PARTNERING WITH CALD MEN TOOLBOX - TOOLS TO BUILD AFRICAN-AUSTRALIAN MEN AS LEADERS IN THE PREVENTION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Contents

Introduction to the project 3
Rationale for the project 3
Benefits to the community 4
Program implementation 6
Monitoring and evaluation 6
Reporting 6
Literature review: Preventing domestic, family and intimate partner violence. Why is it men's business? 7
Definitions of domestic violence 7
Types of domestic violence 9
Prevalence of domestic violence 11
The difference between conflict and violence 11
Examining the roots of violence: an ecological model. 13
Multiple levels 13
Individual 14
Relationship 15
Community 15
Societal 16
Male violence against women 18
The Cycle of Violence 18
The three stages of the cycle of violence. 19
Phase 1: Tension-building Phase 19
Phase 2: Acute Explosion 19
Phase 3: Honeymoon Stage 20
Relevant Australian and South Australian Legislation 21
National legislation 21

South Australian legislation 22
Gender, culture and domestic violence 23
The effects of exposure to domestic violence on children 26
Preventing domestic violence 27
Key issues in working with men from immigrant and refugee communities in preventing violence against women. 28
Engaging individual men as partners and allies in the prevention of domestic violence 31
A gender transformative approach 31
What can individual men do to help prevent or reduce men's violence against women? 32
Principles for Deepening Men's Engagement 33
A critique of Gendering Violence Prevention Work 34
References 34

PARTNERING WITH CALD MEN TOOLBOX - TOOLS TO BUILD AFRICAN-AUSTRALIAN MEN AS LEADERS IN THE PREVENTION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Introduction to the project

Catalyst Foundation received a Stronger Families and Communities Grant (June 2018 – June 2-19) to develop a culturally responsive, evidence based "best practice" Domestic Violence education and resource toolbox for men from CaLD communities and to design, trial and implement the toolbox through community engagement processes. The initial focus of the project is on developing the Toolbox with men from African Communities, to enable them to take on the role of community leaders and educators who build within their community other men's understanding and awareness of Domestic Violence and culturally relevant prevention and intervention strategies.

In the South Australian Government 'Domestic Violence Discussion Paper 2016', the State confirmed its commitment to reduce domestic violence by building consistent responses across services and systems, raising community understanding of and involvement in responses to domestic violence against women and developing local community actions to prevent domestic violence. Data collected by SAPOL demonstrates that domestic violence is on the increase in SA and victims are overwhelmingly women and children (South Australian Government, 2016).

Catalyst Foundation along with our partners and key stakeholders seek to address the evidence that:

- at the heart of tackling domestic violence is community led, cultural change
- men play a major role in ending violence towards women, and
- it is vital that local communities have access to best practice resources to build the skills and capacity of potential male leaders as role models in their communities.

Rationale for the project

In 2007, The World Health Organisation (WHO) stated that more needed to be learned about working with boys and men. Their review of the evidence and learnings from 58 programmes around the world indicated that working with males can lead to positive changes (World Health Organization, 2007). Other evaluations and assessments have also found that primary prevention approaches can be extremely effective (Flood, 2010). Best practice resources and tools from Culturally Diverse Communities from around the world (including Australia), that focus on successfully engaging males in the prevention of domestic and family violence are growing, with increasing amounts of assessments, evaluations and documentation of interventions underway.

In his Doctoral thesis, ‘African men’s experiences: the impact of service provision and resettlement processes on Acholi men in Australia’, Dr Juma Abuyi examined the impact of service provision and resettlement processes on Acholi men in Australia. He conducted a national survey of 85 Australian service providers and interviews with 20 Acholi men from Queensland and South Australia to investigate the experiences of African men. Dr Abuyi argued for changes in service delivery to African Acholi men resettled in Australia in order to avert acculturation issues, family violence and relationship breakdowns and argued that its essential to provide African men with opportunities to contribute to services that directly affect them. He also argued that we need new initiatives to allow African men and service providers to develop mutual understanding. For example, in order to improve African men’s confidence when dealing with services, providers need to consult with community leaders and other key male members of the African community and develop their own cultural competence (Abuyi, 2013). This supports strong evidence from around the world, that we must engage males as key allies in preventing violence. When provided with information and sensitisation on the issue, many men can serve as important role models and spokespeople to promote gender equality in family relationships, and condemn the use of violence to resolve conflict at home and in the community (Raab & Rocha, 2011).

The toolbox will help build community capacity and through a community development approach build confident male leaders, foster coalitions and networks, and support male role models to confront domestic violence issues. The Tool Box will be made freely available to local Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CaLD) communities and service providers, will be easily accessible through the Catalyst Foundation information and resource centre and also through our close partnership organisations and networks with culturally diverse communities and organisations such as the Migrant Resource Centre, Migrant Refugee Association, Legal Services Commission, White Ribbon Australia and South Australian Police. This will ensure relevant, responsive and timely support, in particular for new and emerging communities.

Benefits to the community

There is a significant shift towards building effective systems and policies, educational platforms and victim support groups to enhance the prevention of domestic violence against women. However, there are few resources available for culturally diverse communities at local levels that provide accessible, relevant, evidence-based information, including practical tools to support males to lead or develop skills in leadership so that they can confidently run preventative programs that are ongoing and sustainable, particularly for new and emerging communities.

In Australia, there are few local face-to-face educational interventions developed or implemented that engage males in addressing domestic violence and almost none

have been properly evaluated. In order to assess and improve the effectiveness of violence prevention programs among men to reduce domestic violence incidents in South Australia, it is essential to make best practice resources available for communities to develop programs, which support nonviolent men to champion and lead prevention strategies in their communities. 'Our Watch' has suggested that direct participation programs in Australia have not yet been evaluated for impact on future perpetration or experience of violence, but do show promise in addressing the known drivers of violence against women (Our Watch, 2015).

Examples of promising participation programs include:

- Peer education programs supporting individuals to engage and educate peers to critique gender norms and attitudes that support violence against women
- Bystander skills-building, training individuals to take prosocial action in the face of violence-supportive or sexist attitudes, behaviours and practices.

'Change the Story' (Our Watch 2015), suggested that programs developed should draw on all available evidence, prioritising formal evaluations and incorporate lessons from research, practice and consultation from those with relevant expertise. Garnering information from successful programs from around the world has informed the development of this Toolbox and guarantees the design of resources and tools that have been evaluated, and outcome driven. While some tools will have generic qualities there are specific resources developed for trialling with the African community, supporting different experiences of gender, inequality, discrimination and violence.

Collaboration in developing, implementing and evaluating the Toolbox has ensured that feedback from participants has been acknowledged and included. These programs, while targeting males, will engage and involve local communities in building knowledge and skills for equal, respectful relationships.

Male volunteers have been canvassed from African communities to participate in training and delivery to the identified groups for long-term sustainability. Strong connections across SA will support and inform this project, including Steering Committee membership and trialling and distributing the Toolbox to relevant organisations. A Steering Committee first met in February 2019, and included key representatives from African men's groups and other relevant community groups.

• A review of the international research literature has been undertaken and is ongoing. Generic resources have been identified for the Tool Box and additional tools have been added and tailored to meet the specific needs of the African community, taking into account the different experiences of participants and their stage of change.

• A brief situational analysis has been undertaken to: determine the extent of the problem in the context of the African community; map perceptions and experiences by using a survey; identify existing strategies and activities, review outcomes and lessons learned and ascertain gaps; identify key stakeholders and partners to engage. This analysis informed the best course of action and intervention strategies, including any culturally specific tools for the trial to be developed.

Program implementation

At the implementation stage in 2019, the Steering Committee comprised representatives from key organisations and community leaders who will be engaged in fostering leadership cultures among a broader range of males within the African community. We worked with traditional leaders in the African community to support implementation success and to assist in selecting appropriate community leaders.

Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring of project activities occurred throughout the project. Given the limited time-frame (one year ending mid-June 2019) it will not be possible to evaluate the effectiveness of the Toolbox in relation to preventing and/or reducing incidences of domestic violence in the communities involved.

Reporting

Outcomes and lessons learned will be reported in written form to stakeholders, partner organisations and the African community and promoted through a report, conferences, seminars and the media.

Copies of the Toolbox will be freely available from the Catalyst Foundation for African Australian and other CaLD communities, and relevant service organisations.

PARTNERING WITH CALD MEN TOOLBOX - TOOLS TO BUILD AFRICAN-AUSTRALIAN MEN AS LEADERS IN THE PREVENTION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Literature Review: Preventing domestic, family and intimate partner violence. Why is it men's business?

Domestic violence (DV) is prevalent in most, if not all, countries and cultures in the world (World Health Organisation, 2017). It is very hard to detect, as generally the victims are too powerless, fearful, intimidated or ashamed to disclose the abuse. Global and national data indicates that most men do not use violence against women, but when violence against women and men occurs, it is perpetrated overwhelmingly by men.

The World Health Organisation's 2008 World Report of a multi-country study 'Violence against women by intimate partners', noted that in all of the countries in their study 'one of the most common forms of violence against women is that performed by a husband or male partner.' They also noted that 'this type of violence is frequently invisible - it happens behind closed doors, and often systems and cultural norms do not treat it as a crime, but rather as a "private" family matter, or a normal part of life. The violence they identified in their study included 'physical and sexual violence, emotional abuse and controlling behaviours by current partners or ex-partners', which had serious consequences for women's health worldwide (World Health Organisation, 2008).

