, 2007) largely thought disrupting the social cohesion of neighbourhoods (Hubbard, 2009; Oliver, 2018). As described in the section *Poverty Pockets*, reduced social cohesion increases the risk of DVA for neighbourhood residents, including students.

The other side of the coin is the economic contributions students make to the national (Nef Consulting, 2013) and local economies (e.g. Pipe, 2018). Student spending resulted in over £80bn economic outputs and supporting over 830,000 jobs across the UK (Nef Consulting, 2013). One of the most well-known student expenditures is buying alcohol drinks from local pubs and venues, thus supporting local night time economies. A study on the drinking patterns of UK students attending an urban university showed that most students (59%) visit only one pub or venue but a substantial minority (14%) visit at least three (Gant and Terry, 2017). Male students who visit more pubs or venues are at increased risk of perpetrating sexual assault (Testa and Cleveland, 2017).

Summary of research evidencing exo factors

For two of the four factors facilitating GBV in the exo system (failed sanctions and honour codes) the strength of evidence was limited. There was a small number of studies from the UK showing how the practices of the police, Crown Prosecution Services, courts, and juries hinder sanctioning all perpetrators. Empirical evidence on the criminal justice failing to sanction university staff or student perpetration could not be located. While there were only a few studies conducted in the UK that evidenced how honour codes facilitate GBV, there was some evidence linking honour-based violence to GBV among university students. For the factor poverty pockets, there was breadth and depth of evidence from studies conducted in the U.S. illustrating how areas with fewer resources can lead to higher levels of community violence, which in turn may lead to GBV perpetration among university students. For the last factor geography or wider community, there was depth of evidence showing how changes in student numbers and migration patterns has disrupted the social order of residential areas surrounding universities while simultaneously supporting local businesses such as pubs and venues. Disruptions in residential areas and going to several pubs increases risk of perpetration.

Exo System – prevention and response

Prevention

Collaborating with stakeholders within and outside of universities is important for prevention in universities, as it allows for the development of a ‘critical mass’ of support which aides sharing resources (Glider et al., 2018). Hagemann-White et al. recommended working with community stakeholders to challenge codes of ‘honour’ and shame. We would expand working with stakeholders to include: improving access to resources in disadvantaged communities; creating and managing private accommodation for students in a way that minimises disruptions to residential areas; and education and evidence-based training for bars and venues. We acknowledge other elements of the meso system may influence perpetration in universities. We suggest universities and key community stakeholders should address these elements first, as there is research evidencing them. Successful collaborations need ‘reciprocal, consistent communication and relationship tending, consider the needs of all parties...Collaborators also need to convey a common message so that all efforts work in tandem rather in opposition” (Glider et al., 2018, page 230). These kinds of collaborations can help ensure university prevention programmes are sustainable over time (Dills, Fowler, and Payne, 2016).

Response

The responses of the criminal justice system to perpetrators need to improve in terms of increased resources for police and CPS to investigate incidents and education for police, CPS, courts, and juries on the nature and impact of GBV, to reduce beliefs in myths. Specifically in regards to sexual violence, there is recent evidence of changes to the prosecution of rape. Since 2009, a ‘merits-based approach’ to case building and charging decisions has been officially adopted by the CPS, meaning that decisions should be made based on analysis of the evidence rather than estimations about whether a jury would acquit due to myths and stereotypes. On 22 November 2018, however, the CPS removed the ‘merits-based’ approach from its website after a series of high profile cases collapsed due to errors in the disclosure of unused evidence (Turner, 2019). Indeed, evidence of decreased charging and conviction rates (ONS, 2018) have led to an ongoing super-complaint that CPS policy has returned to the so-called ‘bookmakers’ approach, thereby failing to fulfil Government duties under the Human Rights Act 1998 (Topping, 2018).

Additionally, the responses of the criminal justice system to victim-survivors is in need of improvement. Victim-survivors have indicated that initial police responses can be positive (e.g. with female officers and unmarked cars, see for example Lea, Lanvers, and Shaw, 2003, Skinner and Taylor, 2009) and the introduction of Independent Sexual Violence Advisors [ISVAs] improved victim-survivors' access to effective information and specialist support (Hester and Lilley, 2015; Robinson, 2009). HM Government's (2019) *Ending Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy Refresh* highlighted ongoing improvements to police and CPS practice, including the provision for vulnerable witnesses to pre-record their cross-examination.

