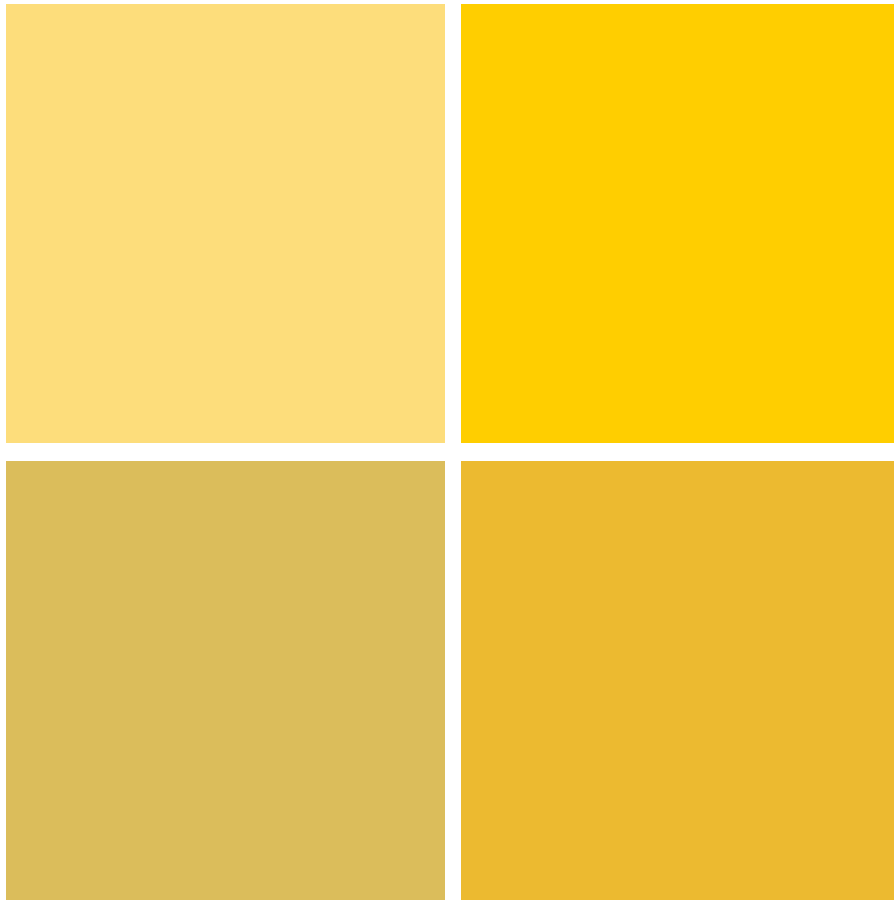ANROWS

ATTITUDES MATTER:

NCAS

THE 2021 NATIONAL COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY (NCAS)

Findings for people born in countries where the main language is not English

Acknowledgement of Country

ANROWS acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the land across Australia on which we work and live. We pay our respects to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders past and present, and we value Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories, cultures and knowledge. We are committed to standing and working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, honouring the truths set out in the Warawarni-gu Guma Statement.

Peer review process

The quality of ANROWS publications is ensured through a rigorous peer review process that is consistent with the principles of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) Ethical Guidelines for Peer Review. This report has been assessed by at least two peer reviewers with relevant academic expertise.

Attitudes matter

The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS)

Findings for people born in countries where the main language is not English

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ANROWS

AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL RESEARCH
ORGANISATION FOR WOMEN'S SAFETY
to Reduce Violence against Women & their Children

**Social
Research
Centre**

Acknowledgement of lived experiences of violence

ANROWS acknowledges the lives and experiences of the women and children affected by domestic, family and sexual violence who are represented in this report. We recognise the individual stories of courage, hope and resilience that form the basis of ANROWS research.

Caution: Some people may find parts of this content confronting or distressing. Recommended support services include 1800RESPECT (1800 737 732), Lifeline (13 11 14) and, for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, 13YARN (13 92 76).

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This report addresses work covered in ANROWS's National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) Research Program. Please consult the ANROWS website for more information on this project.

ANROWS research contributes to the shared vision to end gender-based violence in one generation of the *National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032* (the National Plan 2022–2032) and the six National Outcomes of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (the National Plan 2010–2022). This research provides prevention and early intervention key indicators for the National Plan 2022–2032 and addresses National Outcome 1 – Communities are safe and free from violence, and National Outcome 2 – Relationships are respectful of the National Plan 2010–2022.

Suggested citation

◼ Foreword

It is an honour and a profound responsibility to reflect on the findings of The National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) report. I write this foreword in my official capacity as the Chair of Harmony Alliance and in my understanding as a migrant woman who has experienced migration from one country to another. These experiences mean I can appreciate the dualities that life can often present for migrant and refugee women, as illustrated in the findings of this report.

This report is not a collection of statistics. It is a mirror. Its findings reflect the attitudes and beliefs that, wittingly or unwittingly, contribute to violence directed against women and how violence comes in different shapes and hides in many forms.

The findings reminded us of the cultural and linguistic barriers that can obscure the path to safety and justice for many women among us. It reveals, for example, that there is under-recognition of non-physical forms of abuse against migrant and refugee women in Australia. This finding is a testament to the unseen struggles, the silent battles fought in the shadows of society. It highlights the urgent need to expand the scope of our advocacy to improve understanding that psychological and emotional violence wreak havoc in women's lives as equally as physical violence. It emphasises how crucial it is to grasp the full spectrum of beliefs regarding gender equality and violence against women to ensure the safety of all women.

As is always the case when dealing with social issues, there is hope, and work remains to be done. Our work must consider the nuanced approach to the prevention of violence against women advanced in this report. That approach requires that our work is grounded in the larger concept of justice and the reality of women's experiences. Without such attention, efforts to combat violence risk getting lost in translation across cultures, languages, or economic or visa statuses.

Importantly, hope can be found in the resilience and aspirations of migrant and refugee women who continue to demand fair treatment even against the backdrop of their struggles. Their dreams, commitment and advocacy contribute to our common good of becoming a more equitable society. We should listen to their voices and engage more deeply with the complexities of their experiences – from the research we conduct to the policies we create to the society we strive to become.

Nyadol Nyuon OAM
Chair of Harmony Alliance: Migrant and Refugee Women for Change

June 2024

■ Contents

Figures

Tables

Shortened forms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AGIS	Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
AVAWS	Attitudes towards Violence against Women Scale
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CARM	Culturally and racially marginalised
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
DSS	Department of Social Services
DVS	Domestic Violence Scale
GVIS	Gendered Violence and Inequality Scale
LGBTQ+	An evolving acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans gender, queer/questioning, asexual and other sexuality- or gender-diverse people
LOTE	Language other than English
MESC	Main English-speaking country (other than Australia)
Main report	Coumarelos, C., Weeks, N., Bernstein, S., Roberts, N., Honey, N., Minter, K., & Carlisle, E. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for Australia* (Research report, 02/2023). ANROWS.
National Plan 2010–2022	*National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022*
National Plan 2022–2032	*National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032*
NCAS	National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey

N-MESC	Non-main English–speaking country
NSW	New South Wales
PSS	Personal Safety Survey
Recognise DV Subscale	Recognise Domestic Violence Subscale
Recognise VAW Subscale	Recognise Violence Against Women Subscale
SAS	Sexual Assault Scale
SEIFA	Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage and Disadvantage
SHS	Sexual Harassment Scale
Summary report	Coumarelos, C., Weeks, N., Bernstein, S., Roberts, N., Honey, N., Minter, K., & Carlisle, E. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Summary for Australia* (Research report, 03/2023). ANROWS.
SVS	Sexual Violence Scale
Technical report	Coumarelos, C., Honey, N., Ward, A., Weeks, N., & Minter, K. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Technical report* (Insights 02/2023). ANROWS.
TFAS	Technology-Facilitated Abuse Scale
Understand Gendered DV Subscale	Understand Gendered Domestic Violence Subscale
UVAWS	Understanding of Violence against Women Scale
WHO	World Health Organization

Data symbols and table and figure notations

*	Indicates a statistically significant result, meaning we can be confident (with 95% certainty) that the difference observed in the survey sample is meaningful and likely to represent a true difference in the Australian population ($p < 0.05$) that is not negligible in size (Cohen's $d \geq 0.2$ or equivalent)
^	Indicates an item was asked of one half of the sample
~	Indicates an item was asked of one quarter of the sample
B	Bystander response item (used in item codes)
D	Domestic violence item (used in item codes)
G	Gender inequality item (used in item codes)
S	Sexual violence item (used in item codes)
V	Violence against women item (used in item codes)

Key terms

Acculturation	The psychological and sociocultural processes involved when people from one group adjust to the beliefs and practices of another group. Acculturation may occur following migration of individuals and groups from one country to another.
Attitudes	Evaluations of a particular subject (e.g. person, object, concept) that usually exist along a continuum from less to more favourable. The NCAS measures attitudes towards violence against women, including attitudes towards specific types of violence such as domestic violence and sexual violence, as well as attitudes towards gender inequality.
Backlash	The resistance, hostility or aggression with which strategies to redress gender inequality or prevent violence are met by some people in the community (typically a minority).
Benevolent and hostile sexism	**Benevolent sexism** encompasses attitudes towards women that are seemingly positive but nonetheless imply women's inferiority to men based on perceptions of women as fragile, emotionally sensitive or needing help and protection. **Hostile sexism** encompasses overtly negative, resentful or misogynistic attitudes towards women who violate traditional gender roles and threaten male dominance. Both forms of sexism serve to justify and maintain the patriarchy and traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1997).
Bivariate analysis	A statistical analysis that examines the direct or straightforward relationship between two variables only, such as an outcome of interest (e.g. understanding of violence against women) and one other variable (e.g. a demographic factor such as age), without taking into account the effect of any other variables.
Bystander	Somebody who observes, but is not directly involved in, a harmful or potentially harmful event and could assist or intervene (Webster et al., 2018).
Bystander response	How bystanders react to witnessing a scenario such as disrespect or abuse. The NCAS examined whether bystanders would be bothered by various scenarios and whether they would intervene. **Prosocial bystander actions** attempt to improve the situation and can include confronting the perpetrator's unacceptable, gendered and violence-condoning attitudes and behaviour, as well as supporting the victim and survivor. In this report, the two prosocial responses examined were showing disapproval then and there or showing disapproval in private later.
Cissexism	Prejudice or discrimination against trans gender people.

Coercive control	A pattern of behaviours used to manipulate, intimidate, isolate and control a partner and create an uneven power dynamic in the relationship (Attorney-General's Department, 2023; Department of Social Services [DSS], 2022). Coercive control is often a significant part of a person's experience of domestic violence. Coercive control is typically defined as a long-term pattern of non-physical and physical acts that are used by perpetrators to control or dominate an intimate partner (DSS, 2022). Forms of coercive control can include monitoring a partner's daily activities, limiting their access to financial resources, manipulating children against them and isolating them from support networks (Relationships Australia, 2021).
Domestic violence	Refers to violence perpetrated by current or past intimate partners, which causes physical, sexual or psychological harm. Major forms of domestic violence include physical, sexual, psychological and financial abuse. Domestic violence often includes coercive control. The term "domestic violence" is often used interchangeably with "intimate partner violence". "Domestic violence" is used in this report, as many historical NCAS items use this terminology to describe violence between partners. (Note: some broader definitions of domestic violence in the literature include violence between other family members. Within this report, violence between family members is referred to as "family violence".)
Early intervention	Initiatives that aim to prevent violence occurring, reoccurring or escalating among individuals who are at high risk of experiencing or perpetrating violence (DSS, 2022; VicHealth, 2017).
Economic abuse	See "Financial abuse".
Emotional and psychological abuse	Forms of abuse that "may include verbal, non-verbal or physical acts by the perpetrator that are intended to exercise dominance, control or coercion over the victim; degrade the victim's emotional or cognitive abilities or sense of self-worth; or induce feelings of fear and intimidation in the victim" (National Family and Domestic Violence Bench Book, 2022).
Equality	The state of being equal, especially in status, rights or opportunities.
Equity	The state, quality or ideal of being just, impartial and fair. As related to racial and social justice, equity means meeting people and communities where they are, by allocating resources and opportunities as needed to create equal outcomes for all – creating a "level playing field". The concept of equity recognises that different people have different circumstances and needs that must be met in order to achieve equal outcomes.
Family violence	A broader term than "domestic violence". Refers not only to violence between intimate partners but also to violence between family members. For Aboriginal and/ or Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities, "family violence" encapsulates the broader issue of violence within extended families, kinship networks and community relationships, as well as intergenerational issues. "Family" may also refer to "chosen families", as found, for example, in LGBTQ+ communities.
Financial abuse	Also termed "economic abuse". A type of violence that often occurs alongside other types of domestic violence, such as physical or emotional abuse. It involves using money in ways to cause harm, such as by withholding funds, preventing a person being involved in financial decisions that affect them, preventing them from getting a job, controlling all household spending and many other tactics to restrict a victim and survivor's freedom and independence.