Definitions of domestic violence

There are many definitions of domestic violence in use. Some definitions and terms are narrow and focus more on physical and sexual rather than the non-physical acts of violence that cause a person to live in fear - the term 'battered women', for example, tends to highlight the physical side of abuse. However it is important to note that the non-physical forms of abuse, such as verbal, psychological, emotional, spiritual and economic abuse, social isolation and neglect are often more subtle and harder to detect and can be just as devastating, or more devastating, in the long term as physical abuse (Bagshaw, Chung, Couch, Lilburn, & Wadham, 2000).

The Australian Government's *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and Children* (2010-2022) defines domestic violence in the following extract:

Violence against women can be described in many different ways, and laws in each state and territory have their own definitions.

'The term violence against women means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life'. United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women

Domestic violence refers to acts of violence that occur between people who have, or have had, an intimate relationship. While there is no single definition, the central element of domestic violence is an ongoing pattern of behaviour aimed at controlling a partner through fear, for example by using behaviour which is violent and threatening. In most cases, the violent behaviour is part of a range of tactics to exercise power and control over women and their children, and can be both criminal and non-criminal.

Domestic violence includes physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse.

Physical violence can include slaps, shoves, hits, punches, pushes, being thrown down stairs or across the room, kicking, twisting of arms, choking, and being burnt or stabbed.

Sexual assault or sexual violence can include rape, sexual assault with implements, being forced to watch or engage in pornography, enforced prostitution, and being made to have sex with friends of the perpetrator.

Psychological and emotional abuse can include a range of controlling behaviours such as control of finances, isolation from family and friends, continual humiliation, threats against children or being threatened with injury or death.

Family violence is a broader term that refers to violence between family members, as well as violence between intimate partners. It involves the same sorts of behaviours as described for domestic violence. As with domestic violence, the *National Plan* recognises that although only some aspects of family violence are criminal offences, any behaviour that causes the victim to live in fear is unacceptable. The term, 'family violence' is the most widely used term to identify the experiences of Indigenous people, because it includes the broad range of marital and kinship relationships in which violence may occur.

(Australian Government, 2010)

Types of domestic violence

Domestic violence (DV), intimate partner violence (IPV) and family violence (FV) can occur between people in a range of domestic relationships including:

- Spousal relationships
- Intimate personal relationships
- Family relationships
- Informal care relationships.

Table 1 illustrates some common types of violence perpetrated by men against women:

Table 1: Types of violence against women
Violence against women is any of the forms of abuse listed below. All types are unacceptable and some are criminal offences.
Creating fear
Fear is a key element in domestic violence and is the most powerful way a perpetrator controls his victim. It can include giving particular looks or making threatening gestures, possessing or threatening to use weapons (even if they are not used), destroying property, cruelty to children and cruelty to pets - or any behaviour that intimidates and makes the victim feel frightened and powerless.
Intimidation
Includes smashing things, destroying possessions, putting a fist through the wall, handling weapons, using intimidating body language, angry looks, raised voice, hostile questioning, or reckless driving of vehicle with the victim in the car. It may also include harassing the victim at her workplace, either by making persistent phone calls, or by sending text messages or emails, following her to and from work or loitering near her workplace.
Verbal abuse
Using words as a weapon to cause significant and long-lasting damage. This may include threatening to hit, screaming, shouting, put-downs, name-calling, swearing, using sarcasm, or ridiculing her for her religious beliefs or ethnic background. Verbal abuse may be a precursor to or accompany physical violence.
Physical abuse
Behaviour such as pushing, shoving, pinching, hitting, slapping, attempted strangulation, hair-pulling, punching etc. and may or may not involve the use of weapons. It could also be threats to destroy or actually destroying prized possessions. It can range from a lack of consideration for the victim's physical comfort to causing permanent injury or death.
Emotional abuse
Behaviour that deliberately undermines her confidence leading her to believe she is stupid or that she is 'a bad mother', or useless in bed or even to believe she is going crazy or is insane. This type of abuse humiliates, degrades and demeans the victim. The perpetrator may make threats to harm the victim, her friends or family members, or threaten to take her children from her or kill the children, or to commit suicide. The perpetrator may also use silence and withdrawal as a means to abuse.

Social abuse
This involves isolating the victim from her social networks and supports, either by preventing her from having contact with her family or friends or by verbally or physically abusing her in public or in front of others. It may involve continually putting friends and family down so she is isolated and disconnected from her support network.
Financial abuse
The perpetrator takes full control of all the finances, spending and decisions about money and property so the victim is financially dependent on her partner. It may also include denying her access to money, including her own, forcing her and her children to live on inadequate resources and demanding she accounts for every cent spent. This type of abuse makes it hard for the victim to leave the relationship.
Sexual abuse
Any unwanted sexual behaviours or comments. This may include forced sexual contact, rape, forcing her to perform sexual acts that cause pain or humiliation, forcing her to have sex with others, causing injury to her sexual organs, telling her that she is frigid or sexually incompetent and having sex with other women.
Controlling behaviours
Dictating what she does and when she can do it, who she sees and talks to, where she goes, keeping her from making any friends or from talking to her family or having any money of her own. This can include preventing her from going to work, not allowing her to express her own feelings or thoughts or to make decisions for herself, not allowing her any privacy or forcing her to go without food or water.
Spiritual abuse
Ridiculing or putting down her religious beliefs and culture, preventing her from belonging to or taking part in a group that is important to her spiritual beliefs or from practising her religion.
Separation violence
Often after the relationship has ended, the violence continues. This can be a very dangerous time for the victim because the perpetrator may perceive he has a loss of control over the victim and may become more unpredictable. During and after separation is often a time when violence will escalate and may lead to threats of murder or suicide.
Stalking
Victims are often stalked by the perpetrator, before, during or after separation. Stalking includes loitering around places that she frequents, watching her, following her, making persistent telephone calls and sending emails, texts or mail, including unwanted love letters, cards and gifts after the relationship has ended. Stalking is a criminal offence.
Domestic homicide
The victim and/or her children are killed by the intimate partner as a result of domestic violence – the risk is highest during or after separation.

Many studies have also indicated that where there is one form of violence there is likely to be a mosaic of violent behaviours that occur in combination. Research has also demonstrated that there is a close correlation between incidents of domestic violence, elder abuse, child abuse and pet abuse, each of which tend to be

addressed by professionals in different fields (or silos) of practice with little dialogue between them.

Prevalence of domestic violence

In 2017, the World Health Organisation reported that, worldwide, almost one-third (30%) of all women who have been in a relationship have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner. In some regions, 38% of women have experienced intimate partner violence. Globally, as many as 38% of all murders of women are committed by intimate partners. Women who have been physically, or sexually abused by their partners report higher rates of a number of important health problems. For example, they are 16% more likely to have a low-birth-weight baby. They are more than twice as likely to have an abortion, almost twice as likely to experience depression, and, in some regions, are 1.5 times more likely to acquire HIV, as compared to women who have not experienced partner violence (World Health Organisation, 2017).

The 2016 *Australian Bureau of Statistics Personal Safety Survey* found that 2 in 5 people aged 18 years and over had experienced violence - 42% were men and 37% were women. In relation to partner abuse, since the age of 15 years

- 17% of women and 6% of men had experienced violence
- 1 in 4 women and 1 in 6 men had experienced emotional abuse
- 1 in 2 women and 1in 4 men had been sexually harassed
- 1 in 6 women and 1 in 4 men had experienced stalking

In addition, 1 in 6 women and 1 in 10 men had been abused before the age of 15 years (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

The Human Rights Commission note that in Australia it is estimated that:

- approximately one woman is killed by her current or former partner every week, often after a history of domestic and family violence.
- 17% of women have experienced violence from *a current or former partner* since the age of 18 (compared to 5.3% of men).
- family and domestic violence is present in 55% of physical abuses and 40% of sexual abuses against children
- 1 in 4 children are exposed to domestic violence (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015).

The difference between conflict and violence

Most people in intimate relationships have conflicts and disagree about things from time to time. Disagreements and conflicts are a normal part of a healthy relationship. Conflict is necessary for good decisions, learning, change and intimacy. Both parties

should be able to put forward their different points of view or concerns and feel comfortable discussing them together on an equal footing. In a healthy relationship, both parties treat each other with respect, discuss the issues and may compromise, negotiate or problem-solve to seek solutions to overcome their problems that satisfy both of them. They may argue loudly but, if they are not frightened of, or intimidated by the other and the balance of power is roughly equal, then they can be described as engaging in 'conflict'.