However, research has continued to indicate that victim-survivors are not always well treated by the police (Jordan, 2001; 2004; 2008), and victim-survivor satisfaction remains low (Hester and Lilley, 2017). The presumption of belief has been problematic with some not feeling believed, especially as the case progressed (Hester and Lilley, 2017; Jordan, 2001; Skinner and Taylor, 2009); and police persist in overestimating false allegations (Maier, 2008; McMillan, 2018; Rumney, 2006; Sleath and Bull, 2017). Flagship specialist policing units in London were exposed as failing to believe and/or take seriously victim-survivors' reports, leading to nine Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) investigations relating to Metropolitan Police conduct in sexual violence cases (see for example IPCC 2010 and 2013). A systematic review of international research in English on police perspectives on rape victim-survivors by Sleath and Bull (2017) concluded that police judgments of victim-survivor credibility continued to be problematic and impacted on perceptions of offender guilt and decisions to charge (see for example Maddox, Lee, and Barker, 2012). In 2018, legal action has also been successfully taken against local criminal justice institutions, for example the investigation and near-release of John Worboys led to a breach of human rights case against the Metropolitan Police (*Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis v DSD and another* [2018] UKSC 11) and a judicial review against the English and Welsh Parole Board (*R [DSD & Anon] v The Parole Board of England and Wales* [2018] EWHC 694).

In addition, most victims were still wholly or partly unsatisfied with the level of information they received (Angiolini, 2015; Temkin, 1999; Skinner and Taylor, 2009). Whilst ISVAs have improved victim-survivor access to information, Hester and Lilley (2018) found that the police continue to be problematic in terms of keeping victim-survivors and ISVAs informed. SARC's have improved access to support and forensic evidence gathering (Lovett, Regan, and Kelly 2004; Regan, Lovett, and Kelly 2004). Yet the HMCPSP/HMIC (2007) report found limited monitoring of police responses, limited experience of investigating male rape, initial responders lacked training or experience (e.g. limited use of early evidence kits), and a culture of skepticism. Police officers have also been found to blame victim-survivors for the offence to varying degrees (Davies, Smith, and Rogers, 2009; Sleath and Bull, 2012; Wentz and Archbold, 2012). Thus, although there is now widely used Specially Trained Officer/Sexual Offence Investigation Training (see for example HMIC and HMICPS 2012), Sleath and Bull (2012) found that officers who had undertaken this training were no different in attributing blame to victims than non-trained officers.

Table 4. Exo factors facilitating GBV perpetration in universities

Exo Factors	Description	Studies evidencing factor in wider communities of U.S. universities	Studies evidencing factor in wider communities of U.K. universities
Failed sanctions: failure of CJS to respond	When agencies do not implement sanctions (even when there are legal norms), men are more likely to perpetrate SV and DVA. Specifically refers to community agencies and institutions, e.g. CJS, not consistently and clearly sanctioning perpetrators.		Angiolini (2015); Dame Elish Angiolini Review (2015); Dinos, Burrowes, Hammond and Cunliffe (2015); Durham, Lawson, Lord and Baird (2016); Ellison and Munro (2009; 2010; 2013; 2014; 2015); Hester and Lilley (2017; 2018); Hohl and Conway (2017); McGlynn (2017); McGlynn and Munro (2010); Saunders and Hewitt (2015); Smith (2018); Temkin, Gray and Barrett's (2018); Willmott's (2017)
'Honour' code:	Enforcement of honour, shame and subordination based on gender, xenophobia, fundamentalism or tradition		Bates (2017); Gangoli and Bates, (2018); Gangoli and Chantler (2015); Gangoli et al. (2006; 2009); Gill (2015); Hester et al. (2009); Hester et al. (2015); Mulvihill et al. (2018); Samad (2010); Welchman and Hossain (2005)
Poverty pockets	Areas of high levels of poverty and exclusion are characterised by environments with fewer resources and often high crime rates	Benson et al. (2003); Beyer, Wallis, and Kevin Hamberger (2015); DeKeseredy et al. (1999); Fox and Benson (2006); Jones and Raghavan (2013); Miles-Doan and Kelly (1997); Raghavan et al. (2009); Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997); Van Wyk, Fox, Benson, and DeMaris (2003)	
Geography of wider community	Wider community surrounding a university that includes informal networks, institutions, and relationships among organisations	Testa and Cleveland (2017)	Donnelly and Gamsu (2018); EUSA (2014); Gant and Terry (2017); Hubbard, (2008; 2009); Nef Consulting (2013); Raffe and Croxford (2013); Smith and Holt (2007)

