PREVENTING AND RESPONDING TO FAMILY VIOLENCE

Taking an intersectional approach to address violence in diverse Australian communities
Family violence is a prevalent and pervasive issue in Australia, with far-reaching consequences for health and wellbeing, as well as significant economic costs to households and society. Family violence takes many forms globally, and is predominantly perpetrated by men against women and children. There are many manifestations of family violence, including intimate partner violence, violence against children, parents, siblings and older relatives.

**Family violence** is defined as any behaviour by a person towards a family member that is physically, sexually, emotionally or economically abusive, that is threatening or coercive, or that controls or dominates the family member in a way that causes them to fear for their safety and wellbeing or that of another person. It also includes behaviour by a person that causes a child to hear, witness or otherwise be exposed to the behaviour listed above.

**Family member** is defined broadly to include biological and marital relationships, de facto or other intimate personal relationships, foster children, and can also include people residing together or reliant on care, such as the elderly or people with a disability. The definition also includes a person who is deemed a relative, according to traditional or contemporary social or cultural practice within a given family, kinship or social group.

While family violence is prevalent across all Australian communities, it is experienced differently by different people. In Australia, family violence can be exacerbated within certain settings, such as rural, regional and remote communities. There are some sub-populations whose experiences of family violence are often overlooked, such as sex workers and older people. Some groups are at a greater risk of family violence or may experience it at increased rates, such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Other groups face particular barriers to help-seeking that can perpetuate abusive situations, such as newly arrived migrants, or people with disabilities.

This brief provides a summary of the current evidence on the intersections of the different factors that underpin family violence among different communities or cohorts in Australia:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples
- Older people
- Culturally and linguistically diverse communities
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities
- Male victims
- Rural, regional and remote communities
- People with disabilities
- Women in the sex industry
- Women in prison
- Children
- Faith communities
As family violence is experienced differently by different people, it is crucial that we have a nuanced understanding of the complex and intersecting factors that contribute to violence in diverse communities in Australia. The analysis presented here combines a socio-ecological model of family violence with an intersectional analysis to map the interaction of social norms, structures and practices that are relevant for understanding differences in experiences of family violence within diverse Australian communities.

The use of violence in intimate and family relationships reflects a patriarchal culture that condones, justifies and excuses violence as a way for one person to dominate and control another. However, the dynamics of power and control will vary between abusive relationships, reflecting specific intersections of gender, ability, age, sexuality, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and other factors. Overall, societal-level discrimination and inequality set the underlying social context that drives family violence among different groups within Australia. These drivers are reinforced at the community and individual levels by other compounding factors including social isolation and previous exposure to violence and trauma, leading to a pervasive normalisation of family violence among diverse community groups. These findings are important because they emphasise that our efforts need to be informed by a strong understanding of the different pathways to victimisation and perpetration, and the ways in which different factors interact to increase or decrease the risk of experiencing abuse, in order to prevent family violence.

**Context and purpose:** Most of the existing evidence and primary prevention efforts in Australia are focused on intimate partner violence and sexual violence, perpetrated by men against women. The Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence identified several communities whose experiences of family violence are unique. In response, The Equality Institute was commissioned by the Victorian government to conduct a comprehensive literature review and analysis on different manifestations of family violence, and on proven and promising practices for primary prevention. The final report and policy recommendations were developed through consultation with policy-makers and interest groups, and provide a key evidence base for the development of an innovative policy framework within Australia. This brief is a summary of the original research report. Full references can be found in the full report.²
**Summary of key findings:** Drivers and reinforcing factors of family violence within diverse Australian communities*

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* Empty boxes do not imply that there are no drivers or reinforcing factors for that community at that level. Rather, there is a lack of evidence to establish clear risk factors in those cases. The drivers and reinforcing factors presented here should be understood as intersecting and dynamic.