However, in a relationship where domestic and family violence is occurring, the balance of power is unequal and the more powerful person in the relationship (which in a heterosexual relationship is more often than not the male) uses abuse and/or violence to **control** the other person through **fear**. The victim feels threatened - too frightened to argue back or too scared to disagree or express an opinion. The perpetrator has power over the victim and controls many aspects of their lives, so the relationship can be described as 'unequal'. (see Figure 1, page 13)

Generally, women affected by domestic and family violence do not enter a relationship believing it will become violent. However, sometimes women will choose to make a long-term relationship commitment when there is abuse occurring (which can happen in dating relationships), often believing marriage or moving in together will stop his extreme jealousy and possessiveness. There are also occasions when women enter longer-term commitments or stay in an abusive relationship out of fear or concern about the consequences for their safety, or the safety of others such as their children, if they do not.

The most dangerous time for women and their children is when they decide to leave the relationship. Numerous women and children have been killed in Australia during or after separation or divorce (Mouzos & Rushford, 2003) and at the time of writing this paper roughly one woman a week in Australia is killed by their partner or ex-partner[1]. It is not uncommon for domestic and family violence to continue long after the relationship has ended

[1] In 2018, 67 women were killed in Australia as a result of domestic violence

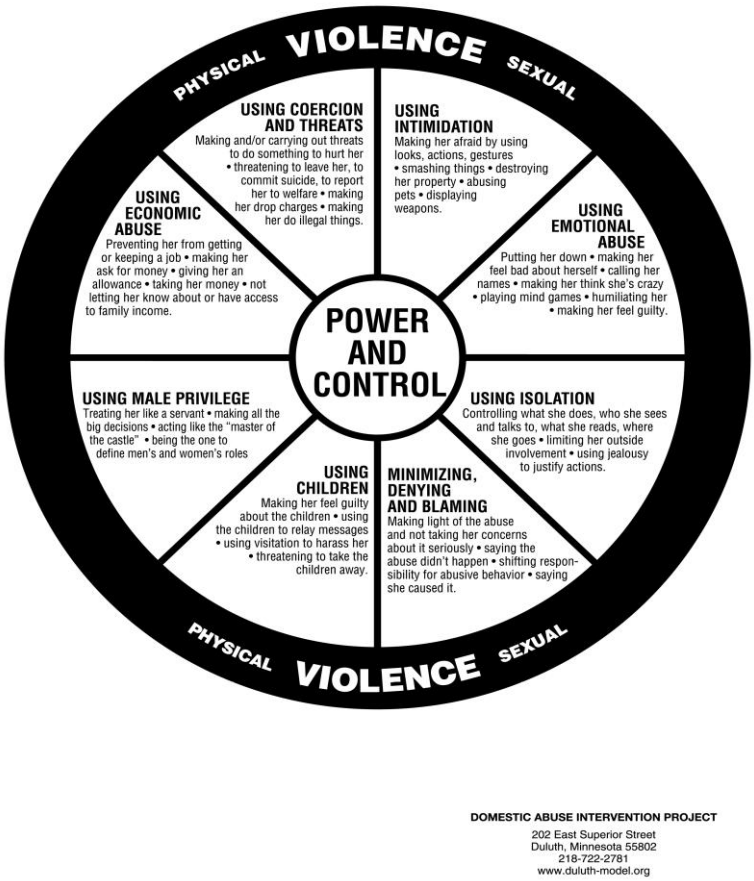

Figure 1: The Power and Control Wheel

Examining the roots of violence: an ecological model.

No single factor explains why some individuals behave violently toward others or why violence is more prevalent in some communities than in others. Violence is the result of the complex interplay of individual, relationship, social, cultural and environmental factors. Understanding how these factors relate to violence is one of the important steps in any approach to preventing violence.

Multiple levels

An ecological model helps understand the multifaceted nature of violence. First introduced in the late 1970s by Bronfenbrenner, the ecological model has been applied to child abuse, youth violence, intimate partner violence and abuse of older people (Brofenbrenner, 1997a, 1997b). The model explores the relationship between individual and contextual factors and considers violence as the product of multiple levels of influence on behaviour (see Figure 1).

Individual

The first level of the ecological model focuses on the characteristics of the individual that increase the likelihood of being a victim or a perpetrator of violence and seeks to identify the biological and personal history factors that an individual brings to his or her behaviour. In addition to biological and demographic factors, consideration is given to factors such as impulsivity, low educational attainment, substance abuse, and prior history of aggression and abuse (World Health Organisation 2002).

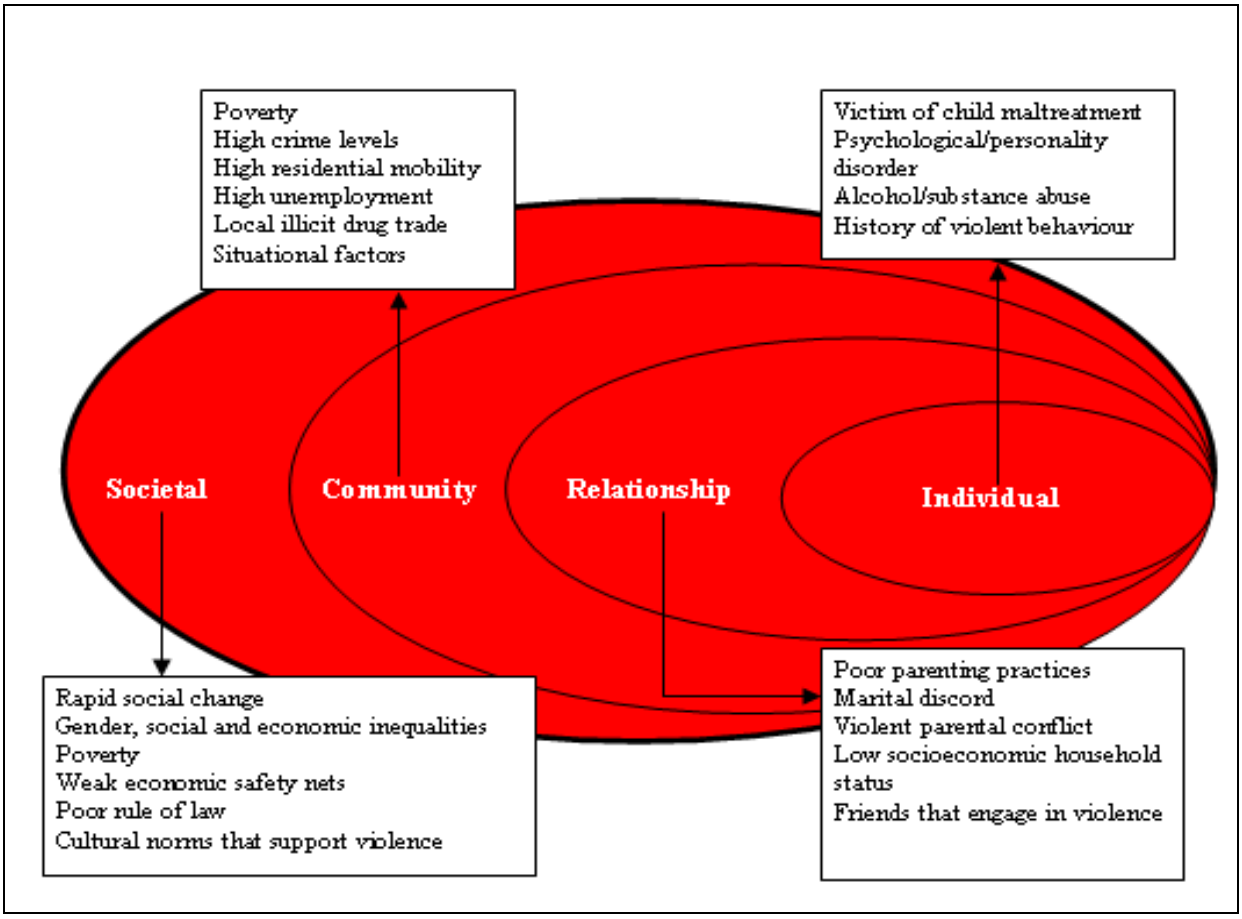

Figure 2: An ecological framework: examples of risk factors for domestic violence at each level. (World Health Organisation, 2002) pages 11-12)

Dr Lana Zannettino's research with Liberian women in South Australia, for example, found that most of the women in her study had been victims of war, which involved having violence perpetrated against them as well as witnessing violence against others. Their family members had been injured or killed; they had fled war torn regions, which often involved leaving friends and relatives behind; and they had spent protracted periods in refugee camps. Many of the women reported that the war and living in camps had led to a breakdown in their usual societal roles and standards for protecting children and that, as a result, children had experienced a broken sense of trust that adults would protect rather than harm them. Zannettino

found that these traumatic experiences were often overwhelming, and the inability of family members to cope with the impact of these experiences was most likely the underlying cause of the Liberian men's violent and abusive behaviour. The Liberian men's sense of identity relied heavily upon their capacity to be a bread-winner and to be able to deal with and overcome adversity but their lived experience, including the complexities of resettlement, had prevented them from being able to achieve this (Zannettino, 2012).

Relationship

The second level of the ecological model explores how close social relationships – for example, with peers, intimate partners and family members – increase the risk for violent victimisation and perpetration of violence. In the cases of partner violence and child maltreatment, for instance, interacting on an almost daily basis or sharing a common house with an abuser may increase the opportunity for violent encounters. When the individuals are bound together in a continuing relationship, it is more likely that the offender will be repeatedly abuse the victim. Young people are much more likely to engage in negative activities when those behaviours are encouraged and approved by their friends. Peers, intimate partners and family members all have the potential to shape an individual's behaviour and range of experience (WHO 2002).