Gender	The socially constructed and learned roles, norms, behaviours, activities and attributes that a society considers appropriate for people, usually based on their biological sex. Gender has historically been constructed as a binary between "man" and "woman" or "masculinity" and "femininity", and as a hierarchy of "men" over "women". These binaries and hierarchies can produce inequalities and discrimination based on gender. As a social construct, gender is not fixed: the acceptable roles and behaviours associated with "man" and "woman" can vary from society to society and can change over time. Gender identities of "man" and "woman" are often associated with the social expectations for members of the biological sex categories "male" and "female". Where people identify their gender as matching their biological sex assigned or presumed for them at birth, this is called "cis gender". However, many people do not subscribe to cis gender norms and describe their gender identity in terms that do not accord with the rigidity of the gender binary. For further information on how gender is used in the NCAS survey and this report, see Section 2.2 in the Main report.
Gendered drivers of violence	The underlying causes that create the necessary conditions under which violence against women occurs. The drivers relate to the particular structures, norms and practices arising from gender inequality in public and private life, as well as to the intersection of gender inequality with other forms of social discrimination and oppression against certain groups of women, including racism, classism, ableism, ageism, heteronormativity and cissexism etc.
Gender equality	Involves equality of opportunity and equality of results for all genders. It includes both the redistribution of resources and responsibilities between men and women and the transformation of the underlying causes and structures of gender inequality to achieve substantive equality.
Gender-ignoring	A perspective that focuses on the importance of being "fair" by treating everyone the same but fails to recognise the gendered norms and gendered differences within structures and systems that drive gender-based inequalities and violence.
Gender norms	Shared standards of acceptable and appropriate behaviour that are based on gender stereotypes held by members of a community, culture or group (Moura et al., 2023).
Gender stereotypes	Overgeneralised and oversimplified beliefs about individuals based on gender, leading to expectations that they will behave in certain ways (Moura et al., 2023). These attributes are often perceived as natural or innate, but they are actually the result of people of different genders being socialised in different ways (DSS, 2022).
Gender-transformative approaches	Approaches that challenge and attempt to change problematic gender stereotypes, scripts, norms, the gender binary and the gender hierarchy, which facilitate and maintain gender inequality (Our Watch, 2019, 2021b).
Heteronormativity	The belief that heterosexuality is the preferred and "natural" sexual orientation, which assumes that gender is binary (i.e. men and women). Heteronormativity functions to legitimise social and legal institutions that devalue, marginalise and discriminate against people who deviate from this normative principle (e.g. gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, trans people; American Psychological Association, 2022). The dominance of heteronormative and cisnormative models of domestic violence also makes it harder to recognise this violence in LGBTQ+ communities. This bias can contribute to a culture of silence that leads to LGBTQ+ people staying in abusive relationships and not accessing services and other vital support (LGBTIQ+ Health Australia, 2022).

Heterosexual sex scripts	Socially constructed frameworks or "scripts" that guide sexual activity and sexual behaviour. These scripts dictate what one should be doing as a sexual partner (Simon & Gagnon, 1986) and reinforce the widely and implicitly accepted standards for what sex "should" be and look like (Pham, 2016). While individuals shape their own sex scripts in light of their own identity and experiences, sex script theory argues that sexual partners perform sexual encounters according to highly gendered "roles" within the dominant script. More traditional heterosexual sex scripts position men as the active and aggressive initiators of sex, while positioning women as passive sex objects and gatekeepers. In so doing, these scripts privilege men's sexuality by prioritising men's sexual gratification and penile–vaginal penetrative sex as the sex act or "real" sex (Jackson, 2006; Medley-Rath, 2007).
Intersectionality	The interactions between multiple systems and structures of oppression (such as sexism, racism, classism, ageism, ableism, heteronormativity and cissexism), which can be reflected in policy, practices, services and legal contexts. Intersectionality acknowledges that some people are subject to multiple forms of oppression and the experience of this oppression is not just the sum of its parts. An intersectional approach is a lens for seeing how various forms of inequality can often operate together and exacerbate each other (Kimberlé Crenshaw quoted in Steinmetz, 2020).
Men	A gender identity. In this report, the term is used for respondents who identified as men when asked to state how they describe their gender.
Microaggressions	Everyday, intentional or unintentional interactions or behaviours that communicate some type of bias towards historically marginalised groups, including women. Microaggressions are typically subtle, although sometimes overt. People who enact microaggressions may not be aware of their bias.
Misogyny	A strong dislike of or contempt for women.
Multiple linear regression analysis	A statistical analysis that examines the relationship of a (continuous) outcome variable of interest (e.g. understanding of violence against women) to multiple factors (or input variables) considered together (e.g. multiple demographic characteristics). Unlike bivariate analysis, multiple linear regression analysis has the advantage that it can determine which of multiple factors: • are *independently* related to or "predict" the outcome variable, *after* accounting for any relationships between the factors • are *most important* in predicting the outcome variable.
Multivariate analysis	A type of statistical analysis that examines the interrelationships between three or more variables. Multiple linear regression analysis is a type of multivariate analysis.
Non-binary	A gender identity that sits outside the gender binary of "men" and "women". The term is often used as an umbrella term that encompasses a range of diverse gender identities. In this report, "non-binary" is used as a collective term for respondents who, when asked to state how they describe their gender: • explicitly identified as non-binary • provided another response that was consistent with a gender identity outside the gender binary.

Non-physical violence	Forms of violence and abuse which do not involve inflicting or threatening physical harm, such as financial abuse, psychological or emotional abuse, spiritual abuse or technology-facilitated abuse, among others. These forms of violence and abuse may involve coercive control.
Physical violence	The use or threat of physical force with the intent to cause physical or psychological harm, such as physical injury, intimidation or fear. "Violence against women" is broader than "physical violence" and can include patterns of behaviour constituting coercive control and other forms of abuse.
Primary prevention	Initiatives that aim to stop violence before it starts by changing the underlying social drivers of violence, including attitudes and systems (DSS, 2022; Our Watch, 2024).
Prosocial bystander	A bystander who chooses a prosocial action in response to witnessing disrespect or abuse. See "Bystander" and "Bystander response".
Recovery and healing	Initiatives to reduce the risk of re-traumatisation among victims and survivors and support their recovery from trauma and the physical, mental, emotional and economic impacts of violence (DSS, 2022).
Response	The provision of services and supports to victims and survivors to assist them and address existing violence, including via crisis support and police intervention. The use of trauma-informed justice systems to hold perpetrators of violence to account (DSS, 2022).
Scale	A psychometrically validated group of survey items that measure aspects of the same construct or topic. In the NCAS, scales are used to summarise and demonstrate understanding and attitudes at an overall or broad level. In this report, the scales are used to measure or assess overall change in understanding or attitudes over time, relationships between understanding and attitudes, and relationships between understanding or attitudes and other factors (such as demographic factors). See Technical report, pp. 102–113.
Sexism	Attitudes, stereotypes, prejudice and other cultural elements that promote discrimination based on gender.
Sexual assault	A form of sexual violence. Any act of a sexual nature that is carried out against a person's will using physical force, intimidation or coercion, including any attempts to do this (DSS, 2022). Sexual assault occurs when a person is forced, coerced or tricked into sexual acts against their will or without their consent, including when they have withdrawn their consent. Forms of sexual assault include rape, attempted rape, aggravated sexual assault (assault with a weapon), indecent assault, penetration by objects, forced sexual activity that did not end in penetration and attempts to force a person into sexual activity (DSS, 2022).
Sexual harassment	A form of sexual violence. An unwelcome sexual advance, sexualised comment, intrusive sexualised question, request for sexual favours or other unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature that makes a person feel offended, humiliated or intimidated. Can include, but is not limited to, staring or leering; indecent texts, emails or posts; indecent exposure; inappropriate comments; non-consensual sharing of intimate images; and unwanted touching.

Sexuality	The experience of sexual attraction, behaviour and identity (Carman et al., 2021). In this report, when sexuality is discussed in relation to NCAS results, it refers to responses to the item, "How would you describe your sexuality?", with the stated options of "heterosexual/straight", "lesbian", "gay", "bisexual or pansexual", "queer", "another term (please specify)" and "prefer not to say".
Sexual violence	An umbrella term that encompasses sexual activity without consent being obtained or freely given. It occurs any time a person is forced, coerced or manipulated into any unwanted sexual activity, such as touching, sexual harassment and intimidation, forced marriage, trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, sexual abuse, sexual assault and rape.
Significant	Throughout this report, "significant" is used to refer to "statistically significant" results where we can be confident (with 95% certainty) that the difference observed in the survey sample is meaningful and likely to represent a true difference in the Australian population ($p < 0.05$) that is not negligible in size (Cohen's $d \geq 0.2$ or equivalent). Significant findings in this report are denoted by the * symbol.
Social norms	Shared standards of acceptable behaviour that may be an informal understanding within groups or across broader society that govern behaviour, or may take the form of codified rules and conduct expectations.
Socioeconomic status of area	In this report, socioeconomic status of area is based on the Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage and Disadvantage (SEIFA) – an ABS measure of the socioeconomic conditions in geographic areas in terms of people's access to material and social resources, and their opportunity to participate in society (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2018).
Stalking	A form of violence that can occur in person or via the use of technology. It involves a pattern of repeated, unwanted behaviours intended to maintain contact with, or exercise power and control over, another person. These behaviours are typically enacted to intimidate, distress or control the target (H. Campbell, 2019; Victorian Law Reform Commission, 2021). Examples of stalking behaviours include tracking or following someone (in person or online) and loitering.
Subscale	A component of a psychometrically validated scale that taps into a particular aspect of the construct underlying the scale, such as an aspect of understanding or attitudes towards violence against women or gender inequality. Factor analyses were used to subdivide items within a scale into subscales based on which items were answered most similarly to one another by respondents, most likely because they are more conceptually related. Subscales were also validated using Rasch analysis. See Technical Report, pp. 102–113.
Technology-facilitated abuse	An umbrella term used to refer to forms of abuse where technology is the conduit or means of enacting or exercising abuse. Examples of technology-facilitated abuse include harassment, stalking, impersonation and threats via technology, as well as image-based abuse and other forms of abuse online (eSafety Commissioner, 2022; Powell & Henry, 2019).