**Drivers** can be defined as the underlying root causes of violence. They relate to the specific structures, norms and practices that create the necessary conditions in which violence is condoned, tolerated or justified. Drivers of violence must always be considered in the context of additional forms of social marginalisation and disadvantage. Reinforcing factors become significant when they intersect with the drivers of violence. These are factors that do not predict or underpin violence in and of themselves, however when they interact with the drivers they can increase the probability, frequency or severity of violence.
The term **intersectionality** refers to a conceptual framework that looks to uncover the dynamics of different factors that make up an individual’s or group’s identity (Figure 1). An intersectional analysis means identifying how these factors interact, to understand how people exercise power over others, or experience discrimination based on different forms of oppression. These factors include gender as well as race and ethnicity, ability, sexual orientation, religion, age, and socio-economic status. In the context of family violence, taking an intersectional approach means identifying how these intersections can be associated with different sources of oppression and discrimination, or power and privilege, and how those intersections can lead to increased risk, severity, and/or frequency of experiencing different forms of violence, harassment or inequality. It means that these various factors cannot be isolated or considered alone, and are integral to ensuring primary prevention initiatives are effectively and appropriately tailored to the target population.

Figure 1. Intersectionality: Understanding the dynamics of power and privilege, and discrimination and oppression in our analyses of violence

\(^1\) This image has been adapted from Our Watch (2017).
MAKING THE LINK:
IDENTIFYING INTERSECTING FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO FAMILY VIOLENCE WITHIN DIVERSE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITIES

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

Indigenous Australian peoples have a unique history of colonisation, trauma and violence that continues to have a long-lasting and cumulative impact, and informs contemporary drivers and compounding factors that contribute to disproportionately high rates of family violence. In this context, efforts to prevent violence must be informed by a strong understanding of these factors, and adopt a strengths-based and community-driven approach that promotes structural change against multiple forms of discrimination and inequality.

Intersecting issues

- Violence against Indigenous women cannot be explained without reference to the intersections of both race- and sex-based discrimination and inequality, which place Indigenous women at greater risk than non-Indigenous women for experiencing family violence. Indigenous women are more likely to experience domestic violence than non-Indigenous women (perpetrated by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men). Indigenous women are also up to 34 times more likely to be hospitalised for injuries related to interpersonal violence. Work to address family violence among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples must therefore target both racial and gender inequality.
- Geographical isolation can create further barriers to support and can perpetuate harmful family environments. Indigenous women living in rural and remote areas are 45 times more likely to experience family violence than other women in similar regions. Poor access to services in rural and remote settings can also hinder efforts to prevent family violence, and the provision of culturally-appropriate support services for those experiencing or at risk of violence.
- There is evidence that there are higher rates of disability among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, compared with non-Indigenous Australians, however there is a significant lack of evidence around this intersection, particularly in relation to family violence.
Older people

Recognition of and response to family violence against older people is significantly lacking compared with policy and practice on intimate partner violence and child abuse. The focus of existing research on intimate partner violence has been on people of reproductive age, without supplementary studies with older people. As a result, violence experienced by this community lacks conceptual coherency and has been inconsistently researched and measured.¹¹

**Intersecting issues**

- Ageism intersects with sexism and gender inequality to underpin sexual assault and other forms of abuse against older women.¹² Ageing is a gendered process that disproportionately impacts women, for example in terms of lower pension or superannuation funds, housing, and access to services. Older women also experience the ongoing and cumulative impact of gender inequality such as diminished opportunities for economic security and education throughout their lifetime, which can increase risk of abuse.¹³

- There are higher proportions of disability among people over age 65, which can further marginalise older people and create tension within families. This may be age-related disability or lifelong disabilities that have led to accumulated risk over the life course, that can make older people with disabilities more vulnerable to abuse.¹⁴

- Older people are also members of other communities discussed in this report, for example they may identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, or with diverse sexual orientations or gender identities, or they may reside in rural, remote or regional communities. Culture also shapes how people age, and can intersect with age-based discrimination to perpetuate abuse and controlling behaviours against older people.¹⁵
Culturally and linguistically diverse communities

Given the immigrant and multicultural history of Australia, it is more accurate to see the Australian population as a culturally and linguistically diverse community. Moreover, family violence is prevalent across all Australian families, regardless of cultural background. Family violence may manifest differently among newly-arrived migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, diasporic communities, and international students. It will be mediated by multiple, intersecting factors that reflect societal-level acceptance or rejection, an individual’s past experiences, and community-level norms and practices. This has implications for prevention, as all efforts must be tailored to ensure they are culturally relevant and accessible for the target group.

Intersecting issues

- As with all communities, families from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds are affected by other cross-cutting issues including different age groups, socio-economic status, location and access to resources, disability, and so forth.

