



# GENERAL ELECTION MANIFESTO

2015

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## INTRODUCTION

**The human rights of men and boys in the United Kingdom have been increasingly assaulted by the state’s actions and inactions for over 30 years, as they have across much of the developed world. J4MB is the only political party in the English-speaking world campaigning for the human rights of men and boys, including the right of all children to enjoy good access to both parents following family breakdowns, and the restoration of fatherhood and strong families.**

The British state has become ever more hostile towards men and boys, although it’s largely funded by men, through income tax receipts. Of all the income tax collected by the state, men collectively pay 72%, women 28%.<sup>1</sup> In 2011/12 British men paid £68 billion more income tax than women, yet the state disadvantages men and boys in many areas, usually to advantage women and girls.

There are no areas in which the state disadvantages women and girls.

A state which is hostile towards half its citizens also affects women who are mothers of boys, or who are men’s partners, relatives, colleagues, friends or acquaintances. In the case of abortion, foetal alcohol syndrome, and fatherlessness, girls (including those yet unborn) are also assaulted by the actions and inactions of the state. The result is both inevitable and predictable – an ever more dysfunctional society, with increasing alienation of the sexes.

In this manifesto we provide details of the state’s disadvantaging of men and boys in 20 areas, and we make proposals in each of them. The areas are presented in a broadly chronological order:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Abortion                                    | Homelessness  |
| Foetal alcohol syndrome                     | Suicide   |
| Genital mutilation                          | Criminal justice system                             |
| Fatherlessness, restoring strong families   | Paternity fraud                                     |
| Education                                   | Anonymity for suspected sexual offenders            |
| Employment                                  | Divorce   |
| Access to children after family breakdowns  | Health  |
| Domestic violence                           | Political representation                            |
| Sexual abuse                                | State interference in company director appointments |
| Armed Forces veterans’ mental health issues | Expectation of retirement years                     |

The social engineering programmes which seek equality of gender outcomes are having an increasingly damaging impact on British society, and the Conservative-led coalition is no less keen on driving those programmes than the preceding Labour administrations. We have a vision of Britain as a nation that doesn’t disadvantage half its citizens. A society in which men and women are equals in opportunity but able to make their own choices in life, without state intervention to advantage one sex over the other.

It’s said that under the ‘first past the post’ system, votes for parties other than the major parties are wasted, but voting is the only mechanism democracy affords citizens to seriously challenge politicians who embrace the all-pervading anti-male ideology which has dictated the state’s policy directions for over 30 years.

<sup>1</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/20/womens-share-of-income-tax-receipts-declines-slightly/>

The major parties are institutionally committed to advantaging women and girls at the expense of men and boys, regardless of the consequences, as we recognized after engaging in parliamentary inquiries which demonstrated that the government simply doesn't respond to rational arguments against anti-male policy directions. The only choice for citizens concerned about the state's assaults on the human rights of men and boys is to vote – and to vote for J4MB.

In the short to medium term, our challenge is to improve public understanding about the state's assaults on the human rights of men and boys. We do that in various ways, including the use of social media. Our television and radio appearances may be found on our YouTube channel.<sup>2</sup>

Our longer term strategy, however, is to develop our party to the point that we can field many candidates in general elections, in marginal constituencies, where the major parties are vulnerable. Politicians will then have no choice but to take heed of the voices we represent, engage with us, and seek to appease them by modifying their parties' policies, and their direction of travel.

At the 2015 general election we'll be fielding two candidates in adjacent constituencies near Nottingham where, in 2010, MPs were elected with very slim majorities:

- I'll be standing in Ashfield, where Gloria De Piero retained the seat for Labour with 192 more votes than a Liberal Democrat candidate. She's the Shadow Minister for Women & Equalities.
- Ray Barry, leader of the campaign group Real Fathers for Justice, will be standing against a Conservative, Anna Soubry, in Broxtowe.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank all the men and women who have supported J4MB since its launch in February 2013, including those who have contributed to this manifesto. We've gone to considerable lengths to ensure that all the information we present is factually correct. If you should find any mistakes, or you believe any of the content to be misleading, please draw this to our attention.

If you feel able to support J4MB in any way, please contact us. I invite you to make a donation, which will support our campaigning.<sup>3</sup> Nobody associated with J4MB has ever drawn any personal income from donations, and we don't expect that to change in the foreseeable future, if ever.

Thank you for your support, and for seeking justice for men and boys (and the women who love them).

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCKhX1c3ow6BrzdzP3ydpeZQ/videos>

<sup>3</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/donate>

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# ABORTION

## BACKGROUND

Elective abortions are permissible in Britain up to 24 weeks after conception, yet medical teams are fighting to save the lives of foetuses of around that age, and increasingly they are succeeding. Conversely, there are medical teams at work in the same hospitals killing foetuses of the same age, prior to extracting their dead bodies from their mothers' wombs. We find this morally indefensible.

There comes a point at which the basic right to life of an unborn child overrides the right of a woman over her body. One person's rights end where another person's rights begin. In an age when contraception has long been readily available and highly reliable, women should be held morally accountable for the children they conceive. J4MB believes there's a point in pregnancy when society – and the law – needs to recognize the right of the unborn child to life.

When the Abortion Act (1967) was passed, the British public was assured it wouldn't lead to 'abortion on demand'. That assurance has proved hollow. Effectively, abortion on demand has been freely available in the UK for almost half a century. It's estimated that by the time of the 2015 general election, approximately 8.2 million elective abortions will have been performed under the terms of the Abortion Act (1967) – more than the current combined populations of Scotland and Wales, or London. There's a growing awareness that 97% of the abortions carried out in England, Wales, and Scotland, are carried out on grounds which may be illegal. The Abortion Act (1967) permits elective abortions to be performed on numerous grounds, when authorized by two medical practitioners. One of the grounds is to reduce the risk of injury to the mental health of women.

In 2012, in England and Wales, 185,122 abortions were carried out.<sup>4</sup> 180,117 of them (97%) were carried out under grounds 'C' of the Abortion Act, 'the pregnancy has not exceeded its twenty-fourth week and the continuance of the pregnancy would involve risk, greater than if the pregnancy were terminated, of injury to the physical or mental health of the pregnant woman (section 1(1)(a))'.

However, of those 180,117 abortions, 180,008 (99.94%) were carried out on the grounds of reducing the risk of injury to the women's mental health, while only 109 (0.06%) were carried out on the grounds of reducing the risk of injury to the women's physical health.

There's no evidence to support the thesis that abortion reduces the risk to mental health of women with an unwanted pregnancy, and clinical trials to investigate the matter would, of course, be highly unethical. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that abortion itself increases the risk to mental health, so medical practitioners who authorize abortions on mental health risk grounds are doing so in the knowledge that there's no body of research to support their authorizations.

In December 2011 The National Collaborating Centre for Mental Health published a 252-page report for the Academy of Medical Royal Colleges, 'Induced Abortion and Mental Health: a systematic review of the mental health outcomes of induced abortion, including their prevalence and associated factors'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/211790/2012\\_Abortion\\_Statistics.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/211790/2012_Abortion_Statistics.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.nccmh.org.uk/publications\\_SR\\_abortion\\_in\\_MH.html](http://www.nccmh.org.uk/publications_SR_abortion_in_MH.html)

Among the key findings of the report (p.8) was, “The rate of mental health problems for women with an unwanted pregnancy were the same whether they had an abortion or gave birth”.

In April 2013 the Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry published a report, ‘Does abortion reduce the mental health risks of unwanted or unplanned pregnancy? A re-appraisal of the evidence’.<sup>8</sup> The full conclusion of the report:

There is no available evidence to suggest that abortion has therapeutic effects in reducing the mental health risks of unwanted or unintended pregnancy. There is suggestive evidence that abortion may be associated with small to moderate increases in risks of anxiety, alcohol misuse, illicit drug use, and suicidal behaviour.

#### PROPOSALS

1. The Abortion Act (1967) should be amended to limit women’s right to have an abortion on the grounds of reducing the risk of injury to their mental health to a maximum of 13 weeks after conception. At this stage the gender of the embryo is unclear, so this would result in the end of gender-specific abortions, the incidence of which in the UK is a matter of some dispute.
2. The Abortion Act (1967) should remain unchanged with respect to women’s rights to have abortions carried out on the grounds of reducing the risk of injury to their physical health.
3. It should be a criminal offence for a British woman to have an abortion outside the UK more than 13 weeks after conception, on grounds other than reducing the risk of injury to her physical health.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://anp.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/04/02/0004867413484597>

# FOETAL ALCOHOL SYNDROME

## BACKGROUND

The start of the Wikipedia entry on foetal alcohol syndrome:<sup>9</sup>

Fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) or foetal alcohol syndrome is a pattern of physical and mental defects that can develop in a fetus in association with high levels of alcohol consumption during pregnancy. **Alcohol crosses the placental barrier and can stunt fetal growth or weight, create distinctive facial stigmata, damage neurons and brain structures, which can result in intellectual disability and other psychological or behavioral problems, and also cause other physical damage. The main effect of FAS is permanent central nervous system damage, especially to the brain.** [Our emphasis.] Developing brain cells and structures can be malformed or have development interrupted by prenatal alcohol exposure; this can create an array of primary cognitive and functional disabilities (including poor memory, attention deficits, impulsive behavior, and poor cause-effect reasoning) as well as secondary disabilities (for example, predispositions to mental health problems and drug addiction). Alcohol exposure presents a risk of fetal brain damage at any point during a pregnancy, since brain development is ongoing throughout pregnancy.

**As of 1987, fetal alcohol exposure was the leading known cause of intellectual disability in the Western world.** [Our emphasis.] In the United States and Europe, the FAS prevalence rate is estimated to be between 0.2–2 in every 1000 live births. **FAS should not be confused with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders (FASD), a condition which describes a continuum of permanent birth defects caused by maternal consumption of alcohol during pregnancy, which includes FAS, as well as other disorders, and which affects about 1% of live births in the US (i.e., about 10 cases per 1000 live births). The lifetime medical and social costs of FAS are estimated to be as high as US\$800,000 per child born with the disorder.** [Our emphasis.] Surveys found that in the United States, 10–15% of pregnant women report having recently drunk alcohol, and up to 30% drink alcohol at some point during pregnancy. **The current recommendation of the Surgeon General of the United States, the British Department of Health and the Australian Government National Health and Medical Research Council is to drink no alcohol at all during pregnancy.** [Our emphasis.]

In 2014, a test case was brought by lawyers on behalf of a six-year-old girl. Three Court of Appeal judges were told that the 17-year-old mother was drinking ‘an enormous amount’ while pregnant, including a half-bottle of vodka and eight cans of strong lager a day. However, the judges ruled the girl was not entitled to criminal injuries compensation from her mother. From a newspaper article:<sup>10</sup>

The appeal judges unanimously ruled: ‘The central reason is that we have held that a mother who is pregnant and who drinks to excess despite knowledge of the potential harmful consequence to the child of doing so is not guilty of a criminal offence under our law if her child is subsequently born damaged as a result.’

If the appeal had succeeded it could have paved the way for pregnant women’s behaviour to be criminalised, according to the British Pregnancy Advisory Service (Bpas) and Birthrights. Lawyers for the child say that view was ‘misplaced speculation’.

Ann Furedi, chief executive of the Bpas, and Rebecca Schiller, co-chair of Birthrights, welcomed the court’s unanimous decision, saying: ‘This is an extremely important ruling for women everywhere. **The UK’s highest courts have recognised that women must be able to make their own decisions about their pregnancies.**’ [Our emphasis.]

In a later section in this manifesto, on the criminal justice system, we explore the issue of women often not being held accountable for their actions and inactions. If men were treated as leniently as women by the criminal justice system, five in every six men in British prisons wouldn’t be there.<sup>11</sup> We can be sure that a

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<sup>9</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fetal\\_alcohol\\_syndrome](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fetal_alcohol_syndrome)

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2860485/Mothers-drink-NOT-criminalised-child-left-brain-damaged-mother-drank-half-bottle-vodka-eight-cans-lager-day-pregnant-loses-test-case-compensation.html#ixzz3LWEcCfm1>

<sup>11</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=215>

man who poisoned a foetus, leading to lifelong mental and physical damage, would serve a lengthy prison sentence – and rightly so.

The potentially damaging impact of alcohol consumption during pregnancy has long been known. At a time when women are asserting their rights to a greater involvement in society, and assuming more responsibility for social outcomes, we believe it is reasonable to hold women accountable not only for the physical health of their children – both unborn and born – but for the future mental health of the nation as a whole. J4MB rejects the notion that a woman can make unilateral decisions about her body when she is pregnant. The rights of a woman to self-determination must end where the rights of the unborn child begin.

In our view, drinking alcohol during pregnancy at a level that might lead to FAS amounts to inflicting Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) on the unborn child. The Crown Prosecution Service issues guidelines for sentencing people convicted of this very serious crime against the person.<sup>12</sup>

#### PROPOSAL

The government should introduce legislation to prosecute women who have given birth to babies with FAS with inflicting GBH, and if found guilty, give them custodial sentences in line with CPS guidance, 9 – 16 years.

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<sup>12</sup> [http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/s\\_to\\_u/sentencing\\_manual/wounding\\_or\\_inflicting\\_grievous\\_bodily\\_harm\\_with\\_intent/](http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/s_to_u/sentencing_manual/wounding_or_inflicting_grievous_bodily_harm_with_intent/)



# GENITAL MUTILATION

## BACKGROUND

The law in the UK forbids all forms of female genital mutilation – FGM – including those which have less impact on females, than male genital mutilation – MGM – has on males. FGM is justifiably regarded as a human rights issue, and the law makes no accommodation for religious or cultural considerations.

Male genital mutilation – MGM – is a human rights issue too, but boys are not accorded the same rights to protection as girls. It is right to be concerned about girl's rights not to have their genitals mutilated, and it is right to be concerned about boys' rights not to have their genitals mutilated. If genital mutilation is illegal for girls, why shouldn't it be illegal for boys? Everyone in a modern society should be accorded the same rights irrespective of gender.

With adults, it's a different matter. It's right that adults should be able to make decisions about their own bodies. Adults are in a position to give informed consent to surgical procedures, but babies and children aren't in such a position.

In the vast majority of cases, genital mutilation is performed solely for cultural or religious reasons. This applies to boys as well as girls. Both MGM and FGM frequently lead to complications, however – sometimes resulting in death, from bleeding. Furthermore, it's now widely accepted in medical circles that MGM doesn't have the health benefits (for males or their partners) which were at one time widely claimed, and the practice is increasingly being opposed by people in religious traditions which have long required or recommended it.<sup>13</sup>

MGM can lead to numerous physical problems.<sup>14</sup> MGM results in a considerable reduction in the sensitivity of the penis, reducing circumcised men's pleasure during sex<sup>15,16</sup> just as some forms of FGM reduce sexual pleasure in women. MGM can also lead to mental health problems, when men become resentful and angry at the assaults carried out on them when they were babies or children.

Quite apart from potential adverse physical and mental health consequences, a number of authorities are strongly opposed to MGM on ethical grounds. Brian D Earp, Research Fellow at the University of Oxford, Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, recently published, 'Female genital mutilation (FGM) and male circumcision: Should there be a separate ethical discourse?'<sup>17</sup> Glen Poole leads the organization 'Helping Men'<sup>18</sup> and runs the blog, 'Ending Unnecessary Male Circumcision in the UK',<sup>19</sup> which expands this debate.

## PROPOSALS

1. We call for the practice of MGM on individuals under the age of 18 to be made illegal other than on grounds of medical need.
2. All MGM operations should be registered, the reason(s) for them being performed recorded, and the related information passed to the Department of Health for publication.

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.jewishcircumcision.org/62011NewsRelease.htm>

<sup>14</sup> <http://newborns.stanford.edu/CircComplications.html>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/updates/news-updates/proof-its-mutilation/>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/23374102>

<sup>17</sup>

[https://www.academia.edu/8817976/Female\\_genital\\_mutilation\\_FGM\\_and\\_male\\_circumcision\\_Should\\_there\\_be\\_a\\_separate\\_ethical\\_discourse](https://www.academia.edu/8817976/Female_genital_mutilation_FGM_and_male_circumcision_Should_there_be_a_separate_ethical_discourse)

<sup>18</sup> <http://helpingmenblog.blogspot.co.uk>

<sup>19</sup> <http://endmalecircumcision.blogspot.co.uk/p/about.html>

3. Until MGM is made illegal, it should only be performed after the application of local anaesthetic. Only medical practitioners should be permitted to perform the operation, and only in registered medical premises.
4. Taking males under the age of 18 abroad to have MGM performed should be a criminal offence.
5. Men may choose voluntarily to have MGM performed on themselves any time after their 18th birthday.

# FATHERLESSNESS, RESTORING STRONG FAMILIES

## BACKGROUND

For centuries, probably millennia, the family has been the basic building block of society. Traditionally, a man would marry and set up a new family unit, with him as the protector of his wife and their children, and take on sole responsibility both morally and legally for their welfare.

The family was stable because it was for life. As Sir James Wilde (better known to posterity as Lord Penzance) put it in 1866, 'Marriage, as understood in Christendom, may ... be defined as the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman, to the exclusion of all others'.<sup>20</sup> This concept is embodied in the traditional wedding service of the Church of England along with the statement that the purpose of marriage is for the procreation of children.

No longer is this the case. In only forty years or so, the entire institution of the family, underpinned by a lifelong commitment to marriage, has been overturned. This was driven by feminist politicians such as Harriet Harman and Patricia Hewitt, who said in a report in 1992, 'It cannot be assumed that men are bound to be an asset to family life, or that the presence of fathers in families is necessarily a means to social cohesion'.<sup>21</sup>

Today, a father as head of a family – a leader, provider, and protector – is fast becoming an anachronism. In fact, fatherhood is being systematically removed from society by governments of all political hues who espouse the Harman/Hewitt political doctrine, through the family courts in their decisions about child access after divorce, and through the widespread development of single parenting, usually single motherhood.

There has been a social shift away from marriage in the last 40 years. Divorce is at an all-time high, having increased by 800% since 1960<sup>22</sup> and almost half of all children now see their parents break up by the time they are 15. 45% of all marriages end in divorce<sup>23</sup> and the current median duration of marriages is 11.5 years. Furthermore, women are the principal agents in ending their marriages – at more than three times the rate men are.<sup>24</sup>

Today, most couple arrangements amount to an uncommitted union of two equal but legally uncommitted partners, with an even worse prognosis than marriage of lasting until the children grow to adulthood. Fatherhood is deemed unnecessary by the state, so taxpayers are subsidizing sperm banks for single women and lesbians.<sup>25</sup>

The role of the mother has changed. Once the bearer and nurturer of young children until their emerging viability as teens, women now combine their child-bearing role with paid employment. This is leading to women marrying much later – in 2011, at 33,<sup>7</sup> or not at all, choosing instead to become single mothers.

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<sup>20</sup> Hyde v Hyde and Woodmansee (1866) LR 1 P&D 130, 133

<sup>21</sup> 'The Family Way: A New Approach to Policy Making', by Anna Coote, Harriet Harman, Patricia Hewitt. *Feminist Review* No. 41 (Summer, 1992), pp. 136-138 Published by: Palgrave Macmillan Journals Article Stable <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1395246>

<sup>22</sup> UK All Divorces 1858-2011. United Kingdom Office for National Statistics

<sup>23</sup> Statistical Bulletin ONS: Divorces in England and Wales. 2011. 2011 is the latest year for which we currently have data on this area.

<sup>24</sup> UK Fact Proven Divorces: Men –vs- Women 1898-2011. United Kingdom Office for National Statistics

<sup>25</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/02/nhs-to-fund-sperm-bank-for-lesbians-and-single-women-taxpayers-pay-for-a-new-generation-of-fatherless-families/>

<sup>7</sup> Reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, 24 November 2014. Provisional figures for 2011 suggest the mean age for women to marry had risen to 33.8 years. Marriages in England and Wales (Provisional), 2011, United Kingdom Office for National Statistics

At the lower end of the social scale, women are choosing what has become known as ‘bureaugamy’—marriage to the state. They are having children with no intention of being married, and seeking the support of the state as the surrogate father. Given that men collectively pay 72% of the income tax collected in the UK, women are effectively replacing men as partners, with men as taxpayers.<sup>31</sup>

Children have effectively been removed from the nurturing bosom of the family and, funded by taxpayers’ money, placed under common social care and control in what amounts to state-sponsored institutional child care. Children’s social values are now being shaped by politically correct broader society rather than by their biological parents.

A third of UK children are (or have been) caught up in the family justice system in Britain,<sup>32</sup> their care and upbringing often parcelled out between warring ex-spouses. Large numbers of them live with single parents – almost invariably their mothers, in de-facto matriarchies with little or no male influence and input into their lives.

Even greater numbers live in ‘blended families’: thrust unwillingly into a jumble of step-parents, half-brothers and half-sisters and assorted non-blood relatives and permanently deprived of their natural kin, and of their right to the patriarchal protection and inheritance of their biological fathers.

Findings from a recent study<sup>33</sup> suggest that children who experience parental separation are more likely to report psychological distress when they reach their 30s than those who grow up in an intact family. Furthermore, the findings indicate that this association does not diminish over time across generations.

British society is now in turmoil, and the evidence is before us. The most recent scandal of child abuse in Rotherham shows us the effect of the absence of fathers from children’s lives. The victims were almost exclusively white girls who were in the care of the local authority. According to the official report on the scandal, many of them were labelled by the police and others as ‘undesirables’ and not worthy of police protection.<sup>34</sup> From the report’s Executive Summary:

No one knows the true scale of child sexual exploitation (CSE) in Rotherham over the years. Our conservative estimate is that approximately 1,400 children were sexually exploited over the full Inquiry period, from 1997 to 2013.

In just over a third of cases, children affected by sexual exploitation were previously known to services because of child protection and neglect. It is hard to describe the appalling nature of the abuse that child victims suffered. They were raped by multiple perpetrators, trafficked to other towns and cities in the north of England, abducted, beaten, and intimidated. There were examples of children who had been doused in petrol and threatened with being set alight, threatened with guns, made to witness brutally violent rapes and threatened they would be next if they told anyone. Girls as young as 11 were raped by large numbers of male perpetrators.

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<sup>31</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/20/womens-share-of-income-tax-receipts-declines-slightly/>

<sup>32</sup> Sir Paul Coleridge, retired senior judge of the Family Courts Division, speaking at the launch of UK Marriage Week at the House of Commons on 6th February 2012, referred to 3.8 million children caught up in the family justice system, out of a total of around 12 million children under 17 in Britain at that time.

<sup>33</sup> Lacey, R., Bartley, M., Pikhart, H., Stafford, M., Cable, N. and Coleman, L. (2012) “Parental separation and adult psychological distress: Evidence for the ‘reduced effect’ hypothesis?” *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 3(3), pp. 359-368. <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1355608/1/1355608.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> [file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Independent\\_inquiry\\_CSE\\_in\\_Rotherham.pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Independent_inquiry_CSE_in_Rotherham.pdf) ‘Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham 1997-2013’. Alexis Jay OBE. Section 8.2. Page 69

The girls were clearly players in the phenomenon, many of them ‘swapping sex for food, cigarettes and affection’. Herbert Purdy wrote a powerful piece about the role fatherlessness played in the Rotherham scandal.<sup>35</sup>

These girls were targeted by predatory men because there was nobody to protect them – even from themselves. They were in care, therefore by definition they had no family, especially a family with a father at its head, able to exercise authority under a generally understood rule of father’s authority, indeed an expectation that he had a right and a duty to protect them. Being in care might mean children are cared for, but it does not mean they are being cared about. The state cannot protect such children, only families with fathers can.