Trans gender	"Trans gender" is an inclusive umbrella term meaning people whose gender is different from the sex recorded or presumed for them at birth (Transhub, 2021). Trans people may affirm their gender in different ways, or adopt a binary gender identity, in social, medical or legal settings for a range of reasons, including lack of inclusivity. Trans people may position "being trans" as a history or experience, rather than an identity, and may consider their gender identity as simply being female, male or a non-binary gender (DSS, 2022).
Univariate analysis	The data analysis of a single variable or item, such as the number or percentage of respondents in each gender category.
Victims and survivors	People who have experienced violence. We use this term to recognise both the harm experienced and the resilience of those who experience violence. The term recognises the diverse experiences of violence, although we acknowledge that not all people who experience violence will use this term to describe themselves. Some may prefer to use "people who experience, or are at risk of, experiencing violence" (DSS, 2022, p. 134).
Violence against women	Violence that is specifically directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes any act of violence based on or driven by gender that causes, or could cause, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of harm or coercion, in public or in private life.
Women	A term describing a gender identity. In this report, the term is used for respondents who identified as women when asked to state how they describe their gender.

About this report

This report outlines the results from the 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) for respondents born in non-main English-speaking countries (N-MESCs), as well as comparisons between respondents born in N-MESCs and respondents born in Australia. The study results may also have relevance for people from non-English speaking backgrounds more broadly, including people who were not born in an N-MESC, but whose cultural, racial, language or ethnic identities are linked to N-MESCs (e.g. via living in an N-MESC or via one or more family members being from an N-MESC). Additionally, the report offers insights to stakeholders tasked with responding to, reducing and preventing violence against women, including policymakers, practitioners, practice designers, educators, researchers, community organisations and the media. It has particular relevance for violence prevention education with people from non-English speaking backgrounds.

Treating respondents born in N-MESCs as a single cohort within analyses poses inherent challenges in understanding the diverse factors underlying knowledge and attitudes that may vary across different cultural, racial or linguistic groups. The N-MESC category in the 2021 NCAS includes respondents from diverse cultural, racial and linguistic backgrounds, and includes people across the full spectrum of marginalisation to privilege. For example, the N-MESC category includes refugees and asylum seekers who may be culturally or racially marginalised, possess limited or no English and have no financial resources, as well as skilled and wealthy migrants who are not marginalised and speak English fluently. The generalisability of the results presented in this report, therefore, is limited due to the categorisation of respondents by birthplace into a single N-MESC cohort. Although this categorisation is appropriate given the shared immigration and refugee status and overlap in support needs in the N-MESC population (Sections 1.3 to 1.5), this population is not a homogenous group.

Importantly, the challenge of identifying representative groups to better advocate for people born overseas who experience prejudice and/or hardship in Australia is shared across government, specialised services and organisations. Consensus has not been reached at advocacy and policy levels on a way to appropriately group individuals from diverse backgrounds who have heightened support needs. The limitations of existing diversity categories are discussed in the Terminology section below. Additionally, Sections 1.3 to 1.5 discuss the risk of violence and barriers to accessing safe and appropriate supports for women from N-MESCs.

speaking Anglo-Saxon majority (Sawrikar & Katz, 2009). However, this term has been criticised for prioritising cultural and linguistic explanations of difference without adequate representation of race (Diversity Council Australia, 2023). For example, the term extends to people who can be racially categorised as white, which is incongruent with the term's common usage to refer to people from non-English speaking or non–Anglo-Celtic cultural backgrounds (Diversity Council Australia, 2023).

Recently, the term "culturally and racially marginalised" (CARM) has emerged to refer to people who cannot be categorised as white and who face discrimination due to their culture, background and/or race (Diversity Council Australia, 2023). CARM is a narrower category than CALD, and some have voiced a preference for its use when attempting to better understand experiences of discrimination and marginalisation (Diversity Council Australia, 2023). However, the term is not universally supported.

This report uses the term "CALD" rather than "CARM" in keeping with current Commonwealth Government terminology. However, we acknowledge the current debate and the need to identify the term preferred by people with lived experiences of racism.

Across all research and policy contexts discussed in this report, the experiences of CALD people, migrants, refugees and people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds are examined within Australia or another Western context such as the United Kingdom, United States of America or New Zealand.

Terminology

This report focuses on 2021 NCAS respondents who were born in a country where the main language is not English – that is, in an N-MESC.

While we use the N-MESC categorisation to describe our sample, in citing the literature we use the terminology relevant to specific studies. For example, some studies describe "migrant" and "refugee" samples. These terms are commonly used to refer to people who have changed their country of usual residence for migration or legal status (migrant) or due to seriously disturbed public order requiring international protection (refugee or asylum seeker) (United Nations, 2023). Other studies refer to "culturally and linguistically diverse" (CALD) samples. The term CALD has been commonly used in research, practice and policy to refer to all of Australia's non-Indigenous ethnic groups other than the English–

Related 2021 NCAS reports

This report is one among a suite of Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) resources produced for the 2021 NCAS. Other reports and documents on NCAS findings include:

- Minter, K., Carlisle, E., & Coumarelos, C. (2021). *"Chuck her on a lie detector": Investigating Australians' mistrust in women's reports of sexual assault* (Research report, 04/2021). ANROWS.
- Carlisle, E., Coumarelos, C., Minter, K., & Lohmeyer, B. (2022). *"It depends on what the definition of domestic violence is": How young Australians conceptualise domestic violence and abuse* (Research report, 09/2022). ANROWS.
- Coumarelos, C., Weeks, N., Bernstein, S., Roberts, N., Honey, N., Minter, K., & Carlisle, E. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes*

towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for Australia (Research report, 02/2023). ANROWS. (The Main report.)

- Coumarelos, C., Weeks, N., Bernstein, S., Roberts, N., Honey, N., Minter, K., & Carlisle, E. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Summary for Australia* (Research report, 03/2023). ANROWS. (The Summary report.)

- Coumarelos, C., Honey, N., Ward, A., Weeks, N., & Minter, K. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Technical report* (ANROWS Insights, 02/2023). ANROWS. (The Technical report.)

- Coumarelos, C., Roberts, N., Weeks, N., Bernstein, S., & Honey, N. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for Australian states and territories* (Research report, 05/2023). ANROWS.

- Coumarelos, C., Roberts, N., Weeks, N., & Rasmussen, V. (2023). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for young Australians* (Research report, 08/2023). ANROWS.

- *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents* (forthcoming).

About the NCAS

The National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) is a periodic, representative survey of the Australian population that is conducted every four years. The NCAS measures the Australian community's understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women, their attitudes towards gender inequality and their intentions to intervene when witnessing violence or disrespect against women. It was established as a key means of monitoring progress against the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (the National Plan 2010–2022; Council of Australian Governments [COAG], 2010) and continues to evaluate progress against the current *National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032* (the National Plan 2022–2032; DSS, 2022). Community understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women are shaped by, and in part reflect, social norms embedded in organisational, community, institutional and societal practices, systems and structures.

Thus, the NCAS functions as a gauge for how Australia is progressing in changing the broader climate that facilitates and maintains violence against women. By highlighting problematic areas in the community's understanding and attitudes towards violence against women, the NCAS provides valuable evidence to inform policy and practice in the prevention of this violence. The findings emphasise the importance of continuing to challenge biases, myths and misconceptions regarding violence against women and gender inequality. Widespread biases reflect the societal culture, including broad practices, processes, systems and structures, that maintains gender inequality and violence against women. These attitudes are also enacted in the responses to violence by police, the judiciary and community services in ways that may fail to deter perpetrators of violence against women and serve as systemic barriers to victims and survivors seeking justice and support.

2021 NCAS

The 2021 NCAS sample consisted of 19,100 Australians aged 16 years or older who were interviewed via mobile telephone, including 3,224 respondents born in an N-MESC (representing 17% of the total NCAS sample).

The findings of the 2021 NCAS for all Australians demonstrate gradual improvements in community understanding and attitudes regarding gender inequality and violence against women, suggesting encouraging progress towards the achievement of a community that offers equal opportunities to women and is safe and free from violence against women. However, further intervention is still necessary where harmful individual and social norms prevail.

Executive summary

The National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) is a periodic, representative survey of the Australian population that is conducted every four years. Population-level assessments of knowledge and attitudes regarding violence against women provide important insight into the Australian culture, including our level of tolerance for violence and inequality. The NCAS has been a key means of monitoring progress against the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (COAG, 2010) and continues to examine progress against the current *National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032* (DSS, 2022). The NCAS can inform policy and programs aimed at prevention of violence against women by highlighting gaps in community understanding and problematic attitudes towards violence against women and gender equality.

The present report discusses the 2021 NCAS findings for people living in Australia who were born in countries where the main language is not English – that is, non-main English–speaking countries (N-MESCs). The focus on the N-MESC demographic group is in keeping with the literature and national recognition that women born in N-MESCs can experience unique forms of violence and face additional barriers to reporting violence, seeking support and accessing justice (DSS, 2022; see also Sections 1.4 and 1.5). The report aims to inform violence prevention initiatives with people from N-MESCs by:

- benchmarking understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women, attitudes towards gender equality and intention to intervene when witnessing abuse or disrespect of women
- identifying any notable gaps in understanding or more problematic attitudes
- identifying demographic, attitudinal and contextual factors that are associated with problematic understanding and attitudes.

An intersectional approach is adopted in this report. Such an approach argues that multiple factors, including systemic and structural forms of gender inequality, racism and other inequalities and oppressions, interact to reinforce violence against women. Thus, violence against women and problematic attitudes towards this violence are not explainable by any single factor and are not "inherent" to any single culture. The introduction and implications chapters (Chapters 1 and 9) provide greater discussion of the complex and interconnected factors underpinning these attitudes. Notably, initiatives that challenge racist attitudes and racial stereotypes about migrant and refugee communities are presented as essential components of preventing violence against migrant and refugee women (see Key finding 8 in Chapter 9).

Research design and analysis

The 2021 NCAS was conducted via mobile telephone interviews with 19,100 respondents across Australia. The sample included 3,224 respondents born in N-MESCs.

The 2021 survey included:

- demographic items
- items measuring understanding of the nature of violence against women
- items measuring attitudes towards violence against women and gender inequality

- scenario-based items examining bystander responses when witnessing abuse or disrespect against women.

Understanding and attitude items were grouped into nine psychometric scales, validated via Rasch analysis and factor analysis. The 2021 NCAS included three main scales, namely:

- the Understanding of Violence against Women Scale (UVAWS), which measures recognition of problematic behaviours as violence and understanding of the gendered nature of violence against women
- the Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale (AGIS), which measures rejection of problematic attitudes regarding gender inequality
- the Attitudes towards Violence against Women Scale (AVAWS), which measures rejection of problematic attitudes regarding violence against women.

The main scales comprise subscales that measure different thematic aspects of the broad concepts underlying the scales. In addition, the 2021 NCAS included five scales to measure and allow comparisons between attitudes towards each of five types of violence. These five scales are the Domestic Violence Scale (DVS), the Sexual Violence Scale (SVS), the Sexual Assault Scale (SAS), the Sexual Harassment Scale (SHS) and the Technology-Facilitated Abuse Scale (TFAS).

Respondents' scores on each scale were used to calculate the mean level of understanding of violence against women and rejection of problematic attitudes. Bivariate and regression analyses were also conducted to examine the factors significantly related to understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women and gender inequality, including demographic factors and particular aspects of understanding and attitudes.

The report focuses particularly on the specific understanding and attitudes of respondents born in N-MESCs to inform practitioners working with this population group. However, we also provide some key comparisons between respondents born in N-MESCs and other respondents (Section 8.3).

Changes over time in the understanding and attitudes of people born in N-MESCs could not be reliably examined because the demographic profiles of N-MESC samples obtained at different time points are not comparable due to variations in immigration patterns (Section 2.1).