- Gender is always informed by culture, and masculinities and femininities reflect the interaction of gendered social norms from different communities and societies. Experiences of immigration and resettlement also shape an individual’s identification as female, male, or other, however we have very limited understanding of how these experiences are negotiated and how they can impact experiences of violence. Drivers of violence against women in diverse communities intersect with prevailing societal-level gender norms and relations from ‘mainstream’ society, as well as with community-level gender norms and relations, and with experiences of migration. We need to look at how patriarchy operates both across and within different cultural contexts, and intersects with other factors.

- Some families or communities may hold more conservative views around gender and sexuality, that can support or reinforce discriminatory attitudes or violence against individuals with diverse sexualities and gender identities. These views may render such violence invisible if there is an outright rejection of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people, as well as creating additional pressure around the threat of ‘outing’ as a form of control and abuse.
Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities

Acts of violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities are supported by heterosexism, homophobia and transphobia that manifest at all levels of society. This stigma is supported by institutionalised privileging of heterosexuality and by social and cultural norms that reject or exclude non-heterosexual and non-cisgender sexualities and gender identities.

**Intersecting issues**

- Stigma against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities intersects with other social inequalities and forms of discrimination including sexism, racism and classism. Homophobia and transphobia can be more prevalent or powerful within conservative community groups, organisations or institutions. This can reflect cultural or religious backgrounds, and has been noted to be problematic for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities in rural, remote or regional settings. However, these conservative attitudes are not restricted to any specific community or setting.

- Rigid gender norms perpetuate violence-supportive attitudes towards individuals with diverse sexualities and gender identities. Gender stereotypes can lead to invisibility of violence experienced by some, for example reflecting myths that men cannot be raped (e.g. men are ‘always up for sex’) or that lesbian women do not experience abuse. The gendered patterns of violence against these communities are also evident in the trend of higher victimisation rates for female-identified individuals.

- Age can impact an individual’s experiences of violence or inequality in terms of stronger discriminatory beliefs or attitudes among family and social networks, or greater social isolation in older age. Some studies highlight that people may not identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex, or have their first same-gender relationship, until later in life. In Australia, young people under the age of 24 are most likely to report concealing their sexuality or gender identity compared with other age groups. This shows that age is important, but its impact and significance varies.

- Disability among individuals with diverse sexualities and gender orientations can also create additional risk for experiencing family violence, however there is very limited evidence on this issue.

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2 Although transgender and intersex communities are often grouped together with gay, lesbian, bisexual communities, it is important to recognise that the umbrella term ‘lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities’ does not adequately capture the full range of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities included within these communities.
Male victims
A feminist approach to understanding family violence does not conclude that men do not experience violence, or that women do not use violence. However, there are strong gendered patterns in the way women and men experience violence. The vast majority of violent acts in Australia – whether against men or women – are perpetrated by men.26 Men are more likely to experience violence by other men in public places, while women are more likely to experience violence in the home by a male partner or other known male perpetrator.27

Intersecting issues
- Men’s experiences of family violence can differ according to their marital status, history of childhood abuse, sexuality, cultural identity, socio-economic status, and many other contributing factors. However, the current limited research on male victims fails to adequately analyse the role of these intersections in shaping men’s experiences of victimisation.
- Most studies on men’s experiences of violence focus on intimate partner violence within heterosexual relationships, however sexual orientation and gender identity can be associated with increased risk of victimisation for some forms of family violence.
- Indigenous men are at higher risk of experiencing different forms of family violence compared with non-Indigenous men.28 Studies from Canada have suggested that in North America, Indigenous men are two to three times more likely to experience intimate partner violence compared with non-Indigenous men. Unemployment was identified as the most important risk factor, which is consistent with other studies that highlight the role of social and economic stressors contributing to violence in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.29
- As with other genders, men’s experiences of violence vary according to the wider cultural context. In some settings, men may be less likely to report victimisation due to rigid gender norms and stereotypes of masculinity. Some research indicates that men are likely to underreport their victimisation because they fear ridicule while many others do not recognise the violence as intimate partner violence, for both cultural reasons and because the injuries are perceived as less severe.30
Rural, regional and remote communities

Rural, regional and remote communities in Australia are incredibly diverse. As with urban settings, distinct cultural, socio-economic and geographical dynamics influence manifestations of family violence within these communities. Available evidence highlights the need for comprehensive, holistic and population-wide primary prevention interventions that are aimed at addressing rigid and harmful gender norms, and that address the shortage of services that can exacerbate or perpetuate abusive family environments and relationships.