Macro System Factors

As a reminder to the reader, “The macrosystem consists of the overarching pattern of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture or subculture, with particular reference to the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures...” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). Hagemann-White et al. included four factors in this system: devaluing women, masculinity, impunity, and media violence. Each are discussed in turn, followed by a factor we have added - governing bodies of UK universities.

Devaluing Women

Devaluing women represents gendered power inequalities that limit access to material and cultural resources and that are underpinned by patriarchal values of gender. Values include women’s complying with men’s needs and wishes, particularly in the home and in sexual encounters. Gender inequalities and patriarchal values set the stage for men to usurp and master women because men collectively were positioned as the ones with power over women. As women are in a position of less power, they are more vulnerable to men, including men’s use of violence and abuse. In their intimate relationship with women, men could “compel obedience indirectly by monopolizing vital resources, dictating preferred choices, micro-regulating a partner’s behaviour, limiting her options and depriving her of support to exercise independent judgment” (Stark, 2007, page 229). This is the structural support for men to use coercion – men persuade women to perform or not perform an act through the use of force, explicit or implicit threats, or some other forms of pressure. Valuing women through elevating their collective gendered power and challenging patriarchal norms thus becomes an imperative to prevent GBV. In other words, societal structures of gender inequality must change to stop GBV (Renzetti, Edleson, and Bergen, 2001).

There are numerous indices of gender inequality used to assess women’s status in relation to men yet empirical research has given limited attention to how these macro level characteristics affect GBV (Heise and Kotsadam, 2015; Yodanis, 2004). Heise and Kotsadam (2015) used data from 44 countries across the globe to look at the influence of macro level characteristics (socioeconomic development, women’s status, gender inequality, and gender-related norms) on population levels of DVA. The extent to which laws limit women’s access to land, property, and other resources positively predicted DVA levels. Additionally, endorsement of norms supporting men’s authority over women and norms justifying DVA predicted variations in prevalence of DVA, in which countries with higher level of norm endorsement had higher levels of DVA. Comparison across countries showed girls’ education in countries with higher norm endorsement predicted lower levels of DVA. In an earlier study examining the effect of macro-level characteristics of European countries (Yodanis, 2004) on sexual and physical violence, women’s status on a national level (as measured by educational status, occupational status, and political status) significantly predicted sexual violence but not physical violence. Of note, occupational status explained 40% of the variation in sexual violence and educational status explained 40% of the variation in sexual violence.

Masculinity

Hagemann-White et al. use masculinity as a word to refer to the interrelated and inseparable power hierarchies among men *vis a vi* women (Christensen and Jensen, 2014). Violent behaviour is a tactical means which men can use to maintain their dominance over women and assert their dominance over marginalised groups of men. “Violence is a part of the system of domination” (Connell, 2005a, page 84), as it allowed men to “draw boundaries and make exclusions” between them and women, as well as amongst men (Connell, 2005a, page 83). Indeed, Messerschmidt (2000) found young men, who lacked resources within school to demonstrate they were men, used violence within their homes to demonstrate their control and strength. We would extend Connell’s theoretical limitation put on the relationship between violence and the gender of men. Violence is not only a means to an end, a position of power, it also constitutes power and the unequal relations between men and women (Hearn, 2012; Walby, 2009). The use of violence allows men to offer “symbolic proof of men’s superiority and right to rule” over other men and women (Connell, 2005b, page 54). Studies on masculine gender-role stress examined if university students in the U.S. would use violence in situations in which their gender identity as men was challenged, with the findings showing threats to masculinity increased risk of perpetrating violence (Copenhaver, Lash and Eisler, 2000; Eisler et al., 2000; Franchina et al., 2001).

Hagemann-White et al. also used masculinity to refer the contradictory gender ideology men must do/practice to show they are men (West and Zimmerman, 1987). For example, men must be “strong, tough, aggressive, and above all, a winner in what is still a Man’s world. To be a winner he has to do what needs to be done. He must be willing to compromise his own long-term health” (Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt, 2000, page 390). Studies discussed earlier evidencing the factor *Masculine Self and Depersonalised Sex* in the ontogenetic systems showed that strictly adhering to gender ideology increases the risk of GBV perpetration.