Australia's Torture and Trauma Services (cited in Abuyi 2013) have stated that '80% of refugees from particular countries have suffered significant levels of torture and trauma'; therefore, integration and adjustment for families may create an uncertain future. Juma Abuyi's Doctoral research (2013) with Acholi men who have resettled in Australia found that gender role conflicts in Acholi families can cause '*litto*' (affliction) or '*cwercwiny*' (distress, which signifies deep confusion and frustration), especially in those families with children. This deep confusion and frustration can contribute to domestic violence and the breakdown of marriages, separation of families and tension between parents and teenagers. Abuyi also noted that, when parents separate their children are forced to deal with the emotional pain caused by their parents' decision. In addition, Acholi children – particularly those born in Acholi-land in Africa – are likely to reflect back to their past experiences in Africa and in the refugee camps and on their journey to Australia, which would be likely to re-surface their traumatic experiences. The children's performance in educational institutions may also decline and relationships with their community may diminish: as a result, they may have difficulty accessing support when it is required.

Community

The third level of the ecological model examines the community contexts in which social relationships are embedded – such as schools, churches, workplaces and neighbourhoods – and seeks to identify the characteristics of these settings that are associated with being victims or perpetrators of violence. A high level of residential mobility (where people do not stay for a long time in a particular dwelling, but move

many times), heterogeneity (highly diverse population, with little of the social ‘‘glue’’ that binds communities together) and high population density are all examples of such characteristics and each has been associated with violence. Similarly, communities characterized by problems such as drug trafficking, high levels of unemployment or widespread social isolation (people not knowing their neighbours, or having little or no involvement in the local community) are also more likely to experience violence. Research on violence shows that opportunities for violence are greater in some community contexts than others – for instance, in areas of poverty, or where there are few institutional supports (WHO, 2002). For example, the ABC's Four Corners program on November 5th 2018, highlighted how African youth in Melbourne felt isolated and discriminated against by the broader community who are unfairly labelling them as being potentially violent because of the behaviour of a few South Sudanese youth who are engaging in criminal acts.

Societal

The fourth and final level of the ecological model examines the larger societal factors that influence rates of violence. Included here are those factors that create an acceptable climate for violence, those that reduce inhibitions against violence, and those that create and sustain gaps between different segments of society. Larger societal factors include:

- cultural and religious norms that support violence as an acceptable way to resolve conflicts;
- norms that give priority to parental rights over child welfare;
- norms that entrench male dominance over women and children;
- norms that support the use of excessive force by police against citizens;
- norms that support political conflict.

Larger societal factors also include the health, welfare, educational, economic and social policies that maintain high levels of economic or social inequality between groups in society (WHO 2002).

Many refugees experience poverty and/or an inability to generate income due to unemployment and lack of educational opportunities. In particular, men from cultures where males are traditionally the breadwinners and have control of the family finances may feel that their status as a male and a bread-winner within the family is threatened if they do not have the capacity to provide for their families. They may use violence and abuse as a tactic to compensate for their perceived loss of power and control. The fact that in Australia, Centrelink makes welfare payments to women in families, rather than to men, means that the women may have a level of control over the family income that men do not have, particularly if the men are unemployed, which may lead to men attempting to reassert their control through violence (Abuyi 2013).

Smith argues that an understanding of intimate partner violence (IVP), and specifically of the reasons for male's abusing their partners would be enhanced by borrowing the concept of 'alienation' ("strain") from Merton (1968: in Craig 2008). Essentially Merton argued that when alienation is experienced by a person they will seek a behavioural response designed to minimize his or her feelings of alienation. Each of the "causes" of domestic violence —individual, cultural, social and structural—can all be interpreted as different forms of "strain," each of which calls for a behavioural response designed to reduce the strain. For example, the lack of gainful employment (as a marker of masculinity) for African migrants and refugees in Australia, can leave these men feeling powerless and threatened by the possibility that they are not masculine enough. In response to this failure at breadwinning—and ultimately at maintaining a masculine identity - one thing these men feel they can control through intimidation and violence is their female partners.

Smith (2008:170) agrees with many other researchers that the unequal and institutionalized distribution of power and privilege can be one explanation as to WHY men are violent towards their intimate partners to begin with.

> … society is organized by a gender inequality regime that imbues men with a sense of entitlement toward and ownership of their female partners. ….. One way to expand our understanding of IPV is to understand battering as a mechanism that men—like those I interviewed—resort to as their first response to this state of alienation or anomie. And, while these may be individual perceptions and choices, they are, in fact, also consequences of structural factors and the dislocation from society (Smith 2008: 170-172).

Smith also argues that structural inequalities that African men in the United States face—for example racism and discrimination in the labour market—lead to higher levels of alienation, stronger threats to one's masculine identity, which may lead in turn to more severe violence to alleviate the high levels of strain. In addition, some African refugees are also likely to have experienced violence in the families in which they grew up and in refugee camps and war zones, which may put them at increased risk for perpetrating domestic violence (Smith, 2008).

Zannettino's (2012) research with Liberian women refugees found that from their perspective there are four main aspects of culture which impact on domestic violence in their homes and communities. These are:

- disruption to traditional gender roles,
- beliefs surrounding rape in marriage,
- the acceptability of using violence within the family for child discipline and chastisement, and
- the belief that parenting is women's responsibility.

In particular, Zannettino (2012) found that the disruption to traditional gender roles was a continual source of conflict and violence in women's relationships, the repercussions of which were evident throughout the different layers of the nested ecological model explained previously. She argued that the relevance of gender

roles to the socio-economic, familial, and individual factors which impact on domestic violence suggests that practice must remain focused on gender as a central factor in the social and cultural arrangements of the Liberian community she studied.

Thus, the ecological framework highlights the multiple causes of violence and the interaction of risk factors operating within the family and broader community, social, cultural and economic contexts. Placed within a developmental context, the ecological model also shows how violence can be caused by different factors in different cultures at different stages of life.

Male violence against women

Michael Flood's (2010) review of the research highlights that most violence against women:

1. is perpetrated by 'normal' men, in the context of a gender‑unequal society that is, 'normal' men in the sense that they are acting out the gender norms and values with which many men have socialised, in unequal gender relations which themselves have been seen as normal.
2. both maintains, and is the expression of, men's power over women and children.
3. has social causes, including gender inequality in the broader society
4. comprises a diverse range of violent, coercive, or controlling behaviours and strategies which may or may not involve physical violence.
5. often takes place between men and women who know each other.
6. may deliberately be hidden from public view.
7. may or may not be illegal and criminal.
8. may be seen as 'normal' or acceptable by community member.
9. is a fundamental barrier to gender equality and a denial of women's human rights and of women's rights to full citizenship (Flood, 2010).

Male violence towards women results from patriarchal norms in a society or community where men believe they are superior to women and that it is their innate right or entitlement to dominate women and children. Sex role stereotypes, homophobic attitudes among men and cultural and religious traditions that devalue women are all elements of this culture of violence and an abuse of power and control in central to all forms of violence, as it illustrated in Figure 1, page 13.

The Cycle of Violence

Dr Lenore Walker developed the cycle of violence theory in1979. It describes the phases an abusive relationship moves through in the lead up to a violent event and what happens afterwards. It explains the repetitive nature of perpetrator's actions that hinder a victim's ability to leave an abusive relationship and illustrates how the behaviour of a perpetrator can change very dramatically, making it difficult for the woman to feel safe or to leave.