Intersecting issues

- Diversity in the local rural, regional or remote populations will shape the community-level social norms, structures and practices. These can work to create local social hierarchies, leading to social exclusion and isolation in some cases. Some rural, regional and remote communities in Australia also have significant migrant or refugee populations, and women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds can face further barriers to support seeking due to lack of culturally sensitive services, or fear of rejection due to racial or xenophobic discrimination.

- Nearly 70% of Australia’s Indigenous peoples live in rural, regional or remote settings. The nature and context of family violence among Indigenous communities varies greatly across settings, and is different from the violence experienced by non-Indigenous populations in these same communities.

- Literature suggests that people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex may face stronger conservative attitudes towards sexuality and gender in rural, regional and remote settings, including from social support services, as well as greater social isolation compounded by geographic isolation.

- Financial insecurity or poverty is a severe consequence of family violence that impacts some women in rural, regional and remote settings. Many women can have difficulty finding work and supporting children after leaving abusive relationships, and can be dependent on casual or informal employment or social security payments.

- People with disabilities in rural, regional or remote communities are more at risk of experiencing family violence, compared with the general population. People with disabilities also experience additional barriers to accessing support services, for example where their mobility is restricted, which can exacerbate social isolation or reliance on an abusive carer.
People with disabilities

The term ‘people with disabilities’ includes a wide spectrum of potential experiences or sources of marginalisation, combining biological/psychological and social or relational factors. This review engages with a ‘bio-psycho-social’ understanding of disability and should therefore be a central consideration in all primary prevention policy and programming.

Intersecting issues

- Disability intersects with multiple forms of power, privilege and oppression to compound individual risk or impact of family violence. Other factors can strengthen stigma and discrimination against people with disabilities, such as community-level cultural norms. They can also increase risk through greater social and geographic isolation, dependence on carers, or due to strong stigmas against other points of identity like sexual orientation or Aboriginality. Disability can affect the other communities discussed in this review as resulting from the interaction between persons with temporary or permanent physical, sensory, intellectual, cognitive or psychiatric impairments, and their surrounding social, cultural and political environments.36

- Ableism intersects with patriarchal structures and rigid gender norms to compound the risk of victimisation for women and girls with disabilities. Women and girls with disabilities experience significantly higher rates of abuse compared with women and girls in the general population, and are at risk of experiencing disability-specific forms of violence against women.37
Women in the sex industry

Women in the sex industry are disproportionately affected by violence, and experience a high burden of physical and sexual violence over their lifetime. Women in the sex industry are disproportionately affected by violence, and experience a high burden of physical and sexual violence over their lifetime. Women in the sex industry are disproportionately affected by violence, and experience a high burden of physical and sexual violence over their lifetime. Women in the sex industry are disproportionately affected by violence, and experience a high burden of physical and sexual violence over their lifetime.38 Violence perpetrated against women in the sex industry is driven by gender inequality, and reinforced by social norms that excuse, normalise and condone violence against sex workers.40

Intersecting issues

- Women in the sex industry can experience multiple forms of socio-economic vulnerability and marginalisation, including poverty and homelessness. For example, some international studies have indicated that many street-based sex workers are likely to be homeless and that sex trading is their major source of income.40

- Sex workers who have experienced intimate partner violence are more likely to have been incarcerated. The intersection between family violence, sex workers and incarceration is crucial to understanding pathways to violence and abuse, however it is not well understood.41

- Age is an important factor that shapes the prevalence and impact of violence experienced by women in the sex industry. Family violence can be a risk factor for young women entering sex work, and younger sex workers are more at risk of client and partner abuse, HIV infection, unwanted pregnancy, and other consequences. Moreover, young sex workers with diverse sexualities or gender identities may be at a heightened risk of experiencing abuse and discrimination, however the evidence on this intersection is severely limited.