Impunity

Impunity refers to the failure of the law to prohibit or sanction GBV through the absence of legal provisions, e.g. states failing to take action to hold perpetrators accountable. We will draw from the work of Richardson and Speed (2019) to summarise DVA legal frameworks in England and Wales. The authors grouped legal responses to perpetrators according to the family law, civil law, and criminal law. Victim-survivors can ask family courts for any of the numerous injunctive orders to prohibit perpetrators from causing further harm in a situation. Injunctive orders can be used to address the perpetrator’s: harassment of the victim-survivor; occupation in the home; dispute of property ownership; and contact with children. Perpetrators can be sanctioned under civil law if victim-survivors pursue compensation through a personal injury claim under the Personal Harassment Act 1997 and or the Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority. However, many perpetrators cannot pay the claim so victim-survivors may not see perpetrators sanctioned in the way they wish and or need. Behaviours that can be sanctioned in the criminal justice system have expanded from physical violence only to violating non-molestation orders to coercive and controlling behaviours. Richardson and Speed argued that the law underpinning criminal sanctions for physical violence (Offences Against the Person Act 1861) and non-molestation orders (Criminal and Security Act 2010) did not fully consider the nature of DVA and the restraints on police time and resources, suggesting the law did not prohibit DVA. The introduction of the criminal offence of controlling and coercive behaviour in 2015 was a watershed moment because the legal framework made large steps to be consistent with academic and practitioner understandings of DVA that was based directly on victim-

survivors' experiences. The legal system of England and Wales includes many options to sanction perpetrators for GBV. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of legal sanctions is open to debate as the national rate of DVA increased year on year (Walby, Towers, and Francis, 2014).

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 defines 'sexual' and 'consent' and sets out what constitutes the criminal offences of rape, assault by penetration, sexual assault, and sexual coercion. Refer to the factor *Failed Sanctions* in the exo system for a review of the failure of implement these laws. In April of 2019 'up skirting' was criminalised under the Voyeurism Act. Perpetrators can be sanctioned for up to two years for taking a picture under someone's clothes, typically a woman's skirt, without them knowing. As of September 2019 four men have been prosecuted (Oppenheim, 2019). It is not known how many charges of 'up skirting' have been brought that did not end in successful prosecution.

Media Violence

This factor describes the widely available and easily accessed media that sexualises violence, shows violent social practices as beneficial and successful, and at the same time presents women and children as sexual objects. Two of the mostly widely available mediums to view media violence are TV and the internet. In 2018, there were 27.6 million household in the UK (ONS, 2019) and out of these 27 million had a TV (Statista, 2019). During the same year, adults aged 16 to 34 watched on average 4 hours and 24 minutes of video per day on TV or through other internet mediums like YouTube or games consults (OfCom, 2019). The ubiquity of opportunities to view media and the frequency and duration of its use means the media is a powerful influence on UK culture. Interestingly, no academic studies on the amount or kind of violence in UK media could be located, only work by OfCom. Using data on views of media content, OfCom (2018) found that over one-third (34%) of households queried in 2017 thought there was too much violence in the media and 18% think violent content should never be shown. It could be concluded from this study on perceptions that for most of the UK media violence is acceptable and normal.

Over six decades of research have shown watching violence in the media increases the likelihood of perpetrating violent acts in the short term and long term (Anderson et al., 2003; Huesmann, 2007). The general aggression model proposes that exposure to media violence leads to aggressive behaviour through changing social cognition, specifically by developing and reinforcing aggression related knowledge structures (Anderson et al., 2017). In their study of 7 nations in Europe, North America, and Asia in which the average age of participants was 21, Anderson et al. (2017) showed that across cultures media violence is positively associated with aggression (as measured by the Buss and Perry Aggression Questionnaire; Buss and Perry, 1992) and these cognitive pathways partially mediate the relationship between media violence and aggression. When examining risk factors (peer delinquency, media violence, gender, neighbourhood violence, abusive parents, and victimisation by peers), media violence explained the second most variation in aggressive behaviour. Only peer delinquency explained more, which indicates media violence was the second most important risk factor.