Sample

The 2021 NCAS sample included 3,224 respondents born in N-MESCs. In addition to English, the survey was offered in the 10 most common languages other than English (LOTEs) used in Australia, with 116 of the 3,224 respondents being interviewed in a LOTE. Approximately half the sample were women, and most had lived in Australia for more than 10 years (68%), spoke English at home (64%), were employed as their main labour activity (66%) and had university qualifications (66%).

Key findings

The NCAS findings for people born in N-MESCs provide evidence that the majority of this group, like most Australians from all backgrounds, strongly reject violence against women and gender inequality. However, the NCAS findings also highlight many opportunities to improve the understanding and attitudes of people from N-MESCs specifically and Australians more generally. Identifying gaps in understanding and problematic attitudes of people born in N-MESCs can help inform programs tailored to subgroups within the N-MESC population. Such tailored initiatives, developed in collaboration with community members, would complement broader efforts to break down the attitudes, practices, systems and structures that perpetuate violence against women in Australia.

Key finding 1: Understanding of the prevalence, non-physical forms and gendered nature of violence could be further increased

Many respondents born in N-MESCs had good understanding of violence against women, but there is room to increase some aspects of understanding. Respondents born in N-MESCs were:

- more likely to recognise that violence against women is a problem in Australia (82%) than to recognise that it is a problem in their own local area (40%)
- more likely to recognise behaviours as "always" constituting domestic violence if they involve physical forms of violence (72–89%) than if they involve non-physical forms of violence (57–68%), including repeated threats of deportation and being forced to stop religious practice (63–67%)
- significantly more likely to recognise the behaviours constituting violence than to understand that

domestic violence is gendered in that it is predominantly perpetrated by men and against women.

Key finding 2: All aspects of attitudes towards gender inequality could be further improved

Many, but not all, respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with the items describing attitudes that normalise sexism (59–89%), reinforce gender roles and stereotypes (53–75%), undermine women's leadership in public life (59–77%), deny gender inequality experiences (21–30%) and condone limiting women's autonomy in private life (41–63%). However, further improvements could be made to attitudes in all these areas.

Key finding 3: Attitudes that minimise violence, mistrust women and objectify women could be further addressed

Many respondents born in N-MESCs held attitudes that rejected violence against women. For example, many "strongly disagreed" with items that describe minimising violence against women (46–88%), objectifying women and disregarding their consent (50–83%), and mistrusting women's reports of violence (22–77%). However, a concerning minority "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) with problematic attitudes that minimise violence (4–33%), mistrust women (8–40%) and objectify women (7–30%).

Key finding 4: Attitudes towards all types of violence could be further improved

Domestic violence

Many respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with items that blame victims and survivors for domestic violence (40–72%) and that normalise or excuse domestic violence (46–79%).

However, a sizeable minority of respondents born in N-MESCs endorsed some problematic attitudes towards violence against women, and "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that domestic violence should be handled in the family (21%) and that women are partially to blame for abuse if they stay in abusive relationships (40%). Additionally, about one third of respondents "agreed" that women going through custody battles often make up or exaggerate claims of domestic violence (37%).

Two in five respondents born in N-MESCs indicated that they would not know where to go if they needed outside support for someone experiencing domestic violence.

Sexual assault

Many respondents born in N-MESCs demonstrated strong rejection of attitudes that condone or excuse sexual assault. For example, most "strongly disagreed" that a man was justified in forcing sex after a woman pushed him away. However, fewer "strongly disagreed" when the woman (50–60%), rather than the man (73–83%), had initiated kissing, and when the couple was married, rather than acquaintances.

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (72%) recognised that it is a criminal offence for a man to have sex with his wife without her consent, but a concerning minority did not (16%) or were unsure (11%).

Sexual harassment

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (51–83%) "strongly disagreed" with all the problematic attitudes regarding sexual harassment, but a minority "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) with myths that sexual harassment is flattering or benign (9–18%).

Technology-facilitated abuse

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (62–67%) recognised that different forms of technology-facilitated abuse "always" constitute a form of violence, and that it is a criminal offence to post or share a sexual picture of an ex-partner on social media without their consent. However, a concerning minority "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that a woman is partly responsible if:

- her partner shares a naked picture without her permission (29%)
- a man she met on a mobile dating app forces sex on her (15%).

Stalking

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (62–66%) recognised technology-facilitated and in-person stalking as "always" constituting violence. However, 10 per cent did not recognise electronic tracking of a partner as a form of violence and 8 per cent did not recognise in-person stalking by repeatedly following or watching someone as a form of violence.

■ Key finding 5: Bystander intentions depended on the context

Respondents were asked how they would respond to three scenarios: a work friend telling a sexist joke, a boss telling a sexist joke and a friend verbally abusing his partner. Most respondents born in N-MESCs said they would be bothered by each scenario (75–95%). However, their responses varied by context and depended on factors such as the following:

- the type of abusive or disrespectful behaviour – they were significantly more likely to be bothered by verbal abuse than sexist jokes
- the presence of a power differential – they were significantly less likely to intervene if a boss rather than a work friend told a sexist joke
- their gender – men were significantly less likely than women to be bothered by sexist jokes.

■ Key finding 6: Attitudes towards violence against women and gender inequality were strongly related

Attitudes towards violence against women were associated with attitudes towards gender inequality, and, to a lesser extent, understanding of violence against women among respondents born in N-MESCs.

■ Key finding 7: Attitudes towards violence against women were modestly related to demographic factors

The respondents born in N-MESCs who had significantly higher rejection of violence against women were those who spoke English at home, were university graduates, had lived in Australia for six or more years, were aged 16 to 34 years, lived in the highest socioeconomic status of area or were women. However, the influence of demographics on these attitudes was modest.

Respondents born in N-MESCs had stronger understanding and rejection of violence against women and stronger rejection of some aspects of gender inequality if they had lived in Australia for longer and if they were more proficient at English.

Compared to men born in N-MESCs, women born in N-MESCs were significantly more likely to hold *attitudes* that reject gender inequality and violence against women. This gender gap was also evident for Australians from all backgrounds, as presented in the 2021 Main report (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023).

However, men and women born in N-MESCs had similar *understanding* of violence against women.[1]

Key finding 8: Understanding and rejection of violence and gender inequality were lower for respondents born in N-MESCs than those born in Australia

The overall pattern of findings for respondents born in N-MESCs was similar to those for Australians of all backgrounds in the 2021 NCAS, as presented in the Main report (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023). While there is room for improvement for Australians of all backgrounds, respondents born in N-MESCs had significantly lower understanding of violence against women and significantly lower rejection of gender inequality and violence against women compared to respondents born in Australia, based on scores on the NCAS scales. Based on this finding and on literature highlighting the barriers that women from N-MESCs face in getting help for domestic violence situations, people from N-MESCs are a priority population for supporting improvements in understanding and attitudes towards violence against women.

Implications

The NCAS findings identify N-MESC communities as priority populations for violence prevention initiatives that support improvement in understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women. The findings align with the broader literature which demonstrates that women from CALD backgrounds can be at heightened risk of unique forms of gendered violence (DSS, 2022; Green et al., 2023; Vaughan et al., 2020). This elevated risk is underpinned by structural and systemic inequalities in the Australian community and immigration system and barriers to accessing support and attaining justice (Green et al., 2023; Vaughan et al., 2020).

Violence prevention efforts with people from N-MESCs must be culturally responsive and tailored to the unique needs of communities. The following implications are intended to *supplement* those in the Main report by focusing on violence prevention efforts to meet the specific needs of N-MESC communities. The NCAS findings in the present report provide important insights about *what* such prevention initiatives should

focus on to improve understanding and attitudes towards violence against women and gender inequality in N-MESC communities. The broader literature provides guidance on *how* such prevention initiatives should be designed to ensure they are culturally responsive and appropriate.

Implications about *how* to design and deliver prevention initiatives to people from N-MESCs

The following implications should be applied to all violence prevention initiatives with communities from non-English speaking backgrounds to ensure they are culturally appropriate:

- Adopt an intersectional approach to prevention design and delivery.
- Adopt a participatory approach and invite community members to partner in designing and delivering prevention initiatives.
- Tailor interventions to specific communities' needs, norms and readiness to participate.
- Engage men from N-MESCs in violence prevention using strengths-based and aspirational language.
- Disseminate information in all languages properly identified as spoken by people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds residing in Australia.
- Use multiple sources to provide information on rights to safety, visa rights, access to support services and reporting pathways for women from N-MESCs.

NCAS implications about *what* prevention initiatives with people from N-MESCs should focus on

As chapter 9 details, many of the implications of the NCAS results for people born in N-MESCs were similar to those for the Australian population. Additional implications for people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds are as follows.

Structural changes:

- Address structural factors affecting violence against women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds and drive sector-level cultural change. Change is needed across systems, language, discourses and societal norms, as well as policies and practices, to ensure

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1 Comparisons involving respondents with non-binary gender identities were not conducted due to the small number of respondents born in N-MESCs who identified as non-binary (*N* = 5). Comparisons were only conducted if there was data for at least 30 respondents in each category.

safe and just outcomes for women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds.

Workplace and community group initiatives:

- Adopt an intersectional approach in workplace and community initiatives to prevent sexual harassment.
- Drive cultural change in workplaces and communities to eliminate sexism and racism and encourage positive group norms that reject violence against women.

Service sector improvements:

- Improve service responses to women from N-MESCs through cultural responsiveness training, trust-building initiatives and organisational reforms that address systemic racism and discrimination.
- Work with community members to leverage cultural strengths and community support services to improve safety for women and children.
- Address access barriers and raise awareness within N-MESC communities of where to access support for individuals witnessing, experiencing or perpetrating domestic violence.
- Remove barriers to the reporting of sexual assault.
- Improve service accessibility and response for women from N-MESCs who are experiencing technology-facilitated abuse.
- Offer culturally responsive and practical support for women from N-MESCs to seek support and report incidents of stalking.

Awareness-raising initiatives:

- Increase recognition of forms of domestic violence that disproportionately affect women from N-MESCs, including at community, service and government levels.
- Incorporate multilingual, violence awareness-raising initiatives into immigration processes for people from N-MESCs.
- Raise awareness of the seriousness and unacceptability of sexual harassment.

- Disseminate information on technology-facilitated abuse using multiple sources and pathways to safely reach women from N-MESCs and raise community awareness.
- Raise awareness of the range and seriousness of stalking behaviours, including in person and online.

Attitude change and skill-building initiatives:

- Support the development and evaluation of peer education or mentoring for people born in N-MESCs.
- Challenge norms that normalise and justify domestic violence and its cultural construction as a private family matter.
- Shift problematic heterosexual sex scripts that privilege men's entitlement to sex.
- Challenge gender and marital roles that condone sexual violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives.
- Challenge attitudes that shift blame for violence to victims and survivors.
- Raise awareness of the seriousness and unacceptability of sexual harassment.
- Increase bystander capacity to identify and respond to disrespect towards women.
- Promote positive family relationships and gender equality in non-judgemental spaces for men from N-MESC backgrounds.
- Challenge racist attitudes against people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds, including racialised representations of violence.
- Adopt a whole-of-community approach to domestic violence prevention using attitudinal interventions, community campaigns and perpetrator intervention programs.
- Address attitudes towards gender equality and violence against women together.
- Design interventions to address needs of people who speak LOTEs at home, people who do not have university-level education, people who have recently moved to Australia, older people, people from lower socioeconomic areas and men.

1 Introduction: People from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, gendered attitudes and violence against women

1.1 Violence against women is a widespread problem

Violence against women is a widespread public health, social and economic problem, affecting approximately one third of women globally (World Health Organization [WHO], 2021). Violence against women includes physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, social, cultural, spiritual, financial and technology-facilitated forms of violence, abuse or control. This violence occurs in contexts such as homes, workplaces, social and educational environments, the public domain, residential care facilities or institutions, and the virtual or online world (Cox, 2015; Our Watch, 2021a). Global population-level data confirms that domestic and sexual violence are predominantly gendered, with women being the main victims and men being the main perpetrators (ABS, 2017; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014; WHO, 2021). Violence can also take structural or symbolic forms when embedded within the policies and practices of institutions that interact with wider systems of oppression and discrimination against women with diverse identities (Hourani et al., 2021).