Current global evidence fails to consider the complex interrelationships between factors that produce violence, such as social stigmatisation of sex work and the criminalisation of sex work. Further, in Australia there is a considerable lack of data on female sex workers’ experiences of family violence, which may reflect the stigma related to the industry itself.
Children

Child abuse is prevalent across the globe. Often children are considered as secondary victims to their mother’s primary experience of violence, however there is a multitude of evidence that reveals children can be exposed to a variety of violence that is both direct and indirect, and has a lasting impact on their development. Children experience physical, emotional and sexual abuse in the home, as well as intentional neglect and maltreatment.42

Intersecting issues

- Children’s experiences of family violence vary considerably according to context, and reflect complex intersections of societal, community, individual and family-level factors. More research is needed on the role of structural factors like gender inequality that create enabling environments for child abuse to occur, and their intersection with both parent- and child-related risk factors. Moreover, different cultural backgrounds will shape parenting practices and related norms within different family and community groups, and families from different cultural backgrounds may experience structural and community racism that can contribute to violence against children.

- Available international evidence shows that child abuse is gendered, with girls and boys experiencing violence in different ways that contributes to varied severity, frequency and dynamics of different types of violence. For example, some studies suggest that boys are more likely to experience harsh physical parenting and corporal punishment,43 while there is ongoing debate around the prevalence and patterns of sexual abuse perpetrated against girls and boys. There are multiple factors that explain these different patterns, reflecting the role of societal and community-level norms, structures and practices in determining the context for and dynamics of violence.

- Research shows that children with disabilities are at a higher risk of experiencing abuse, neglect and other forms of maltreatment, perpetrated by a parent or carer.44 Disability also intersects with gender in complex ways, and there is some evidence that girls with disabilities experience different patterns of abuse compared with boys with disabilities.45 The factors contributing to abuse against this particular sub-group of children are complex and multi-faceted, and not well-understood.

- Children who are from unwanted pregnancies, born prematurely, of low birth weight, or part of a multiple birth, or children with chronic illness or serious behavioural problems, may be at increased risk of maltreatment. This is may be linked to social norms and attitudes towards accepted forms of child rearing, shame or trauma related to pre-marital sex or rape, or cultural attitudes which may blame and stigmatise women for unhealthy children.46

- As with other forms of family violence, the prevalence of child abuse among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is disproportionately high. The impact of structural factors such as intergenerational trauma and dispossession, forced child removal, lateral violence, and racial discrimination is highly complex and poorly researched in relation to child abuse.
Faith communities

Religion is an important organising force for many families. Faith leaders often hold a strong influence over their wider communities and have the capacity to shape people’s attitudes, beliefs and behaviours around interpersonal relationships. Faith communities may contribute to protective factors through the promotion of gender equality and respectful family relations. However, faith leaders and communities may also increase risk of violence or abuse where harmful norms and practices are promoted, or by discouraging disclosure of violence where there are stigmas against divorce and an emphasis on preserving the family unit.

Intersecting issues

- There are many institutions that are fundamentally gendered in practice, and some interpretations of religious doctrine may be used to justify or normalise gender inequality and other forms of discrimination.
- As with all communities in Australia, faith communities are incredibly diverse. Their members will be distinguishable by age, gender identity and sexual orientation, Aboriginality, race and ethnicity, spiritual or religious beliefs, geographic location, and ability. These intersections can create increased risk of violence and discrimination based on specific norms and beliefs within different faith communities, and reflecting broader, societal-level inequalities. There is a lack of research into these various intersections and their potential association with family violence.
- While some resources consider religious affiliation a sub-set of culturally and linguistically diverse communities, this can be misleading and is often confused in policy and research. Within specific cultural communities, there will potentially be multiple religious affiliations, and blurring cultural and religious dimensions can lead to inaccurate and stereotyped depictions of migrant and non-migrant communities.
Women in prison

The relationship between family violence and women’s imprisonment is not straightforward, but rather a set of interrelated factors contribute to both the likelihood of experiencing family violence and incarceration. As such, women in prison are often doubly vulnerable and at risk of further experiencing family violence and re-imprisonment or increased insecurity.

Intersecting issues

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples make up less than 1% of Victoria’s population yet represent nearly 8% of the state’s prisoners. Family violence is a leading contributor to Indigenous women’s homelessness, poverty, incarceration, mental and physical ill health, and drug and alcohol abuse. The literature demonstrates a strong connection between Indigenous women’s experiences of family violence and incarceration and notes that Indigenous communities are over-policed, leading to higher rates of criminalisation.

- Many women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in Australian prisons have expressed that they turned to crime because of their lack of education and employment opportunities. Women from culturally and linguistically diverse communities have their own unique needs regarding family violence and incarceration, including issues of cultural sensitivity, awareness and appropriateness.