If anyone is in any doubt about this, they need only read the findings of Civitas (The Institute for the Study of Civil Society) whose report, ‘Experiments in living: the fatherless family’<sup>36</sup> tells a sorry tale. Some headline facts from the report present a depressing litany of serious social problems, all of which are visible in society today:

- Lone mothers are poorer
- Non-resident biological fathers are at risk of losing contact with their children altogether
- Children living without their biological fathers are more likely to live in poverty and deprivation

Teenagers living without their biological fathers:

- Are more likely to experience problems with sexual health
- Are more likely to offend
- Are more likely to smoke
- Are more likely to drink alcohol
- Are more likely to take drugs
- Are more likely to play truant from school
- Are more likely to leave school at 16

Young adults who grow up not living with their biological fathers:

- Are less likely to attain qualifications
- Are more likely to experience unemployment
- Are more likely to have low incomes
- Are more likely be on income support
- Are more likely to offend and go to jail
- Are more likely to suffer from long term emotional and psychological problems
- Are more likely to have children outside marriage or outside any partnership

Girls who live in households without their biological fathers are at a further disadvantage. The start of a *Time* magazine article, published in 2010:<sup>37</sup>

Kids getting older younger – KGOY, as it’s known – is not just a cultural phenomenon. Girls are literally hitting puberty at a younger age, and alarming the health community, since early onset puberty is often associated with a higher incidence of breast cancer and of behavioral problems. Now a new study has

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<sup>35</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com/?p=519>

<sup>36</sup> O’Neil, R (2002), ‘Experiments in Living: the fatherless family’. CIVITAS – The Institute for the Study of Civil Society.

<sup>37</sup> <http://healthland.time.com/2010/09/17/another-cause-of-early-puberty-in-girls-absent-dads/>

suggested that fathers may have a hand in how their daughters mature. Researchers from University of California, Berkeley, have discovered that girls who live in homes without a biological father physically mature sooner than those who live with their biological father.

## PROPOSALS

We call for measures to rebuild strong families and restore fatherhood. It is our view that people need to re-covenant with marriage in our society and embrace again the principles of monogamy, parenting and fidelity. However, that means society needs to re-covenant with the people over what marriage really means.

1. The government needs to restore the tax advantages that married people used to enjoy. The sum of a couple's married person's tax allowances (MPTAs) should exceed the sum of the two individual tax allowances, and it should be made available in full to the breadwinning spouse for couples whose children are under secondary school age, should couples decide to take advantage of it, so as to encourage stay-at-home parenting. The cost of this to the state would be minimal when compared to the cost of subsidizing nursery school places for young children with working mothers. The signal it would send about the need for a stable home in which young children can be nurtured to become fully rounded adults, based on a committed marriage as a legal and ethical covenant for life, would be significant.
2. The government must abolish the disincentive to men to marry, namely the institutional punishment of men in divorce – along with the punishment of their children under the current system. We cover these areas in the sections on 'Divorce' and 'Access to children after family breakdowns'.
3. The state should not be encouraging fatherless families, so it should stop subsidizing sperm banks for single women and lesbians.

# EDUCATION

## BACKGROUND

The state education system has become ever more dominated by female teachers over many years. Between 1970 and 2010 the proportion of female primary and nursery school teachers rose from 77.4% to 87.4%. Over the same period, the proportion of female secondary school teachers rose from 45.4% to 62.3%.<sup>38</sup>

The state education system is run with the objective of advantaging girls over boys from their earliest years. In an interesting analysis, William Collins wrote of teachers' pro-female bias starting to create a 'gender education gap' in 1987/88, when 'O' levels were replaced by GCSEs.<sup>39</sup> The gap appeared for the first time that year concurrently with the introduction of continuous assessment by teachers. Predictably, the gap has led to women now taking the majority of university places (57% in 2012/13).

The long-term trend for there to be less physical activity in schools is known to have a negative impact on boys' academic performance, contributing to the gap. A larger problem is the sexism of female teachers, which contributes even more. A study conducted by researchers at the London School of Economics found that boys have realised female teachers award lower grades to boys than to girls, they're demotivated by this, and don't work as hard.<sup>40</sup> Girls don't exhibit the same demotivation with male teachers.

The growing influence of feminists in education is a disturbing but predictable development, following the feminization of the teaching profession. Karen Woodall wrote an article on the matter, 'Brainwashing Boys: Feminist Doctrine for the Early Years', following a speech given by Yvette Cooper, Shadow Home Secretary.<sup>41</sup>

In July 2013 the *Daily Mail* published an article, 'One in four boys is labelled as having special educational needs as state schools rake in funds'.<sup>42</sup> The article starts with this:

Almost a quarter of boys in state schools are classed as having special educational needs, official figures reveal.

Nearly a fifth of all pupils are considered to have problems including learning difficulties, speech and language needs or a form of autism, the data shows, with twice as many boys as girls affected.

However, the results were met with incredulity by some education experts yesterday. Two years ago a damning Ofsted report said 450,000 children had been labelled SEN to cover up poor teaching. Schools can also claim extra funds if pupils are classed as having certain types of educational needs. And it is taken into account when assessing exam results – thus boosting a school's standing in league tables.

Chris McGovern, of the Campaign for Real Education, who has been a headteacher in the state and private sectors, said: 'It's become an industry that has grown over the past 20 years at a rate that is impossible to believe. In my view, a lot of it is to do with children not getting good teaching. One of the criteria for classifying children as SEN is they can't read when they get to seven or eight. That is often because of the way they have been taught. It also attracts extra funding, so it is a way of boosting a school's budget.'

Campaign for Real Education<sup>43</sup> (CRE) was formed in 1987 to press for higher standards and more parental choice in state education. In 2006 CRE published a remarkable article by Irina Tyk, then as now

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/sexual-politics/evo-psych/david-camerons-absurd-medical-policies/>

<sup>39</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=121>

<sup>40</sup> <http://cee.lse.ac.uk/ceedps/ceedp133.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> <http://karenwoodall.wordpress.com/2014/09/27/brainwashing-boys-feminist-doctrine-for-the-early-years/>

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2381588/One-boys-labelled-having-special-educational-needs-state-schools-rake-funds.html>

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.cre.org.uk>

headmistress of Holland House, an independent preparatory school for boys and girls between the ages of four and eleven. It was entitled, 'Is education improving? If not, why not?'<sup>44</sup> An extract:

The day education was placed firmly on the political agenda and drawn into the framework of politics, it lost a certain freedom. It now has to deliver society's expectations and fulfil society's needs rather than concern itself with training the mind and equipping children with tools of language and the necessary framework which will allow them to develop freedom of thought and an intellectual dimension. There used to be a firm belief in intellectual freedom, hard-won over the centuries. The school room was not expected to deliver according to the prescribed views of an establishment wedded to politics and power. Objective standards were respected and education did not, on the whole, follow anyone or anything blindly.

This is no longer the case. I would like to outline below those negative features that impede real progress and prevent good practice in schools from flourishing despite all that is said to the contrary. In brief, they may be listed as follows:

1. The feel-good factor
2. The belief that all forms of struggle are wrong
3. Judgment and criticism, unless it is positive, is bad for children
4. The 'psychologising' of education
5. The idea that 'to try' is the moral equivalent of 'to succeed'
6. Education is of practical significance only; employability is its goal
7. Competition is bad
8. No one fails and no one is responsible for their own success or failure

CRE is not affiliated to any political party and is funded entirely by voluntary donations. It recently published an 'education manifesto' for the 2015 general election,<sup>45</sup> here reproduced in full:

The UK is falling behind many other industrialised nations in terms of basic literacy and numeracy levels. According to the OECD our 16 to 24 year-olds are actually less competent in the 3Rs than the older generation of 55 to 65 year-olds. In the matter of education, successive governments have failed our young people. The Campaign for Real Education believes that the time has come for meaningful change. Our manifesto is addressed to all political parties. It proposes change in six key areas.

### **1. The Curriculum**

Diversity and choice within the curriculum and between curricula will enhance the prospects of our education system meeting the needs of the 21st century. It will, also, ensure that the best emerges.

- a. The current National Curriculum is a 'one size fits all' model based on age-related 'key stages'. We propose a more flexible structure that will allow pupils to progress between 'key stages' in accordance with their ability, regardless of their age.
- b. There should be more flexibility within the curriculum for children at secondary level to follow either a vocational or an academic pathway.
- c. The non-compulsory status of the National Curriculum for academies, free schools and independent schools should be extended to all schools.

### **2. National Assessment**

- a. National tests at 7 and 11 should be simplified and take up less time to administer.
- b. GCSE currently exercises what is, in effect, a monopoly at 16+ and its credibility has been undermined by grade inflation. It should be abolished and replaced by a dual-exam system leading to either vocational or to academic qualifications.
- c. In order to prevent grade inflation public examinations at 16+ and 18+ should be 'norm referenced'. This will mean that a specific percentage of candidates will attain each grade. The top 10% of candidates will be awarded an A-Grade, the next 20% a B Grade and so on.

### **3. Parental choice of school**

Local communities, based on the jurisdiction areas of current local authorities, should determine, as far as is practical, the types of school that they wish to have within their locality. This should include, but not be confined to, comprehensive schools. Where a community wishes to have grammar schools, these

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<sup>44</sup> [http://www.cre.org.uk/docs/is\\_education\\_improving.html](http://www.cre.org.uk/docs/is_education_improving.html)

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.cre.org.uk/docs/CRE-Manifesto.pdf>



should be set up alongside high quality vocational schools. Bi-lateral schools, incorporating both academic and vocational sections should, also, be made an option.

#### 4. **Early Years and Infants**

As resources allow, the spending priority for the education budget should be with younger children where it is likely to have the greatest impact and to make the greatest long-term difference.

#### 5. **Teacher Training and Ofsted**

At the heart of the UK's failure to match the best performing education systems around the world are our teacher trainers and Ofsted inspectors. For too long they have been promoting and enforcing failed teaching methodologies on our schools. A 'root and branch' reform is needed of the rules and regulations under which they operate. We must ensure that trainee teachers can experience, and be encouraged to use, a variety of teaching methods, including traditional 'whole class' teaching that is used widely in the high performing schools of the Asia-Pacific region.

#### 6. **Higher Education**

Too many young people are being encouraged to undertake university degrees courses that lead to disillusion, high personal debt and to unemployment or under-employment. Post-school vocational training and apprenticeships should be greatly expanded and should build on post-14 vocational courses at school. Polytechnics should be restored to meet the demand for vocational courses.

We support the CRE manifesto in full, but would go further. We believe there's a pressing need for boys-only schools with all-male teaching staffs. We were persuaded by the analysis in an article by Herbert Purdy, 'The case for all-male education'.<sup>46</sup>

We also take issue with governments continuing to spend large amounts of taxpayers' money 'encouraging' girls and young women into STEMM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics and medicine) subjects and careers. These subjects were historically the routes to careers for many young men, yet the government is spending £30 million 'encouraging' women into engineering careers,<sup>47</sup> although women have for decades expressed little interest in engineering as a career choice. At Brunel University, women undertaking MSc courses in engineering receive sponsorships worth £22,750 denied to their male colleagues.<sup>48</sup>

Male unemployment has been higher than female unemployment for many years, yet the government is increasing male unemployment by depriving young men of careers in STEMM subjects. Suicide is the leading cause of death of men under 50 years of age, and unemployment is known to be a major risk factor for men. 26% of men between the ages of 20 and 34 who die have committed suicide, compared to 13% of women in the same age band.<sup>49</sup>

### PROPOSALS

1. The government should terminate programmes and withdraw guidelines designed to create 'desired' gender outcomes, e.g. to increase the proportion of girls and young women studying STEMM subjects. Boys and girls, and in turn young men and women, should be free to choose whatever subjects they wish to study, without being subjected to politically-motivated influences or tempted with politically-motivated incentives.
2. The CRE election manifesto should be implemented in full, and the option of all-boy schools with all-male teaching staffs introduced for those communities that want them.

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<sup>46</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com/?p=1412>

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.imeche.org/news/engineering/government-launches-30m-fund-to-get-women-into-engineering-13061401>

<sup>48</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/07/03/brunel-university-puts-910000-of-taxpayers-money-through-the-shredder/>

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/mortality-statistics--deaths-registered-in-england-and-wales--series-dr-/2012/index.html>

# EMPLOYMENT

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In September 2014 the ONS reported the following statistics on male and female employment, illustrating the persistence of the historical pattern of more men than women working full-time, and more women than men working part-time:<sup>52</sup>

	Full-time employment	Part-time employment
Men	14,240,000	2,130,000
Women	8,130,000	6,100,000
Total	22,370,000	8,230,000

These differences are due in large measure to differences in the attitudes of men and women towards paid employment. A world-renowned British sociologist, Dr Catherine Hakim, published a paper on 'Preference Theory' in 2000.<sup>53</sup> Among her findings was that while four in seven British men are 'work-centred' – 'work' meaning paid employment in this context – only one in seven British women is. This is intuitive, of course. Women make work/life balance decisions because of their role as mothers. Yet the existence of persistent differences in gender-typical work orientations is ignored by the state, which does all in its power to drive women into paid employment, notably through the tax system which discourages 'stay-at-home mothers'.

The ONS report also included the following statistics on unemployment, note in particular the high proportion of unemployed people between the ages of 16 and 24 who are men. For many years the majority of unemployed people in the UK have been men. Male unemployment consistently exceeds female unemployment in all age groups:

Age	16-24	25-49	50+	Total
Men	442,000	472,000	217,000	1,131,000
Women	306,000	447,000	136,000	889,000
Total	748,000	919,000	353,000	2,020,000

Not only men are disadvantaged by their unemployment. Their dependents – most notably their partners, and children – are disadvantaged too.

There is another serious aspect to male unemployment:

- Unemployment is known to be a key driver of marital breakdown.
- It is also a key driver of the high male suicide rate, while it's not a significant driver of the female suicide rate.
- Suicide is the leading cause of death of men under 50 in the UK.
- In 2012 the male:female suicide rate differential was 3.3:1, having nearly doubled since 1982, when it was 1.69:1.

In the light of these facts you might reasonably expect the state to be making considerable efforts to reduce male unemployment. It doesn't. Instead, the state focuses on driving up the employment of women, whilst being aware that one consequence is to increase the unemployment rate of men, as Belinda Brown, a social

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<sup>52</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour-market-statistics/september-2014/statistical-bulletin.html>

<sup>53</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/why-most-people-at-the-top-of-major-companies-are-men-dr-catherine-hakims-preference-theory-2000/>

anthropologist and researcher for Men for Tomorrow,<sup>54</sup> outlined in her report, ‘Getting women into the workplace encourages replacement, not growth’.<sup>55</sup>

The ONS report shows that over the 40-year period between 1974 and 2014, male employment rose by 3.7% and female employment by 44.1%:

	1974	2014
Men	15,172,000	15,734,000
Women	9,067,000	13,069,000
Total	24,239,000	28,803,000

The state’s policy direction of driving women into paid employment (partly through a tax regime which discourages stay-at-home motherhood) takes no heed of women’s wishes (or otherwise) to enter employment, nor the inevitable impacts on men and children. An example of this is the emphasis being placed on increasing the number of women studying Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine (STEMM) subjects, and subsequently working in those fields.

STEMM subjects have historically been of more interest to boys and young men than to girls and young women, and in turn have provided many employment opportunities for men. It is widely understood that boys and men favour these subjects for reasons of aptitude, yet successive governments have engaged in initiatives to encourage girls to study them. In the fullness of time this will have even further negative consequences for men – and, it follows, for the women involved with them and dependent upon them.

The government’s Equality Challenge Unit operates the Athena Swan Charter.<sup>56</sup> From its website:

**Recognising commitment to advancing women’s careers in science, technology, engineering, maths and medicine (STEMM) employment in higher education and research.**

ECU’s Athena SWAN Charter has been developed to encourage and recognise commitment to combating this underrepresentation and advancing the careers of women in STEMM research and academia. It covers:

- Women in academic roles
- Progression of students into academia
- Working environment for all staff

It should be obvious to the reader that the flipside of ‘advancing the careers of women’ must be ‘holding back the careers of men’. The Athena SWAN Charter presents ‘charter marks’ in recognition of commitment to advancing women at the expense of men, and increasingly research councils only provide funding to organizations and departments which can demonstrate the required commitment to this ideologically-driven social engineering initiative.

STEMM includes medicine, and 70% of medical students in the UK today are women. There are, of course, no government initiatives aimed at increasing the proportion of medical students who are men. The vast majority of psychology students are women, but no government initiatives exist to redress this imbalance. Successive governments have seen a high proportion of men studying a given field as ‘a problem to be solved’, invariably at the expense of taxpayers – and men collectively pay 72% of the income tax collected in the UK, women only 28%.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> <http://men-for-tomorrow.org>

<sup>55</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2013/10/27/belinda-brown-getting-women-into-the-workplace-encourages-replacement-not-growth/>

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charter-marks/athena-swan/>

<sup>57</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/20/womens-share-of-income-tax-receipts-declines-slightly/>

The proportion of female doctors in the NHS has been rising for decades. Admission to medical schools requires not only good exam grades, but also face-to-face interviews, which enable medical schools to discriminate in favour of women. The feminisation of the NHS over the past 30+ years has proved a disaster for patients (and taxpayers):

- Female doctors typically work around half the hours over their career compared with the typical male doctor. This shouldn't surprise us. It's known that while four in seven British men are work-centred, only one in seven British women is.<sup>58</sup> Female doctors make different work/life balance decisions compared to men who are, by and large, full-time, whole-of-life workers.
- Female medicine graduates are markedly less likely than their male counterparts to pursue careers in medicine.
- Female doctors are more inclined than male doctors to work part-time, regardless of whether or not they have children.
- Female doctors choose to work in the more flexible disciplines, e.g. general practice rather than those branches of medicine that imply the need for full dedication to a career, such as hospital consultancy. 50% of GPs today are women, and the proportion continues to rise. It is becoming increasingly difficult for men to find a male GP, should they wish a man to treat them.
- Female doctors rarely work in the more stressful and demanding disciplines e.g. A&E.
- Female doctors generally decline to work unsocial hours.
- Female doctors are more likely than their male colleagues to retire early.

The increased proportion of women in medicine has led to consequences which Dr Vernon Coleman, a campaigning author, was predicting over 30 years ago, when the drive to recruit more women into medicine was already well underway. They include:

- GP practices are typically not open in the evenings, nor at weekends, leading to an explosion of demand for A&E services.
- A&E departments are in crisis.
- The capacity crisis that has resulted from the working hours typically worked by female doctors has necessitated the employment by the NHS of large numbers of doctors from overseas, many of them trained in poor countries which can ill afford to lose them.

We covered the problems caused by the feminisation of the teaching profession in the last section, and turn now to two other public sector professions, firefighting and policing. In both of them, the preferencing of women over men in recruitment terms has been facilitated by lowering physical fitness requirements. The consequences are both inevitable and predictable:

- men's lives have been put at additional risk because men have no choice but to take on the additional burden resulting from their female colleagues' typically lower fitness levels
- the lives of members of the public are being put at risk, as the average level of physical fitness of firefighters and police officers has inevitably declined
- men are invariably put in the 'front line' in predictably dangerous situations, while their female colleagues are kept well away from it, or they are absent altogether (although they earn the same money as their male colleagues). Men are therefore taking on an increased risk, and a higher level of stress. The next time you view footage of a police raid on a suspected drugs den, notice which gender is at the front of the police line, and which gender at the back

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<sup>58</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/why-most-people-at-the-top-of-major-companies-are-men-dr-catherine-hakims-preference-theory-2000/>

The physical fitness requirements for prospective firefighters were reduced years ago, leading to a large increase in the number of women applying for the jobs.<sup>59</sup> A male firefighter informed us of his experience of joining the firefighting service in 2001, and his experience thereafter.<sup>60</sup> The intensity of the physical tests were reduced substantially during 2000/1.

The situation is even more egregious in some police forces, such as those in Scotland. They don't even attempt to hide their anti-male bias. A 30-year-old female candidate for the police force in Scotland is allowed 20% longer to complete a run than her male counterpart, a 50-year-old female candidate almost 25% more time.<sup>61</sup> Despite the tests being compromised so severely to favour women, women are still more likely to fail the tests, while those advocating for female police officers complain the tests are 'unfair'.<sup>62</sup>

The social engineers who formulate the government's policies with respect to employment seek to drive ever more women into well-paid and secure lines of work in pleasant surroundings, never into poorly-paid insecure lines of work in unpleasant surroundings – or dangerous surroundings, for that matter. A Health and Safety Executive report showed that over the period 2009 – 2014, 510 out of a total of 528 work-related fatalities were suffered by men – an average of 96.6%.<sup>63</sup>

Politicians and others loftily declare that the country 'needs' more female engineers. The government recently announced a fund of £30 million to 'encourage' more women into engineering,<sup>64</sup> having learned nothing from wasting many millions of pounds in the past 30+ years seeking to drive women into this and other line of work few women wish to enter. A lower proportion of women than men pursue an engineering career after securing an engineering degree, they're more likely to quit the profession early, and very few continue working in the profession after having children.

It's not only the government that has a negative attitude towards men becoming engineers. A number of engineers' professional bodies do so, too. Nick Baveystock is the director general of the Institution of Civil Engineers. In 2013 J4MB publicly challenged him<sup>65</sup> over his membership on the board of an organization that had a stated objective of increasing the proportion of women in engineering from 13% to 30% by 2020 – in other words, to reduce the proportion of men in engineering from 87% to 70% in seven years. He failed to respond to our challenge.

In November 2012 Mike Buchanan gave written and oral evidence to a House of Commons inquiry, 'Women in the Workplace', on behalf of Campaign for Merit in Business (C4MB),<sup>66</sup> an organization associated with J4MB. There was, of course, no 'Men in the Workplace' inquiry. Also on the panel in that session were:

- Dr Catherine Hakim, a world-renowned sociologist, and developer of 'Preference Theory' (2000).<sup>67</sup> She gave evidence from her research which discovered that while four in seven British men are 'work-centred' – with respect to paid employment – only one in seven British women is. She

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<sup>59</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1375381/Fire-service-strength-fitness-tests-relaxed-allow-women-firefighters.html>

<sup>60</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2013/03/26/female-firefighters-coming-soon-to-a-fire-near-you-fingers-crossed/>

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.scotland.police.uk/recruitment/police-officers/selection-process/>

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/police-fitness-test-unfair-to-women.20397752>

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.hse.gov.uk/statistics/tables/ridagegen.xls>

<sup>64</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/07/06/government-launches-30m-fund-to-get-women-into-engineering/>

<sup>65</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2013/09/04/our-public-challenge-to-nick-baveystock-director-general-of-the-institution-of-civil-engineers/>

<sup>66</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com>

<sup>67</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/why-most-people-at-the-top-of-major-companies-are-men-dr-catherine-hakims-preference-theory-2000/>

pointed out that this alone accounts for most of the gender disparity we see at the top of major organizations, particular in the private sector.

- Steve Moxon, author of *The Woman Racket* (2008), an important book about gender differences and their impacts in the real world, which points out that the reason women are ‘under-represented’ in many workplaces is largely the result of key differences between how men and women function in gender-typical dominance hierarchies.
- Heather McGregor, CEO of London-based executive recruitment firm, Taylor Bennett. Of the current 20 directors and staff members, 17 are women.<sup>68</sup>

The video of the session is on the J4MB website.<sup>69</sup>

Virtually all the people giving written and oral evidence to the inquiry were proponents of increasing the number of women in employment, in traditional male lines of employment in particular. They included two executives from the Fawcett Society, the country’s most prominent radical feminist campaigning organization. At no point in the inquiry did even the Conservative MPs challenge their ideas, nor the need for government to refrain from ideologically-driven social engineering exercises.