Victimisation can have debilitating effects on women's mental and physical health and is associated with increased risk of child abuse and neglect, homelessness and homicide (Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network & Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety [ANROWS], 2022; J. C. Campbell et al., 2018; Stubbs & Szoeke, 2022; Williams, 2003). Violence against women thus presents a complex, multidimensional challenge that requires long-term cross-sector collaboration and coordination, including among community, health, education, business and government stakeholders.

In Australia, population-based prevalence data from the 2021–2022 Personal Safety Survey (PSS) shows that violence against women remains a pervasive problem (ABS, 2023a). One in four Australian women have experienced intimate partner violence since the age of 15 years (ABS, 2023a). Sexual violence and stalking are separately estimated to have affected 1 in 5 Australian women since the age of 15 years (ABS, 2023a).

As Sections 1.3 to 1.5 detail further, experiences of violence among women from non-main English–speaking countries (N-MESCs) and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds are diverse and can differ from the experiences of others due to intersecting influences of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and socioeconomic and immigration status (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Maher & Segrave, 2018). Research with migrant and refugee women has also identified unique challenges in reporting violence, accessing appropriate and useful supports and leaving violent relationships (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Murray et al., 2019; Segrave et al., 2021).

1.2   Drivers of violence against women

Attitudes that condone violence towards women and gender inequality are among the complex factors underpinning violence against women (COAG, 2010; García-Moreno et al., 2015; Our Watch, 2021a; Sardinha & Catalán, 2018). *Change the Story: A Shared Framework for the Primary Prevention of Violence against Women in Australia* outlines four key gendered drivers of violence against women: condoning of violence against women; men's control of decision-making and limits to women's autonomy; rigid gender stereotyping and dominant forms of masculinity; and acceptance of men's aggression, dominance and control (Our Watch, 2021a).

The relationship between attitudes and violence is explained within the socioecological model of violence against women (Figure 1-1 and Table 1-1). The model describes the complex interplay between factors operating at different levels: the individual and relationship, organisational and community, system and institutional, and societal levels (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2022; Heise, 1998). According to this model, gender inequality interacts with other forms of oppression and discrimination, such as racism, ableism, classism, cissexism and heteronormativity (Carman et al., 2020; Hulley et al., 2023; Our Watch, 2021a; Weldon & Kerr, 2020).

The model is consistent with an intersectional approach to violence, which explains that different types of oppression and discrimination can interact to produce distinct forms of inequalities for marginalised groups. The combined impacts of oppressions related to a woman's gender, race, ethnicity, religion, culture, and socioeconomic and immigration status can influence her risk and experience of violence (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018). This intersectional perspective highlights the wider systems of oppression that compound women's experiences of violence and sustain power inequality (Maher & Segrave, 2018).

The socioecological model acknowledges that individual attitudes can both influence and be influenced by factors at higher levels in the social environment. Problematic attitudes may contribute to violence against women, and also influence responses to violence from family, friends, work colleagues, service providers, law enforcement and government (Tekkas Kerman & Betrus, 2020). Individual attitudes also reflect the norms of inequality and violence within health, economic, educational and social practices, policies, structures and systems that reinforce the culture of violence against women (Nayak et al., 2003). Attitudes and understanding regarding violence against women and gender equality in non-English speaking populations offer important insights into the behaviours recognised as forms of violence within communities, expectations about community responses to violence, and victims' and survivors' capacity to access appropriate and safe supports (García-Moreno et al., 2015; Our Watch, 2021a; Segrave et al., 2021). Understanding community attitudes and knowledge through repeat assessment is important for the development of culturally responsive and appropriate violence prevention initiatives.

Figure 1-1: The socioecological model of violence against women
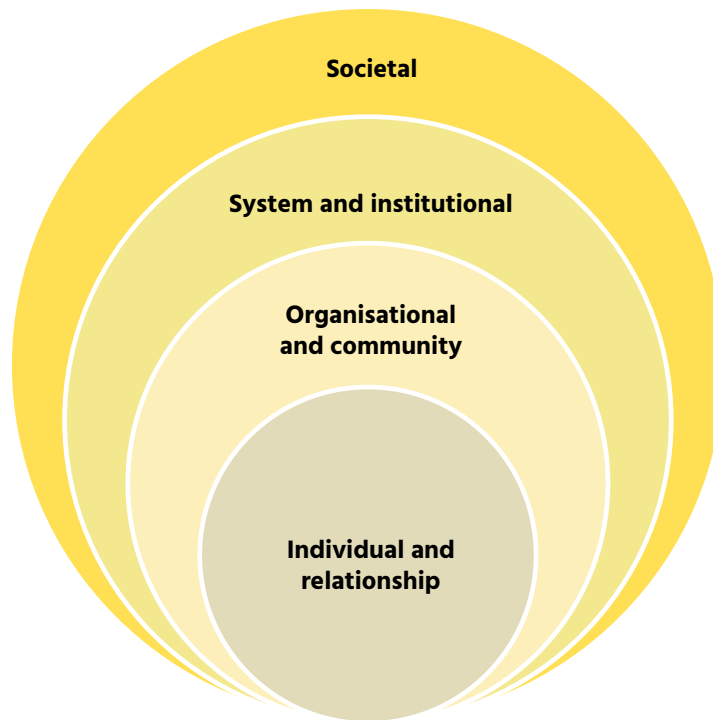
Source: Adapted from Our Watch (2021a, p. 34).

1.3 Factors affecting risk of violence against women from CALD backgrounds

Australia has the ninth-highest proportion of migrants globally, and a considerable number of migrants to Australia are born in an N-MESC (ABS, 2022b). The 2021 Census reported that 29 per cent of Australia's population was born overseas, with almost half of all Australians having a parent born overseas (ABS, 2022a). Of the 29 per cent of Australian residents born overseas, the majority were born in N-MESCs (ABS, 2022b). Although the largest group born overseas continues to be from England (3.7% of Australian residents), seven of the top 10 countries of birth were N-MESCs, namely India (2.9%), China (2.3%), Philippines (1.2%), Vietnam (1.1%), Malaysia (0.7%), Italy (0.6%) and Nepal (0.6%). In addition, 22.8 per cent of the Australian population was estimated to use a language other than English (LOTE) at home (ABS, 2022b).

All migrants to Australia navigate the processes of migration, settlement and acculturation. However, these processes are generally less complex and less stressful for migrants to Australia from main English-speaking countries (MESCs) than migrants

from N-MESCs. Migrants from MESCs are similar to the dominant group in Australia in that they are likely to speak English, identify as white and share certain cultural influences, such as living in societies with high economic development, freedom from war and civil conflict, the rule of law, democracy, universal education and policies supporting gender equality. Migrants from MESCs are also likely to face fewer barriers than those from N-MESCs in establishing themselves in Australia, such as greater recognition of their educational qualifications in Australia and therefore greater access to employment, and less likelihood of experiencing racism and discrimination (Forrest & Dunn, 2006). These similarities between the Australian-born community and people from MESCs are also supported by the findings of the 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) provided in the Main report (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023), which showed these two groups shared similar results for understandings and attitudes, whereas significant group differences were more often observed between respondents born in Australia and respondents born in N-MESCs.

Furthermore, people from N-MESCs may carry ongoing trauma effects from war and conflict that compound the inherent stressors associated with settlement

Table 1-1

Socioecological factors that contribute to or facilitate violence against women

Societal

Broad societal factors can facilitate or create a context in which violence is encouraged or inhibited, such as via social and cultural norms that endorse or normalise gender inequality and violence against women

(Flood, 2020; Rizzo et al., 2020; Sabol et al., 2020; Tomsen & Gadd, 2019)

For example, dominant (or hegemonic) patterns of masculinity associated with control, dominance, aggression and hypersexuality have been found to be associated with violence against women

(Collins, 2012; Gallagher & Parrott, 2011; McCarthy et al., 2018; Morrison et al., 2018; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013; Willie et al., 2018)

Societal factors that create the context for the marginalisation and discrimination faced by particular groups of women, including Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander women, women from LGBTQ+ communities, migrant women and women with disability, can also perpetuate violence against women from these communities

(Brown et al., 2021; Carman et al., 2020; Dyson et al., 2017; Langton et al., 2020; Mailhot Amborski et al., 2021; Our Watch, 2018; Tomsa et al., 2021)

Broad health, economic, educational and social policies can also serve to maintain or disrupt gender, economic and social inequalities

(Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2022; H. Lowe et al., 2022)

System and institutional

Formal and informal arrangements in policies, systems and institutions may support and maintain, or challenge, the conditions that facilitate the perpetration or experience of violence, including gender inequality and other intersecting sources of inequality and oppression

(Hardesty & Ogolsky, 2020; Our Watch, 2021a; Song et al., 2020)

Formal structures include rules and legislation that fail to address violence against women and gender inequality, while informal structures include patriarchal hierarchies that serve to embed and maintain inequalities for women, particularly those who experience intersecting oppressions and discrimination

(Our Watch, 2021a; Pease, 2021)

Examples at this level include policies and practices that hinder active participation and leadership of women based on sexism, racism, classism, ableism etc.

(Burton et al., 2020; Clark et al., 2021; Hideg & Shen, 2019; Liu, 2021; Our Watch, 2021a; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005)

Similarly, rewarding hegemonic masculinity traits such as hypersexuality, dominance and aggression in systems and institutions creates an environment in which women are targets for objectification, hostility and denigration, increasing the acceptability and likelihood of violence against women

(Dahl et al., 2015; Murnen, 2015; Our Watch, 2019; Pease, 2021; Rizzo et al., 2020)

Organisational and community

Organisational and community norms, structures and practices that endorse or fail to challenge gender inequality, other inequalities and violence can influence large numbers of people. Therefore, the characteristics of schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods can increase the likelihood of becoming either a victim or a perpetrator of violence

(Banyard et al., 2019; Copp et al., 2019; Jackson & Sundaram, 2018; Kidman & Kohler, 2020; Yeo et al., 2021)

Dominant forms of masculinity and heteronormativity which are associated with violence can also be expressed and maintained at this level

(Carman et al., 2020; The Men's Project & Flood, 2018)

Examples include organisational and social responses to workplace sexual harassment that suggest harassment is based on men's inability to control their sexual desires or that women should be flattered by male attention

(Carman et al., 2020; Hlavka, 2014; E. A. Taylor et al., 2018)

Individual and relationship

The individual's unique experiences, attitudes, knowledge, skills and relationships may affect their likelihood of becoming either a perpetrator or a victim of violence

(Bell & Higgins, 2015; Cano-Gonzalez et al., 2020; Hamai & Felitti, 2022; Jouriles et al., 2014; Kimber et al., 2015; Ogilvie et al., 2022; Reyes et al., 2017; White & Geffner, 2022)

Other individual factors that may be associated with both perpetration and victimisation include alcohol use, income, education level, psychopathology (including depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder and personality disorders) and poor self-esteem

(Armenti et al., 2018; Cortés-Treviño et al., 2022; Graham et al., 2018; Mannell et al., 2021; Renner et al., 2015; Spencer et al., 2019)

Similarly, individual attitudes towards gender inequality, rigid gender roles and the use of violence to solve interpersonal disputes may also be associated with the perpetration of violence against women

(Flood, 2019b; Latzman et al., 2018; Our Watch, 2019)

At the relationship level, a person's closest social circle of peers, their partners and their family members influence the person's behaviour and understanding of violence against women. Specifically, membership in social networks characterised by violence- and rape-supportive norms is associated with increased risk for perpetration among men. These peer associations reinforce a shared hostility and aggression towards women that is associated with violence against women and failure to act prosocially when witnessing this violence

(Corboz et al., 2016; DeKeseredy, Hall-Sanchez, et al., 2018; Flood, 2008, 2019a; Ha et al., 2019; Leen et al., 2012)

Note: Informed by the socioecological model of violence against women (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2022) and *Change the Story* (Our Watch, 2021a, p. 34).

in a new country, including experiencing racism and social isolation, which can heighten women's risk of experiencing violence (Maher & Segrave, 2018; Murray et al., 2019; Nickerson et al., 2021). The relationships between these aspects are complex and underlie observations that male domination in migrant and refugee communities manifests itself differently to that of communities of Australian-born men (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). Migrant and refugee men's sense of identity may be impacted by experiences of violence and trauma in their countries of origin (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). In the new country, their relationship to patriarchy can be further reshaped by experiences of individual and systemic racism, which can obstruct their access to the male privilege afforded to white men. Migrant and refugee men may feel a loss of power, control and autonomy tied to experiences of social exclusion or isolation and to difficulties achieving employment or accessing services based on visa class.