- Young people under 25 make up around 12% of Victoria’s prison population and are more likely to return to prison after release than older prisoners. While the data on youth women prisoners who have experienced family violence is unavailable, the pathways between child sexual abuse and incarceration are likely to be relevant for youth in prison.
WHAT WORKS TO PREVENT FAMILY VIOLENCE IN DIVERSE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITIES?

Primary prevention is fundamentally about broad-based social change. This means that prevention efforts must be inclusive and accessible, and tailored to the needs of specific target populations. Global evidence shows that the most effective prevention interventions are evidence-based, holistic and multi-component, and are implemented through a strong gender transformative approach and understanding of the primary drivers of violence.\textsuperscript{55} Primary prevention with diverse communities needs to address the intersections of inequality, discrimination and abuse across societal, community and individual levels. Our efforts also need to be tailored to reflect the different ways that social norms, structures and practices vary between and within communities. Examples of opportunities for prevention include changing experiences of violence and abuse in childhood, relationship dynamics, household and community structures, harmful social norms, unequal access to resources, rigid gender roles, and the relative power of men versus women.

![Figure 2. Global evidence: Key elements of successful programs for preventing family violence](image-url)
Summary of key evidence gaps

The comprehensive review found that there is limited evidence on the prevalence of family violence experienced by the communities included here, with little to no rigorous, population-based prevalence or perpetration studies that adequately capture the intersecting factors described above. There is a lack of comprehensive and systematic examination of the drivers, and risk and protective factors for family violence outside of male-to-female intimate partner violence, and limited evidence on promising practices from evaluations of prevention programming with diverse target groups. More effort is needed to explore the dynamics of other forms of family violence, and what works to prevent violence in different communities. We need a solid evidence base on the prevalence and patterns of family violence within the diverse communities in Australia, including a better understanding of the pathways to both victimisation and perpetration within or against these communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Research

- Research should establish reliable prevalence and perpetration data and move beyond prevalence to focus on the drivers of such violence to inform primary prevention;
- More research is needed to examine the interaction between these communities and ‘mainstream’ society and how those unequal power dynamics can drive family violence, and to establish what prevention strategies are suitable for different communities; and
- Investment needs to be made in learning through creating a culture of rigorous monitoring and evaluation within primary prevention to address the drivers of family violence.

Primary prevention

- Address structural factors through holistic and multi-sectoral prevention approaches;
- Increase investment in innovative processes, in the evaluation of primary prevention programmes and in consistent population-level monitoring of prevalence across all manifestations of family violence;
- Set appropriate and efficient conditions for prevention: education and parenting programmes and workforce development for prevention practitioners; and
- Promote community leadership and participation, men and boys’ engagement in gender equality and strengthen society-level commitments to addressing family violence.
1 Family Violence Protection Act 2008 (Vic).
3 Our Watch, ANROWS and VicHealth (2015).
10 Senate Community Affairs Committee Secretariat (2015).
11 Clare, M., Blundell, B., and Clare, J. (2011); Crockett, C. et al. (2016).
12 Mann, R. et al. (2014).
13 Crockett, C. et al. (2016).
14 Clare, M. et al. (2011); Crockett, C. et al. (2016); Bartels, L. (2010).
19 Department of Social Services (2015); Mejia-Canales and Leonard (2016).
20 Hill et al. (2012); Meyer (2012).
27 Ibid.
28 Blagg et al. (2015).
30 Carmo et al. (2011).
38 This review does not include violence experienced by transgender or male sex workers. There are significant structural and social factors and barriers that heighten the risk of violence among these groups as well as increase their vulnerability to HIV infection. For information regarding these particular sub-categories see: Bhattacharjya, M. et al. (2015); Beyer, C. et al. (2015).
39 Deering, K. et al. (2014).
43 Gilbert, R. et al. (2009).
48 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
The Equality Institute brings together the world’s best minds to make violence against women and girls a thing of the past. We conduct rigorous research to understand what causes violence against women, and pinpoint strategies to stop it from happening. By designing projects, developing creative approaches to share information, and connecting people around the world, we are working with the international community towards social change at every level. The Equality Institute is a women-led and proudly feminist organisation, built upon the principles of feminism, non-violence, inclusivity, knowledge-seeking, and creativity.