This echoed an earlier House of Lords inquiry to which C4MB had provided evidence, ‘Women on Boards’. Not even the Conservative peers challenged the government’s policy direction of forcing companies to increase female representation on their boards – through the threat of legislated gender quotas – despite the evidence provided by C4MB which showed that one predictable consequence would be corporate financial decline.<sup>70</sup>

The inquiry’s Final Report was published in June 2013.<sup>71</sup> The link will take you to both the report and to related materials e.g. written and oral evidence. C4MB published a critique of the report.<sup>72</sup> On page 7 of the report we find this:

We would also like to thank our specialist adviser, Karon Monaghan QC, for her invaluable help and advice during the inquiry.

We might reasonably enquire as to what this ‘specialist adviser’ actually advised, and what was the nature of the ‘invaluable help and advice’ she provided during the inquiry. A profile of Ms Monaghan is available on the website of her law firm, Matrix Chambers.<sup>73</sup> This is the same law firm where the radical feminist Cherie Booth (wife of former Prime Minister Tony Blair) has long been a QC. From Ms Monaghan’s profile we see she was a member of Fawcett Society’s Commission on Women in the Criminal Justice System (2003-9), and contributed to the book *Feminist Judgments: From Theory to Practice* (2010). This is a remarkable example of the infiltration of government inquiries by radical feminists, enabling them to influence inquiries so as to advantage women and disadvantage men.

The official transcript of the sessions in the day in which Mike Buchanan and others gave evidence is available.<sup>74</sup> It contains an exchange between Mike Buchanan and Ann McKechnie MP (Labour, Glasgow North), which illustrates politicians’ disinterest in the issue of male unemployment:

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<sup>68</sup> <http://www.taylorbennett.com/team/#/meetourteam>

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zWqTi6HN0pM>

<sup>70</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com/improving-gender-diversity-on-boards-leads-to-a-decline-in-corporate-performance-the-evidence/>

<sup>71</sup> <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/business-innovation-and-skills/inquiries/parliament-2010/women-in-the-workplace/>

<sup>72</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/our-critique-of-the-house-of-commons-report-on-women-in-the-workplace/>

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.matrixlaw.co.uk/Members/29/Karon%20Monaghan.aspx>

<sup>74</sup> <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmsselect/cmbis/c754-i/c75401.htm>

Michael Buchanan: ... There was a report recently that pointed out that approximately 60% of undergraduates and graduates these days – I think, in the last two years – have been women. The unemployment rate among new male graduates is 50% higher than that among new female graduates. I suggest there is a sort of gender gap there.

Ann McKechin: There is a gender gap in unemployment. Female unemployment has risen by 20% over the last two years versus 1% for men.

Michael Buchanan: The latest figures from the ONS show that for every three unemployed women there are four men. That is 1.08 million versus 1.44 million.

Ann McKechin: There has always been that difference.

The exchange can be viewed on the associated video<sup>75</sup> from 36:18 – 37:03.

Another example of government driving this biased policy is the Public Sector Equality Duty in the Equality Act 2010, which enables public sector organizations to favour groups with ‘protected characteristics’ which are ‘under-represented’ in lines of work, or in seniority levels. One protected characteristic is gender, so in theory men could be favoured in areas where they’re ‘under-represented’, but in practice the Act is only ever used to advantage women (and thereby disadvantage men) even though already two-thirds of public sector employees are women.

#### PROPOSALS

1. A public inquiry should be established to determine what practical measures the government could take to reduce the male unemployment rate significantly.
2. The government should cease seeking to alter the proportions of men and women in specified lines of work, in both the private and public sectors. This should include the scrapping of initiatives including Athena SWAN.
3. The terms in the Equality Act 2010 advantaging people with ‘protected characteristics’ should be scrapped. The terms amount in practice to positive discrimination in favour of women. Recruitment and promotion should be based on individual merit, not on gender or any other characteristic.
4. The physical fitness requirements for candidates for the firefighting and police services should be returned to what they were before they were artificially lowered to enable more women to enter the professions, as should the physical fitness requirements for serving firefighters and police officers.

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<sup>75</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zwqTi6HN0pM>

# ACCESS TO CHILDREN AFTER FAMILY BREAKDOWNS

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

We thank Ray Barry, the leader of Real Fathers for Justice<sup>76</sup> and the Equal Parenting Alliance,<sup>77</sup> for our manifesto content in this area. Ray will be standing as our candidate for Broxtowe, near Nottingham, at the 2015 general election. He supports fathers and mothers seeking more access to their children, through Court Without A Father.<sup>78</sup>

Around one in four children lose contact permanently with their fathers following family breakdowns, mainly due to the failure of the family court system to ensure them reasonable access. This is emotional abuse of children, fathers, grandparents and others. More than 90% of the parents denied reasonable access to their children by family courts are fathers, but we support the rights of *all* parents to be granted reasonable access to their children after family breakdowns.

The combined effect of family breakdowns and an anti-male family law system has led to 24% of all British children having no contact with their fathers. These children are more likely to suffer disadvantage throughout childhood and adult life.

The reluctance to reform this system among those who work in the industry (lawyers, judges, court staff, court experts) is driven more by financial self-interest than concern for the welfare of children. Family Law has become a multi-billion pound industry.

We propose a simplified legislative model, intended to remove the need for the great majority of contested court proceedings in cases where parents have separated and are unable to agree the living arrangements for their children.

This legislative model would also remove the need for state intervention concerning child support. No Child Support Agency would be required. This would result in significant savings to the exchequer and would restore the responsibility for such matters to the parents, which is where it belongs.

Separated fathers living in social housing, who have their children stay overnight with them on a regular basis, are being affected by legislation concerning the 'spare room subsidy', termed the 'bedroom tax' by some. This is iniquitous, and an attack on fathers, many of whom are already struggling with difficult circumstances.

## PROPOSALS

1. If for any reason one parent is eligible for Legal Aid, then the other parent should automatically be eligible.
2. Following separation, both parents will continue to share equally all of the responsibilities and duties towards their children. The responsibility for deciding when the children will reside with each parent, and financial arrangements for supporting the children, will rest with both parents in equal measure. Where parents are unable (or unwilling) to agree such arrangements, the following arrangements will apply by default:

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<sup>76</sup> <http://realfathersforjustice.org>

<sup>77</sup> <http://equalparentingalliance.com>

<sup>78</sup> <http://courtwithoutalawyer.co.uk>



- i. The child will reside alternate weeks with each parent.
  - ii. Each parent will be responsible for the financial maintenance of the child while the child is in that parent's care; all other financial responsibilities concerning the child will also be shared equally.
  - iii. In the event that either (a) one parent chooses to move away from the area in which the child lived prior to separation, such that the arrangements in (i) are impractical, or (b) one parent will not accept care of the child in alternate weeks, under the arrangements in (i) and (ii), the child will reside with the other parent. The legislation should provide in these circumstances that the parent with whom the child does not reside should have, instead of half of the time with the children, alternate weekends and half of school holidays, and that they would also incur a liability to pay the parent with primary carer responsibility payments in line with the following with respect to children below the age of 18: 15% of net income for one child, 20% for two children, 25% for three or more children. No Child Maintenance Service would be required to facilitate such payments. It would be a Civil Law debt, which could be enforced through normal Civil Court measures – e.g. attachment of earnings orders, bailiffs, etc.
  - iv. Parents will be free at any time to agree to new residency and financial arrangements, but will be bound by existing arrangements until that time.
3. Separated fathers should not have to pay extra rent for rooms which need to be available for their children.

# DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

## BACKGROUND

Due to massive sustained pressure from women's rights groups over many years, public misunderstanding about the true nature of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is rife. The following statements would be regarded as uncontroversial, perhaps even 'common knowledge':

- IPV is a gendered problem. IPV, and the threat of IPV, is employed by men to control and oppress women. (Researchers who study IPV term this the 'male control theory' of IPV.)
- The vast majority of IPV is committed by men upon women.
- Most incidents of IPV are non-reciprocal, and involve male perpetrators and female victims.
- Men are more physically aggressive towards intimate partners than women.
- Female perpetrators of IPV are acting ultimately in self-defence – 'pre-emptive strikes'.
- Female victims are more likely than male victims to suffer multiple incidents of IPV.
- Women are more likely than men to die as a result of IPV.
- Male perpetrators of IPV are more likely than female perpetrators to employ severe force.
- The availability of support for individual victims of IPV reflects their need for support.

All these statements are *demonstrably* incorrect. Some well-established facts about IPV:

- IPV is a generational problem, not a gendered problem. Children with one or more violent parents are known to have a far higher likelihood of becoming violent partners, than children who don't have violent parents.
- There is no evidence to support the male control theory of IPV. A recently-published study reported, 'Contrary to the male control theory, women were found to be more physically aggressive to their partners than men were'.<sup>82</sup>
- Around two in five of the reported victims of IPV are men.<sup>83</sup>
- The majority of abusive intimate relationships involve a degree of reciprocity. Both partners are to some extent perpetrators and victims at various times, both prone to provoke and/or initiate violence.
- When IPV is one-way, the perpetrator is more likely to be a woman than a man. Only 4% of female perpetrators report 'self-defence' as a motivation.<sup>84</sup>
- Women are as physically aggressive as men towards intimate partners, or more aggressive.<sup>85</sup>
- When IPV-related suicides are added to IPV-related murders, men are more likely than women to die as a consequence of IPV.<sup>86</sup>

The general public holds views on IPV that are in stark contrast with what has been known by researchers in this field for decades. Why is this? The principal reasons are:

- Radical feminists have been the dominant force in the running of domestic violence refuges since the early 1970s, after they ousted Erin Pizzey, founder of the first refuge for battered women in

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<sup>82</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/07/29/a-study-on-the-male-control-theory-of-intimate-partner-violence/>

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/crime-stats/crime-statistics/focus-on-violent-crime-and-sexual-offences--2012-13/rpt---about-this-release.html> Table 4.03.

<sup>84</sup> <http://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/140514-mankind-conference-slough-2013-female-perpetrators-of-intimate-partner-violence.pdf>

<sup>85</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-women-are-as-physically-aggressive-as-or-more-aggressive-than-men-in-their-relationships-with-intimate-partners/>

<sup>86</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-more-men-than-women-die-as-a-result-of-it/>

Chiswick, London, in 1972. In June 2014 she spoke at the Detroit International Conference on Men's Issues about the matter.<sup>87</sup>

- Organizations such as Women's Aid receive considerable amounts of both public and private funding, so they're able to fund the resources necessary to influence narratives in the mainstream media, which are always sympathetic to feminist anti-male perspectives.
- The narratives presented by organizations such as Women's Aid remain rooted in radical feminist ideology. J4MB publicly challenged Polly Neate, CEO of Women's Aid, to retract seven lies and misleading statements made by a Women's Aid spokeswoman in the course of a filmed discussion, and provided her with a report backing up our claims that the statements were either lies or misleading.<sup>88</sup> Our report included links to the evidence that male victims are as likely as female victims to suffer from multiple incidents of IPV, and female perpetrators are more likely than male perpetrators to employ severe force. Ms Neate declined to retract her spokeswoman's lies and misleading statements.
- The CEOs of Refuge and Women's Aid (Wales) similarly declined to retract lies and misleading statements, after J4MB publicly challenged them.<sup>89</sup>
- The mainstream media relentlessly presents narratives of IPV consisting of male perpetrators and female victims. J4MB sent a formal complaint to the BBC concerning one episode of *Newsnight* in January 2014 which, in common with the overwhelming majority of the BBC's output on IPV, presented only the 'male perpetrator / female victim' paradigm.<sup>90</sup> The complaint detailed over 50 breaches of BBC editorial guidelines in the programme.

In October 2014 J4MB publicly challenged Theresa May, Home Secretary, about a deeply flawed Home Office consultation exercise concerning a proposed extension of the law on domestic abuse which appeared to have been largely informed by Women's Aid.<sup>5</sup> J4MB later submitted a 150+ page report to the consultation, 'Intimate Partner Violence: The Gender Bias Against Men in England & Wales'.<sup>6</sup> The report describes the anti-male bias of leading politicians, and key public bodies, in relation to intimate partner violence (IPV), including:

- Theresa May, Home Secretary
- Yvette Cooper, Shadow Home Secretary
- Home Office
- Ministry of Justice
- Crown Prosecution Service
- The police
- The judiciary

A key element in our report was the work done by Martin Fiebert, a psychology professor at California State University since 1978. In 2013 he published 'References Examining Assaults by Women on their Spouses or Male Partners: An updated annotated bibliography'.<sup>7</sup> The full Abstract:

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<sup>87</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/a-voice-for-men/erin-pizzey-presentation-to-the-international-conference-on-mens-issues-2014/>

<sup>88</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/womens-aid-our-public-challenge-of-polly-neate-ceo/>

<sup>89</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-our-public-challenges-of-the-ceos-of-refuge-womens-aid-and-womens-aid-wales/>

<sup>90</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/01/19/our-first-official-complaint-to-the-bbc-the-newsnight-piece-on-domestic-abuseviolence-7-january-2014>

<sup>5</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/11/our-public-challenge-of-theresa-may-home-secretary/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/141026-submission-to-home-office-improved-layout.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-women-are-as-physically-aggressive-as-or-more-aggressive-than-men-in-their-relationships-with-intimate-partners/>

This annotated bibliography describes 343 scholarly investigations (270 empirical studies and 73 reviews) demonstrating that women are as physically aggressive as men (or more) in their relationships with their spouses or opposite-sex partners. The aggregate sample size in the reviewed studies exceeds 440,850 people.

Children who grow up in homes where there is IPV are unrecognized victims. Children learn how to behave in intimate relationships in their homes, and they learn to become violent and abusive when they experience IPV there, or witness it. Not all children who experience or witness IPV go on to become perpetrators themselves, but it's known the vast majority of IPV perpetrators experienced or witnessed IPV as youngsters. When these children become adults and partners, their own children will likewise be taught violence and abuse, thus perpetuating the suffering and misery of IPV. IPV is essentially a generational problem, and a considerable body of evidence exists to support this statement. A miniscule proportion of that evidence is referenced here.<sup>95,96,97,98,99,100,101</sup>

Children are frequently victims of physical violence at the hands of their mothers, and every year brings a series of tragic cases where a violent mother kills one or more of her children. The vast majority of social workers are women, who all too often put their concern for women ahead of their concern for those women's children. Karen Woodall is a highly-respected British family counsellor who has worked with vulnerable children and their families since 1991. On her website she published an important piece on the matter of mothers who pose a danger to their children.<sup>102</sup> An extract:

Gender biased family services kill kids by working from the feminist perspective of seeing a woman who is vulnerable instead of a woman who is dangerous to her children. Gender biased family services kill kids by refusing to look the reality in the face, that mothers can and do kill their children and intervention to prevent it starts with believing it. Gender biased services kill kids because they spend too much time looking for a man to blame and seeing domestic violence as the root cause of all dangers to children.

We return to the subject of intimate partner violence (IPV). Both men and women should be concerned about male victims of IPV, just as they should be concerned – and are – about female victims. Male victims are their fathers, sons, grandfathers, grandsons, brothers, uncles, nephews, friends, acquaintances etc.

ManKind Initiative is a UK-based charity supporting male victims of IPV.<sup>9</sup> Every year the charity produces a report with 'key facts' drawing on government statistics. The latest report has 25 key facts drawing on 2012/13 government statistics.<sup>10</sup> The following is a selection:

1. 38% of domestic abuse victims are male: for every five victims, three will be female, two male.
2. 7.1% of women and 4.4% of men were estimated to have experienced domestic abuse in the last year, equivalent to an estimated 1.15 million female and 720,000 male victims.

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<sup>95</sup> <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2013.743948> Dardis, Christina, et al., 'Dating Violence Perpetration: The Predictive Roles of Maternally versus Paternally Perpetrated Childhood Abuse and Subsequent Dating Violence Attitudes and Behaviors' (*Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 2013)

<sup>96</sup> <http://cmx.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/04/29/1077559513484821> Millett, Lina, et al., 'Child Maltreatment Victimization and Subsequent Perpetration of Young Adult Intimate Partner Violence: An Exploration of Mediating Factors' (*Child Maltreatment*, 2013)

<sup>97</sup> Holt, Stephanie, et al., 'The impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people: A review of the literature' (*Child Abuse and Neglect*, 2008)

<sup>98</sup> Mihalic, Sharon W, and Elliott, Delbert, 'A Social Learning Model of Marital Violence' (Plenum Publishing Corporation, 1997)

<sup>99</sup> <http://jiv.sagepub.com/content/28/7/1385> Babcock, Rebecca L, and DePrince, Anne P, 'Factors Contributing to Ongoing Intimate Partner Abuse: Betrayal Trauma and Dependence on One's Perpetrator' (*Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 2012)

<sup>100</sup> Stuart, Gregory L, et al., 'The Temporal Association Between Substance Use and Intimate Partner Violence Among Women Arrested for Domestic Violence' (*Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 2013)

<sup>101</sup> Clift, Robert JW, and Dutton, Donald G, 'The Abusive Personality in Women in Dating Relationships' (*Partner Abuse*, 2011)

<sup>102</sup> <https://karenwoodall.wordpress.com/2013/10/04/gender-biased-family-services-killing-children-in-the-uk/>

<sup>9</sup> <http://mankind.org.uk>

<sup>10</sup> <http://mankind.org.uk/factsmalevicitms.html>

3. 30% of women and 16.3% (one in six) of men have experienced domestic abuse since the age of 16. These figures were equivalent to an estimated 4.9 million female victims of domestic abuse and 2.7 million male victims.
4. 5.7% of men with a long-term illness or disability were victims of partner abuse in 2012/13, compared to 5.2% of women in the same situation.
5. Of those that suffered partner abuse in 2012/13, more men suffered from severe force (34%) than women (28%).
6. 21% of men and 21% of women suffered three or more incidents of partner abuse in 2012/13.
7. Male victims (29%) are nearly twice as likely as female victims (17%) to not tell anyone about the partner abuse. Only 10% of male victims will tell the police (27% women), only 22% will tell a person in an official position (38% women) and only 10% (15% women) will tell a health professional.
8. 12 organizations offer refuge or safe house provision for male victims in the UK – a total of 86 spaces, of which 11 are dedicated to male victims only (the rest being for victims of either gender so they could easily be unavailable to male victims), and some are for gay men only or are restricted to men specifically from the local area. There are over 260 organizations with around 4,000 spaces dedicated to female victims.

Picking up on point (7), *why* are men so much less likely than women to tell anyone about partner abuse, and in turn less likely to leave their partners? Dr Nicola Graham-Kevan (University of Central Lancashire) is a leading authority on IPV, and she commented on the matter in a presentation – ‘Female Perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence’ – she gave at a Mankind Initiative conference in 2013. She reported the findings of Hines and Douglas (2012) who asked abused men, ‘Why don’t you leave your violent partner?’ They had a number of responses:

Concerned about the children – 89%  
 Marriage is for life – 81%  
 Love – 71%  
 Feared they may never see children again – 68%  
 Thought she’d change – 56%  
 Not enough money – 53%  
 Nowhere to go – 52%  
 Embarrassed – 52%  
 Didn’t want to take the children from her – 46%  
 She threatened to kill herself – 28%  
 Feared she’d kill him / someone he loves – 24%

Many of the reasons men don’t leave violent partners are the same as the reasons women don’t, but some are more pertinent to the reality of the situations in which men find themselves. 68% of men feared they may never see their children again. This is a very legitimate fear, given the failure of the family courts system to ensure fathers have reasonable access to their children following family breakdowns. 52% of men reported ‘nowhere to go’ which shouldn’t surprise us, given the miniscule number of refuge places available for heterosexual men.

When men leave their homes because they’re being physically abused by partners, and seek accommodation from a local authority, they’re categorised as ‘intentionally homeless’. IPV is a driver of homelessness, which is overwhelmingly a problem for men rather than women. Homeless people are over nine times more likely

than the general population to commit suicide, and the male:female suicide differential is 3.3:1, having nearly doubled over the past 30 years.<sup>114</sup>

We end with the iniquitous and cruel reality that some feminist-run refuges for women and children expel boys from their premises on their 13th birthdays. With few exceptions the boys won't be returning to their fathers, so feminists are driving 13-year-old boys into the state care system, which so often fails to meet their needs. The Women's Aid website contains this guidance:<sup>115</sup>

**Can I bring my teenage sons with me?**

This depends upon the individual refuge. Some allow sons up to the age of 16, while others cannot take boys over the age of 13 or 14. Very few refuges will accept male children up to the age of 18.

**PROPOSALS**

1. IPV is a generational problem, not a gendered problem. The government should hold a public inquiry to consider the known facts about IPV, with a view to ensuring that support for victims of IPV – and their children – can in future be allocated in line with individual needs rather than in line with the highly discredited feminist 'male control theory' of IPV, which inevitably leads to almost non-existent support for male victims, the children of female perpetrators of IPV, and the fathers who would be the better primary carers for children.
2. Without reducing the support given to female victims of IPV, Local Authorities should make funding available, and other support, to groups supporting male victims of IPV, whether through the provision of helplines, refuge places, or in other appropriate ways that take account of men's needs in crises such as this. The amount of funding and support should reflect what is known about the proportion of victims of IPV who are men. Funding should include awareness raising initiatives to make men aware of the existence of support services.
3. The government should introduce mandatory IPV perpetrator courses – for both male and female perpetrators – across the UK.
4. The government should make it a legal requirement for refuges to house parents along with their children under 16.

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<sup>114</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/mortality-statistics--deaths-registered-in-england-and-wales--series-dr-/2012/index.html>

<sup>115</sup> <http://www.womensaid.org.uk/domestic-violence-articles.asp?section=00010001002200210002&itemid=1301#2>

# SEXUAL ABUSE

## BACKGROUND

It will come as a surprise to many, but women are responsible for a substantial proportion of sexual offences, including sexual abuses of children. A website<sup>116</sup> concerned with female sex offenders has a bibliography<sup>117</sup> of over 900 academic studies, articles, and books on the subject, dating back to 1857.

People struggle to recognize women as perpetrators of sexual and non-sexual violence, in spite of the weight of evidence showing them to be frequent perpetrators of both. This is because we live in a culture which regards men as ‘actors’ and women as ‘acted upon’. The public has become conditioned to viewing men as perpetrators, and women as victims. Alison Tieman, a Canadian men’s human rights advocate, produced an insightful short video on this matter.<sup>118</sup>

This culture leads to inequalities. Few women are held accountable for sex offences, including those women who sexually abuse children. It’s known from a major American survey (details below) that slightly over 25% of sex offences are committed by women against men (with no male accomplices). We would therefore expect the male/female ratio of people charged with sex offences to be a little under 3:1. In the UK, in 2013, the ratio was 146:1.

Women as well as men suffer from this failure to hold female sex offenders to account. Michele Elliott is the founder and director of Kidscape, a British charity. Her book *Female Sexual Abuse of Children – The Ultimate Taboo* was published in 1993. In 1984 two American researchers, Petrovich & Templer, reported that of a sample of 89 incarcerated (male) rapists, 49 (59%) had been sexually abused as children by one or more women.<sup>119</sup> There is, therefore, a *de facto* correlation between female sex offences and male sex offending.

The social and institutional failure to see sex offending in its entirety is apparent from the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW) which fails to ask some key questions which would reveal the true extent of sexual abuse of men by women. One survey which *does* ask those questions is an American government survey, ‘National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey’ – NISVS – and the first two surveys were conducted in 2010 and 2011. The results of the 2011 survey were published in September 2014<sup>120</sup> and confirmed a finding of the 2010 survey, namely that the sexual abuse of men by women is a common phenomenon. To take one example, in the preceding 12-month period an estimated 1,909,000 women were raped by men, and 1,587,000 men were forced by women to penetrate them.

The questions used in the survey were published.<sup>121</sup> The following is drawn from the report:

### **How NISVS Measured Sexual Violence**

Five types of sexual violence were measured in NISVS. These include acts of rape (forced penetration), and types of sexual violence other than rape.