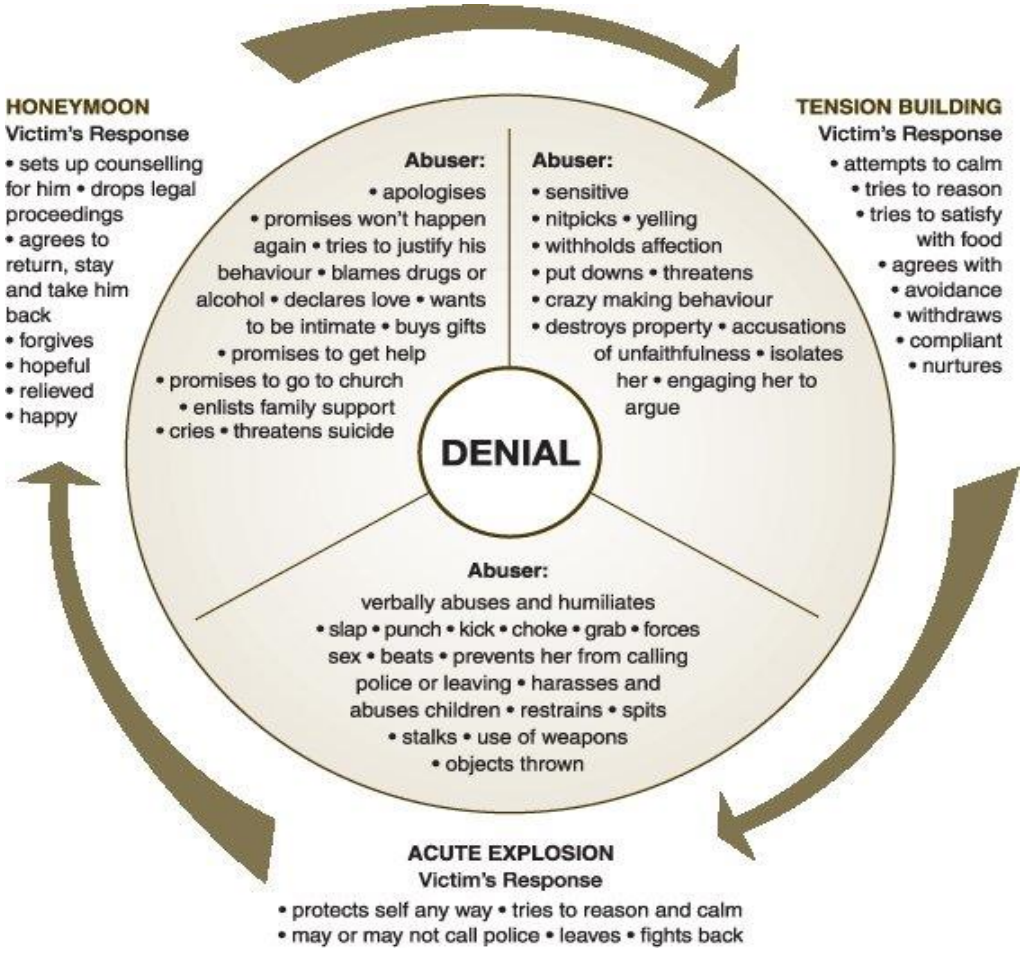

Figure 3: The Cycle of Violence -adapted from Lenore Walker. *The Battered Woman*, 1979; (White Ribbon Movement)

The three stages of the cycle of violence

Phase 1: Tension-building Phase

- Build Up: Tension between the people in the relationship starts to increase and verbal, emotional, financial and/or other forms of abuse occurs.
- Stand-over: This phase can be very frightening for people experiencing abuse. They feel as though the situation will explode if they do anything wrong so they "walk on eggshells". The aggressive and controlling behaviour of the abuser intensifies and reaches a point where a release of tension is inevitable.

Phase 2: Acute Explosion

The peak of the violence is reached in the acute phase. The perpetrator experiences a release of tension by becoming extremely controlling, angry and verbally, emotionally and/or physically violent toward the victim(s). This feeling of

powerfulness can become addictive, and the perpetrator may be unable to deal with anger in any other way.

Phase 3: Honeymoon Stage

- Remorse: At this point, the perpetrator starts to feel ashamed. They may become withdrawn and try to justify their actions to themselves and others by minimising what happened or blaming the victim.
- Pursuit: During the pursuit phase, the perpetrator promises never to be violent again. They may try to explain the violence by blaming other factors such as the victim's behaviour, alcohol, unemployment or stress at work. The perpetrator may be very attentive to the person experiencing violence, including buying flowers, gifts and helping around the house. It could seem as though the perpetrator has changed. At this point, the person experiencing the violence may feel confused and hurt but also relieved that the violence is over.
- Denial phase: Both people in the relationship may be in denial about the severity of the abuse and violence. Intimacy often increases and both people may feel happy and want the relationship to continue, so they may ignore the possibility that the violence could happen again. This phase passes over time and the cycle may begin again. More often than not, the cycle increases in frequency and severity. (Brisbane Domestic Violence Service)

Smith's research indicated that that the honeymoon stage of the cycle of violence may be the unanticipated consequence of alienation that the perpetrator experiences in his relationship with his intimate partner (Smith, 2008). "[Perpetrators] have very little understanding of the violence from the perspective of their wives or partners" (Goodrum et al. 2001 in Smith 2008: 173). Smith found that a single act of violence that can make a man feel less alienated from his masculine role will be likely to lead to severe alienation from the one person who loves him: his intimate partner. Thus, Smith suggests that for many perpetrators of abuse, the honeymoon phase of the Cycle of Violence may in fact be a sincere attempt to reduce the alienation from his intimate partner that his own act of violence created.

In Australia, African men and other refugees and migrants can face many barriers to living successful lives, especially if they experience racism, a significantly higher rate of unemployment or underemployment and/or wage discrimination. Smith argues that when under this strain many men engage in domestic violence as a way to reduce the strain and alienation they feel. However, these feelings of relief can be quickly replaced by the feelings of alienation they experience from their female partners as a consequence of their violent behaviour and in the honeymoon phase:

> … they cozy up to their intimate partners, woo them, in what is to the men, a sincere attempt to reestablish intimacy with the only person who supports them. This honeymoon phase typically provides relief for the batterer's feelings of alienation, but again, these feelings of alienation return when he

> finds himself back out in a social world that does not value or respect him. Thus the cycle of violence continues. …. Merton's concept of alienation allows us to see more clearly the role that alienation—from the social world, from one's partner—plays in the cycle of violence and underscores the reasons why IPV rarely occurs in isolation, as an acute condition, but generally becomes chronic (Smith 2008: 174).

Relevant Australian and South Australian Legislation[2]

National legislation

In Australia, domestic violence is a major factor contributing to separation and divorce. For example, studies indicate that it is significant factor in the population of families that attend for mediation and other forms of dispute resolution and other support services during separation and is even more likely to be present in the client population that proceeds to trial in the family court system (Moloney et al., 2007).

'Intimate partner homicide' reports indicate that abused women are most at risk of being killed when separating from their partners – at the extreme end of domestic violence, murder is the ultimate attempt to exert power and control (Mouzos & Rushforth, 2003). Crime Statistics Australia records show that seventy three percent of female homicide victims in 2013-14 were killed by an intimate partner or family member (Crime Statistics Australia, 2013-2014). Therefore, all allegations of abuse, during and after separation must be treated seriously and the safety of victims, who are usually women and children, should be given priority in all legislation, policies and practices.

The Australian ***Family Law Act*** **1975, Section 4AB,** which applies nationally, defines family violence as follows:

"1) **For the purposes of this Act*, family violence means violent, threatening or other behaviour by a person that coerces or controls a member of the person's family (the family member), or causes the family member to be fearful.***

(2) Examples of behaviour that may constitute family violence include (but are not limited to):

a) an assault; or
b) a sexual assault or other sexually abusive behaviour; or
c) stalking; or
d) repeated derogatory taunts; or
e) intentionally damaging or destroying property; or
f) intentionally causing death or injury to an animal; or
g) unreasonably denying the family member the financial autonomy that he or she would otherwise have had; or

[2] (For free legal advice contact the Legal Services Commission: Phone: 1300 366 424)

h) unreasonably withholding financial support needed to meet the reasonable living expenses of the family member, or his or her child, at a time when the family member is entirely or predominantly dependent on the person for financial support; or
i) preventing the family member from making or keeping connections with his or her family, friends or culture; or
j) unlawfully depriving the family member, or any member of the family member's family, of his or her liberty.

(3) For the purposes of this Act, a child is *exposed* to family violence if the child sees or hears family violence or otherwise experiences the effects of family violence.

(4) Examples of situations that may constitute a child being exposed to family violence include (but are not limited to) the child:

a) overhearing threats of death or personal injury by a member of the child's family towards another member of the child's family; or
b) seeing or hearing an assault of a member of the child's family by another member of the child's family; or
c) comforting or providing assistance to a member of the child's family who has been assaulted by another member of the child's family; or
d) cleaning up a site after a member of the child's family has intentionally damaged property of another member of the child's family; or
e) being present when police or ambulance officers attend an incident involving the assault of a member of the child's family by another member of the child's family". (Australian Government, 1975)

South Australian legislation

In South Australia, the ***Intervention Orders (Prevention of Abuse) Regulations* 2011** defines domestic violence as: 'the use of violence or intimidation to coerce, dominate, or control a spouse, domestic partner, or family member'.

An offence that is more specific to domestic violence is "contravention of an intervention order." Contravention of an intervention order can be punished by imprisonment.

The Magistrate's Court of South Australia has the power to issue intervention orders. Although they are commonly issued to protect one spouse or domestic partner from abuse by the other, they can be issued to protect girlfriends or boyfriends, co-workers, or any other person who has a reasonable fear of being abused.

An intervention order can be entered whenever it is reasonable to suspect that the accused will, without intervention, commit an act of abuse against the protected person. Acts of abuse include:

- Causing physical injury

- Causing emotional or psychological harm
- An unreasonable denial of financial, social, or personal autonomy.

“Emotional or psychological harm” does not include causing another person to feel ordinary or trivial distress, but it does include the infliction of mental illness, serious emotional distress, shock, and fear.

An intervention order directs the accused not to commit acts of abuse against the person named in the order. It can also impose specific restrictions on the accused, such as ordering the accused to:

- have no contact with the named person
- stay away from that person’s residence, workplace, or other place frequented by the person
- not come within a specified distance of that person
- refrain from harassing or intimidating the person
- refrain from taunting or stalking the person
- refrain from leaving messages or comments about the person on social networking sites
- return the person’s property
- surrender weapons
- participate in an intervention program

Gender, culture and domestic violence

In patriarchal cultures, societies, communities and families, men have more power and control than women in both public and private life. It is therefore important to focus on the social constructions of masculinities and femininities in a social group or culture and the ways in which these understandings contribute to gendered violence. Dominant discourses – the ways that people talk about masculinity and femininity or what it means to be a ‘normal’ male or a ‘normal’ female in a particular culture – play an important role in the social and cultural meanings given to gender and violence, and to the way that people interpret and respond to the violence.