Migrant and refugee men's multiple oppressions in Australia can affect their willingness and capacity to engage in prevention efforts (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). For example, migrant and refugee men may have difficulty adjusting to evolving gender roles and family structures, including their loss of social, employment and economic status and women's upward social mobility and increased financial roles (Carmody et al., 2014). Migrant and refugee men's adjustment to shifts in power was identified as a factor underlying resistance to letting go of male dominance through gender equality initiatives (Carmody et al., 2014).

Furthermore, migration often involves dislocation from women's protective factors, including trusted support networks and knowledge of formal processes, policies, supports and services. Integrating into a new culture takes time as it requires developing new community connections and language skills. Settlement periods confer a heightened risk of violence that is associated with women's increased social isolation, economic insecurity and limited resources, including safe accommodation (Hourani et al., 2021; Murray et al., 2019).

Such risk may be exacerbated by the temporary visa status of women, such as bridging visas for asylum seekers, student or tourist visas, and provisional partner-related visas (Vaughan et al., 2016). Although respondents were not asked about visa status in the 2021 NCAS, a substantial number of new migrants to Australia are on temporary visas. In 2022–23, approximately 737,000 migrants arrived in Australia, with about three out of every four arrivals (554,000) being on temporary visas (ABS, 2023b). Visa status

affects women's access to important supports for violence, such as financial support and housing services (Maher & Segrave, 2018). Research consistently demonstrates that women with temporary visas experience disproportionately higher levels of domestic violence than other groups of migrant women (Segrave, 2017; Segrave et al., 2021). The heightened risk of violence for women within the Australian immigration system has been partly attributed to the impact of the system's policies and processes on women's capacity to attain justice following victimisation and to access supports for violence (Borges Jelinic, 2019; Ghafournia, 2011).

1.4 Forms and prevalence of violence against women from CALD backgrounds

Compared to other groups of Australian women, women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds can experience greater risk of violence related to their immigration experiences and status and to aspects of their ethnic, cultural and religious identities (DSS, 2022). Forms of violence that can be more prevalent in these populations include immigration law-related abuse, in-law abuse, subservient marriage, child marriage, marital rape, dowry-related violence and female genital mutilation (Adinkrah, 2011; Gethin, 2019; Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Lyneham & Bricknell, 2018; Ogunsiji et al., 2018; Segrave et al., 2021; WHO, 2024).

Immigration law-related abuse occurs when partners, or other family members, specifically exploit women's visa status to exert control over and harm women. Documented strategies include threats to report women to immigration, deportation or coercion to return to the country of origin, withdrawal of sponsorship, prevention of other family members accessing visas or travelling to Australia, and separation from children via women's deportation or sending children overseas (Ghafournia, 2011; Segrave et al., 2021; Vaughan et al., 2016). Furthermore, migrant and refugee women's digital literacy and language barriers can impact their risk of technology-facilitated abuse (Henry et al., 2022). Recent qualitative research with migrant women in Australia revealed that violent male partners commonly used tracking and monitoring via smartphones and social media (Louie, 2021). Research also suggests that migrant and refugee women are at heightened risk of abuse, including reproductive coercion, from in-laws and other extended family members (Suha et al., 2022).

Migrant and refugee women's experiences of violence can be compounded by structural and symbolic forms of violence against women tied to their immigration status and intersecting aspects of their identities (Hourani et al., 2021). For example, immigration policies can have a large impact on women's experiences of domestic violence and capacity to leave violent relationships (e.g. Division 1.5 of the *Migration Regulations 1994* (Cth), evidentiary requirements for demonstrating family violence victimisation). In particular, the requirement to undergo a relationship assessment to make a family violence claim, including demonstrating the social aspects of the relationship and the couple's commitment to each other, is inherently problematic in domestic violence contexts (Department of Home Affairs, 2023). Furthermore, reporting domestic violence often extends past the two-year waiting period for permanent residency on a partner-sponsored visa and distances women further from accessing services and government benefits such as financial aid and housing (Borges Jelinic, 2019). The immigration and legal systems thus operate in ways that contribute to and sustain power inequality for non-citizen women experiencing domestic violence (Segrave, 2017). Maher and Segrave (2018, p. 505) argued that there is clear evidence of "specific family violence risks linked to migration and settlement: pre-immigration experiences, immigration policy and visa status, and cultural and community attitudes are all consistently cited".

Despite having an increased risk of particular forms of violence, there is inconsistent evidence to support claims that women from N-MESCs experience greater overall rates of violence than women born in Australia (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018). For example, a lack of quality data and methodological differences in participant eligibility criteria have been argued to limit cross-study comparisons (Satyen et al., 2020; Segrave et al., 2021). A common source of information on the prevalence of violence against migrant women is the PSS (ABS, 2023a). In the 2021–2022 PSS, respondents were grouped into three categories based on country of birth: Australia, "main English–speaking country" (i.e. Canada, Republic of Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States of America) and "other country". The proportions of women from the "other country" category reporting sexual assault (1.9%), physical assault (2.2%) and sexual harassment (7.1%) were consistently lower than the proportions of Australian-born women (2.7%, 3.9% and 14.4%, respectively). National prevalence estimates of sexual violence against women from N-MESCs are much lower than recent estimates (23–49%) reported in research involving women from CALD backgrounds grouped by

age (Townsend et al., 2022). Importantly, prevalence estimates can be affected by difficulties accessing people who do not speak English via surveys and by barriers to disclosing victimisation. For example, disclosure of victimisation can be inhibited by norms that construct violence as shameful, poor recognition of violent acts, mistrust of government surveys or fears that partners will find out, resulting in further violence, deportation or loss of children (Henry et al., 2022). Barriers to disclosing and formally reporting violence in N-MESC communities are discussed in depth in Section 1.5.

Beyond survey studies, other sources suggest that migrant and refugee women experience a higher rate of violence compared to Australian-born women (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018; Multicultural Centre for Women's Health, 2014). For example, data from specialised services reveal an over-representation of women from racially and culturally marginalised groups (Poljski, 2011; Satyen et al., 2020; Victorian Crime Statistics Agency, 2016). However, there was proportionate representation of victims born overseas within analysis of domestic violence homicides (Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network & ANROWS, 2022). Almost one third (28.3%) of all female domestic homicide victims in New South Wales between 2000 and 2018 were born outside Australia (Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network & ANROWS, 2022). This proportion accords with the population-based estimate for people born outside Australia (29.8%) in 2019–2020 (ABS, 2021).

Overall, the lack of visibility of women from various cultural and linguistical groups in population-based research has direct impacts on their representation in national policies that draw on such research (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018). For example, Ghafournia and Easteal's (2018) analysis of Australian government documents informing domestic and family policies revealed that the needs and experiences of violence of women from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds were not adequately portrayed.

Despite the difficulties in establishing national prevalence estimates for violence against women from N-MESCs, including migrant and refugee women, it is important to use prevention initiatives to address all forms of violence these women face. Such initiatives must also target the unique forms of violence identified within the migrant and refugee literature, such as immigration law-related abuse, that are linked to wider systems of oppression and discrimination in the Western context.

1.5 Barriers to women from CALD backgrounds reporting violence and accessing support

Racially and culturally marginalised women have reported major barriers to reporting violence and accessing support (DSS, 2022; Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Kasturirangan et al., 2004; Segrave et al., 2021). For example, women's capacity to seek help when experiencing violence may be affected by language barriers, adverse interactions with service providers, attitudes that normalise violence and pressure women to tolerate it, and fears of community ostracism, violence escalation, visa impacts, deportation and removal of children by formal services (Green et al., 2023; Vaughan et al., 2020). For migrant and refugee women who have migrated from countries where arbitrary arrest is common, engaging with police may be accompanied with fear of arrest (Vaughan et al., 2020). Many of these factors may similarly affect bystander reactions among members of N-MESC communities. That is, fears of community ostracism, distrust in policing and anticipated racist responses may lead to difficulties intervening in violence against women. Women may be further restricted by a scarcity of culturally competent and linguistically appropriate services, institutional racism, low levels of education, disadvantaged socioeconomic status and limited access to health or wellbeing support as a result of their visa status (Femi-Ajao et al., 2020; Fineran & Kohli, 2020; Hulley et al., 2023; Murray et al., 2019).

Women have reported directly experiencing racism and discrimination when seeking support from specialised services (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021). Experiences of ineffective and discriminatory responses from service providers are associated with intergenerational distrust in formal services (Green et al., 2023). For example, unequal treatment of racially and culturally marginalised service users has been reported, including higher rates of child removal (Dosanjh et al., 2008; Landrine et al., 2006; Smedley et al., 2003). Adverse service provider interactions can contribute to women's appraisals of services as threats to family solidarity and women's beliefs that they must manage the violence alone (Green et al., 2023). Such barriers may underlie reports that CALD women tend to manage intimate partner violence independently until the point of crisis (Ergöçmen et al., 2013; Satyen et al., 2018).

Additionally, language barriers can limit women's ability to identify support services and reporting pathways (Satyen et al., 2020). Further, language barriers can impede women's learning of the dynamics of violence and its unacceptability under Australian law. Under the previous *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (the National Plan 2010–2022), considerable information was disseminated in several languages and accompanied by community programs developed for different cultural and linguistic groups (COAG, 2010). However, Satyen and colleagues (2020) argued that the accessibility of this information was unclear because several emerging language groups in Australia were not incorporated into prevention initiatives. In the context of visa law-related abuse, language barriers can limit women's access to information on legal rights and available services and interact with digital literacy and experiences of technology-facilitated abuse, such as restricted access to online information and communication (Henry et al., 2022; Satyen et al., 2020). Language barriers experienced by women can be highly problematic when perpetrators misinform them about their rights, their children's rights or the consequences of reporting violence or leaving the relationship (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Henry et al., 2022; Maher & Segrave, 2018).

Furthermore, as discussed in Section 1.3, visa status directly affects women's access to supports such as financial assistance and housing services (Maher & Segrave, 2018). Visa status can interact with aspects of women's identity and immigration context, which creates obstacles to leaving violent relationships (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021). For example, such obstacles can include financial dependency on the partner, social isolation and limited or no access to health care, housing and government benefits on temporary visas (Borges Jelinic, 2019; Maher & Segrave, 2018).

Women may also experience difficulties separating or divorcing partners due to religious rules and cultural or social norms (Green et al., 2023). For example, the perception of divorce as taboo and gender roles that pressure women to maintain family cohesion and tolerate violence and self-sacrifice have been voiced by women as reasons for remaining in abusive relationships (Femi-Ajao, 2018; Green et al., 2023). Research reveals that in some communities, disclosing abuse, particularly to those outside the community, is considered shameful, dishonourable and incongruent with wife role expectations (Bauer et al., 2000; Park & Ko, 2021). Consequently, migrant women have reported experiencing stigma, ostracism and social pressure to return after leaving violent relationships (Murray et al., 2019).