**Rape** is defined as any completed or attempted unwanted vaginal (for women), oral, or anal penetration through the use of physical force (such as being pinned or held down, or by the use of violence) or threats to physically harm and includes times when the victim was drunk, high, drugged, or passed out and unable

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<sup>116</sup> <http://www.femalesexoffenders.org>

<sup>117</sup> <http://www.femalesexoffenders.org/bibliography>

<sup>118</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/alison-tieman-on-female-apologists-for-the-rape-of-men-and-boys/>

<sup>119</sup> <http://www.amsciopub.com/doi/abs/10.2466/pr0.1984.54.3.810?journalCode=pr0&>

<sup>120</sup> <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/140923-2014-cdc-report-including-material-on-sexual-violence.pdf>

<sup>121</sup> <http://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/24726>

to consent. Rape is separated into three types, completed forced penetration, attempted forced penetration and completed alcohol or drug facilitated penetration.

- Among women, rape includes vaginal, oral, or anal penetration by a male using his penis. It also includes vaginal or anal penetration by a male or female using their fingers or an object.
- Among men, rape includes oral or anal penetration by a male using his penis. It also includes anal penetration by a male or female using their fingers or an object.

**Being made to penetrate someone else** includes times when the victim was made to, or there was an attempt to make them, sexually penetrate someone without the victim's consent because the victim was physically forced (such as being pinned or held down, or by the use of violence) or threatened with physical harm, or when the victim was drunk, high, drugged, or passed out and unable to consent.

- Among women, this behavior reflects a female being made to orally penetrate another female's vagina or anus.
- Among men, being made to penetrate someone else could have occurred in multiple ways: being made to vaginally penetrate a female using one's own penis; orally penetrating a female's vagina or anus; anally penetrating a male or female; or being made to receive oral sex from a male or female. It also includes female perpetrators attempting to force male victims to penetrate them, though it did not happen.

**Sexual coercion** is defined as unwanted sexual penetration that occurs after a person is pressured in a nonphysical way. In NISVS, sexual coercion refers to unwanted vaginal, oral, or anal sex after being pressured in ways that included being worn down by someone who repeatedly asked for sex or showed they were unhappy; feeling pressured by being lied to, being told promises that were untrue, having someone threaten to end a relationship or spread rumors; and sexual pressure due to someone using their influence or authority.

**Unwanted sexual contact** is defined as unwanted sexual experiences involving touch but not sexual penetration, such as being kissed in a sexual way, or having sexual body parts fondled or grabbed.

**Non-contact unwanted sexual experiences** are those unwanted experiences that do not involve any touching or penetration, including someone exposing their sexual body parts, flashing, or masturbating in front of the victim, someone making a victim show his or her body parts, someone making a victim look at or participate in sexual photos or movies, or someone harassing the victim in a public place in a way that made the victim feel unsafe.

The NISVS report estimates that in the preceding 12-month period, nationally, 1,587,000 men were 'made to penetrate' female perpetrators (a further 335,000 men were made to penetrate male perpetrators), a figure equivalent to 83% of the 1,909,000 women who reported being raped by only male perpetrators (20,000 women reported being raped by only female perpetrators). These figures include attempted but failed attempts at forced penetration and rape.

Here are the data from Table 1 of the report, for victims of sex offences over the preceding 12-month period:



## FEMALE VICTIMS

Sexual offences	% of women	Estimated victims
Rape	1.9	1,929,000
Other sexual offences		
- Made to penetrate	-	-
- Sexual coercion	2.0	2,389,000
- Unwanted sexual contact	2.2	2,687,000
- Non-contact unwanted sexual experiences	3.4	4,046,000
TOTAL		11,051,000

## MALE VICTIMS

Sexual offences	% of men	Estimated victims
- Made to penetrate	1.7	1,921,000
- Sexual coercion	1.3	1,495,000
- Unwanted sexual contact	1.6	1,777,000
- Non-contact unwanted sexual experiences	2.5	2,829,000
TOTAL		8,022,000

From the NISVS report:

### **Characteristics of Sexual Violence Perpetrators**

For female rape victims, an estimated 99.0% had only male perpetrators. In addition, an estimated 94.7% of female victims of sexual violence other than rape had only male perpetrators. For male victims, the sex of the perpetrator varied by the type of sexual violence experienced. The majority of male rape victims (an estimated 79.3%) had only male perpetrators. For three of the other forms of sexual violence, a majority of male victims had only female perpetrators: being made to penetrate (an estimated 82.6%), sexual coercion (an estimated 80.0%), and unwanted sexual contact (an estimated 54.7%). For noncontact unwanted sexual experiences, nearly half of male victims (an estimated 46.0%) had only male perpetrators and an estimated 43.6% had only female perpetrators.

If we exclude sex offences carried out by only male perpetrators against men – or by perpetrators of both sexes – we are left with the following:

## MALE VICTIMS OF SEXUAL OFFENCES CARRIED OUT BY FEMALE PERPETRATORS

Sexual offences	% of men	Estimated victims
- Made to penetrate	1.4	1,587,000
- Sexual coercion	1.0	1,196,000
- Unwanted sexual contact	0.9	972,000
- Non-contact unwanted sexual experiences	1.1	1,233,000
TOTAL		4,988,000

The order of magnitude of these figures, in comparison with the figures for female victims, is striking. We can reasonably compare them to obtain a full picture of sex offending.

Of an estimated 19,073,000 victims in the year covered by the survey, 4,988,000 victims (26.1%) were men assaulted by only female perpetrators. We must also recognize the strong possibility that the men being surveyed were less inclined than the women to report being the victims of sexual assaults.

The NISVS survey indicates that women reported markedly higher *lifetime* rates of being raped, than men who reported having been forced to penetrate women. The reasons for the discrepancies between lifetime rates and last 12-month rates are the subject of debate, but we're inclined to agree with an explanation made by Ally Fogg, a *Guardian* columnist, who attributed the disparities between the rates to the 'precipitous decline in annual rates of rape in the US' and provided a striking graphic of the statistics.<sup>122</sup>

Fogg's view is that the common objection to the notion of men being forced to penetrate women (or men, for that matter) is that 'erections imply consent'. Erections *may* imply consent, but they may not. Anxiety and fear actually increase the chance that a man will react to sexual stimuli with an erection.<sup>123</sup> It is also known that a proportion of women lubricate and orgasm during rape, but no reasonable person would consider that physiological response *in itself* as implying consent. Fogg wrote a blog piece on the 'erections imply consent' topic.<sup>124</sup>

Under the current law in England and Wales, when a drunken woman has sex, and later regrets the encounter, she's deemed not to have been in a position to give consent, so she can claim to have been raped. A man in the same situation typically wouldn't see the encounter in that way – even if he was drunk, and the woman sober. Even if a man later recognizes an encounter with a woman as a sexual assault by her, he'll be far less likely than a woman to report the matter to the police. In this way society strips women of moral agency – of accountability for their actions and inactions – while the full responsibility for the couple's actions rest with the man.

This is an inequality which the criminal justice system compounds – through legislation, official guidance on sentencing, and the exercise of discretion by judges and magistrates who consistently fail to attribute moral agency to women. This is why we need to rely on surveys to show the reality of what's happening between men and women, rather than statistics on charging and convictions.

A Freedom of Information request submitted to the Ministry of Justice by J4MB led to a response with statistics on the relative numbers of male and female suspected sex offenders processed by the justice system in 1993, 2003 and 2013.<sup>125</sup> We start with the figures relating to men charged with sex offences, including rape and attempted rape:

	1993	2003	2013
Proceeded against	5,906	7,554	7,157
Found guilty	2,911	3,104	3,446
Immediate custody	1,524	1,974	2,256

We know from the NISVS survey that women's sexual assaults on men account for at least 26.1% of all sexual offences in the United States – possibly considerably more, given men's disinclination to report being sexually assaulted by women – so we'd expect to find something like the following numbers of women being charged with sex offences in the United Kingdom, all else being equal:

<sup>122</sup> <http://freethoughtblogs.com/hetpat/2014/09/08/quick-update-on-cdc-sexual-victimisation-stats/>

<sup>123</sup> [http://www.researchgate.net/publication/16364653\\_Anxiety\\_increases\\_sexual\\_arousal](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/16364653_Anxiety_increases_sexual_arousal)

<sup>124</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/11/ally-fogg-the-flesh-is-willing-on-the-erection-consent-rape-myth/>

<sup>125</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/22/the-criminal-justice-systems-failure-to-hold-female-sex-offenders-to-account/>

	1993	2003	2013
Proceeded against	2,086	2,668	2,528
Found guilty	1,028	1,096	1,217
Immediate custody	538	697	797

The *actual* figures for women, from the Ministry of Justice response to our FoI request:

	1993	2003	2013
Proceeded against	49	64	49
Found guilty	26	34	28
Immediate custody	9	15	11

For every woman charged with sex offences, 146 men are charged. The scale of this failure of the criminal justice system to deal with female sex offenders is a long-running scandal.

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 explicitly states that drunkenness isn't a mitigating factor for a sexual offender, and only men can rape, because of how rape is defined in the Act. We live in a gynocentric world in which men don't consider themselves as potential victims of sexual abuse by women, so when they later regret sexual encounters (including intercourse) they will be inclined to rationalise the incident ('She was drunk, I was drunk...'). Given the same scenario, but with the woman later regretting the encounter, the woman will be encouraged to think of herself as having been raped, and the whole apparatus of the state will be rolled out, from the police to the CPS, to encourage her and support her to make a complaint and see it through.

The Crown Prosecution Service is the body charged with deciding whether or not to prosecute individuals for criminal offences. It's led by a radical feminist, Alison Saunders, Director of Public Prosecutions. The ideological motivations behind the CPS specifically targeting men in relation to sexual offences were clear in a BBC interview with Saunders in February 2014.<sup>126</sup> Her predecessor, Keir Starmer, also voiced feminist anti-male similar sentiments.

Police forces follow anti-male agendas in sexual offences cases, overwhelmingly focusing their efforts on male suspected sex offenders. One such force is the Metropolitan Police, which is responsible for an area with a population of 8.1 million people. An article about Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, London Police Commissioner, makes the anti-male bias of the police only too clear.<sup>127</sup>

The CPS has issued legal guidance on the Sexual Offences Act 2003.<sup>128,129</sup> The organization clearly has an anti-male bias. It has no hesitation in prosecuting men for sex offences, even when the prospects of a conviction aren't high. More than half the men charged with sex offences in 2013 were found not guilty, and the same has been true for at least 20 years – as an earlier Table showed. We estimate that over those 20 years, more than 80,000 innocent men had their lives permanently blighted by the stigma of sex offence allegations, and faced high legal cost bills trying to defend themselves. The women who had made unproven allegations faced no consequences, and had their anonymity protected.

<sup>126</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1ci5rF\\_H1I&list=UUKhX1c3ow6BrzdzP3ydpeZQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1ci5rF_H1I&list=UUKhX1c3ow6BrzdzP3ydpeZQ)

<sup>127</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/sexual-politics/london-police-commissioner-to-follow-feminists-guidance-on-how-to-deal-with-sexual-offence-cases/>

<sup>128</sup> [http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p\\_to\\_r/rape\\_and\\_sexual\\_offences/](http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/rape_and_sexual_offences/)

<sup>129</sup> [http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p\\_to\\_r/rape\\_and\\_sexual\\_offences/soa\\_2003\\_and\\_soa\\_1956/](http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/rape_and_sexual_offences/soa_2003_and_soa_1956/)

The CPS's Code for Crown Prosecutors<sup>130</sup> states this with regards to rape:

'A prosecution will usually take place unless there are public interest factors tending against prosecution which outweigh those tending in favour. Rape is so serious that a prosecution is almost certainly required in the public interest.'

The guidance for attempted rape includes this:

'This offence is in essence similar to rape and a prosecution is almost certainly required in the public interest.'

The conviction rates for men charged with rape and attempted rape are even lower than for the conviction rates for sexual offences as a whole:

### RAPE

	1993	2003	2013
Proceeded against	1,556	2,541	2,752
Found guilty	407	584	980
Immediate custody	381	571	924

### ATTEMPTED RAPE

	1993	2003	2013
Proceeded against	145	231	280
Found guilty	57	87	134
Immediate custody	53	89	122

No 'public interest' in prosecuting is cited in the CPS guidance with respect to sex offences committed by women, including forcing men to penetrate them. The same CPS guidance document has the following to say about offences committed under Section 4 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003, 'Causing sexual activity without consent':

'One of the purposes of this offence, in addition to the wider range of sexual activity, is to create a female equivalent of the offence of rape, which carries the same level of punishment for what amounts to the same type of offending behaviour.'

The same level of punishment? No. The facts speak for themselves. The maximum punishment for rape is a life sentence, while the maximum custodial sentence for a woman forcing a man to penetrate her is 10 years.<sup>131</sup> The CPS very rarely prosecutes women with sex offences, regardless of the severity of the offence.

The leniency shown to women with respect to sex offences extends to rarely holding them to account for making false rape allegations, which ruin so many men's lives. A CPS report<sup>132</sup> showed that in a six-month period in 2012, it had decided to prosecute only 29% of the women put forward to them by the police for charging decisions.

<sup>130</sup> [http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p\\_to\\_r/rape\\_and\\_sexual\\_offences/soa\\_2003\\_and\\_soa\\_1956/#a08](http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/rape_and_sexual_offences/soa_2003_and_soa_1956/#a08)

<sup>131</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/19/women-murdering-their-children-women-sexually-assaulting-men-and-children/>

<sup>132</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/05/why-does-the-cps-prosecute-only-29-of-the-women-who-the-police-believe-have-made-false-rape-allegations/>

## PROPOSALS

1. The government should conduct surveys of a similar nature to the NISVS, to capture the realities of sexual assaults on men by women in the UK.
2. A major public information initiative should be developed to educate men and children about the issue of sexual abuse carried out by women.
3. A public inquiry should be held to establish why women are so rarely held accountable for the sex offences they commit, with a view to holding them properly accountable in the future.
4. A Home Affairs Committee inquiry should be held to investigate the blatant anti-male bias of the Crown Prosecution Service.
5. The legal definition of rape in the Sexual Offences Act 2003 should be redefined to provide an equivalence between rape and being made to penetrate, which should attract the same sentences.

# ARMED FORCES VETERANS' MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

## BACKGROUND

Many Armed Forces veterans have served on front lines in various wars, and the vast majority of these veterans are men. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) has accounted for 8-12% of all neurotic disorders since 2007/8<sup>133</sup> (p.26 of the report). 6.2% of female personnel presented at MOD DCMHs (Departments of Community Mental Health) with mental health disorders in 2013/14, compared with 2.7% of male personnel (p.10), although women are not required to fight on front lines.

The MOD has no responsibility for the mental health of veterans, and an over-stretched NHS is ill-equipped to deal with them. Male veterans in particular, struggling to cope with their mental health issues, frequently turn to alcohol to cope, and this presents a problem. Alcohol is a depressant, and it requires more resources to treat someone with possible mental health issues and an alcohol dependency – a 'dual diagnosis'.<sup>2</sup> Provision of support for these people tends to be poor,<sup>3</sup> although it's known that treatment for people with a dual diagnosis is likely to be effective.

Veterans with this dual diagnosis are told to remain 'dry' for a lengthy period – often six months or more – before becoming eligible for treatment. This is an unrealistic expectation for many of them, and reveals a lack of humanity towards men who've put their lives on the line for their country. It leads to veterans committing suicide while they wait for treatment, sometimes when their problems have reached the level of leaving them homeless. Veterans make up a substantial proportion of the homeless population, and the suicide rate of homeless people is over nine times higher than the rate in the general population.<sup>4</sup>

Armed Forces personnel returning from war zones frequently have more than mental health issues to deal with. Many experience the breakdowns of their families, and the family courts system is as brutal towards them as it is to most men who are the fathers of children. This is true in most developed countries, which brings us to the story of Terrence Popp, a former American soldier. Popp gave a moving speech at the world's first international conference on men's issues, held near Detroit in June 2014.<sup>5</sup> He was introduced by Attila Vinczer as follows:

Green Beret, Airborne Ranger, paratrooper, infantry soldier; former professional fighter; college graduate; author, poet, warrior, comedian. Worked in the following professions: soldier, fighter, financial planner, investment banking, mortgage banker, real-estate agent, retail. Has received the following awards: two times, Purple Hearts; two times, Combat Infantry Badges; Airborne wings with Combat Jump star; Expert Infantryman Badge; Green Beret; Ranger Beret; FFKA North American Champion Belt, 1998.

Entered the army as an infantryman in 1986. After only five months, he was top .50-caliber gunner and top MK-19 gunner in his battalion, expert with M-16, expert with M-203 grenade launcher, expert with pistol, expert with M-60 MG, expert with the SAW, and took third in 'Soldier of His Division' in 1987. One of three enlisted soldiers to be sent to Airborne School from a straight-leg infantry division since the closing of the Vietnam conflict. He was wounded in Panama while involved in an operation; he was run over by an enemy truck within 30 seconds of landing on the drop zone and still fought all night with a dislocated right hip, torn knee tendons, and a third-degree sprained ankle, not to mention the concussion sustained when struck by a vehicle moving at speed. Wounded by an IED in Iraq.

He was called 'a murderer' and 'assassin' in court, and his wounds were used as a basis to justify the loss of his children. In 2005, Popp was a man leading 159 soldiers in combat; by 2007, he was living out of his car,

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<sup>133</sup> <https://i4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/141005-uk-armed-forces-mental-health-report.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dual\\_diagnosis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dual_diagnosis)

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.centreformentalhealth.org.uk/pdfs/dual\\_diagnosis.pdf](http://www.centreformentalhealth.org.uk/pdfs/dual_diagnosis.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> <http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/Homelessness%20-%20a%20silent%20killer.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/a-voice-for-men/terrence-popp-presentation-to-the-international-conference-on-mens-issues-2014/>

homeless. He was written off by his wife, his country, his family, and had to come to grips that, as a man, he was totally and completely expendable. He spent over \$20,000 of his own money for rehabilitation equipment, and therapy to fix his mind.

He is the author of *The Warrior's Way* and *The Soldier's Soul* and runs <http://Redonkulas.com>, with over 52 videos posted, including the award-winning *Purple Heart's Last Beat*. His story is not done yet, either. Not by a long shot.

A remarkable man, Popp suffered from PTSD for a time, yet he was treated in a brutal manner by the country he had risked his life to protect. During the course of his conference presentation *Purple Heart's Last Beat* was shown, outlining how he had come very close to committing suicide.<sup>139</sup> We consider it essential viewing. His website contains a quotation from President Calvin Coolidge (1872 – 1933):

The nation which forgets its defenders will itself be forgotten.

## PROPOSALS

It is unacceptable that a dual diagnosis is being used to deny veterans concurrent treatment for both mental health issues and substance abuse problems (generally alcohol). Resources must be increased to the point that all veterans with a dual diagnosis receive prompt and comprehensive treatment for both problems.

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<sup>139</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/mens-rights/family-courts/purple-hearts-final-beat/>

# HOMELESSNESS

## BACKGROUND

Homelessness evokes a range of emotions. People might feel pity or disgust, or they might feel comfortable knowing (or believing, possibly erroneously) that they are immune to the problem. They might imagine a 'typical' homeless person to be a feckless alcoholic or drug addict, too lazy to find work, and incapable of handling responsibility.

The truth is that homelessness can happen to anyone. Many homeless people have experienced a spiralling loss of control, perhaps following redundancy or family breakdowns. They were unable to get the assistance they required at critical times, and were unable to earn enough money to keep a roof over their heads.

Homelessness is a serious and growing problem in the UK. Homeless people often face poor outcomes, and their health and life expectancy can be significantly affected.<sup>140,141,142</sup> The last of these references is a Crisis briefing paper, 'Homelessness: the silent killer'. Published in December 2011, it sets out the interim findings of a study investigating homeless mortality in England. Key points:

1. The average age of death of a homeless person is 47, compared to 77 for the general population.
2. Drug and alcohol abuse are particularly common causes of death amongst the homeless population, accounting for just over a third of all deaths.
3. Homeless people are over nine times more likely to commit suicide than the general population.
4. Deaths as a result of traffic accidents are three times as likely, infections twice as likely, and falls over three times as likely.
5. Being homeless is incredibly difficult both physically and mentally and has significant impacts on people's health and wellbeing. Ultimately, homelessness kills.

Homelessness is an issue that overwhelmingly affects men rather than women. Men are placed at a particular disadvantage when they find themselves without a home. They are more likely to remain homeless, more likely to have no option but to sleep rough, and less likely to receive help from the state.

Since street homeless people are very likely to be depressed and/or suicidal as well as suffering from alcohol and/or drug addictions, these factors are not normally considered sufficient to make someone more 'vulnerable' than the average street homeless person. In addition, the courts have held that if a separated father 'allows' his children to live with him and he becomes the primary carer and 'over-crowds' his accommodation (rather than let his children sleep on the street after the mother tells them to leave her accommodation) and is evicted as a result, this is 'intentional homelessness'. The judge in one case said that the children had perfectly suitable accommodation with the mother, and they could return there.<sup>143</sup>

Many people – mostly men – sleeping on the streets are denied help, while some homeless people in temporary accommodation can be entitled to free housing from the state. People are excluded from local authority assistance because they do not meet the minimum requirements of being in 'priority need' for statutory homelessness, they are the 'hidden homeless'. It may be that they are not entitled to help because they have no dependents, or councils consider them 'intentionally homeless'.<sup>144,145</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> <http://theguardian.com/society/2013/dec/13/homeless-numbers-increase-three-years-england>

<sup>141</sup> <http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HomelessnessMonitorEngland2013.pdf>

<sup>142</sup> <http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/Homelessness%20-%20a%20silent%20killer.pdf>

<sup>143</sup> <http://www.ardenchambers.com/index.php?page=eflash-431--oxford-city-council-v-bull>

<sup>144</sup> <https://gov.uk/homelessness-data-notes-and-definitions>

<sup>145</sup> [http://england.shelter.org.uk/get\\_advice/homelessness/help\\_from\\_the\\_council\\_when\\_homeless/intentional\\_homelessness](http://england.shelter.org.uk/get_advice/homelessness/help_from_the_council_when_homeless/intentional_homelessness)



It's impossible to know exactly how many homeless people are 'hidden homeless', but estimates from 2003 indicated that around 200,000 people in England could be regarded as being in this category. 84% of the hidden homeless are estimated to be male.<sup>3</sup>

The hidden homeless often lead a dangerous lifestyle risking exposure to attack, drugs and alcoholism, and ultimately an early death. Reports indicate that over three quarters of the hidden homeless have been forced to sleep rough at some time in the past. On any one night, well over 2,000 people in England are forced to sleep out on the streets and there are many thousands more affected through the year. 87% of rough sleepers are male.<sup>4,5</sup>

Despite the fact that the 'hidden homeless' are more than five times more likely to be male than female, and those forced to sleep rough (who face the worst outcomes) are nearly seven times more likely to be male, single women are disproportionately preferred over single men in the allocation of social housing – figures which have been consistent since 2007.<sup>6</sup> The same data source shows that almost half the 'homeless households' awarded social housing in 2013 were single mothers with dependent children. The numbers and proportions of social housing awarded to different groups in 2013 were:

Group	Numbers of couples or individuals awarded social housing	% of social housing allocated
Couples with dependent children	10,880	20.5%
Lone mothers with dependent children	24,440	46.0%
Lone fathers with dependent children	1,850	3.5%
Single women	5,520	10.3%
Single men	7,120	13.4%
Other	3,330	6.3%

Three-quarters of rough sleepers had some issue with alcohol, drugs, or mental health. Some estimates indicate that 30-40% of the London sex trade is made up of men, and many homeless men expose themselves to risk of sexually transmitted diseases when they are forced to sell their bodies for money or shelter. Studies in the London area indicate that around half of all rough sleepers had previously lived in state-funded institutions, whether through being in care as children, or later in the military, or prison.<sup>7,8</sup>

Veterans are disproportionately represented in the homelessness figures. A report commissioned by the British Legion indicated that homeless male veterans were more likely to sleep rough and for longer periods than non-veterans. The same report found the major contributors to homelessness in veterans include 'social isolation, chemical addiction, and institutionalisation'.<sup>9</sup>

Along with other mental health issues, anxiety disorders including Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are risk factors for veterans. Many veterans who leave service with mental health problems remain vulnerable to homelessness for life.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>3</sup> [http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HiddenTruthAboutHomelessness\\_web.pdf](http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HiddenTruthAboutHomelessness_web.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> <http://thamesreach.org.uk/news-and-views/homelessness-facts-and-figures/>

<sup>5</sup> <http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HomelessnessMonitorEngland2013.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> [https://gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/358204/Table\\_780.xls](https://gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/358204/Table_780.xls)

<sup>7</sup> <http://homeless.org.uk/sites/default/files/site->

<attachments/20141124%20CHAIN%20Rough%20Sleeping%20Data%20July%20-%20September%202014.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> <http://insidehousing.co.uk/young-homeless-gay-men-using-sex-to-gain-shelter/1449245.article>

<sup>9</sup> [http://britishlegion.org.uk/media/31582/LitRev\\_UKVetsHomelessness.pdf](http://britishlegion.org.uk/media/31582/LitRev_UKVetsHomelessness.pdf)

<sup>154</sup> <http://eurpub.oxfordjournals.org/content/15/2/175.short>

Homeless men are more than twice as likely as homeless women to have been in care during childhood. There is no evidence that women are more likely than men to rely on friends, so the only conclusion is that men are put off seeking help or are at a disadvantage when they do so.<sup>155</sup> On the one hand, rough sleepers find themselves in the position where they are denied help by the state, yet to exist they are forced into an unlawful lifestyle to survive.<sup>156,157</sup>

Men who are over 50 and newly homeless are likely to be in that situation following divorce or family breakdowns. Many of these men are not entitled to assistance because they are classed as 'intentionally homeless'.<sup>158</sup> Those with dependants are very likely to be placed in the priority homeless category. When homelessness arises following financial difficulties after a divorce, mothers and children will be housed by councils and fathers left to fend for themselves.