Family violence occurs at all levels of society and gender, religion, race, ethnicity, class, age and sexuality influence the experiences and outcomes for victims. Research studies commonly report that female victims find it extremely difficult to leave abusive situations and find domestic violence hard to disclose and/or report for many reasons. In particular, migrant and refugee women may:

- think the behaviour is ‘normal’ if they have been raised in an abusive home
- still love their partner when he is not abusing them and hope or believe he will change
- stay because of religious and cultural beliefs, persuasions or norms
- think that the term ‘domestic violence’ refers to physical violence only

- have feelings of powerlessness and fear
- lack the self- confidence or self-esteem to leave because of constant criticisms and 'put downs'
- feel ashamed and/or do not want to shame their family or community by reporting it – they stay to protect his and the family's image
- stay for the children - any father is better than none
- feel responsible for the violence and blame themselves; think if they themselves change the abuse will stop
- believe that seeking help for domestic violence will hurt their men and/or lead to family breakdown
- fear losing their children, or the perpetrator harming their children if they report it
- fear that they will not be believed or taken seriously – he may be an elder or important person in the community or church
- fear that they may lose contact with their family and/or community
- be socially isolated and have little or no contact with family and friends
- have no place to go and/or fear living alone
- not know where to go for help or if there is any available
- be afraid to access the services that are available, e.g. the police, because of prior experiences in their country of origin, and
- not have enough funds, support or resources to leave the situation or to employ a lawyer or other advisors.

A recent national community attitudes survey demonstrates that people from countries in which the main language is not English and who are recently arrived to Australia are

- more likely than others to have low levels of understanding of violence against women,
- are least likely to reject attitudes explicitly supportive of violence, and have a low level of support for gender equality, which can compound the problem (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016).

A review of violence prevention strategies for immigrant and refugee women in Australia highlights that women marginalised by age, culture, ethnicity, sexual identity and visa status are more vulnerable to violence and are less likely to have the resources to act to report it. Immigrant and refugee women are less likely to report family and domestic violence to police or access mainstream services, and are more likely to access domestic violence support services. If, and when they do access the legal/justice system, immigrant and refugee women also face various barriers in progressing through the system.

Some women do report the violence in the Family Courts after leaving a violent relationship, but may not be believed, especially when they cannot provide evidence (Bagshaw et al., 2011).

In general, the male perpetrators of domestic violence can be credible, respected members of a community and commonly do not accept responsibility for the violence, instead they tend to deny that the violence happened, minimise the violence, blame the victim for causing it, and/or justify the violence – sometimes painting themselves as the victim. Cultural and religious norms can play a part, some making women responsible for the violence or forcing or encouraging women to stay in the situation to keep the family together or in order to remain a member of a community. Victims in marginalised groups, such as refugees, people with disabilities, those from indigenous or culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds or from rural areas, are doubly disadvantaged.

The Australian Human Rights Commission (2010) report - *In our own words. African Australians: A Review of human rights and social inclusion issues* – summarises the findings from consultations with over 2500 African Australians plus service providers and notes that a number of African Australian communities expressed deep concern at levels of family violence, which many viewed as a growing problem. Major contributing factors mentioned included:

- the changing roles and dynamics within families after settlement, including the changing roles of men, women and young people
- violence or threats of violence by young people against their elders
- legal approaches and service interventions based on an understanding of 'family' that was not culturally relevant or appropriate, contributing to family breakdown
- uncertainty about reporting family violence because of fear of police and law enforcement agencies, as well as fear that women and children may be removed from their family home
- very few options for men who wanted assistance to address their violent behaviour and
- a lack of bilingual counsellors and support persons (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010).

At the 2018 *African Think Tank* conference in Melbourne the Race Discrimination Commissioner, Chin Tan, noted that the AHRC 2010 report referred to the barriers and challenges African Australians face with respect to housing, employment, health, education and the justice system. The report draws attention to the pervasive and systemic way that African Australians often encounter racism. He also noted that Scanlon Foundation surveys had found that during the last two years, 20 per cent of surveyed Australians said they had experienced discrimination on the basis of their race or religion in the previous 12 months. This is the highest level seen since the

Scanlon surveys began in 2007. At the community level, the numbers are even more concerning. He noted that Scanlon's report, released in 2016, found that African Australian respondents experienced particularly high levels of discrimination and racial profiling. 77 per cent of those born in South Sudan, and 75 per cent of those born in Zimbabwe, reported experiencing discrimination, for instance (Markus, 2016). He also highlighted that African Australians continue to face racism in ways that other communities may not.

The effects of exposure to domestic violence on children

UNICEF's global study - *Behind Closed Doors: The impact of domestic violence on children* - found that there is a common link between domestic violence and child abuse. Among victims of child abuse, 40 per cent report domestic violence in the home. One study in North America found that children who were exposed to violence in the home were 15 times more likely to be physically and/or sexually assaulted than the national average. This link was confirmed around the world, with supporting studies from a range of countries including China, South Africa, Colombia, India, Egypt, the Philippines, and Mexico. They found that children from all of the cultures and countries they studied who are exposed to violence in the home may suffer a range of severe and lasting effects:

- They are more likely to be victims of child abuse. Those who are not direct victims have some of the same behavioural and psychological problems as children who are themselves physically abused.
- They may have difficulty learning and limited social skills, exhibit violent, risky or delinquent behaviour, or suffer from depression or severe anxiety. Children in the earliest years of life are particularly vulnerable: studies show that domestic violence is more prevalent in homes with younger children than those with older children.
- Several studies also reveal that children who witness domestic violence are more likely to be affected by violence as adults – either as victims or perpetrators. (UNICEF, 2006)

The World Health Organisation (2017) also noted the following:

- Children who grow up in families where there is violence may suffer a range of behavioural and emotional disturbances. These can also be associated with perpetrating or experiencing violence later in life.
- Intimate partner violence has also been associated with higher rates of infant and child mortality and morbidity (through, for example diarrhoeal disease or malnutrition).

The above findings are consistent with international and Australian research findings on the short- and long-term adverse effects on children from exposure to domestic violence (Bagshaw et al., 2011; Bagshaw & Chung, 2001; Bagshaw, Quinn, & Schmidt, 2006). These can include serious physical, psychological, cognitive,

behavioural, developmental, emotional and relational problems affecting the children's life satisfaction, self-esteem and future relationships and can disrupt the normal tasks of childhood. Their problems resemble those of children who have been directly abused by their parents, are similar to the problems of children who have witnessed other traumatic events and are significantly different from the problems that children experience from nonviolent homes. Australian and international research shows that children exposed to domestic violence often sustain fear and dread of recurring violence and fear the perpetrator's unpredictable management of anger. Exposing children to domestic violence can be evidence of compromised parenting practices, and can be taken into account and given considerable weight when making a court order for a child to spend time with his or her violent parent. (Shea Hart, 2004; Shea Hart & Bagshaw, 2008).

The UNICEF report argued that children who are exposed to violence in the home are denied their right to a safe and stable home environment and highlighted that many are suffering silently, and with little support. They "need trusted adults to turn to for help and comfort, and services that will help them to cope with their experiences. Far more must be done to protect these children and to prevent domestic violence from happening in the first place" (UNICEF, 2006).

Preventing domestic violence

Attitudes to domestic violence are hard to change in a culture or society. For example, over a number of years, the Australian Government has funded numerous research and evaluation of practice initiatives to address the problem of domestic violence in Australia and the research reports are available on their website. However, in spite of this, domestic violence is still prevalent in all groups and levels of society in Australia, although with extensive advertising and legislative and policy changes community attitudes are changing slowly over time.

Practitioners, bystanders and others working with or living alongside of families experiencing violence need special knowledge and skills to screen, recognise and respond to the different forms and levels of violence and to know when and how to refer, and when, how and under what conditions they should intervene. They also need to be aware of their own cultural, religious and gendered conditioning, personal values and tendencies to stereotype, which may prevent them from picking up signals that violence is occurring and lead them to respond inappropriately.

Key issues in working with men from immigrant and refugee communities in preventing violence against women.

Factors seen as critical by the participants in the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC 2010) consultation in developing effective programs to address family violence in African communities included:

- equipping African specific organisations to play a more significant role in preventing family violence:
- targeting information to build legal understanding of the issue to specific communities, rather than treating African Australian communities as "if we were all the same".
- engaging people to deliver information about family violence and prevention who are "well known, credible, trustworthy and a member of the targeted group", such as community and religious leaders
- ensuring communities do not feel they are being targeted as 'problem' communities recognising pre-arrival experiences, including torture and trauma, and its impact on family violence
- incorporating culturally relevant notions of 'family'
- building trust in government and policing organisations, and
- adopting a whole-of-community approach, which involves the participation of both women and men in the communities.