Other forms of media (e.g. video games, music) can influence attitudes condoning GBV (e.g. Beck et al., 2012; Fox and Potocki, 2016) and in turn increase the risk of GBV perpetration (e.g. Centi and Malamuth, 1984; St. Lawrence and Joyner, 1991). For a review of the effect of viewing pornography on GBV perpetration, see earlier discussions in the ontogenetic system.

University Governing Bodies

We have added the factor *University Governing Bodies* to the model to reflect how the higher education system in the UK is uniquely characterised by institutions acting as intermediaries between the government and universities, in which intermediaries distribute funding and make policies regulating universities' practices (Locke, 2007). Funding bodies include but is not limited to: the 7 research councils (now under the purview of UK Research and Innovation), research grants awarded by institutions outside the higher education sector, endowment funds, and Research England. The government gives money to funding bodies who then give money directly to universities. Additional funding pathways may go through Representative Bodies and Agencies. Representative Bodies encompass organisations like Universities UK that represent vice-chancellors and principals, and interest groups of universities such as the Russell Group. Agencies are sector wide organisations that service a specific purpose, e.g. Higher Education Statistics Agency collects data from universities and colleges on staff and students to monitor trends, Quality Assurance Agency sets and monitors the standards of UK universities. The government may give money to a funding body who then allocates funds to an Agency or a Representative Body who then allocates monies to universities. In brief there are many funding pathways for universities in the UK. Untangling them is made even more difficult as new Representative Bodies and Agencies emerge.

The Higher Education and Research Act 2017 was the first major reform to the higher education sector in 25 years and included the creation of the Office for Students (OfS), which is tasked with regulating the higher education market and protecting student interests. OfS has the authority to register and deregister universities' degree granting powers and they can determine the amount of public funding universities can access. (The predecessor of) OfS provided £2.45 million in catalyst funding to 63 universities to develop initiatives to prevent and combat GBV over a one-year period. OfS commissioned Advance HE, an agency that provides teaching accreditations and supports best practices in university governance, to conduct an ad hoc evaluation of projects (Advance HE, 2018). Advance HE evaluated 11 of the 63 projects based on a thematic analysis of project topics. While we acknowledge that OfS wished to give universities the opportunity to engage in GBV work they thought best for their university, the lack of evaluation criteria set out beforehand severely limits the robustness of the evaluation. It is not clear what benefits to students and staff were created in the short and long term from these projects. There is pressure on the OfS to fully use its far-reaching powers and link collecting data on GBV to universities degree granting power and access to funding (Women and Equalities Committee, 2018).

Summary of research evidencing macro factors

The strength of the evidence for four of the five factors included in the macro system (devaluing women, masculinity, impunity, media violence) was robust. The studies used to evidence the factor devaluing women included the UK in larger global studies showing how gendered norms and women's lower status influence GBV perpetration. While the breadth of studies evidencing the factor masculinity is robust, this body of evidence should be considered with some caution as no studies could be located that took place in the UK. The factor impunity described the limitations of the laws to sanction and punish perpetrators of DVA and sexual violence. We argue that this has contributed to rising rates of each. Studies evidencing the factor media violence included data on the frequency and length of watching media and how viewing media violence influences the likelihood of engaging in aggressive behaviours.

The factor UK governing bodies has the potential to include robust evidence showing the influence of various bodies on universities. OfS, in particular, influenced universities through the distribution of funds to initiate schemes to prevent and combat GBV. However, the effectiveness of universities' schemes and in turn the effectiveness of OfS to influence universities' work to prevent and combat GBV is unclear because of the lack of robust evidence.

Macro system - prevention and response implications

Prevention and response implications are combined for the macro system because the UK government combines these in their strategy to address GBV. In March of 2019 the UK government released an updated version of their strategy to tackle violence against women and girls (HM Government, 2019). The four-pronged strategy will focus on prevention, providing services, partnership working, and pursuing perpetrators, all strategies recommended throughout this working paper for universities. We describe briefly the Home Office's strategy for prevention, partnership working and pursuing perpetrators. Providing services is essential but outside the scope of this working paper. The Home Office's prevention strategy focuses on: funding new research on engaging men and boys to challenge harmful gender norms and relationship myths; sexual harassment in workplaces, with the aim of introducing a statutory code of practice for employers; raising awareness of GBV in the night time economy; working with Universities UK to provide support to universities to implement their recommendation in their report *Changing the Culture*. The strategy on partnership working emphasises agencies working together to support victim-survivors. While unequivocally needed, the strategy pushes to the side stopping perpetration also requires partnership working. The strategy addressing perpetrators focuses on the criminal justice system's responses to perpetrators. As discussed earlier, there are many areas of the criminal justice system in need of improvement.