Men who experience emotional or physical abuse often have nobody to turn to for assistance. Who can doubt that the lack of options for family men, suffering abuse at the hands of their partners, forces them into homelessness through there being no alternatives? Refuge places for men are close to non-existent, and homeless hostels routinely ban everyone (mainly men) from allowing their children to visit, let alone stay overnight.

Former prisoners (mainly men) also are at a higher risk of homelessness, leading to re-offending in order to return to prison. The law was recently changed to include ex-offenders as 'priority need' but most are subsequently judged to be 'intentionally homeless'. Local Authorities stop housing benefits as soon as a person goes to prison. The landlord then evicts for rent arrears, while the prisoner is unable to attend court. Eviction for rent arrears is then treated as 'intentional homelessness'.

It is clear from the evidence that men are at a disadvantage when it comes to homelessness. Men suffer more and are at greater risk, yet the government does not regard the gender divide as worthy of data collection.<sup>159</sup> If 87% of the people sleeping rough were women, it would be deemed a crisis requiring urgent attention by the state.

Crisis is a charity focusing on single homeless people. In October 2014 it published a report, 'Turned Away: The treatment of single homeless people by local authority homelessness services in England'.<sup>160</sup> From the 'Key Points' section of the report:

- Eight aspiring actors with previous experiences of homelessness mystery shopped 16 local authorities to examine the quality of advice and assistance they provide to single homeless people
- Each mystery shopper took the role of a particular character to explain why they needed help with their housing. These were based around one of four characters which were drawn from real life situations that may cause an individual to become homeless: someone who has been forced to sleep rough after losing their job, a young person who had been thrown out of the family home, a victim of domestic violence, and a very vulnerable person with learning difficulties
- In 37 out of the 87 visits, local authorities made arrangements to accommodate mystery shoppers that evening, either through the provision of emergency accommodation or because they had negotiated for them to return to their previous address
- In the remaining 50 visits, most of which were at London boroughs, they received inadequate or insufficient

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<sup>155</sup> [http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HiddenTruthAboutHomelessness\\_web.pdf](http://crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HiddenTruthAboutHomelessness_web.pdf)

<sup>156</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vagrancy\\_Act\\_1824#Current\\_status](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vagrancy_Act_1824#Current_status)

<sup>157</sup> <http://kentonline.co.uk/maidstone/news/homeless-man-daniel-gauntlett-di-a55383/>

<sup>158</sup> <http://telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4193448/More-over-50s-homeless-due-to-rise-in-divorce.html>

<sup>159</sup> <https://gov.uk/government/publications/statistical-notice-dclg-quality-guidelines>

<sup>160</sup> [http://community.crisis.org.uk/file/policy---document-upload-or-download/MysteryShopping\\_Report\\_FINAL\\_web.pdf](http://community.crisis.org.uk/file/policy---document-upload-or-download/MysteryShopping_Report_FINAL_web.pdf)

help. It was common for mystery shoppers to simply be signposted to written information about renting privately or even turned away without any help or the opportunity to speak to a Housing Adviser

The report's recommendations section in full:

Homelessness is devastating and a strong safety net to provide meaningful assistance is therefore crucial. While local authorities themselves can do much to improve their individual responses to homeless people, central Government must improve the framework of legislation, oversight and resourcing that stands in the way of people getting the help they need.

#### For local authorities

##### **1. All homeless people should receive a basic level of customer service**

People who approach a Housing Options and homelessness service should be listened to and treated with courtesy, respect and due sensitivity. Rather than attempting to establish that people are not eligible for assistance, all frontline staff should seek to understand applicants' circumstances and focus on addressing their housing need.

Consideration should be given to the physical environment of Housing Options and homelessness services to ensure they are not overly hostile to visitors. Any use of technology in the assessment process must not create barriers to vulnerable people accessing help.

Local authorities should be engaged with applicants to better understand their experiences of Housing Options and homelessness services and how these could be improved.

##### **2. Statutory duties under the homelessness legislation must be fulfilled**

All people who approach their local authority as homeless must be given the opportunity to make a homelessness application and should have the process clearly explained to them. It is the local authority's responsibility to carry out adequate investigations to ascertain whether an applicant is owed the main homelessness duty, the burden of proof should not sit with the applicant.

All homeless households, whether or not they are deemed to have a priority need, must be provided with meaningful advice and assistance.

##### **3. Better advice and assistance must be provided**

The level and standard of advice and assistance provided needs vast improvement. Homeless people should always be allowed to see a Housing Advisor who must be sufficiently trained to make an assessment of someone's situation and provide them with meaningful advice and assistance. Both customer service staff and Housing Advisors should not provide advice on issues about which they are not clear or are beyond the scope of their training. Rather they should in these instances connect applicants with agencies that can provide accurate information. There should be better links with other local authority departments and external agencies.

Local authorities should learn from examples of best practice and provide a minimum standard of information, advice and assistance to people in housing need. Any written information provided must be up-to-date, relevant and detailed enough to really help those in housing need.

All applicants should be provided with a letter summarising the outcome of their visit, including the result of any homelessness application and how it can be appealed; what advice they have been given and next steps to be taken by them and the authority.

#### For the Government

##### **1. The existing legislation should be properly enforced**

The Government must monitor the performance of local authorities by introducing an inspection regime to ensure that they are complying with the homelessness legislation.

##### **2. Government should improve the collection of data around homelessness**

Authorities should be required to record and provide information on all those who approach them as homeless as well as the outcomes of these visits.

### **3. Adequate funding must be made available for local authorities to work with all homeless people**

The Government should review funding to local authorities to ensure that homelessness prevention services are adequately funded and the distribution of the preventing homelessness grant should be linked to levels of need.

### **4. The support given to single people under the homelessness legislation in England should be reviewed so that no one is forced to sleep rough and so all homeless people get the help they need**

Ultimately Crisis believes that many of the problems our mystery shoppers faced stem from the current legislation, which causes confusion and creates barriers to homeless people accessing help.

The law is being used by some authorities as a way of gatekeeping, with staff trying to prove people are not in priority need and not eligible for the main homelessness duty rather than focussing on assisting them to resolve their housing need. This is either due to a lack of understanding or a culture which encourages staff to turn away all those who do not immediately appear to be in priority need.

It is clear that the current law and its application is not enabling single homeless people get the help they need. We therefore believe the support given to single people under the homelessness legislation must be comprehensively reviewed. The review should focus on the current assistance available to non-priority homeless people and the lessons that can be learnt from the diverging legislative frameworks in Scotland and Wales.

## PROPOSALS

1. It is iniquitous that men forced out of their family homes after family breakdowns are deemed 'intentionally homeless', even when they have left their homes to escape abusive partners. Local Authorities should bear a responsibility for providing them with accommodation, if they are not in a financial position to afford accommodation.
2. The routes into homelessness for men need to be better understood and addressed. In particular, more needs to be done to equip Armed Forces personnel for life after they leave the military.
3. Many veterans are not receiving the support they need following a 'dual diagnosis' of possible mental health issues and substance abuse. The NHS typically requires them to be 'clean' for a number of months – often six or more – before becoming eligible for treatment. The substance being abused is generally alcohol, a depressant, which makes treatment more difficult. However, these men risked their lives for their country, and deserve the extra investment that would be required to treat men with dual diagnosis.
4. The stream of young people moving into social housing after being in care would diminish rapidly if families were stronger, family breakdowns less common, and fewer young people placed in care in the first place. Our proposals on strengthening families by ending the 'winner takes all' system in the family courts would help reduce the problem of homelessness.
5. The definition of 'priority need' must be changed (or eliminated completely, as in Scotland) to include secondary carers (mainly fathers) who had or would be reasonably likely to have (in line with a court order, or an agreement with a former partner) at least 25% contact time with their children, or any overnight staying contact.
6. Local Authorities should review their discriminatory policies towards separated parents to provide emergency hostel accommodation suitable for the children of separated parents to be able to stay, or at least to visit, without breaching the terms of the hostel licences.
7. For people sent to prison and expected to serve sentences of 13 weeks or less, Local Authorities should continue to pay housing benefits over that period, in order to avoid rent arrears.

8. Local authorities and the government should implement all the recommendations in the Crisis report, 'Turned Away'.

# SUICIDE

[Note: anyone with suicidal inclinations is strongly advised to seek help, perhaps by calling the Samaritans. Their website is <http://samaritans.org>, phone 08457 909090 (Republic of Ireland – 116 123), email [jo@samaritans.org](mailto:jo@samaritans.org).]

## BACKGROUND

Of all possible causes of death, suicide is among the most tragic. It's a tragedy for the person concerned, and a tragedy for the person's relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The state should be devoting substantial resources to driving down the suicide rate, but fails to do so. Many state policies and initiatives contribute directly to the persistently high male suicide rate.

Suicide is the leading cause of death of British men under 50 years of age. The following data are drawn from an ONS report<sup>161</sup> published in 2013, which reported deaths by suicide and injury / poisoning of undetermined intent in England and Wales in 2012:

### Men

Age	Deaths	Suicides	Suicides as % of total deaths
20-34	3,458	900	26%
35-49	10,284	1,336	13%

### Women

Age	Deaths	Suicides	Suicides as % of total deaths
20-34	1,690	220	13%
35-49	6,561	328	5%

Another ONS report<sup>162</sup> provided gendered statistics on suicide (all ages) in England and Wales, from 1981 – the first year that the statistics were broken down by gender – to 2012. For the following table we've taken statistics at five-yearly intervals from 1982:

Year	Male suicides	Female suicides	Male:female suicides
1982	4,066	2,404	1.69
1987	4,370	1,979	2.21
1992	4,720	1,658	2.85
1997	4,320	1,496	2.89
2002	4,347	1,479	2.94
2007	4,085	1,292	3.16
2012	4,590	1,391	3.30

From this we can see that the male/female suicide rate differential nearly doubled between 1982 and 2012, from 1.69:1 to 3.3:1.

<sup>161</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/mortality-statistics--deaths-registered-in-england-and-wales--series-dr-/2012/index.html>

<sup>162</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcn%3A77-332358>

Many of the state's policy directions contribute to the persistently high male suicide rate, including:

- denying fathers reasonable access to their children following family breakdowns
- weakening the institutions of marriage and the nuclear family
- lack of support for male victims of intimate partner violence (IPV)
- financial devastation following divorce
- disadvantaging in the education system
- disadvantaging with respect to employment
- lack of support for the homeless
- brutal treatment by the justice system

People who support fathers denied access to their children have commonly known a number of those men commit suicide. It's also known that when the number of suicides occasioned by intimate partner violence (IPV) is added to the number of IPV-related murders, more men than women die as a result of IPV.<sup>163</sup>

Central government takes virtually no interest in the persistently high male suicide rate. In February 2014 the government published a report, 'Preventing suicide in England: First annual report on the cross-government outcomes strategy to save lives'.<sup>164</sup> A recurring theme in the report is that suicide is a matter that merits attention at a local level, not at a national level. While suicide statistics are reported, virtually no concern is shown at the disproportionately high male suicide rate. There's more material in the report about a debt counselling service in Newcastle than about the high suicide rate of men in mid-life.

The report states that the government is spending a paltry £1.5m over three years on six research projects. None of the projects are focusing specifically on male suicide. By comparison, the government is spending £30m on encouraging women into engineering<sup>165</sup> although it's known that female engineering graduates are markedly less likely than male engineering graduates to enter the profession, and they're highly likely to quit the profession permanently once they have children. The government's initiative is depriving men of engineering careers, which could help them support a family.

Unemployment is known to be a major driver of suicide among men, but less so among women, who are more likely to be financially supported by a partner during periods of unemployment. For many years more men than women have been registered as unemployed. Belinda Brown, a social anthropologist and researcher for Men for Tomorrow,<sup>166</sup> explained in her report, 'Getting women into the workplace encourages replacement, not growth'<sup>167</sup> that increasing female employment leads to male unemployment. Government initiatives to drive women into historically male-typical fields of work – such as medicine and engineering – are a driver of male unemployment, and therefore a driver of the high male suicide rate.

The homeless charity Crisis published a report in 2011, 'Homelessness: a silent killer'.<sup>168</sup> Street homelessness – the form that is most punishing physically and psychologically – is overwhelming a male phenomenon. Among the statistics in the report is that homeless people are over nine times more likely to commit suicide than the general population. The average age at which homeless men die is 47, compared with 77 years of age for the general population.

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<sup>163</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/domestic-violence-more-men-than-women-die-as-a-result-of-it/>

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/suicide-prevention-report>

<sup>165</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/07/06/government-launches-30m-fund-to-get-women-into-engineering/>

<sup>166</sup> <http://men-for-tomorrow.org>

<sup>167</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2013/10/27/belinda-brown-getting-women-into-the-workplace-encourages-replacement-not-growth/>

<sup>168</sup> <http://www.crisis.org.uk/publications-search.php?fullitem=337>

All too often one of the root causes of the high male suicide rate is said to be men's stoical natures, that they don't seek help when it's needed. It is said (or implied) that men should act more like women, talk about their problems, and seek support when required. Of course men should seek support, but their reluctance to do so has deep cultural roots. Men are naturally disinclined to talk about their problems, when those problems cannot be resolved through talk. Males learn to become stoic at an early age because they learn that females are automatically deemed intrinsically valuable and deserving of care, while males aren't.

No amount of talking with family, friends, or others, will help a man who discovers there's no support available for him, as a victim of IPV. Society values men in proportion to their contribution of resources to others, notably women and children, those resources usually being obtained through hard work. No amount of talking will help a man denied access to his children by the state, and data from the United States show that divorced men are more than nine times as likely as divorced women to kill themselves.<sup>169</sup>

More and better initiatives are required to locate and dissuade men considering suicide. But in addition, the *causes* of many men's problems must be tackled – the injustices they face, which lead so many to the conclusion that their lives have become unbearable. Many of those causes, possibly most, are directly attributable to the actions and inactions of the state, as we outline in this manifesto.

#### PROPOSALS

1. A public inquiry should be held to explore the male suicide rate, and determine a practical strategy to reduce it. This should include measures to address the root causes of what drives men to take their own lives, as well as what is needed to better identify men at risk of committing suicide, and what essential support is needed.
2. The government should introduce initiatives with the objective of reducing the male suicide rate by at least 50% within ten years.

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<sup>169</sup> <http://jech.bmj.com/content/57/12/993.full>



# THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

## BACKGROUND

The justice system in general is institutionally biased against men, and is the direct cause of a scandalous ‘gender justice gap’. In an earlier section of this manifesto we cited our 150+ page submission to a Home Office consultation, which outlined in detail the anti-male gender bias of prominent politicians and public bodies with respect to domestic violence.<sup>170</sup> This bias leads directly to virtually no support being available for male victims of domestic violence, nor treatment for female perpetrators.

Women are held barely more accountable than children by the justice system, which prompted us to write a blog piece, ‘Why are women above the law?’<sup>171</sup> Excuses are made for women’s criminal behaviour, incarceration is rare even for serious crimes, and conditions in women’s prisons are markedly less unpleasant than in men’s prisons. The emphasis for female prisoners is on rehabilitation, while the emphasis for male prisoners is on punishment.

In 2007 Baroness Corston, a Labour peer, published the now infamous Cortson Report. It revealed a grotesque expectation of special treatment for female criminals. William Collins’s article, ‘The Corston Report – A Case Study in Gynocentrism’, is well worth reading.<sup>172</sup> From the start of the article:

The thrust of the report’s recommendations are for a more understanding, caring, compassionate treatment of female offenders. I could be persuaded that many of the report’s recommendations are good ideas. I tend to think that there must be something more constructive that could be done with offenders than simply have them sit in prison, bored to death, doing nothing for months or years. But I have one little problem with the report. This caring, compassionate and understanding approach is for women only. Of course, the report was commissioned to be about women only – but that only begs the question ‘why?’. Why have a particular concern for just 5% of the prison population and not the other 95%, based solely on sex?

It is clear from the report itself that the furthest thing from the good Baroness’s mind is to apply a similar approach to male offenders. As a result I am tempted to say that this vile document is the most gynocentric thing I have ever seen coming out of a formal governmental source – but unfortunately the competition in that respect is very strong.

From time to time J4MB reports on a few of the many cases where the leniency shown by judges and magistrates towards women amounts to miscarriages of justice. A small selection:

- A woman, 44, escaped a custodial sentence after being convicted of sexually assaulting a 14-year-old boy.<sup>173</sup> One of many such cases.
- A policewoman, 48, convicted of fraud and sentenced to a 30-month custodial sentence, was released after four months.<sup>174</sup>
- A pregnant woman, 18, was given a council flat near Hyde Park. Despite having had a miscarriage, she was still living there 11 years later, and from time to time rented out her flat to tourists. She earned at least £24,000 through this crime, and avoided a custodial sentence by repaying £10,000.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/141026-submission-to-home-office-improved-layout.pdf>

<sup>171</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/why-are-women-above-the-law/>

<sup>172</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=226>

<sup>173</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/01/44yo-woman-sexually-assaults-14yo-boy-escapes-a-jail-sentence/>

<sup>174</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2772232/Police-fraudster-described-disgrace-uniform-released-prison-serving-just-four-months-two-half-year-sentence.html>

<sup>175</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2428274/Hyde-Park-benefits-cheat-raked-24-000-renting-council-flat.html>

- A barmaid, 21, stole £3,000 from her employer, used the money to clear credit card debts and buy cannabis, and was ordered to pay back £500 over two years.<sup>176</sup>
- A wife, 56, along with a female accomplice, buried her 60-year-old husband's body in the garden of their home. It was discovered five years later, by which time she'd fraudulently claimed £77,000 in benefits in his name. The pathologist who conducted the post-mortem said it was impossible to ascertain a cause of death, and the man could only be identified by his dental records. The coroner recorded a verdict of death by natural causes. The wife and her female accomplice served custodial sentences of 20 months.<sup>177</sup>

The Crown Prosecution Service, the body charged with making decisions on charging people with criminal offences, is a deeply anti-male institution. Its determined focus on male sex offenders rather than female sex offenders has been evident for years, and is particularly strong under the current Director of Prosecutions, Alison Saunders.<sup>178</sup> A few indicators:

- Given the frequency with which women are known to commit sexual offences – see the section on 'Sexual Abuse' in this manifesto – we would expect the ratio of men to women charged with committing sex offences to be a little under 3:1. In 2013 the ratio was 146:1.
- The reasons why false rape allegations are common are well understood<sup>179</sup> but the CPS cynically claims that the low number of women facing criminal charges is an indicator of the frequency of the crime. This is patently absurd. Of the cases brought by the police to the attention of the CPS for charging decisions in a six-month period in 2012, the CPS decided to prosecute in only 29% of cases.<sup>180</sup>

The prison population in the UK is around 84,000. Over 80,000 of these are men. William Collins published a detailed article, 'UK prisoners: the genders compared'.<sup>182</sup> It ends with the following conclusion:

Men are subject to massive gender discrimination in the criminal justice system. If male offenders were treated in the same way as female offenders, there would be only one-sixth of the number of men in prison. About 68,000 men would not be in prison if they were female, leaving a male prison population of only 13,000.

Philip Davies, a Conservative MP, made a remarkable contribution to a debate in 2012, detailing the justice system's differential treatment of male and female criminals.<sup>183</sup>

For men, prison patently isn't working as a deterrent. Conditions in many men's prisons are brutal. It's been estimated that 72% of prisoners have at least two mental health issues, and prison has been described as 'long-term warehousing of the mentally ill'.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2627953/Caught-CCTV-Barmaid-helped-3-000-till-spent-clearing-credit-card-buying-cannabis-ordered-pay-just-500.html>

<sup>177</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/06/12/dead-husband-secretly-buried-under-a-rockery-by-his-wife-while-she-claimed-77000-of-benefits-in-his-name-died-from-natural-causes/>

<sup>178</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1ci5rF\\_1I1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1ci5rF_1I1)

<sup>179</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/sexual-politics/ten-reasons-false-rape-accusations-are-common/>

<sup>180</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/05/why-does-the-cps-prosecute-only-29-of-the-women-who-the-police-believe-have-made-false-rape-allegations/>

<sup>182</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=215>

<sup>183</sup> <https://fightingfeminism.wordpress.com/2012/10/20/rt-hon-philip-davies-mp-is-awarded-a-winston/>

<sup>9</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/15/bedlam-behind-bars-for-ten-nerve-jangling-years-author-angela-levin-observed-what-really-goes-on-inside-britains-most-famous-jail/>

Most prisoners have mental health issues – as well as drug dependency, illiteracy, and innumeracy – and prisoners’ time could be used to address these issues, but it isn’t. The coalition has cut spending on rehabilitation programmes.

As testament to the ineffectiveness of prison, we need only look at re-offending rates. Of the male prisoners released from prison in 2003, almost a third returned to prison within a year, almost half within three years, and 59% within 10 years.<sup>185</sup>

Ally Fogg wrote a blog piece in September 2014 titled, ‘Chris Grayling can ignore prison rape, hundreds of victims have no such luxury’. He claimed the increasing rate of sexual assaults against men, and the declining rate against women, were the natural consequences of a prison system which is increasingly brutal towards men and increasingly compassionate towards women.<sup>186</sup>

## PROPOSALS

1. In an age of equality, it is iniquitous that the justice system treats men far more harshly than women. The government should hold a public inquiry into the matter, with a view to ensuring that the justice system becomes gender-blind.
2. Men and women convicted of the same crimes should be equally likely to face incarceration, and serve the same sentences.
3. The government needs to go beyond warehousing male criminals, and to invest a great deal more on rehabilitation. It should hold a public inquiry to explore why other countries have far lower re-offending rates than the UK, with a view to following their examples.