Community education was viewed as being the most effective approach for preventing family violence, while collaboration between mainstream providers and ethnic community representatives was also seen as essential to developing effective, culturally appropriate programs (AHRC 2010).

Murdolo and Quiazon (2016) highlight that culture itself is neither static nor insular and that it is constantly being created through relationships. Identifying and analysing social norms and beliefs within specific cultures is therefore a complex task, which includes understanding attitudes over time and in relation to changing social and political circumstances.

The Equality wheel (see Figure 4, page 29) is commonly used by researchers and service providers when addressing domestic violence, however, Murdolo et al argue that the notion of gender equality and the very idea of cultural and social change, can mean vastly different things for men from immigrant and refugee communities compared to Australian-born men. They stress that we need to recognise and explore the ways in which gender roles intersect with ethnicity, culture, class, religion, age and other forms of social difference. They argue that:

- on the one hand, immigrant and refugee men occupy a position of male privilege by belonging to the social group that is protected from gender-based violence, and that inflicts that violence on women and girls; and

- on the other hand, immigrant and refugee men also occupy a subordinated position and share with immigrant women those disadvantages that can stem from their structural locations as migrants, which was highlighted previously. These include precarious visa status, social exclusion/isolation, racism, discrimination, structural disadvantage in the labour force and in education, lack of access to citizenship rights, stigmatisation of migrant cultures or religions in the media, and English language barriers (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016).

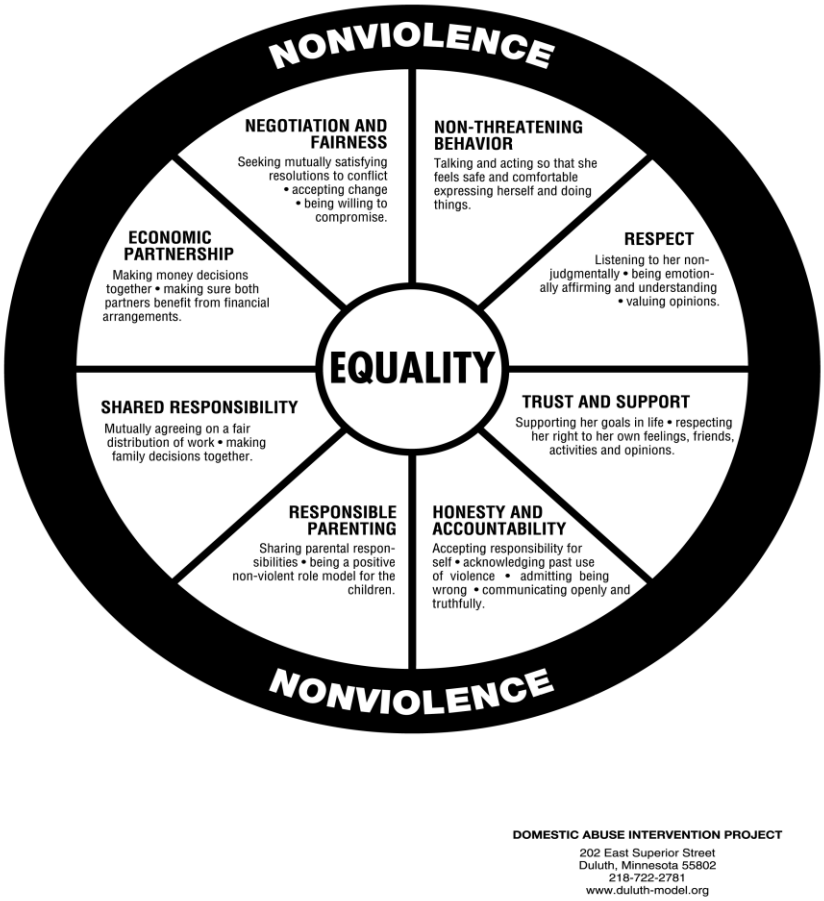

Figure 4: The Equality Wheel

A review of the current research shows that arrival in Australia poses many challenges for immigrant and refugee men, and in many cases, these are particularly centred on the relationships between work and men's roles as 'providers' or 'bread-winners'. Men's difficulties in finding and keeping employment, including experiences of unemployment and underemployment, can be disempowering. For men for whom breadwinning and providing for the family is key to their understanding of masculinity, the challenges raised by migration often means that their experiences of

work are unable to live up to expectations, or to the degree of social and economic power they may have had in the pre-migration context.

Australian researchers have also found that in situations where African men's sense of being 'household heads' has been challenged, there was a perception that the 'natural order' of gender relations was disrupted. While some men expressed an appreciation and preference for a shift in gender relations to a more egalitarian mode, many men perceived the changes as negative. For African men in particular, Ngungi wa Mungai and Bob Pease (2009) found that:

- while breadwinning was important, the concept of responsibility to the family and to the community was understood in a more collective, rather than individualistic, context;
- in some cases, this sense of responsibility manifested itself in a heightened sense of needing to control women and girls; and
- other considerations were the impact of race and class discrimination on African men's status and sense of self, and the important observation that there are points at which masculinities overlap.

Overall, studies of migrant masculinity in Australia illustrate the broad diversity amongst men in their responses to the changes that migration and settlement bring to gendered relationships. Some men perceive that migration has brought new privileges and a higher status to women in their families and communities, whereas others have identified changes in gender relations having taken place in their countries of origin. Some welcome gender equality and women's rights, and others lament it (Wa Mungai & Pease, 2009). Some perceive Australia as a country in which women experience greater freedom and respect, while others express a distaste for the lack of respect shown to women by Anglo-Australian men. Therefore, the diversity of experiences, responses and ways of negotiating masculinity must be taken into account in violence prevention strategies.

Particular forms of violence experienced by non-Western women— for example, 'honour killing', acid attacks, stoning, dowry abuse—have been reported in the Australian press and this has helped to perpetuate the narrative that minority migrant cultures are primitive, oppressed and 'in need of saving'. Whereas, when white people engage in certain practices the media does not attribute their behaviour to a 'white/Western culture', but instead constructs other, non-cultural explanations. This construction of moral difference is highly visible when immigrant males, such as the Sudanese youth in Melbourne, who have been unfairly reported in the press to be the main perpetrators of all violence and crime. This discourse depicts migrant African men as more violent and patriarchal whilst ignoring the patriarchy and misogyny in mainstream Australian culture, thereby promoting an uninformed discourse and racist divisions.

As previously explained, immigrant men do not share equally in the benefits of a patriarchal society because power deficits such as unemployment and racism, can modify their power in the family and community. The racialisation of immigrant men who perpetrate violence also diminishes the opportunity for positive discourses about all ethnic minorities. Gender subordination is not limited to immigrant communities and there is no evidence to suggest that ethnically diverse families are more violent. However, when gender-based violence occurs in the lives of immigrants, it is framed by the media and others as a battle between 'tradition' and 'modernity' and assumes that non-white cultures are more tolerant of men's violence against women than white cultures, whilst not providing evidence to support the claim.

Engaging individual men as partners and allies in the prevention of domestic violence

It can be argued that men from all cultural backgrounds who care for women, justice and equality, and for the wellbeing of their communities and society must act to end violence against women in their own lives and the lives of those around them.

Why should men be concerned about violence against women, promote fairer and more responsible sexual practices and encourage more equal relations between women and men? The White Ribbon movement provides many reasons why domestic violence should be seen as 'men's business' as follows:

.

- Gender norms and roles set by society benefit men. It is therefore up to men to challenge those norms and roles.
- Studies show that men commit the vast majority of domestic and sexual violence and therefore have a special responsibility to end the violence.
- When men commit acts of violence, it becomes more difficult for the affected women to trust any man, which in turn makes relationships less enjoyable for men and for women.
- Most men care deeply about the women and girls in their lives, whether they are their wives, girlfriends, daughters, other family members or colleagues, fellow parishioners or neighbours.
- Men can play a critical role in setting a positive example for other men, by treating women and girls with respect and by challenging other men's harmful attitudes and behaviours.
- Traditional ideas of what a man should be, promotes unequal relations between women and men.

A gender transformative approach

Carlson et al have found that one of the most effective strategies for changing attitudes and behaviours toward gender-based violence is the *gender transformative*

approach, which involves challenging rigid gender roles and includes critically questioning the influence of social-cultural, community and institutional factors as well as individual beliefs and attitudes toward masculinity and femininity. They identified catalysts for men joining anti-violence efforts, which include:

- making a very personal connection with the issue of violence against women,
- gaining peer support for getting involved,
- tailoring invitations that highlight men's strengths and potential specific contributions,
- approaching men as a critical and positive element of solving violence against women,
- tailoring invitations to the strengths of individual men, and
- recruiting messengers who reflect the identities and concerns of the men they hope to involve (Carlson et al., 2015).

What can individual men do to help prevent or reduce men's violence against women?

Flood (2011) highlights that there are three broad forms of action individual men can take to prevent or reduce violence against women:

(a) behaving non‑violently themselves;
(b) taking action among other men and women; and
(c) taking wider collective action.

He stresses that when individual men take action in their daily lives to challenge men's violence against women, this does make a difference. Flood also argues that there is research evidence that a wide variety of actions can prevent or create change in violence against women, which include the following.