Table 5. Macro factors facilitating GBV perpetration in universities

Macro Factors	Description	International studies evidencing factor	Studies evidencing factor in U.K.
Devaluing women	Material and cultural subordination of women and ideas on femininity and sexuality	Heise and Kotsadam (2015); Renzetti, Edleson, and Bergen, (2001); Yodanis (2004)	
Masculinity	Hierarchical power of gender regime and the pressure to conform masculine standards	Christensen and Jensen (2014); Connell (2005a); Connell (2005b); Copenhaver, Lash and Eisler (2000); Eisler et al. (2000); Franchina et al. (2001); Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt (2000); See factor <i>Masculine Self and Depersonalised Sex</i> in ontogenetic system	
Impunity	State inaction in holding perpetrators accountable and in allowing structural power inequalities to continue to exist		Richardson and Speed (2019); Walby, Towers, and Francis (2014); See factor <i>Failed Sanctions</i> in exo system
Media violence	Widespread prevalence of media that portrays GBV as rewarding and the social acceptance of the media to do so	Anderson et al. (2003); Anderson et al. (2017); Beck et al. (2012); Centi and Malamuth (1984); Fox and Potocki (2016); Huesmann (2007); St. Lawrence and Joyner (1991); See factor <i>Excessive Use of Pornography</i> in the ontogenetic system.	
Institutions governing and regulating UK universities			Advance HE (20018); Higher Education and Research Act 2017; Locke (2007)

Chrono system

As a reminder to the reader, the chrono system refers to the passage of time for individuals and the systems around an individual, as well as the historical roots of systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). There are a small number of studies in the UK pointing towards the importance of this system. For example, one study conducted by the Students' Union at Queen's University in Belfast (QUB, 2016) asked students about revictimization, finding that 46% of those who experienced attempted sexual assault were victimised again and 40% of those who experienced sexual assault experienced sexual assault at least one more time. This finding is consistent with longitudinal studies in the U.S. on victimisation (e.g. Himelein, 1995; Smith, White, and Holland, 2003). UK studies on repeat perpetration by students could not be located. We drew from longitudinal studies conducted in the U.S. on male university students' perpetration behaviours (Abbey and McAuslan, 2004; Zinzow and Thompson, 2015) to note the high probability some UK male students will perpetrate GBV on multiple occasions, which will be accompanied by an increase in hostility towards women and attitudes supporting the use of GBV. (See ontogenetic system for details of the U.S. studies.) Without robust evidence, it is difficult to identify the risk factors for this group of men in UK universities, as well as the extent and targets of their violent and abusive acts. Moreover, it is not clear how changes in meso, exo, and macro systems have facilitated or prevented perpetration.

Bringing It All Together: Recommendations for UK Universities

Future Research

For all of the systems from the ontogenetic to chrono, a vast amount of research is needed to understand perpetration in UK university, which means we are drawing extensively from research conducted in the U.S. to understand what is happening in the UK. We have noted areas of further research throughout this paper to provide guidance for universities and UK governing bodies. A brief list of these areas is presented here:

- Demographic characteristics of student and staff perpetrators, as well as other risk factors associated with perpetration like mental health difficulties, hostile attitudes towards women, threats to masculinity, and endorsement of GBV myths.
- Male and female students and staff perpetration, and associated alcohol consumption.
- The links between type of student accommodation (e.g. student halls, private, living at home) and characteristics of GBV behaviours used.
- Links between threats to masculinity and perpetration in a UK context.
- The effect of social consequences and university sanctions on perpetration. Social consequences include what victim-survivors want to happen (e.g. public apology) for them to feel like they have justice.
- The effect of family stress on student and staff perpetration.
- Perpetration that targets any staff member.
- Longitudinal studies of student and staff perpetration.