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<sup>185</sup> <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/140915-moj-foi-rsponse-re-conviction.pdf>

<sup>186</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/15/ally-fogg-chris-grayling-can-ignore-prison-rape-hundreds-of-victims-have-no-such-luxury/>

# PATERNITY FRAUD

## BACKGROUND

Women possess considerable reproductive rights, but choose their responsibilities. They can abort unborn children, have their children adopted, or bring up the children themselves – if they're single mothers, largely at taxpayers' expense. In stark contrast, a man has no rights at any stage, but is expected to bear heavy financial responsibility for his children, even when his partner has chosen to become pregnant without his express consent. A man's consent to sex is not the same as his consent to fatherhood.

Paternity fraud is an egregious assault on men's human rights – it is fraud. It is also a cruel assault on the children who are born into this arrangement, whether or not they later learn who their true fathers are. William Collins has written impressive articles on paternity fraud, touching on the iniquity of DNA paternity tests having no legal validity unless the mother agrees to the tests being carried out.<sup>187,188,189</sup>

There are two forms of paternity fraud. In the first form, a woman causes her contraception method to fail – usually by 'forgetting' to take the contraceptive pill – in order to become pregnant. In the second, a woman tricks a man into believing he is the father of her child when he is not. Men shouldn't be required to bear financial responsibility for the consequences of these women's actions.

The first form of paternity fraud (the frustration of contraceptive methods) is known to be the most common. An article by Robert Franklin for the National Parenting Organization (an American organization) cites a study<sup>190</sup> which includes this:

Melinda Spohn, a social worker and researcher at Spokane Falls Community College in Washington, decided to study why so many of her clients told her that their pregnancies were unplanned, despite the variety of easily available birth control.

Some of the women admitted that they had not used birth control with guys who had appealing characteristics. To determine whether such behavior is widespread, Spohn surveyed nearly 400 women at two community colleges. More than a third of women said they had risked pregnancy in the past with men who had attractive qualities – such as commitment to the relationship, good financial prospects or the desire for a family – but hadn't discussed the possibility of pregnancy with their partner. It was unclear how many women actually became pregnant.

Spohn contends that women have a built-in biological desire to reproduce with men who are good providers. She presented her pregnancy survey at the Human Behavior and Evolution Society's annual meeting. Her advice to men: "Beware!"

Not even the use of condoms can protect men from this form of paternity fraud. Liz Jones, a *Daily Mail* columnist, has written of attempting to become pregnant through using the contents of both her ex-husbands' condoms.<sup>191</sup>

The second form of paternity fraud, where men are tricked into believing they're the biological fathers of children when they're not, is a criminal offence under the Fraud Act 2006, even when it's attempted unsuccessfully. Women suspected of the crime can be charged under either section 1(2), false representation, or section 1(3), failing to disclose information. In practice, however, public prosecutions

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<sup>187</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=238>

<sup>188</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=245>

<sup>189</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=258>

<sup>190</sup> <https://nationalparentsorganization.org/recent-articles?id=21034>

<sup>191</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2056875/Liz-Jones-baby-craving-drove-steal-husbands-sperm-ultimate-deception.html>

for paternity fraud are virtually unknown. J4MB learned from a Freedom of Information Act enquiry that the Child Support Agency has for many years known of over 500 cases annually of paternity fraud, after women agreed to men's requests to have paternity tests carried out, and the men were found not to be the fathers of the children in question. None of these women have ever been charged for their crimes. The reason given is usually that to prosecute would not be in the 'public interest'. As in other areas – women making false rape allegations is an obvious example – it is not deemed to be in the public interest to deter women from committing crimes that assault the human rights of men.

There's debate about the frequency of this form of paternity fraud in the UK and elsewhere, and researchers believe it may apply to as many as 30% of births in the UK.<sup>192</sup> Compulsory paternity testing at birth will provide reliable data about the crime for the first time, and would have the added benefit of discouraging women from committing the crime in the first place. Highly reliable paternity testing kits manufactured by reputable laboratories are available in the UK from under £100.00<sup>193</sup> and the price of kits will fall substantially when the NHS orders them in bulk.

A man who is the victim of paternity fraud cannot obtain financial compensation from the woman who committed the fraud, to compensate him for the expenditure he incurred supporting children who were not his own, but he can take a private legal action seeking compensation for emotional distress. We reported on a case in which a man received £19,000 in an out-of-court settlement, after discovering he wasn't the biological father of his 21-year-old son.<sup>194</sup>

Roger Terrell, a solicitor, is a recognised expert in the field of bringing private actions for paternity fraud. From his firm's website:<sup>195</sup>

In 2009, Roger Terrell was consulted by Richard Rodwell. He had been married, had two children, Laura and Adam, and subsequently separated from and divorced his wife, Helen. He saw the children regularly and paid maintenance.

Richard heard rumours and as a result, he began to have doubts about the paternity of Laura. He therefore had DNA tests carried out which revealed to his shock and horror that despite what he had been led to believe, he was not the biological father of Laura. He arranged further tests for Adam and again was shocked to find out he was not the biological father and even worse, both of his children had different fathers.

We issued proceedings based on the tort of deceit, commonly known as paternity fraud. The matter came before his Honour Judge Moloney QC at the Cambridge County Court and Richard was awarded £25,000 damages, plus costs.

Perhaps the most well-known campaigner against paternity fraud in the world is Carnell Smith, an American. At the world's first international conference on men's issues, organised by A Voice for Men and held near Detroit in June 2014, Smith delivered a highly memorable speech.<sup>196</sup> His insights and experiences illustrate the degree to which this is an international issue.

## PROPOSALS

1. The government should introduce compulsory paternity testing for all new-born babies, and both parents should be informed of the result of the tests (verbally and in writing) within a week of the babies' births. If a man is not the biological father of a baby, he should be informed of the fact in the course of

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<sup>192</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2013/11/01/paternity-fraud-how-common-is-it>

<sup>193</sup> For example <http://www.genetrack.co.uk>

<sup>194</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/03/20/a-mothers-infidelity-and-the-lie-that-left-her-son-without-a-father/>

<sup>195</sup> <http://www.terrells.co.uk/site/family-law-solicitors/paternity-fraud-solicitors/>

<sup>196</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/a-voice-for-men/carnell-smith-presentation-to-the-international-conference-on-mens-issues-2014/>

a face-to-face meeting with a health professional, and sign a document confirming he's been made aware of his non-paternity of the child in question.

2. The state should only require a man to have financial responsibility for a child if he's previously signed a legal declaration that he's willing to support a child who results from the sexual relationship in question, and a paternity test has proven him to be the child's biological father.
3. Legislation should be introduced requiring women found guilty of committing the first form of paternity fraud to compensate the affected men for the full sum of their financial contributions to the child's upbringing.
4. Paternity fraud is such a grave assault upon the human rights of men and children that attempted (but failed) paternity fraud should attract a minimum three month prison sentence. Where a woman has carried out a proven paternity fraud, her minimum prison term should be 12 months. Where the fraud has continued for more than three years, her prison term should be 12 months plus three months in prison for each year of fraud. Frauds relating to two or more children should attract consecutive, not concurrent, sentences.
5. DNA samples should be destroyed as soon as results are known and communicated to both the mother and the putative father, or as soon as criminal prosecutions and any appeals are completed.

# ANONYMITY FOR SUSPECTED SEXUAL OFFENDERS

## BACKGROUND

The principle that people suspected of having committed criminal acts are considered innocent until proven guilty is a cornerstone of British justice. It's also enshrined in the European Convention of Human Rights, Article 6(2). For some crimes, such as sexual offences, revealing the identity of suspects frequently leads not only to destruction of reputations and possible financial ruin of innocent people – invariably men – but also to those suspects being considered guilty by the ‘court of public opinion’, regardless of whether they are later charged with offences, or convicted.

In May 2010 the coalition government agreement committed to reintroducing legislation to protect the anonymity of suspected sexual offenders, until and unless convicted, but later reneged on the commitment, following lobbying by feminist MPs and women's groups. The existing law is nothing less than a charter for malicious women to make false sexual offence allegations, thereby ruining innocent men's lives, at little or no risk to themselves, because *they* are afforded anonymity. The reasons why false sexual assault allegations are common are well understood.<sup>197</sup> Janet Bloomfield, a Canadian men's human rights advocate, wrote an article entitled, ‘13 reasons women lie about rape’.<sup>198</sup> Hannah Wallen wrote articles on ‘6 dangerous rape myths’.<sup>199,200</sup>

Since 2010 the police have revealed the identities of many prominent men alleged to have been sexual offenders, often without sufficient evidence to have any realistic prospect of a conviction,<sup>201</sup> in the hope that other alleged victims will make themselves known. The most recent example was the highly publicised search of Sir Cliff Richard's UK home. The Crown Prosecution Service has been at the heart of this attack on men as a class, and nobody who has watched Alison Saunders interviewed on this subject can have the slightest doubt about her radical feminist motivations.<sup>202</sup> The CPS has cynically misrepresented the frequency of false sexual offence allegations by conflating them with the low number of prosecutions, as we revealed in a 150+ page report submitted to a Home Office consultation in October 2014, ‘Intimate Partner Violence: The Gender Bias Against Men in England & Wales’.<sup>203</sup>

The justice system is woefully poor at holding to account women who make false sexual offence allegations. Between January 2011 and May 2012, the CPS pressed charges against women in only 29% of the cases brought to them by the police.<sup>204</sup> Even when found guilty of making false sexual offence allegations – the crimes being either wasting police time, or attempting to pervert the course of justice – women are treated leniently, rarely serving custodial sentences.

It is often claimed there's a public interest in not prosecuting women who are suspected of having made false rape allegations, because one consequence will be to discourage women who have been raped from reporting the matter to the police. The claim is ludicrous. An analogy should explain why. Imagine that one of your neighbours has engaged in an insurance scam, removing and selling items from his house, then claiming the property has been burgled. Let us suppose it comes to the attention of the police that this was

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<sup>197</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/sexual-politics/ten-reasons-false-rape-accusations-are-common/>

<sup>198</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/mens-rights/false-rape-culture/13-women-who-lied-about-being-raped-and-why-they-did-it/>

<sup>199</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/mens-rights/dangerous-rape-myths-part-1/>

<sup>200</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/mens-rights/dangerous-rape-myths-part-2/>

<sup>201</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2711783/Emmerdale-star-David-Easter-cleared-rape-allegations-lawyer-accuses-alleged-victim-trying-cash-Jimmy-Savile-bandwagon.html>

<sup>202</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1ci5rF\\_11I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1ci5rF_11I)

<sup>203</sup> <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/141026-submission-to-home-office-improved-layout.pdf>

<sup>204</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/05/why-does-the-cps-prosecute-only-29-of-the-women-who-the-police-believe-have-made-false-rape-allegations/>

an insurance scam, and your neighbour is prosecuted for wasting police time. Would the fact that your neighbour has been prosecuted for a 'false burglary allegation' disincline you from reporting a burglary of your own home to the police? Of course not. Women who genuinely have been raped need not fear being charged for making false rape allegations. The idea that these women *should* fear being charged is one of many feminist rape myths, and has been debunked by Ally Fogg.<sup>205</sup>

#### PROPOSALS

1. The government should introduce legislation to protect the anonymity of people suspected of having committed sexual offences, until and unless the individuals have been convicted of the offences.
2. The government should introduce a registry of people convicted of making false sexual offence allegations.
3. Women found guilty of making false sexual offence allegations should serve custodial sentences of the same duration that their victims would have served, had they been found guilty of the purported crimes.

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<sup>205</sup> <http://freethoughtblogs.com/hetpat/2014/12/01/can-we-stomp-on-this-rape-myth-now/>



# DIVORCE

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

J4MB considers committed relationships and the nuclear family to be cornerstones of a civilized society, so people are sometimes surprised that we operate the website *Men Shouldn't Marry*.<sup>206</sup> Around 50% of marriages in the UK end in divorce and two-thirds of divorce applications are filed by women. Because of 'no fault' grounds for divorces, men can be exemplary husbands yet still face the same risk of financial devastation through divorce, which leads to a very unhealthy dynamic in marriages.

It cannot be fair and just that decades after women have had the same employment opportunities and earnings potential as men, women are still achieving personal financial enrichment through divorce. Men tend to invest disproportionately in their careers – in plain English, men are more likely to be full-time, whole-of-life workers. As a result men tend to earn more than their wives, and wives benefit from their husbands' earnings in many ways. Why should those benefits continue after divorce?

Women continue to seek partners who are better-off than themselves, or partners with good future earnings potential,<sup>207</sup> so women are more likely than men to be financially advantaged by marriage, but why should they also be financially advantaged by divorce? Through its financial advantaging of wives in divorce settlements, the state provides an incentive for wives to sabotage their marriages and destroy their families. Family courts use their discretion to advantage ex-wives outrageously, as Herbert Purdy reported in his article, 'Divorce – get the judges out of it!'<sup>208</sup> He was also the author of another memorable article, 'Marriage is finished: it's over'.<sup>209</sup>

The financial devastation of men by divorce is likely to be particularly severe when their ex-wives are primary carers of their children and the family court system fails to ensure that fathers enjoy reasonable access to their children. Following the financial impact of their divorces, few men are in a position to pay the high legal costs required to secure a prospect of reasonable access to their children, when such access is opposed by malicious ex-wives.

In September 2014 we received a response<sup>210</sup> from the Ministry of Justice following a Freedom of Information request. A section of their letter concerns the division of matrimonial assets following divorce. When reading through the relevant extract (below) we invite you to consider which elements are designed to financially advantage ex-wives and, by extension, financially disadvantage ex-husbands:

The division of property on divorce and dissolution of a civil partnership in England in Wales is governed by the Matrimonial Causes Act 1973 and the provisions of the Civil Partnership Act 2004. Section 24 of the 1973 Act enables the court, on granting a decree of divorce, nullity or judicial separation, or afterwards, to order that property be transferred from one party to the other, or to a child of the family, or to another person for the benefit of a child of the family. Probably the most frequent use of this power is by courts ordering a divorced man to transfer ownership of the matrimonial home to his ex-wife. Other provisions give the courts the power to order the making of periodical payments, to order the sale of property, to make orders in respect of pensions and so on. The court can order periodical payments for maintenance of a former spouse, and can order that the payments can be made for as long as the court considers appropriate.

The courts have discretion as to what orders they make in any particular case, in order to meet the demands of that case according to its particular circumstances. Section 25 of the Act lays down various matters which

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<sup>206</sup> <http://menshouldntmarry.wordpress.com>

<sup>207</sup> Moxon, Steve (2008), *The Woman Racket* (Exeter: Imprint Academic)

<sup>208</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com/?p=864>

<sup>209</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com/?p=1564>

<sup>210</sup> <http://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/140905-moj-response-re-divorce-prenups-etc.pdf>

the courts are to consider in exercising their discretion. The first of these is the welfare of any child of the family under the age of 18. The other matters are:

- the income, earning capacity, property and other financial resources which each of the parties has or is likely to have in the foreseeable future;
- the contribution, both financial and other, made by each of the parties to looking after the home and children is also considered;
- the financial needs, obligations and responsibilities which each of the parties has or is likely to have in the foreseeable future;
- the standard of living enjoyed by the family before the breakdown of the marriage;
- the age of each party and the duration of the marriage;
- any physical or mental disability suffered by either party;
- the contributions which each party has made, or is likely to make in the future to the welfare of the family;
- the conduct of the parties, if it is such that it would be inequitable to disregard it;
- the value to each of the parties of any benefit which that party will lose the chance of acquiring because of the divorce or annulment.

I am not aware of any evidence that the courts exercise their discretion in divorce cases in a discriminatory way. In the nature of these cases, most of them will involve a net transfer of assets away from the richer of the two parties (usually the ex-husband) in favour of the poorer (usually the ex-wife). In the many cases where a couple's only substantial asset is the former matrimonial home, it is likely, if there are children, that this will be given to the wife, as the primary carer for the children. Wives are therefore likely to obtain significantly more than half of the capital assets of a divorcing couple in a substantial proportion of cases.

This official recognition of the unequal distribution of matrimonial assets upon divorce surely contributes to the fact that – decade after decade – most divorce applications have been filed by wives. Over the past 10 years, as statistics in the letter show, wives have filed around two-thirds of divorce applications.

One way of overcoming this imbalance is the prenuptial agreement. However, the Ministry of Justice letter reports the following with respect to prenuptial and postnuptial agreements:

In respect of pre-nuptial and post-nuptial property agreements, on 20 October 2010, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Radmacher v Granatino* UKSC 2009/0031 that the Court of Appeal was correct to conclude that there are no factors which rendered it unfair to hold the husband to the pre-nuptial agreement he had made with his wife. In the right case a prenuptial agreement can have a decisive or compelling weight, i.e. where the agreement was freely entered into with a full appreciation of its implications unless in the circumstances prevailing it would not be fair to hold parties to their agreement.

Although following the judgment recognition of a prenuptial agreement could still depend on some circumstances such as the reasonable requirements of children, the Supreme Court said that 'it will be natural to infer that parties entering into agreements governed by the law in England and Wales will intend that effect be given to them.' Therefore, where prenuptial agreements have been freely entered into, and the parties have obtained correct advice, the court can give decisive or compelling weight to their recognition.

The provisions of the law are reflected in training for judges and in the provisions of the Family Procedure Rules 2010, including the Practice Directions supporting the Rules:

<http://www.justice.gov.uk/courts/procedure-rules/family>

*Radmacher v Granatino* was a landmark case. It was the first recognition of a prenuptial agreement in the courts of England and Wales – and it flew in the face of the general principle of redistribution of wealth from the richer partner to the poorer one. An all-male panel of judges sitting of the Supreme Court held that the prenuptial agreement of a German heiress, Katrin Radmacher, should be upheld, thus protecting her fortune from her far less well-off French husband. The case was brought in the United Kingdom because of the legal climate of discrimination in favour of women by the judiciary sitting in the Family Court.

In an age of equality and no-fault divorce, when women have had the same employment rights as men for many years, it cannot be fair or just that divorced people have a right to a share of assets owned by their ex-spouses before they married, nor a share of assets acquired after marriage, other than to the extent to which they personally contributed to the creation or purchase of those assets.

## PROPOSALS

1. The provisions for division of matrimonial assets following divorce should be amended, and courts given no discretion as to how assets are divided. With respect to Section 25 of the Matrimonial Causes Act (1973), amendments should be made such that:
  - Any assets and liabilities each partner possessed at the start of the marriage, would revert to them in full
  - Title to any assets (including land and property) inherited by each party as individuals during the course of the marriage would revert to them in full
  - Title to assets given to them jointly would be divided equally insofar as that would be practical, and an effort made to ensure both partners receive 'given assets' worth approximately the same value
  - The value of matrimonial assets acquired by the couple after the start of the marriage would be divided up in line with the the proportion of partners' incomes over the course of the marriage
  - No maintenance payments should be payable from one party to the other following divorce, other than in relation to the support of children and/or contributing towards the financing of the former matrimonial home until the last of the couple's children have reached the age of majority
  
2. The following factors should be deleted from Section 25 of the Matrimonial Causes Act (1974) with respect to division of matrimonial assets:
  - The income, earning capacity, property and other financial resources (including pension funds) which each of the parties has or is likely to have in the foreseeable future
  - The financial needs, obligations and responsibilities which each of the parties has or is likely to have in the foreseeable future
  - The standard of living enjoyed by the family before the breakdown of the marriage
  - The age of each party and the duration of the marriage
  - The value to each of the parties of any benefit, which that party will lose the chance of acquiring, because of the divorce or annulment
  
3. The section in this manifesto, 'Access to children after family breakdowns' deals with the issue of supporting and accommodating children and young adults until the age of 18. In situations where one parent is the resident parent (RP), the non-resident parent (NRP) – in 95% of cases, fathers – may volunteer to subsidise accommodation for the RP, by paying the RP more than he/she is legally required, in order to help fund mortgage payments until such time that the last of the couple's children have reached the age of majority.

Where such a voluntary arrangement exists, both partners will be deemed to have had a financial stake in the accommodation at the time of the divorce as calculated in (1). At the point in time the last of the children reaches the age of majority, a qualified surveyor will value the accommodation, and establish the present day value (PDV) of the partners' pre-divorce financial stakes in the accommodation. Both ex-partners will be deemed to have an additional financial stake in the accommodation in line with the proportion of the value of their financial contributions (calculated on a PDV basis) towards mortgage payments (calculated on a PDV basis) made between the divorce and the last child reaching the age of

18. The RP will then be required to reimburse the NRP to the extent of his/her financial stake in the accommodation, if necessary selling the accommodation to raise the necessary funds.

In situations where the NRP is unable or unwilling to continue with the voluntary arrangement, notice will be given to the RP, and the RP required to pay the NRP's financial stake in the accommodation within six months.

# HEALTH

## BACKGROUND

There is a need to value and support the significant contributions made by men in our society. Men play varied and important roles including as fathers, partners, providers, carers, sons, brothers, grandfathers, uncles, friends and role models. Improvements in men's health will not only have a positive impact on individual lives, they will also contribute to improvements in participation and productivity, improvements in the cultural and social life of our communities, and substantial reductions in the need for provision of costly health care services.

Men are much more likely than women to work full-time (and overtime), suffer stress, drink alcohol above recommended levels, smoke cigarettes, and eat a poor diet. Men suffer increased levels of obesity and higher body mass indices. These sorts of factors are often accentuated by men's work-centred lives, as many jobs have few opportunities for either a healthy lifestyle (for example, driving jobs), require shifts or unsocial hours (leading to varied eating times and poor diet), are inherently hazardous to health (building or extractive industries, for example), and are difficult to manage in terms of making time for medical appointments or other health-related activities.

Men's health – both physical and mental – is an issue of importance to everyone. Men are worthy of due consideration of their health in their own right because they disproportionately engage in paid employment compared to women, often directly supporting women, children, and others, as well as themselves. Men collectively pay 72% of the income taxes, which largely finance public services, including the NHS.<sup>211</sup>

While there is recognition that men's health issues extend beyond male-specific conditions such as prostate and testicular cancers, these conditions have remained a prominent feature of the discussion relating to men's health, sometimes representing the *only* issues considered to be of concern. Good male health is a state of physical, mental, and social well-being that enables individual boys and men, and the male population as a whole, to meet the demands of everyday life, and to realise aspirations and biological potential. A male health issue is one that arises from physiological, psychological, social, cultural or environmental factors that have a specific impact on boys or men and/or necessitates male-specific actions to achieve improvements in health or well-being at either the individual or population level.

By stressing that one of the defining characteristics of a male health issue is that male-specific actions are needed to bring about an improvement, the definition also recognises the crucial point that services will need to differ by gender in their design and content. In other words, the onus is on policy-makers to develop initiatives to improve male health. This is important, as this matter will fall within the provisions of Equality Duty.

It must also be recognised that not all male population groups have the same outcomes. Biology provides only a minor explanation for poor health in men. Lifestyle is also a significant factor, in particular those aspects connected to full-time work.

At birth, males currently have an average life expectancy of 78.8 years, females 82.8 years – 5.1% higher than males. At the age of 65, men have an average remaining life expectancy of 18.3 years, women 21.0 years – 14.7% higher than men.<sup>212</sup> Only a small fraction of this longevity differential is attributable to

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<sup>211</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/20/womens-share-of-income-tax-receipts-declines-slightly/>

<sup>212</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/subnational-health4/life-expectancy-at-birth-and-at-age-65-by-local-areas-in-england-and-wales/2009-11/stb.html>

gender-related biological factors. Most of it is attributable to environmental factors over many years, including the additional stresses and strains faced by men in the workplace. The problem is compounded by men’s reluctance to seek medical attention in a timely manner, a reality made worse by a health service which isn’t designed to cope with the realities of many men’s lives, such as the likelihood they’ll be in full-time employment and therefore unable to access primary care services, which are generally unavailable at the times men could readily take advantage of them.