Additionally, recognition of violent behaviours is an important precursor to reporting victimisation (Maher & Segrave, 2018). Community attitudes and beliefs can have major impacts on women's perceptions of violence and can affect reporting due to not recognising certain behaviours as violence (Green et al., 2023; Maher & Segrave, 2018).

1.6 Insights offered by measuring attitudes and understanding

Assessments of attitudes and understanding of violence against women offer proxy indicators of the normalisation and acceptability of this violence, which are among the complex factors underpinning violence perpetration. Relatedly, such assessments indicate the extent to which specific forms of violence are recognised within communities. Qualitative research has shown that the normalisation of specific violent acts in women's countries of origin means that women may not identify certain behaviours as violence when questioned by service providers (Maher & Segrave, 2018).

Given the diversity of the N-MESC population, the NCAS results cannot be assumed to apply to all N-MESC communities. Rather, the results provide initial insights about the focus for prevention initiatives that are likely to be relevant for at least some N-MESC communities. Ideally, the NCAS insights should be considered together with more detailed needs assessments conducted in specific communities.

The importance of examining attitudes and knowledge is further supported by qualitative research that reveals that women experiencing domestic violence first turn to informal supports, such as friends and family, for emotional help and direction (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Hegarty et al., 2022). Community attitudes, including those of social networks and service providers, have a big impact on help-seeking, such as empowering further actions or, conversely, dismissing victimisation experiences (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021). For example, Maher and Segrave's (2018) qualitative study demonstrated that a lack of validating responses following migrant women's disclosures to services and trusted individuals led to a greater sense of uncertainty about available help and fear that continuing to speak out may lead to adverse consequences, such as loss of custody or deportation. Unhelpful responses following disclosure were interpreted by women as reinforcing the messages from their abusive partners that they had no legal rights in Australia regarding their children, their own safety or their residency (Maher & Segrave, 2018).

Further, attitudes and beliefs can be embedded in, and reinforced by, domestic violence and immigration policies that shape the real-world experiences of women and compound inequality and victimisation effects (Borges Jelinic, 2019; Maher & Segrave, 2018). Enhanced visibility of migrant and refugee women's experiences of violence is needed in research and policy that is relevant to women's safety and to accessing justice and support in the aftermath of abuse (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018).

1.7 Prevention of violence against women

The impacts of violence against women can be reduced by taking decisive action to prevent violence before it starts, intervening early, responding appropriately to violence when it occurs, and supporting recovery and healing (DSS, 2022). Ending violence against women requires addressing the range of oppressions that drive and reinforce violence against women, including violence against the most marginalised groups of women who remain over-represented in victimisation data and who confront unique challenges in accessing support and assistance (Kulkarni et al., 2019; Morgan et al., 2016; Our Watch, 2021a; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Thiara et al., 2011). As outlined in the *National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032* (National Plan 2022–2032; DSS, 2022), initiatives for preventing violence against women can be divided into four types:

- *prevention* (also described as primary prevention) – aiming to stop violence before it starts by working to change the underlying social drivers of violence, including attitudes and systems
- *early intervention* (also described as secondary prevention) – identifying and supporting individuals who are at high risk of experiencing or perpetrating violence and preventing violence from escalating or reoccurring
- *response* (also described as tertiary prevention) – providing services and supports to address existing violence and support victims and survivors experiencing violence, including via crisis support and police intervention, and fostering a trauma-informed justice system that will hold perpetrators to account
- *recovery and healing* (also described as tertiary prevention) – helping to reduce the risk of victim and survivor re-traumatisation and supporting victims and survivors to be safe and healthy, and to recover from trauma and the physical, mental, emotional and

economic impacts of violence (see also Our Watch, 2021a; VicHealth, 2017).[2]

1.8 Findings in previous NCAS reports regarding attitudes held by N-MESC communities towards violence against women

The 2021 NCAS findings, as presented in the Main report, were similar to those of the previous 2017 NCAS. Overall, in 2017 respondents born in N-MESCs had a good level of knowledge of violence against women, supported gender equality, did not endorse violence against women and were willing to intervene as bystanders (Webster et al., 2019). Compared with Australian-born respondents, those born in N-MESCs had significantly lower understanding of violence against women and weaker rejection of attitudes that endorse violence against women and gender inequality, but these differences were generally small (Webster et al., 2019). In addition, the overall pattern of findings for the N-MESC sample was very similar to that for the Australian-born sample, suggesting that many of the factors influencing attitudes in the community as a whole also influence attitudes held by the overseas-born population.

The Main report similarly reported some differences between respondents born in N-MESCs and Australian-born respondents, but these differences declined with increased length of time living in Australia and increased English proficiency (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023). Compared to respondents born in Australia, those born in N-MESCs had significantly lower understanding of violence against women and significantly lower rejection of attitudes condoning gender equality, but only if they had lived in Australia less than six years (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023). Australian-born respondents also had significantly higher rejection of attitudes condoning violence against women than those born in N-MESCs, but this effect took longer to dissipate – it was evident for respondents born in N-MESCs who had lived in Australia less than 11 years but not for those who had lived in Australia for at least 11 years. Furthermore, compared to respondents who spoke English at home, respondents born in N-MESCs who spoke another language at home had significantly lower understanding and rejection

of violence against women and significantly lower rejection of gender inequality, especially if they had poor English proficiency (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023). The present report expands on these findings by providing more detail on the understanding and attitudes related to violence against women among respondents born in N-MESCs.

The 2021 NCAS findings in the Main report provide valuable insights for prevention initiatives with non-English speaking background and N-MESC groups. In particular, they highlight the need for community-led, multilingual prevention approaches delivered by culturally and linguistically appropriate services. Information and support should be offered to people from N-MESCs at entry into Australia and afterwards via multiple community sources. It is important that the 2021 NCAS findings are interpreted through an intersectional lens to generate insights for prevention approaches in N-MESC communities. This means recognising that women's experiences of violence are influenced by overlapping aspects of identity such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, sexual orientation and immigrant systems of oppression and discrimination (Ghafournia, 2014). In this regard, the 2021 NCAS contained new items examining understanding and attitudes regarding specific forms of domestic violence that target aspects of women's identity or experience, including their migrant status, religion, gender experience, sexuality and disability status. These additions recognised that violence against women can intersect with a range of structural and systemic forms of oppression and discrimination to increase the risk of particular forms of violence for some groups of women. The National Plan 2022–2032 similarly recognises that women and girls from various cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups can be at increased risk of gendered violence (DSS, 2022).

1.9 The present report

The present report focuses on the 2021 NCAS findings for people born in N-MESCs rather than all migrants and refugees in Australia. This focus is in keeping with the literature and national recognition that female migrants and refugees born in N-MESCs are more likely than those born in MESCs to experience unique forms of violence and to face additional barriers to reporting violence and accessing support (DSS, 2022; see also Sections 1.4 and 1.5). While people born in N-MESCs all have immigration and refugee status and

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2   For clarity, throughout the 2021 NCAS reports, "primary prevention" is used to refer specifically to actions consistent with Domain 1 (Prevention) from the National Plan 2022–2032. In addition, "prevention" is used as a more general term that can include actions consistent with any, some or all of the domains of the National Plan 2022–2032 (DSS, 2022).

can have similar support needs related to settling into a new country (Sections 1.3 to 1.5), they are not a homogenous group. The N-MESC-born group includes people from diverse cultural, racial and linguistic backgrounds and with differing visa statuses.

This report builds on the findings presented in the Main report on the 2021 NCAS. The Main report presents key differences between cultural and linguistic groups based on overall measures of understanding and attitudes (i.e. scale measures that combine multiple items to measure an overall concept). The present report details more granular analysis of the 2021 NCAS findings on the understanding and attitudes of people born in N-MESCs regarding violence against women and gender inequality, including item-level results.

The present report also explores the heterogeneity within the N-MESC group and the predictors of their understanding and attitudes. For example, this report examines differences in understanding and attitudes within the N-MESC sample based on level of English proficiency and length of time in Australia. Little is known about how these settlement-related factors may be related to migrant and refugee attitudes towards violence against women and gender equality. Length of residency has been associated with lower tolerance for rape myths and sexual harassment among Asian students in Canada (Kennedy & Gorzalka, 2002). However, another study found that duration of settlement was not related to migrant men's beliefs about male gender roles, including the division of labour in the household (Hibbins, 2005). It is important to examine settlement-related factors given their

theorised relationship to broader factors affecting violence against women, such as shifting attitudes and beliefs (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020; Blanc, 2021), social isolation and access to services (Sections 1.3 to 1.5). The findings can be used to inform primary prevention, early intervention, response and recovery initiatives to reduce violence against women from N-MESC communities.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the research design and analysis. Chapters 3 to 7 detail the understanding of violence against women of respondents born in N-MESCs, as well as their attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women. These chapters intentionally focus on the range of understandings and attitudes *within* the sample born in N-MESCs, rather than in comparison to other respondents, because this information is likely to be of most relevance to practitioners working specifically with people from the N-MESC population. Chapter 8 provides further breakdown within the N-MESC sample by examining how attitudes towards violence against women are related to demographic and other factors (Sections 8.1 and 8.2). In addition, Chapter 8 compares the understanding and attitudes of respondents born in N-MESCs with the understanding and attitudes of those born in MESCs and Australia (Section 8.3). Chapter 9 connects the findings from Chapters 3 to 8 with implications for policy and practice.

2 Research design and analysis

2.1 Aims of the 2021 NCAS

The 2021 NCAS aimed to:

- benchmark the Australian population's understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women, attitudes towards gender equality and intention to intervene when witnessing abuse or disrespect of women
- identify any notable gaps in understanding or more problematic attitudes
- identify demographic, attitudinal and contextual factors that are associated with problematic understanding and attitudes.[3]

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3   The 2021 NCAS Main report also reports on changes over time in Australians' understanding and attitudes.

Aims of the present 2021 NCAS report on people born in N-MESCs

The present report examines each of the aims for the 2021 NCAS respondents who were born in N-MESCs. People born in N-MESCs are the focus of this report rather than migrants to Australia born in MESCs for three reasons (as discussed in Section 1.3):

- understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women show very little difference between people born in Australia and those born in MESCs. More differences are observed when comparing people born in Australia to people born in N-MESCs, as shown by both the 2017 and 2021 NCAS (Coumarelos, Weeks, et al., 2023; Webster et al., 2018)
- migrating to a country with a different language comes with particular challenges (Murray et al., 2019)
- women and children from culturally diverse, migrant and refugee backgrounds, including those from diverse linguistic backgrounds, are included in the National Plan 2022–2032 as a priority population (DSS, 2022).[4]

Changes in understanding and attitudes over time were not examined for respondents born in N-MESCs. The demographic profile of the N-MESC samples obtained at different times are not comparable due to variations in immigration patterns over time. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether any apparent changes in responses over time are "real" or result from a change in the demographic composition of the N-MESC samples.[5]

Note that respondents born in N-MESCs represent people from many different countries, cultures and linguistic backgrounds (Table 2-1) and may have migrated to Australia under different circumstances. However, there were insufficient numbers to report on results by country. Thus, although findings are presented for the N-MESC group as a whole, it should be kept in mind that respondents are not a homogeneous group.

Ethics clearance for the project was provided by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (ethics project number 2020/650).[6]

Note that this report presents a summary of the research aims and methodology. Full details are provided in the Technical report by Coumarelos, Honey, et al. (2023).