Additionally, further research is needed to understand the context and characteristics of GBV perpetrated towards those with marginalised identities. For instance, research has been conducted in the U.S. on who perpetrates racialised sexual harassment (e.g. Buchanan and Ormerod, 2002). More work needs to be done to understand manifestations like these in UK universities.

Prevention

Universities UK (2016a) recommended universities address the whole university when developing and implementing efforts to prevent GBV, which is in line with public health approaches in the U.S., e.g. the ACHA model. What this looks like in practice is less elusive than it was 10 years ago. Some key points to consider are:

- Forms of violence generally and GBV specifically have similar underpinning factors (Decker, 2018; Hagemann-White et al., 2010). Prevention work should tackle multiple forms of violence (e.g. violence in local businesses like pubs, sexual violence, and DVA; violence in residential areas and sexual harassment) and raise awareness about links.
- Most prevention work focuses on ontogenetic and micro systems, which means it is unlikely there will be long term changes when the social, cultural, and geographical environments contradict prevention work messages (Degue et al., 2014).

The final area of research we recommend needs further work is whole university approaches to prevention and evaluations that:

- Explicitly include and highlight the views and experiences of those with intersectional identities.
- Assess university level characteristics (e.g. rural vs urban; Russell or post-92 university) because of a lack of evidence documenting how effectiveness of prevention work varies (or not) across universities.
- Assess how many systems are addressed in prevention work and social-cultural relevance of prevention work (McLaren and Hawe, 2005).
- Explores the synergistic effect of prevention work in multiple systems (Banyard, 2014).

Appendix A

There is a long history of national outrage upon learning about the failed sanctions described in the exo system, leading to national guidance being reissued. For example, after decades of feminist campaigning, a 1981 BBC documentary called 'Police' caused media and public outcry when the aggressive interrogation of a victim-survivor by Thames Valley police was broadcast. In 1983, a Home Office circular (25/83) then recommended that police forces should: Work with sexual violence cases with respect, tact and sensitivity; develop training for officers; keep the victim-survivor informed; and have a presumption of belief. This was followed by the Home Office Circular 69/86, which encouraged specialist examination suits, initial statements taken by a female officer, and investigations headed by senior officers. In 1990, the Victims' Charter (updated in 1996) was launched which referred to a victim-survivors' right to information. The *Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004* created the Commissioner for Victims and Witnesses and replaced the Victim's Charter with Code of Practice.

The Code of Practice required the criminal justice system to have minimum service standards, including instigating 165 Witness Care Units bringing CPS and police together (Home Office 2005). The Sexual Violence and Abuse Action Plan (HM Government, 2007) then pledged that SARC's (Sexual Assault Referral Centers) would be established across police forces, and announced the piloting of Independent Sexual Violence Advisors who would help to keep victim-survivors informed as well as provide emotional support. The plan also brought in performance monitoring of CJ agencies and national training for police on evidence gathering and working with victim-survivors (HM Government, 2007). The 2009 Guide to Code of Practice for Victims, updated the 2005 Code, again calling for victim-survivors to be kept informed.

This was followed by the the 2011 Government Response to the 2010 Stern Review of responses to victim-survivors, which pledged to clarify confusion about the prevalence of false allegations, and again called for performance monitoring of criminal justice agencies. A 2012/29/EU Directive established 'minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime'; and later updates of the Code of Practice (MOJ, 2015) listed over 100 entitlements given to victim-survivors. These entitlements have remained largely procedural, with most relating to being kept informed about the case, the opportunity to visit courts, and support in applying for special measures to help give evidence at trial. Having said this, a number of more participatory entitlements were also delineated, including the right to contribute to sentencing and parole decisions, and the right to review CPS (and to a lesser extent, police) decisions to No Further Action (NFA) their case (MOJ, 2015). The most recent CPS (2012) guidance for prosecutors also stated that "the CPS is fully committed to taking all practicable steps to help victims and witnesses through the often difficult experience of becoming involved in the criminal justice system" (p.29) and promised that "we will not allow myths and stereotypes to influence our decisions and we will robustly challenge such attitudes" (p.15).

There is a lack of contemporary data on criminal justice responses to rape, particularly from quantitative studies of large samples. However, it is clear from the consistency in the significant amount of literature that sanctions are failing consistently over time despite some improvements.

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ⁱ Figure 1 is adapted from Hagemann-White et al.’s (2010) model.

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