There are some specific groups of men with much lower levels of life expectancy. Over 87% of ‘street homeless’ people are men. In 2011 Crisis, a charity supporting homeless single people, published a report titled, ‘Homelessness: a silent killer – A research briefing on mortality among homeless people’.<sup>213</sup> An extract:

The average age of death of a homeless person is 47 years old and even lower for homeless women at just 43, compared to 77 for the general population. Drug and alcohol abuse are particularly common causes of death amongst the homeless population, accounting for just over a third of all deaths. Homeless people are over 9 times more likely to commit suicide than the general population. Deaths as a result of traffic accidents are 3 times as likely, infections twice as likely, and falls over 3 times as likely. Being homeless is incredibly difficult both physically and mentally and has significant impacts on people’s health and wellbeing. Ultimately, homelessness kills.<sup>214</sup>

Despite improvements in the health of the general population over the last 15 years, the average age of death for homeless people still remains shockingly low at just 47 years old, and with the average age for homeless women being even lower at 43. This compares to an age of 77 for the general population.

We turn to RIDDOR – Reporting of injuries, diseases and dangerous occurrences regulations 2013. Year after year, men are far more likely than women to suffer work-related fatalities and injuries. RIDDOR reported the following data for 2012/13:<sup>215</sup>

	Fatal injuries	Non-fatal major injuries	‘Over 7 day’ injuries
Male	94	12,676	38,607
Female	5	7,021	19,883

### Cancer

In 2010, 82,481 men and 74,794 women died from cancer in the UK, accounting for 31% of total male mortality and 26% of total female mortality. Cancer represents a very clear example of the gender health gap. Men experience poorer outcomes in terms of diagnosis and treatment even though they are the majority of those contracting cancers. This gap reflects the effects of occupational hazards, from a history of exposure to carcinogenic substances in many industries, to being far more likely to work outdoors and thereby contract skin cancers. Compared with women, men have their cancers diagnosed later. There are also contributory lifestyle factors such as heavy smoking, drinking, and poor diet, which are related to the difficulties and constraints of full-time work, particularly manual work and self-employment.

In 2013 Cancer Research UK published a report titled, ‘Excess Cancer Burden in Men’.<sup>216</sup> The *Guardian* reported:<sup>217</sup>

Men are 35% more likely to die from cancer than women, with men’s drinking and eating habits, late diagnosis and advances in breast cancer treatment cited for the stark differential. When sex-specific forms

<sup>213</sup> <http://www.crisis.org.uk/publications-search.php?fullitem=337>

<sup>214</sup> [http://www.shef.ac.uk/polopoly\\_fs/1.43714!/file/GT-final-report-for-web.pdf](http://www.shef.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.43714!/file/GT-final-report-for-web.pdf)

<sup>215</sup> <http://www.hse.gov.uk/statistics/tables/index.htm#riddor>

<sup>216</sup> [http://publications.cancerresearchuk.org/downloads/product/CS\\_REPORT\\_EXCESSBURDEN.pdf](http://publications.cancerresearchuk.org/downloads/product/CS_REPORT_EXCESSBURDEN.pdf)

<sup>217</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/jan/29/men-cancer-deaths-greater-women>

of the disease are excluded, such as prostate, testicular and ovarian cancer, the gender gap is even wider, with men 67% more likely to die. And when only working age people are looked at men under 65 have a 58% greater chance of dying than women of the same age.

Men are more likely than women to contract the more fatal cancers, as well as seek medical support later.

Nearly as many men die from prostate cancer as women die from breast cancer, yet the state spends around £250 million of its total expenditure of £350 million p.a. on national cancer screening programmes for women<sup>218</sup> – cervical cancer (£150 million) and breast cancer (£100 million). The balance is spent on screening for a non-gendered cancer, bowel cancer (£100 million).

There is no national screening programme for prostate cancer.

Research into prostate cancer has been poorly funded for most of the last 40 years, and scientists' understanding lags far behind their understanding of female-specific cancers. John Kimble wrote an article titled, 'Cancer Research UK – Neglecting prostate cancer today, because it was neglected yesterday'.<sup>219</sup> He points out that for every £1 spent on research for every sufferer of prostate cancer, £2 is spent for each sufferer of breast cancer, and £3 per sufferer of ovarian cancer. A major boost in funding for research is needed to make up for the neglect of the last 40 years.

There's a severe shortage of specialist NHS prostate cancer nurses, and prostate cancer patients endure long waiting times, a lack of access to drugs, pain medication, and trials.<sup>220</sup>

We turn to the HPV vaccine which is given to girls, but not to boys. This particularly puts homosexual men's health at risk. Giving the HPV vaccine to boys would result in an estimated 2,000 fewer men contracting cancer every year.<sup>221</sup>

Hormone replacement therapy can be of considerable benefit to some men, but is not available on the NHS, unlike for women.<sup>222</sup>

### Men's engagement with health services

Our health services are extraordinarily gynocentric – focused on women's and girls' wants and needs – and men are being institutionally conditioned to put the needs of women and children above their own. Men are therefore more likely than women to neglect their own legitimate needs, and to neglect their physical and mental health.

This neglect manifests itself in men's poor engagement with health services. Men are much less likely to visit their GPs than women. Under the age of 45, men visit their GP only half as often as women. It is only in the elderly that the gap narrows significantly – and even then, women see their GPs more frequently than men. A survey of men conducted by the Men's Health Forum suggested that many men are unhappy with the service provided at their local GP surgery for reasons that are rectifiable: unhelpful opening hours; perceived emphasis on services for women and children; and undue bureaucracy. We can add the inability of many men to see a male GP.

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<sup>218</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/public-spending-on-national-screening-programmes-for-gender-specific-cancers/>

<sup>219</sup> [http://therightsofman.typepad.co.uk/the\\_rights\\_of\\_man/2012/08/cancer-research-uk-neglecting-prostate-cancer-today-because-it-was-neglected-yesterday.html](http://therightsofman.typepad.co.uk/the_rights_of_man/2012/08/cancer-research-uk-neglecting-prostate-cancer-today-because-it-was-neglected-yesterday.html)

<sup>220</sup> <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/health/healthnews/11130248/Prostate-cancer-patients-discriminated-against-charity.html>

<sup>221</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-2765439/Boys-offered-HPV-vaccine-girls-prevent-rising-rates-cancer.html>

<sup>222</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2532334/Should-grumpy-old-man-HRT-Despite-doctors-concerns-growing-numbers-men-insist-testosterone-jabs-transformed-lives.html>

67% of men and 57% of women are overweight, yet men are much less likely to be offered help and support in weight loss programmes in GP surgeries, although evidence suggests that men who are offered support lose weight as effectively as women.

Smoking is the single most important preventable cause of heart disease, and causes virtually all cases of lung cancer. Historically men have always been much more likely to smoke than women, and although numbers of smokers have declined among both sexes (and more sharply among men), it is still the case that men are more likely to be smokers (28% of men, 26% of women). Yet, men are markedly less likely than women to engage with NHS smoking cessation programmes.

### International focus on men's health

Examples of politically-led activity directly intended to improve men's health by the development of dedicated policy and/or investment in health programmes targeted at men can be seen in the Republic of Ireland. There, the most significant development has been the publication of a national men's health policy. Its publication in January 2009 followed a commitment, as set out in the National Health Strategy, to develop a national policy for men's health. An increased focus on the statistics for men in relation to life expectancy, mortality and morbidity provided a strong impetus for men to be identified for the first time at a national health strategy level, as a specific population group in need of strategic health planning.

There has been an upsurge in interest and activity on men's health issues in the Republic of Ireland over the past decade which has revolved around research, advocacy work, and a variety of grass-roots work in both the statutory and voluntary sectors.

### Mental health

Men suffering from depression and other mental illnesses are less likely than women to recognise their mental health problems, and in turn less likely to seek help to address them. Men are more likely than women to self-medicate with alcohol and other drugs, sometimes resulting in risky behaviours, increasing their likelihood of an early death by suicide or accident. This points to the need for more state resources to support men with mental health issues.

Over 70% of men in prison suffer from at least one mental disorder, but men typically receive little or no treatment for disorders during their incarceration. Male prisons have been described as 'long-term warehousing for the mentally ill'.<sup>223</sup> The consequences of poor conditions in male prisons can be tragic, including suicide. In July 2014, a prisoner gouged out his eyes in protest over the unbearably high temperature in his cell.<sup>224</sup>

## PROPOSALS

1. A public inquiry is required to identify viable strategies to improve men's health, with a view to developing a national men's health policy.
2. An inquiry is required to consider prostate cancer specifically, with a view to introducing initiatives to increase survival rates dramatically. This will inevitably require a considerable increase in public funding of research into, and treatment of, the disease.

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<sup>223</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/08/15/bedlam-behind-bars-for-ten-nerve-jangling-years-author-angela-levin-observed-what-really-goes-on-inside-britains-most-famous-jail/>

<sup>224</sup> <http://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/07/23/male-prisoner-gouges-eyes-out-in-protest-over-heat-in-jail-cell-just-days-before-release>



3. A national screening programme for prostate cancer should be introduced as a matter of urgency. Men over the age of 40 should have their PSA levels measured annually.
4. Developing the capacity of individual men to improve, maintain and monitor their own health is vital. From pre-school onwards, information and advice should be delivered in a manner consistent with male viewpoints. This should incorporate health promotion, education, the personal development necessary to utilise services effectively, the self-confidence to request and accept help, and the ability to cope with changes in physical and mental functioning.
5. The barriers which prevent men from accessing healthcare need to be identified and addressed. Creative approaches are required to promote and encourage engagement with men to improve health outcomes. These should include annual medical tests from the age of 40 to assess general health.
6. Boys should be given the HPV vaccine.
7. Hormone replacement therapy should be available on the NHS for men, as it is for women.
8. GP surgeries should allow people to register near to where they work, as well as near to where they live. At least one GP practise in each area should be open for everyone – not just people registered with that particular practise – until 21:00 on weekdays, and 09:00 to 17:00 on Saturdays.
9. More resources should be devoted to identifying men suffering from depression, and treating them appropriately.
10. More resources are required to diagnose and treat the mental health conditions of men in prison.

# POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

## BACKGROUND

This manifesto outlines many of the ways in which men and boys are disadvantaged by the state's actions and inactions, usually to advantage women and girls, regardless of the consequences. There are no ways in which the state disadvantages women and girls. So it is perverse that the government has a Minister for Women and Equalities with responsibility for women, and no minister with responsibility for men. Harriet Harman was the first Minister for Women in the Labour government of 1997-2001. The title was later changed to Minister for Women and Equalities,<sup>225</sup> and the Government and Equalities Office<sup>226</sup> created in 2007 to support the minister.

Men and boys, therefore, aren't officially recognized as a group that can be disadvantaged. This allows them to be disadvantaged by the state with impunity.

We all have a vested interest in the quality of elected politicians, so prospective parliamentary candidates (PPCs) ought to be chosen solely on the basis of merit. The fact that a minority of MPs are women – the figure is currently around 22% – is a reflection of the small number of women who have historically sought to become PPCs. The reasons why women are relatively disinclined to seek careers in politics compared to men are well understood. Caroline Spelman MP was the Conservative party chairman in 2007. In a recent BBC radio interview she admitted that during her term as chairman 10 times as many men as women were applying to become MPs. Indeed, on that basis women are arguably *over*-represented as MPs.

Positive discrimination in the form of all-women shortlists (AWS) has been used by the Labour party to increase the proportion of female PPCs – and in turn the proportion of female MPs – since 1997. Positive discrimination, which increases the proportion of politicians drawn from one or more specific groups, must inevitably be anti-meritocratic.

MPs are required to represent their constituents without bias, yet many female MPs – Harriet Harman, a radical feminist activist, being an obvious example – have been clear their prime motivation in entering politics was to advance women's interests. While most MPs are male, they do not act to protect men's interests, still less to advance them. Those MPs remain true to the cause of representing all their constituents with balance and fairness to all.

Labour introduced AWS at its 1993 annual conference, following polling that suggested women were less likely to vote Labour than men.<sup>227</sup> The party used AWS to select candidates in half of all winnable seats ('winnable' meaning that a swing of 6% or less would be required for the Labour candidate to win the seat) for the 1997 general election, with the aim of reaching 100 women MPs post-election, a goal that was reached at that election.

In December 1995, Peter Jepson and Roger Dyas-Elliott were prevented from standing on Labour shortlists because of their gender. They challenged the policy in court, supported by the Equal Opportunities Commission, claiming that they had been illegally barred from applying to be considered to represent the party, and that the policy contradicted Labour's policy of aiming to promote equality of opportunity. In January 1996 an industrial tribunal found the Labour Party *had* broken the law, unanimously ruling that all-

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<sup>225</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minister\\_for\\_Women\\_and\\_Equalities](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minister_for_Women_and_Equalities)

<sup>226</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Equalities\\_Office](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Equalities_Office)

<sup>227</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/All-women\\_shortlists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/All-women_shortlists)

women shortlists were illegal under the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 in preventing men from entering a profession.

A Labour government then enacted The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002 to allow political parties to select candidates based on gender. The Act is scheduled to run until the end of 2015. A statutory order to extend the deadline may be made if a draft has been laid before, and approved by resolution of, each House of Parliament. On 6 March 2008 Harriet Harman, Minister for Women, announced that the exemption would be extended until 2030 under the Equality Act 2010, however, while legislated for, this prospective extension has not yet been brought into force.

In the autumn of 2009 David Cameron announced his intention to use the Act to introduce AWS, but following a severe backlash from party members, he decided not to introduce them. Mike Buchanan was one of many Conservative party members who cancelled their party memberships as a result of David Cameron's announcement.

#### PROPOSALS

1. The government should create a new cabinet position, Minister for Men and Equalities, to represent the interests of men and boys. The office holder should be a man, and should have access to the same level of resources that are available to the Minister for Women and Equalities.
2. It is perverse that the gender equality legislation that forbids positive gender discrimination isn't applicable to the selection of PPCs. The government should repeal The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002. All-women shortlists are an assault on democracy, and highly anti-meritocratic.

# GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN COMPANY DIRECTOR APPOINTMENTS

## BACKGROUND

This country's prosperity is founded on entrepreneurship, business, and free trade. We have been a wealth-creating nation for centuries. Each and every one of us, therefore, has a vested interest in the business sector performing as well as possible. With no private sector, there could be no public sector – no NHS, no state education, no state benefits, no police, no Armed Forces, no defence of our land and way of life. The system has its imperfections and shortcomings, but the creation of wealth, which can be taxed, is what makes us a wealthy, healthy, socially secure nation.

For decades the majority of British citizens has accepted that the less the state interferes in the operation of companies, the better. We know instinctively that bureaucracy and state intervention in how companies are run reduces their profitability and their ability to create employment, which means even less taxation to support the state. But the government is *actively* bullying companies into a course of action that will lead to exactly these negative consequences.

One of the cornerstones of capitalism is the freedom of companies to appoint directors as they see fit. Company boards carry the primary responsibility to the shareholders to ensure a worthwhile return on their investment, such that they continue to provide the capital needed to finance the company's profit-making activities. Therefore, the quality of the Board is a key factor in achieving high corporate performance (as well as good corporate citizenship).

Before the 2010 general election, the preceding three Labour administrations had sought to persuade major companies to increase 'gender diversity in the boardroom' – GDITB – although it has been well understood for many years why there are few women on the boards of major companies, namely:

- **Work/life balance decisions:** while four in seven British men are 'work-centred' – 'work' denoting paid employment in this context – only one in seven British women is;<sup>228</sup>
- **More men than women work in the private sector:** two-thirds of employees in the private sector are men;
- **Career choice decisions:** men continue to strongly outnumber women in the senior levels of the professional disciplines most likely to lead to such positions, notably Finance;
- **Career intensity decisions:** in the standard family situation, the man becomes the full-time, whole of life worker, and the woman adopts a working pattern that means career breaks and more part-time working to accommodate motherhood responsibilities. These lead inevitably to a lessening of overall experience for otherwise able women.

Combining these factors would lead us to expect women to occupy fewer than 5% of board positions in, say, FTSE100 companies.<sup>229</sup> Yet because of the government's bullying of those companies (see below) the current proportion (August 2014) is about 22%, and is expected to reach 25% in 2015.

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<sup>228</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com/why-most-people-at-the-top-of-major-companies-are-men-explained-by-a-woman-dr-catherine-hakims-preference-theory-2000/>

<sup>229</sup> All else being equal, on the basis of work-centredness (see reference #1) we'd expect women to take up around 20% of FTSE100 director positions. But all else is far from equal. Only a third of private sector employees are women, so the proportion would fall to 6.7%. Men continue to markedly outnumber women in the senior reaches of professional disciplines most likely to lead to major corporate directorships – notably Finance – so the proportion would fall to below 5%. On the basis of merit, women have long been considerably *over*-represented on FTSE100 boards. The government's longer term goal of gender parity on FTSE350 boards will necessitate a more than tenfold preferencing of women over men when recruiting directors.

It has long been claimed by politicians and others that a business case for GDITB exists. They say that GDITB leads to improved corporate financial performance. They are *lying*. They refuse to accept the large and increasing body of evidence from unimpeachable sources, which shows conclusively that artificially increasing GDITB causes *declines* in corporate financial performance.<sup>230</sup>

Politicians and others regularly cite studies and reports from reputable organizations (e.g. McKinsey, Credit Suisse, Reuters Thomson...) and cynically misrepresent them, essentially by claiming (or implying) they provide evidence of a causal link between GDITB and enhanced corporate performance. Inspection of all the reports makes it clear they are *not* claiming such a causal link, and they state that a causal link cannot even be *implied*.

Shortly after coming to power David Cameron appointed a Labour peer, Lord Davies of Abersoch, to prepare a report recommending how – not *whether* – GDITB could be increased. In 2011 the now infamous Davies Report was published. Among its key recommendations (later accepted by the government) was that if FTSE100 companies hadn't 'voluntarily' achieved 25% female representation on their boards by 2015, the government should introduce legislation forcing them to do so. The result has been that FTSE100 companies have appointed a large number of poorly-qualified women onto their boards, almost all of them as non-executive directors – in itself evidence of the enormous 'gender merit gap' at the top of major companies.

By 2012 a growing number of studies had shown that GDITB leads to corporate financial *declines*. Mike Buchanan launched Campaign for Merit in Business<sup>231</sup> – C4MB – to alert the business sector and the government to the evidence, in an effort to stop the government's bullying of major companies into appointing more women onto their boards. Mike presented evidence to House of Commons and House of Lords inquiries, the video of him engaging with the former is available.<sup>232</sup> He presented five longitudinal studies demonstrating that GDITB leads to corporate financial decline.

None of the MPs or peers challenged any of the evidence he presented, yet the government's policy direction remains unchanged. The government has a longer-term goal of equal numbers of men and women on the boards of FTSE350 companies, despite the needs of business and the severe shortage of well-qualified women for such positions.<sup>233</sup> C4MB has publicly challenged many prominent proponents of GDITB in the government, academia and elsewhere, to challenge the evidence of a causal link between GDITB and corporate performance decline.<sup>234</sup> None have ever risen to the challenge.

## PROPOSAL

Women should not be appointed to senior positions for ideological reasons. The government should cease forcing companies to increase the proportion of women on their boards. Equality is not parity of numbers. Neither is it diversity. True diversity would mean those women who were the best qualified would rightfully gain senior positions, but they would require the experience and skills necessary to perform well in such positions, in the same way men are.

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<sup>230</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com/improving-gender-diversity-on-boards-leads-to-a-decline-in-corporate-performance-the-evidence>

<sup>231</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com>

<sup>232</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zwqTi6HN0pM>

<sup>233</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/feminism/feminist-governance-feminism/do-you-own-any-ftse350-shares-if-so-sell-them-now/>

<sup>234</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com/our-public-challenges-of-high-profile-proponents-of-improved-gender-diversity-in-boardrooms>

## EXPECTATION OF RETIREMENT YEARS

### BACKGROUND

Men continue to be the ‘workhorses’ of the British economy, supporting not only themselves, but often partners and children too. Men paid 71.8% of the income taxes collected by the government in 2011/12, women 28%. Men paid £68.2 billion more income tax than women that year. Official statistics for 2011/12:<sup>235</sup>

	Men	Women	Total
Taxpayers (million)	17.3	13.4	30.7
Income, pre-tax (£ billion)	577	309	886
Income tax (£ billion)	112	43.8	156
Income, after tax (£ billion)	465	265	730

From the section on ‘Health’ in this manifesto:

At birth, males have an average life expectancy of 78.8 years, females 82.8 years – 5.2% higher than males. At the age of 65, men have an average remaining life expectancy of 18.3 years, women 21.0 years – 14.7% higher than men.<sup>236</sup> Only a small fraction of this longevity differential is attributable to gender-related biological factors. Most of it is attributable to environmental factors over many years, including the additional stresses and strains faced by men in the workplace.

At birth males have a life expectancy four years shorter than females – by the age of 65 this has reduced to 2.7 years – and more men than women fail to reach retirement age. It’s surely reasonable that the men who do reach that age have (on average) the same expectation of retirement years as women retiring at the same age. For one thing, men are more likely than women to be engaged in physically onerous work at that age, as they are at all ages.

### PROPOSAL

The government should set the ages at which men and women are entitled to receive the state pension, at levels which ensure that (on average) men and woman can expect to draw their state pension for the same number of years.

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<sup>235</sup> <https://j4mb.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/140820-income-tax-payments-2011-12.pdf>

<sup>236</sup> <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/subnational-health4/life-expectancy-at-birth-and-at-age-65-by-local-areas-in-england-and-wales/2009-11/stb.html>

## THE MEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT, A VOICE FOR MEN, FEMINISM, GYNOCENTRISM, MISANDRY, MORAL AGENCY, SEXISM, THE RED PILL...

J4MB is currently the only political party in the English-speaking world campaigning for the human rights of men and boys, but it is only one element in a burgeoning global men's human rights movement (MHRM). In our view, the most important website in the MHRM is an American website, A Voice for Men – AVfM.<sup>237</sup> The organization was launched in 2009 by Paul Elam, a former mental health practitioner, and he leads it to this day.

In five years AVfM has become the world's most-visited and most influential website advocating for the human rights of men and boys, and it's published over 50 of Mike Buchanan's articles.<sup>238</sup> Paul Elam and his colleagues organised the world's first international conference on men's issues, held near Detroit in June 2014. The conference was a huge success. Erin Pizzey,<sup>239</sup> Karen Straughan,<sup>240</sup> and Mike Buchanan<sup>241</sup> were among the speakers, and a keynote speaker was Anne Cools, a Canadian senator.<sup>242</sup>

There is an increasing number of women who are men's human rights advocates (MHRAs) – they are often referred to as 'Honey Badgers'<sup>243</sup> – and are associated with AVfM in various capacities.<sup>244</sup> They include:

- Erin Pizzey, the founder of the world's first refuge for battered women and their children, in Chiswick, London, in 1972. She was ousted by radical feminists who decided to copy the example of American radical feminists, and use refuges as sources of income. They do so to this day, across most of the developed world.<sup>245</sup>
- Karen Straughan (GirlWritesWhat): a Canadian videomaker.<sup>246</sup>
- Alison Tieman (Typhon Blue): a Canadian videomaker.<sup>247</sup>
- Janet Bloomfield: a Canadian blogger.<sup>248</sup>

There are a number of terms in common usage in the MHRM which are not in common usage outside it, for a variety of reasons. To explain our analyses and political direction, we need to explain their meanings.