- When a man who has used violence against a woman chooses to cease doing so, by definition this reduces violence against women.
- When a man supports a woman who is being subjected to violence by a partner or ex‑partner, he increases the chance that she will seek help, report the violence, escape the violence, and recover from the abuse.
- When a man intervenes in a violent incident in progress by offering support or assistance to the woman being attacked, he may lessen the harm she suffers during that incident, and she may hear the message that she is not to blame for and does not deserve the violence inflicted on her.
- When a man intervenes in a violent incident in progress by challenging the man who is using violence against a woman, he increases the chance that the perpetrator will at least slow down or limit the violence he's inflicting. The perpetrator may be put on notice that he won't get away with violence, and he may be more likely to take responsibility for his actions.
- When a man questions a friend's joke about rape or a colleague's comment that normalises or supports violence, he takes away the false assumption that everyone else agrees with him, he makes it more likely that their opinions and

attitudes will shift, and he increases others' willingness to speak up as well. His actions break down peer support for violence against women.

- When a father behaves in non-violent and respectful ways in his family, he increases the likelihood that his children will grow up with non-violent and respectful attitudes and relations.
- When men who are senior leaders of organisations use their influence to become advocates for violence prevention, they also make it more likely that other members of the organisation will support these efforts too.

Principles for Deepening Men's Engagement

Carlson et al (2015) have identified the following principles for deepening men's engagement in strategies to reduce or prevent domestic violence:

"Rooted in the community".
This frame focuses on creating social change on a broad scale. An example of community-specific strategies comes from a program informant in Africa who described an extensive process of deeply coming to know a village community, partnering with community members and embedding engagement strategies in naturally occurring ways:

> *We realized they really open up to music and dance. So we started organizing community groups into singing, into packaging information around HIV/AIDS, around gender-based violence, around the rights of women in songs. And then would we would invite the elders to an evening where we would buy them a bit of soft drinks and they would listen to the songs without us making any representations. And it became our routine practice for the elders. So every evening, they would invite our boys to sing, to play for them nice music. But within the music, there were one or two paragraphs or sentences about rights of women, and how masculinity is affecting men. Slowly they opened up*. (Carlson et al 2015: 30).

Hopeful about men and boys.
Secondly, attitudes and behaviour must be grounded in an overall strengths-oriented approach (Saleeby, 2001) including the principal of engaging boys and men with a hopeful or positive approach, using words such as "honour," "respect," and "non-judgmental". This hopefulness about men and boys ranges from their general ability to change, to being inspired and mobilized for change in larger systems, such as their workplaces, communities, and society in the face of the gender-based violence that men perpetrate. A strength-oriented lens (Saleeby, 2001) sees violence prevention as a community issue that requires men's participation in solving.

Beyond workshops.
Thirdly, the preventative work needs to take place on multiple levels of intervention, not just by conducting educational workshops. For example,

- through public artwork and theatre to help spread the message of changing gender and violence social norms;
- training of communities in community organizing;
- taking social and political action, such as using the media to draw attention to a case involving violence against women;
- by engaging men not only as individuals but also as potential change agents who could affect policy and practice in their communities and places of work.

Relationships and power first.
Fourthly, Carlson et al focus on the importance of relationships and the issue of power when engaged with men and boys and argue that it is important to:

- steer away from accusatory, blaming language about male violence
- use an approach that connects men by discussing their experiences in relationships (e.g., fatherhood) and with power and powerlessness
- begin with other topics such as the "negativities of masculinity"

(Carlson et al 2015).

A critique of Gendering Violence Prevention Work

Finally, rather than focusing on just men or just women in violence prevention work, one person from Africa interviewed by Carlson et al (2015) expressed that the work of social change to end gender-based violence must be based on a model of men and women working together, which needs further exploration:

> But I do feel, and this is a really big concern that we have that there is a push around working with men, engaging men and the language around it is so tricky because it's about engaging men that actually, our perspective has always been that *we have* to work with both women and men if we're about to create social change. How else can we do it? If we're in a community where men and women, together, make up the values of that community, how can we be working with just one group? (Carlson et al 2015:47)

References

Abuyi, J. (2013). *African men's experiences in Australia: Resettlement processes and the impact of service provision* (Doctor of Human Service Research), University of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). 4906.0 - Personal Safety, Australia. http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4906.0

Australian Government. (1975). Family Law Act 1975. Retrieved from http://www8.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdb/au/legis/cth/consol_act/fla1975114/

National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children, (2010).

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2010). *In our own words. African Australians: A Review of human rights and social inclusion issues* Retrieved from Canberra: https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/race-discrimination/projects/

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2015). *Domestic and Family Violence - A Workplace Issue, a Discrimination Issue*. Retrieved from https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/sex-discrimination/projects/workplace-issue-and-discrimination-issue

Bagshaw, D., Brown, T., Wendt, S., Campbell, A., McInnes, E., Tinning, B., . . . Fernandez Aria, P. (2011). The effect of family violence on post-separation parenting arrangements: The experiences and views of children and adults from families who separated post-1995 and post-1996. *Family Matters. Australian Institute for Family Studies.*(86), 49-61.

Bagshaw, D., & Chung, D. (2001). The needs of children who witness domestic violence: a South Australian Study. *Children Australia, 26*(3), 9-17.

Bagshaw, D., Chung, D., Couch, M., Lilburn, S., & Wadham, B. (2000). *Reshaping Responses to Domestic Violence*. Retrieved from Canberra:

Bagshaw, D., Quinn, K., & Schmidt, B. (2006). *Children and Families in Transition. Towards a Child-centred Integrated Model of Practice.* Magill: University of South Australia, Document Services.

Brisbane Domestic Violence Service. The cycle of violence.

Brofenbrenner, U. (1997a). The Biological Model from a Life Course Perspective: Reflections of a Participant Observer. In P. Moen, G. H. Elder, & K. Luscher (Eds.), *Examining Lives in Context* (pp. 599-618). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Brofenbrenner, U. (1997b). Developmental Ecology through Space and Time. In P. Moen, G. H. Elder, & K. Luscher (Eds.), *Examining Lives in Context* (pp. 619-648). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Carlson, J., Casey, E., Edleson, J. L., Tolman, R. M., Walsh, T. B., & Kimball, E. (2015). Strategies to Engage Men and Boys in Violence Prevention: A Global Organizational Perspective. *Violence Against Women*, 1.20.

Crime Statistics Australia. (2013-2014). Retrieved from http://www.crimestats.aic.gov.au/NHMP/2_victims-offenders/

Flood, M. (2010). *Where Men Stand: Men's Roles in Ending Violence Against Women*. White Ribbon Prevention Research Series, No. 2. Sydney.

Markus, A. (2016). Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Surveys 2016. Retrieved from https://www.amf.net.au/entry/mapping-social-cohesion-the-scanlon-foundation-surveys-2016

Moloney, L., Smyth, B., Weston, R., Richardson, N., Qu, L., & Gray, M. (2007). Allegations of Violence and Child Abuse in Family Law Children's Proceedings: Key Findings of Australian Institute of Family Studies Research Report No. 15. *Family Matters*(77), 8-15.

Mouzos, J., & Rushford, C. (2003). *Family homicide in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Murdolo, A., & Quiazon, R. (2016). Key issues in working with men from immigrant and refugee communities in preventing violence against women. *White Ribbon Research Series*.

Our Watch. (2015). *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*. Retrieved from Melbourne, Australia:

Raab, M., & Rocha, J. (2011). *Campaigns to End Violence against Women and Girls*. Retrieved from

Saleeby, D. (2001). *The Strengths Perspective in Social Work Practice* (Third ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Shea Hart, A. (2004). Children exposed to domestic violence: undifferentiated needs in Australian family law. *Australian Journal of Family Law, 18*(2), 170-192.

Shea Hart, A., & Bagshaw, D. (2008). The idealised post-separation family in Australian family law: A dangerous paradigm in cases of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Studies, 14*(2-3), 291-309.

Smith, E. (2008). African American Men and Intimate Partner Violence. *Journal of African American Studies, 12*, 156-179.

South Australian Government. (2016). *Domestic Violence Discussion Paper*. Retrieved from Adekaide:

UNICEF. (2006). *Behind Closed Doors: The impact of domestic violence on children*. Retrieved from Geneva:

Wa Mungai, & Pease, B. (2009). Rethinking Masculinities in the African Diaspora. In M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson, & B. Pease (Eds.), *Migrant Men: Critical Studies of Masculinities and the Migration Experience*. New York and Oxon: Routledge.

White Ribbon Movement. What is the Cycle of Violence? Retrieved from https://www.whiteribbon.org.au/understand-domestic-violence/What is the cycle of violence?

World Health Organisation. (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Retrieved from Geneva:WHO website

World Health Organisation. (2008). Violence against women by intimate partners. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/gender/violence/who_multicountry_study/summary_report/chapter2/en/index.html

World Health Organisation. (2017). Violence against women. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women

World Health Organization. (2007). *Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions*. Retrieved from Geneva: WHO website

Zannettino, L. (2012). "…There is No War Here; It is Only the Relation ship That Makes Us Scared": Factors Having an Impact on Domestic Violence in Liberian Communities in South Australia. *Violence Against Women, 18*(7), 807-828.