The first term is gynocentrism, an issue explored extensively by AVfM and other websites, and to which at least one website is devoted.<sup>249</sup> The website reveals that the term has been in use since at least the 19th century. The Wikipedia entry on gynocentrism includes this:<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> <http://avoiceformen.com>

<sup>238</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/author/mikebuchanan1957/>

<sup>239</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/a-voice-for-men/erin-pizzey-presentation-to-the-international-conference-on-mens-issues-2014/>

<sup>240</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/a-voice-for-men/karen-straughan-presentation-to-the-international-conference-on-mens-issues-2014-womenagainstfeminism/>

<sup>241</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/detroit-conference-on-mens-issues-speeches-from-the-first-day-including-mike-buchanans/>

<sup>242</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/a-voice-for-men/senator-anne-cools-presentation-to-the-international-conference-on-mens-issues-2014/>

<sup>243</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/honey-badgers-non-feminist-and-anti-feminist-women/>

<sup>244</sup> <http://honeybadgerbrigade.com/badgerfest/>

<sup>245</sup> <http://erinpizzey.com>

<sup>246</sup> <http://youtube.com/user/girlwriteswhat>

<sup>247</sup> <http://www.avoiceformen.com/feminism/mens-rights-versus-feminism-explained-using-magnets/>

<sup>248</sup> <http://judgybitch.com>

<sup>249</sup> <http://gynocentrism.com/2013/08/16/gynocentrism-definitions-and-early-mentions/>

<sup>250</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gynocentrism>

Gynocentrism is the ideological practice, conscious or otherwise, of asserting the female point of view on a wide range of social issues. The perceptions, needs, and desires of women have primacy in this approach, where the female view is the point of departure or lens through which issues are addressed or analyzed. The antonymic perspective to gynocentrism is androcentrism, where the male view is the central reference point. Ideologically, gynocentrism prioritizes females hierarchically as the overriding focus, at the exclusion of all else; and as a result emulates or may be interpreted as misandry, the hatred and prejudice towards men. Katherine K Young and Paul Nathanson claim that gynocentrism is a worldview based on the implicit or explicit belief that the world revolves around women, and is a cultural theme so well entrenched that it has become 'de rigueur' behind the scenes in law courts and government bureaucracies, which has resulted in systemic discrimination against men.

The reader will surely recognize gynocentrism as the 'ideological practise, conscious or otherwise' upon which the disadvantaging of men and boys detailed in this manifesto is based. Alison Tieman produced a memorable video – 'Men's Rights versus Feminism explained using magnets' – on the cultural paradigm of men being seen as 'actors', and women as 'acted upon'.<sup>251</sup>

One invidious aspect of gynocentrism is that it infantilizes women, robbing them of moral agency, so that in many respects women are effectively considered not so much above the law, but not under its rule.<sup>252</sup> Gynocentrism explains in large part why, as William Collins demonstrated, if male criminals were treated as leniently as female criminals, five out of six men in British prisons wouldn't be there.<sup>253</sup> He also wrote a piece on the infamous Corston Report (2007) on the handling of female criminals by the justice system, 'The Corston Report: A Case Study in Gynocentrism'.<sup>254</sup>

The Wikipedia entry introduces us to another term not in common usage, though it deserves to be – misandry, 'the hatred and prejudice towards men'. Misandry is evident in how men and boys are treated in the UK today – and also, for that matter, the rest of the developed world, and an increasing part of the developing world. Gynocentrism and misandry combine when states disadvantage men and boys to advantage women and girls, regardless of the consequences.

Germaine Greer claimed in *The Female Eunuch* (1970) that men as a class are deeply misogynistic, that they hate women as a class. Nothing could be further from the truth. It's clear that feminists' belief that men are commonly misogynists is nothing less than a projection onto men of their own hatred of the opposite sex.

Feminism is popularly believed to be an ideology concerned with gender equality. As long ago as 1913 – 101 years ago – the Marxist philosopher Ernest Belfort Bax revealed in *The Fraud of Feminism* that 'modern feminism' was seeking the further extension of women's special privileges. The book is downloadable at no cost.<sup>255</sup>

In 1994 Christine Hoff Sommers, an American professor of philosophy and feminist, published *Who Stole Feminism? How Women Have Betrayed Women*. She distinguished between two classes of feminists:

- **Equity feminists:** women who believe in equality of opportunity for women. In the UK we might more usually employ the term 'feminist', or 'equality feminist'. Hoff Sommers self-identified as an equity feminist in 1994 – as she still does today, 20 years later.

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<sup>251</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/feminism/mens-rights-versus-feminism-explained-using-magnets/>

<sup>252</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/why-are-women-above-the-law/>

<sup>253</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=215>

<sup>254</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk/?p=226>

<sup>255</sup> <https://fightingfeminism.wordpress.com/the-fraud-of-feminism-book-1913/>



- **Gender feminists:** women who believed in privileging of women on the ground of gender, regardless of the consequences. In the UK we'd more usually use the term 'radical' or 'militant' feminists, and we'll use the former term for the remainder of this section.

J4MB has never had an exchange with a feminist who wasn't clearly in one camp or the other.

For over 30 years in the UK, the only feminists of significance in politics, academia, the law, the mainstream media, and much else, have been radical feminists. They have systematically and ruthlessly exploited the gynocentric culture of the UK, and their appetite for advantaging women and girls over men and boys is insatiable. Radical feminists are in key positions in all major political parties, the government, and public bodies, from where many of the anti-male discriminations we have seen in this document derive. Radical feminists have long been manipulating male politicians into doing their bidding, raising the spectre of the 'women's vote' if politicians fail to advantage women over men.

The Labour party, long dominated in its senior reaches by men, introduced all-women shortlists for prospective parliamentary candidates, while the current Conservative-led coalition – going further than its Labour predecessors – continues to bully FTSE100 companies into appointing more women to their boards, despite Mike Buchanan (on behalf of Campaign for Merit in Business) having presented to House of Commons and House of Lords inquiries compelling evidence (from major longitudinal studies) that one predictable consequence of increasing female representation on boards is corporate financial decline.<sup>256</sup>

Anyone who harbours any doubts that feminism is a movement with the ultimate aim of female supremacy, and is driven by misandry, would do well to watch a video by the legendary videomaker ManWomanMyth,<sup>257</sup> and read the output of a British blogger, Herbert Purdy.<sup>258</sup> In one particularly insightful piece, Purdy drew accurate parallels between feminists and Nazis.<sup>259</sup>

Feminism is built upon baseless conspiracy theories – such as patriarchy theory, the idea that men (as a class) oppress women (as a class) – as well as fantasies, lies, delusions and myths. For over 40 years feminists have lied relentlessly about issues such as rape and domestic violence, making women excessively fearful of men, and in consequence hateful towards men as a class. Radical feminists never retract their lies, even when challenged with evidence proving them to be liars, which illustrates the propaganda nature of what they say. This is reflected in the mainstream media which very rarely expose the lies of feminists, however outrageous the lies might be.

Because the media have manifestly failed to hold feminists to account for their lies, J4MB publicly challenges prominent feminists<sup>260</sup> – and their male collaborators, most recently Mark Carney, governor of the Bank of England<sup>261,262</sup> – and presents 'Lying Feminist of the Month' awards.<sup>263</sup> None of this activity has ever led to a substantive response from those publicly exposed as liars.

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<sup>256</sup> <https://c4mb.wordpress.com/improving-gender-diversity-on-boards-leads-to-a-decline-in-corporate-performance-the-evidence/>

<sup>257</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p8bDS-Z3gmg>

<sup>258</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com>

<sup>259</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com/?p=1148>

<sup>260</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/our-public-challenges-to-feminists/>

<sup>261</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/09/13/our-public-challenge-of-mark-carney-governor-bank-of-england/>

<sup>262</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/10/14/our-second-letter-to-the-bank-of-england/>

<sup>263</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/lying-woman-of-the-month/>

Laura Bates, the founder of the Everyday Sexism Project,<sup>264</sup> is a particularly active example of current radical feminism. J4MB has presented her with two ‘Lying Feminist of the Month’ awards,<sup>265</sup> as it has another prominent feminist, Caroline Criado-Perez.<sup>266</sup> Other winners of the award include Gloria De Piero MP,<sup>267</sup> Kat Banyard,<sup>268</sup> and a Woman’s Aid spokeswoman.<sup>269</sup>

Sexism causes far more harm to men and boys than to women and girls.<sup>270</sup> What are the state’s anti-male policy directions outlined in this manifesto, if not sexist?

We end this section with the expression, ‘taking the red pill’. Men and women who have the courage to see the world as it really is, and thereby accept that many assaults are inflicted on the human rights of men and boys, are said to have taken the red pill. The term is derived from a scene in the film *Matrix*.<sup>271</sup>

If you haven’t already taken the red pill, are you prepared to do so now, for the sake of justice for men and boys, and the women who love them?

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<sup>264</sup> <http://everydaysexism.com>

<sup>265</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/laura-bates-whiny-woman-of-the-month/>

<sup>266</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/caroline-criado-perez-lying-woman-of-the-month/>

<sup>267</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/gloria-de-piero-mp-lying-feminist-of-the-month-and-our-public-challenge/>

<sup>268</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/2014/03/29/kat-banyard-inaugural-whiny-woman-of-the-month-award-winner/>

<sup>269</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/womens-aid-our-public-challenge-of-polly-neate-ceo/>

<sup>270</sup> <http://thealternativesexismproject.wordpress.com>

<sup>271</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zE7PKRjrid4>

## RECOMMENDED BOOKS, BLOGS, WEBSITES

J4MB recommends over 300 blogs and websites.<sup>272</sup> If you have time to follow only one website or blog, we recommend A Voice for Men.<sup>273</sup> An American website, it's the most-visited and most influential men's human rights advocacy website in the world, and often publishes pieces from the UK. By December 2014 it had published over 50 articles by Mike Buchanan.<sup>274</sup>

J4MB operates four blogs – the party blog,<sup>275</sup> Campaign for Merit in Business,<sup>276</sup> The Alternative Sexism Project,<sup>277</sup> Anti-Feminism League.<sup>278</sup> A small selection of British blogs and YouTube channels for people with an interest in gender-related issues:

- Herbert Purdy.<sup>279</sup>
- William Collins.<sup>280,281</sup>
- ManWomanMyth.<sup>282</sup> This important videomaker now publishes as Humanity Bites.<sup>283</sup>
- Angry Harry.<sup>284</sup>
- John Kimble.<sup>285</sup>
- Thunderf00t.<sup>286</sup>
- Sargon of Akkad.<sup>287</sup>
- Goodfella.<sup>288</sup>
- The Conservative Woman.<sup>289</sup>
- Karen Woodall.<sup>290</sup>
- Glen Poole.<sup>291</sup>
- Ally Fogg.<sup>292</sup>

J4MB recommends the following books on gender-related issues:

Adams, Steven (2010), *Women First, Men Last* (Kindle).

Baron-Cohen, Simon (2003), *The Essential Difference* (London: Allen Lane).

Barrett, Louise, and Dunbar, Robin, and Lycett, John (2002), *Human Evolutionary Psychology* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave).

Baumeister, Roy (2010), *Is There Anything Good About Men? How Cultures Flourish by Exploiting Men* (Kindle).

Bax, Ernest Belfort (1913), *The Fraud of Feminism*. Downloadable at no cost.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/recommended-blogs-and-other-websites/>

<sup>273</sup> <http://avoicemen.com>

<sup>274</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/author/mikebuchanan1957/>

<sup>275</sup> <http://j4mb.org.uk>

<sup>276</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com>

<sup>277</sup> <http://thealternativesexismproject.wordpress.com>

<sup>278</sup> <http://fightingfeminism.wordpress.com>

<sup>279</sup> <http://herbertpurdy.com>

<sup>280</sup> <http://redpilluk.co.uk>

<sup>281</sup> <http://mra-uk.co.uk>

<sup>282</sup> <http://youtube.com/manwomanmyth>

<sup>283</sup> <http://youtube.com/user/HumanityBites/videos>

<sup>284</sup> <http://angryharry.com>

<sup>285</sup> <http://HEqual.wordpress.com>

<sup>286</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/user/Thunderf00t/videos>

<sup>287</sup> <http://youtube.com/user/SargonofAkkad100>

<sup>288</sup> <http://youtube.com/user/Goodfella>

<sup>289</sup> <http://conservativewoman.co.uk>

<sup>290</sup> <http://karenwoodall.wordpress.com>

<sup>291</sup> <http://inside-man.co.uk>

<sup>292</sup> <http://freethoughtblogs.com/hetpat/>

<sup>293</sup> <https://fightingfeminism.wordpress.com/the-fraud-of-feminism-book-1913/>

- Brizendine, Louann (2007), *The Female Brain* (London: Bantam Press).
- Brooks-Gordon, Belinda (2006), *The Price of Sex: Prostitution, Policy and Society* (Willan).
- Browne, Anthony (2006), *The Retreat of Reason: Political Correctness and the Corruption of Public Debate in Modern Britain* (London: Civitas).
- Buchanan, Mike (2009), *The Marriage Delusion: The Fraud of the Rings?* (Bath: LPS publishing).
- Buchanan, Mike (2010), *David and Goliath: David Cameron – heir to Harman?* (Bath: LPS publishing).
- Buchanan, Mike (2011), *The Glass Ceiling Delusion: the real reasons more women don't reach senior positions* (Bath: LPS publishing).
- Buchanan, Mike (2012), *Feminism: The Ugly Truth* (Bath: LPS publishing).
- Buchanan, Mike (2015), *J4MB 2015 general election manifesto* (Bath: LPS publishing).
- Capellanus, Andreas (1174), *The Art of Courty Love*.
- Chesler, Phyllis (2009), *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* (Lawrence Hill Books).
- Cleary, Mary T, and Sheppard, Roy (2007), *That Bitch: Protect Yourself Against Women with Malicious Intent* (Centre Publishing).
- Cook, Philip W (2009), *Abused Men: The Hidden Side of Domestic Violence* (USA: Praeger).
- Cook, Philip W, and Hodo, Tammy L (2013) *When Women Sexually Assault Men: The Hidden Side of Rape, Harassment, and Sexual Assault* (USA: Praeger).
- Cooper, Joel (2007), *Cognitive Dissonance: Fifty Years of a Classic Theory* (London: Sage Publications).
- Crawford, Colin (1997), *Forbidden Femininity: Child Sexual Abuse and Female Sexuality* (Ashgate Publishing).
- Crawford, Edith (2006), *Truth and Prejudice: Men's Experiences of Domestic Violence* (AuthorHouse).
- Dench, Geoff (1998), *Transforming Men: Changing Patterns of Dependency and Dominance in Gender Relations* (Transaction Publishers).
- Farrell, Warren (1993), *The Myth of Male Power: Why Men Are The Disposable Sex* (Simon & Schuster).
- Farrell, Warren (2005), *Why Men Earn More: The Startling Truth Behind The Pay Gap And What Women Can Do About It* (Amacom).
- Graglia, F Carolyn (1998), *Domestic Tranquility: A Brief Against Feminism* (Spence Publishing).
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<sup>294</sup> <http://www.iwf.org/files/d8dcafa439b9c20386c05f94834460ac.pdf>

## ABOUT MIKE BUCHANAN

Mike Buchanan, 57, is a men's human rights advocate, writer,<sup>295</sup> and publisher.<sup>296</sup>

After obtaining a science degree in 1979, Mike embarked upon a business career during which he worked for a number of blue chip organizations including SmithKline Beecham, Gillette, Exel Logistics and Revlon. He spent the final ten years of his 30-year-long career working as an independent business consultant, and over 2006-8 he worked for the Conservative party. Along with many other Conservative party members, he resigned his party membership in the autumn of 2009, when David Cameron announced his intention to introduce all-women shortlists for prospective parliamentary candidates.

Mike took early retirement in 2010 to concentrate on fighting the scourge of radical feminism, a female supremacy ideology driven by misandry (the hatred of men). He's written nine books, the last three concerned with gender-related matters:

*David and Goliath: David Cameron – heir to Harman?* (2010)

*The Glass Ceiling Delusion – the real reasons more women don't reach senior positions* (2011)

*Feminism – the ugly truth* (2012)

Testimonials for the second of these books include the following:

Every doctoral study I have read about women in management in the past fifteen years proves that successful women have EXACTLY the same characteristics as successful men. I have always admired successful women as much as successful men and have had the privilege of working for and with many of them. So I hope Mike Buchanan's book will call a halt to all this ridiculous social engineering nonsense which, in the twenty first century, is fast developing into a gross insult to our female colleagues.

**Malcolm McDonald** Emeritus Professor, Cranfield School of Management

Equality of opportunity is a fine thing but equality of outcome is another matter entirely. There is little doubt that men and women have, on average, different talents and interests that make gender quotas in the workplace unfair and impractical. *The Glass Ceiling Delusion* is a welcome, well-argued addition to the debate about whether women should be pushed up the social ladder just because they are women, and thus at a presumed disadvantage. This is rather an insult to women and Margaret Thatcher, for one, would not have agreed. Individuals should be treated as individuals, not as members of a particular race, class or gender. Whatever the historic injustices, this is the only way that social structures can evolve naturally.

**Glenn Wilson** Visiting Professor of Psychology, Gresham College, London

*The Glass Ceiling Delusion* attacks head-on the militant feminist myth that men and women have the same interests and capabilities. Reviewing a wide range of evidence, Mike Buchanan shows that the under-representation of women in senior positions in business has nothing to do with discrimination and 'glass ceilings', and that attempts to impose quotas are therefore fundamentally flawed. A polemical book with an important message.

**Peter Saunders** Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Sussex University

At long last, someone has taken on the myth of discrimination against women who aspire to senior positions in business, including the boardrooms of major corporations. *The Glass Ceiling Delusion* demythologizes each of thirty elements the author has identified of the now generally accepted claim that women are discriminated against in the world of white-collar work. Much has been accomplished recently in disclosing the half-truths about women and domestic violence, for example, but Buchanan illuminates an area that other critics of ideological feminism have not considered. Buchanan's analysis is based partly on his experience of working as an executive for major British and American multinational corporations for over 30 years until 2010. His book should inspire research on settings of corporate power everywhere. Always witty and sometimes even biting in style, Buchanan's text is grounded in important texts in psychobiology,

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<sup>295</sup> <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Mike-Buchanan/e/B001JCG3AY>

<sup>296</sup> <http://lpspublishing.co.uk/titles.html>

sociology, history and politics. It is an impassioned yet not angry argument that deserves the careful attention of policy-makers and a general readership.

**Professor Miles Groth** Editor, *New Male Studies: An International Journal*

*The Glass Ceiling Delusion* is an important and brave book, the best book on social economics and society in general published for decades. It's irresistibly compelling, cogently argued and superbly put together. It should be in all school and college libraries. It should be compulsory reading for social science, economics and politics students. It should be force-fed to male and female politicians. This is definitely a five-star book. **Brilliant. Brilliant. Brilliant. Brilliant. Brilliant.**

**Dr Vernon Coleman** bestselling English author

Mike launched the Anti-Feminism League with a blog, 'Fighting Feminism', in January 2012.<sup>297</sup> The first piece was titled, 'Militant Feminism: an assault on women?'<sup>298</sup> The blog hasn't been updated since April 2013, when Mike started to post new pieces on his other blogs.

In May 2012 he launched Campaign for Merit in Business,<sup>299</sup> – C4MB – then (as now) the only organization in the world campaigning for an end to government interference in the appointment of corporate directors through initiatives such as gender quotas – or, as in the UK, the threat of them, which has proven equally effective. C4MB campaigns for an end to government interference in this area due to compelling evidence (longitudinal studies) showing a causal link between increasing female representation on boards, and corporate financial decline.<sup>300</sup>

Proponents of 'more women on boards' regularly claim that studies show that increasing female representation on boards leads to financial performance improvement. They point to studies and reports which show a correlation, but all the studies of which C4MB is aware point out that correlation isn't evidence of causation, nor can it be taken to even *imply* causation. There are more credible reasons for the observed correlations than some mysterious 'female factor', for example that more profitable companies are in a better position to indulge in social engineering, and there is public relations value for some companies (e.g. major retailers) in appointing more women to their boards, when the customer base largely consists of women.

C4MB has challenged many prominent proponents of 'more women on boards' to provide evidence of a causal link with enhanced financial performance,<sup>301</sup> and none have ever done so. They include Professor Susan Vinnicombe of the Cranfield International Centre for Women Leaders, who admitted to a House of Lords inquiry that she knew of no such evidence.<sup>302</sup>

Mike presented the evidence for a causal link between increasing female representation on boards and financial performance declines to House of Lords and House of Commons inquiries. A video of him giving verbal testimony to the House of Commons inquiry is on the J4MB YouTube channel.<sup>303</sup> In January 2013 he appeared on the BBC television programme *Daily Politics*, challenging the government's initiative to drive up the proportion of women on corporate boards.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> <http://fightingfeminism.wordpress.com>

<sup>298</sup> <https://fightingfeminism.wordpress.com/2012/01/09/militant-feminism-an-assault-on-women/>

<sup>299</sup> <http://c4mb.wordpress.com>

<sup>300</sup> <https://c4mb.wordpress.com/improving-gender-diversity-on-boards-leads-to-a-decline-in-corporate-performance-the-evidence/>

<sup>301</sup> <https://c4mb.wordpress.com/our-public-challenges-of-high-profile-proponents-of-improved-gender-diversity-in-boardrooms/>

<sup>302</sup> <https://c4mb.wordpress.com/2012/07/20/a-remarkable-statement-by-a-leading-proponent-of-improved-gender-diversity-in-the-boardroom/>

<sup>303</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zwqTi6HN0pM>

<sup>304</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vcwfWEPg3r4>

The factual evidence Mike presented to the two government inquiries had no influence on the government's policy direction. Women have been appointed to FTSE100 boards in response to the government's demands for a minimum 25% female representation on those boards by 2015, and the threat of legislated gender quotas if the companies fail to comply. It is known that the government's longer term target is gender parity on the boards of FTSE350 companies, which has led to J4MB calling on owners of FTSE350 shares to sell them.<sup>305</sup>

Mike concluded from his engagement with inquiries that governments will not alter policies advantaging women at the expense of men, even when faced with concrete evidence that the policies are damaging the interests of men, or having other negative consequences. The same problem is evident in the state's refusal to ensure fathers have reasonable access to their children following family breakdowns, the lack of support for male victims of domestic violence, and in many of the other areas explored in this manifesto. He decided to launch a political party, J4MB, with the long-term objective of contesting enough of the marginal seats of major political parties, that they would have no choice but to engage with the party. It was registered with the Electoral Commission in February 2013.

In the short to medium term the challenge is to raise public awareness of the state's assaults on the human rights of men and boys, and the Conservative party under David Cameron's leadership is deeply anti-male. J4MB will contest two Conservative and Labour seats at the May 2015 general election. Mike will be standing in Ashfield, a historically safe Labour seat which Gloria De Piero, currently Shadow Minister for Women & Equalities, retained with only 192 votes in 2010. He has committed to work for the party, as leader or in another role, until at least the 2030 general election, when he'll be 72.

Mike's media appearances, along with those of Ray Barry, who'll also be standing as a candidate for J4MB at the 2015 general election, are on the J4MB YouTube channel.<sup>306</sup>

Mike is a firm supporter of an American website, A Voice for Men – AVfM.<sup>307</sup> It is, with good reason, the most-visited and most influential men's human rights advocacy website in the world, and publishes material relating to men's human rights around the world. By December 2014 the site had published over 50 of Mike's articles.<sup>308</sup>

AVfM is led by Paul Elam, a former mental health professional. He and his colleagues organized the first international conference on men's issues, held near Detroit in June 2014. The conference was judged a major success, and Mike Buchanan was among the speakers.<sup>309</sup> Preparations are underway for a conference in 2015.

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<sup>305</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/feminism/feminist-governance-feminism/do-you-own-any-ftse350-shares-if-so-sell-them-now/>

<sup>306</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCKhX1c3ow6BrzdZP3ydpZQ/videos>

<sup>307</sup> <http://avoicemen.com>

<sup>308</sup> <http://www.avoicemen.com/author/mikebuchanan1957/>

<sup>309</sup> <https://j4mb.wordpress.com/detroit-conference-on-mens-issues-speeches-from-the-first-day-including-mike-buchanans/>