2.2 2021 NCAS instrument

The 2021 instrument included demographic items, items measuring understanding or attitudes regarding violence against women and attitudes towards gender inequality, and scenario-based items examining bystander responses when witnessing abuse or disrespect against women (Figure 2-1). Most items were retained from the 2017 NCAS to ensure reliable measurement of changes over time.

Demographic items

Self-reported demographic information about respondents was used to explore how understanding and attitudes may vary based on people's characteristics, backgrounds, contexts and locations. Demographic items included gender, age, country of birth, length of time in Australia, language spoken at home, formal education, main labour activity, remoteness (major city or other) and socioeconomic status of area of residence.[7] Demographic information was also used to assess how closely the demographic profile of the sample matched that of the Australian population and to make any necessary adjustments through data weighting (Section 2.3).

Items and scales measuring understanding and attitudes

Understanding and attitude items were grouped into nine psychometric scales, validated via Rasch analysis.[8] The strength of psychometrically validated scales is that they can measure a complex overall construct or concept (such as attitudes towards violence) that would be difficult to measure with a single item. The scales include the Gendered Violence and Inequality Scale (GVIS), which is an overarching "mega scale" that includes all understanding and attitude items that sit in

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4   The ABS (2022d) released the Standards for *Statistics on Cultural and Language Diversity* in 2022 (after the 2021 NCAS had been conducted), which provided information to replace the N-MESC and MESC categorisations.

5   For example, immigration patterns may influence the proportion of recent migrants in the 2021 and 2017 samples, as well as the countries they originate from. Thus, any observed changes over time may reflect these differences rather than a true change in understanding or attitudes.

6   See the Technical report (Section T2.4) for further ethics considerations.

7   See the Technical report (Section T4.3) for descriptions of new and revised demographic items.

8   See the Technical report for an explanation of Rasch analysis (Section T20), the 2021 NCAS instrument (Section T15) and item details, including the items in each scale in 2021 and whether each item was retained from 2017 or was new/revised in 2021 (Section T3).

the other eight scales. All scales were "anchored" to the GVIS via Rasch analysis to allow comparisons between scales and between subscales. The other eight scales included three "main" scales, namely:

- the Understanding of Violence against Women Scale (UVAWS)
- the Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale (AGIS)
- the Attitudes towards Violence against Women Scale (AVAWS).

Each main scale also includes subscales (identified via factor analysis), which measure key themes within the broader construct measured by the scale. In addition, five "type of violence" scales were developed to measure attitudes towards specific types of violence, namely:

- the Domestic Violence Scale (DVS)
- the Sexual Violence Scale (SVS), which was divided into the Sexual Assault Scale (SAS) and the Sexual Harassment Scale (SHS)
- the Technology-Facilitated Abuse Scale (TFAS).

All type of violence scales measure attitudes, apart from the TFAS, which measures both understanding and attitudes regarding technology-facilitated abuse. Together, the DVS and SVS comprise all but two of the 43 items in the AVAWS.

Changes to NCAS instrument

New or revised demographic items were included in 2021 on gender, sexuality and disability to provide additional and more inclusive demographic information, including capturing gender identity, diversity and experience more accurately and better capturing the range of physical, mental health and intellectual conditions and their impact on core activities. For the first time, the NCAS provided results for non-binary and gender-diverse respondents, where there were sufficient numbers to do so. However, as only five of the respondents born in N-MESCs identified as non-binary, there were insufficient numbers for reliable reporting on them as a separate group.

New items were also added to better measure understanding and attitudes regarding forms of violence that have emerged more recently or have not been a major focus of the NCAS previously. Items were added on forms of violence against women that are related to intersectional forms of oppression, based on a partner's migrant status, disability, gender experience, sexuality or religion. Items were also added on technology-facilitated abuse, sexual harassment and stalking.[9]

2.3 Sampling

The total 2021 NCAS sample consisted of 19,100 Australians aged 16 years or older, who were interviewed via mobile telephone between February 23 and July 18, 2021. The sampling approach largely involved random digit dialling of mobile telephones, which was supplemented or "topped up" with listed mobile telephones. Eighty-one per cent of the interviews were achieved via random digit dialling of mobiles. The response rate was 11 per cent.[10] The survey was offered in 10 LOTEs.

The 2021 NCAS sample included 3,224 respondents born in N-MESCs, of which 116 were interviewed in a LOTE. Of the interviews conducted in LOTEs, the majority were conducted in Vietnamese, Arabic and Turkish, with some conducted in Mandarin, Cantonese, Spanish, Italian, Greek and Serbian.[11] Of the 3,224 respondents born in N-MESCs, about half were women (48%) and most had lived in Australia for more than 10 years (68%), spoke English at home (64%), were employed as their main labour activity (66%) and had university qualifications (66%).

To strengthen confidence that the survey results accurately represent the Australian population, weighting was used to align the total NCAS sample in each state and territory to population benchmarks. These population benchmarks for each state/territory included gender, age by education, region (i.e. capital city versus rest of state) and country of birth (i.e. main language is English versus other language). Thus, the weighting adjusted for the proportion of the population whose main language was a LOTE, but not the demographic breakdown within the population of those who were born in an N-MESC.[12]

Table 2-1 provides details of the demographic profile of the N-MESC sample.

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9   For further details about the new items on different types of violence, see the Main report, p. 60.

10 The cooperation rate was 80.1 per cent and the refusal rate was 15.0 per cent. See the Technical report (Section T8.4) for the calculation of the response, cooperation and refusal rates.

11 There was also provision to conduct interviews in Croatian, but no respondent requested an interview in Croatian. See also Technical Report, Section T8.8.

12 See Technical report, Section T11, for further details on weighting.

Figure 2-1

Components of the NCAS instrument, 2021

Understanding and attitudes
(106 items)

Gendered Violence and Inequality Scale
(GVIS; 79 items)

Items not part of a scale

Bystander responses
(3 scenarios, 10 items)

Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents' module
(11 items)

Additional knowledge items
(6 items)

Main scales

Understanding of Violence against Women Scale
(UVAWS; 19 items)

Recognise DV Subscale
(12 items)

Recognise VAW Subscale
(4 items)

Understand Gendered DV Subscale
(3 items)

Attitudes towards Violence against Women Scale
(AVAWS; 43 items)

Minimise Violence Subscale
(15 items)

Mistrust Women Subscale
(13 items)

Objectify Women Subscale
(15 items)

Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale
(AGIS; 17 items)

Deny Inequality Subscale
(3 items)

Limit Autonomy Subscale
(2 items)

Normalise Sexism Subscale
(3 items)

Reinforce Gender Roles Subscale
(5 items)

Undermine Leadership Subscale
(4 items)

Type of violence scales

Technology-Facilitated Abuse Scale
(TFAS; 6 items, with 4 from UVAWS and 2 from AVAWS)

Domestic Violence Scale
(DVS; 17 items from AVAWS)

Sexual Violence Scale
(SVS; 24 items from AVAWS)

Sexual Assault Scale
(SAS; 18 items from SVS)

Sexual Harassment Scale
(SHS; 6 items from SVS)

Demographics
(25 items)

Note: DV = domestic violence; VAW = violence against women.

Table 2-1: Demographics of the N-MESC sample, 2021

Demographic factor	Demographic group	Unweighted (N-MESC sample)		Weighted[a]	
		N	%	*N*	%
Gender	Men	1,676	52	1,681	52
	Women	1,535	48	1,530	48
	Non-binary respondents	5	0	4	0
	Total answered	**3,216**		**3,215**	
Age (in years)	16–24 years	279	9	464	14
	25–34 years	640	20	740	23
	35–44 years	802	25	746	23
	45–54 years	534	17	438	14
	55–64 years	458	14	358	11
	65–74 years	369	11	289	9
	75+ years	142	4	189	6
	Total	**3,224**		**3,224**	
Country group	Oceania and Antarctica	122	4	126	4
	North-West Europe	287	9	265	8
	Southern and Eastern Europe	401	13	438	14
	North Africa and the Middle East	238	7	286	9
	South-East Asia	570	18	612	19
	North-East Asia	382	12	392	12
	Southern and Central Asia	679	21	598	19
	Americas	150	5	158	5
	Sub-Saharan Africa	358	11	313	10
	Total answered	**3,187**		**3,187**	
Length of time in Australia	0–5 years	517	16	591	19
	6–10 years	489	15	504	16
	>10 years	2,167	68	2,078	65
	Total answered	**3,173**		**3,173**	

Continues on next page

Demographic factor	Demographic group	Unweighted (N-MESC sample)		Weighted[a]	
		N	%	*N*	%
English proficiency[b]	English at home	2,041	64	2,046	64
	LOTE: good English	134	4	193	6
	LOTE: poor English	1,032	32	968	30
	Total answered	**3,207**		**3,207**	
Formal education	University or higher	2,118	66	1,450	45
	Trade/certificate/diploma	542	17	888	28
	Secondary or below	541	17	863	27
	Total answered	**3,201**		**3,201**	
Main labour activity	Employed	2,136	66	1,967	61
	Unemployed	127	4	153	5
	Home duties	164	5	184	6
	Student	291	9	417	13
	Retired	430	13	416	13
	Unable to work	58	2	68	2
	Volunteering	8	0	9	0
	Other[c]	6	0	6	0
	Total answered	**3,220**		**3,220**	
State/Territory	Australian Capital Territory	161	5	56	2
	New South Wales	850	26	1,206	37
	Northern Territory	150	5	24	1
	Queensland	356	11	406	13
	South Australia	145	4	173	5
	Tasmania	79	2	21	1
	Victoria	1,229	38	1,013	31
	Western Australia	254	8	324	10
	Total	**3,224**		**3,224**	

Demographic factor	Demographic group	Unweighted (N-MESC sample)		Weighted[a]	
		N	%	*N*	%
Socioeconomic status of area[d]	1 – Lowest status	372	12	490	15
	2 – Second-lowest status	380	12	433	14
	3 – Middle status	624	20	688	22
	4 – Second-highest status	729	23	666	21
	5 – Highest status	1,059	33	887	28
	Total with valid area status	**3,164**		**3,164**	

Note: Totals do not always add to 3,224 due to split-sampling and/or unanswered items by some respondents.

a Unweighted percentages reflect the proportion of respondents with that demographic characteristic in the sample born in N-MESCs. All analyses were weighted. Weighted numbers reflect how the analysis interpreted the number of respondents in the N-MESC sample from each demographic group after the whole NCAS sample (*N* = 19,100) had been weighted to reflect the demographic profile of the Australian population.

b "LOTE" refers to language other than English spoken at home. "Good English" refers to good or very good self-reported English proficiency and "poor English" refers to no English or poor self-reported English proficiency.

c "Other" main labour activities included unpaid or overseas work, starting a business, on holiday etc.

d "Socioeconomic status of area" refers to an ABS measure of socioeconomic conditions in geographic areas in terms of people's access to material and social resources, and their opportunity to participate in society (SEIFA quintiles).

2.4 Analysis and reporting

Data analysis was conducted both on individual items and on scale and subscale scores.

Item codes: to simplify reporting, each item was assigned an alphanumeric code (e.g. V1). The letter in the code identifies the item's thematic topic (V = violence against women; D = domestic violence; S = sexual violence; G = gender inequality; B = bystander response). The number corresponds to the order in which items within a thematic topic are presented in the NCAS instrument.

Scale scores: each respondent received a (rescaled Rasch) score on each scale and subscale, based on their responses to the items in the scale or subscale. Scores on each scale or subscale could range from 0 to 100. Higher scores indicate a higher understanding of violence against women (UVAWS, TFAS), higher attitudinal rejection of gender inequality (AGIS) or higher attitudinal rejection of violence against women in its various forms (AVAWS, DVS, SVS, SAS, SHS, TFAS). The respondents' mean score on each scale or subscale was used to examine respondents' average level of understanding of violence or their average level of rejection of problematic attitudes towards violence or gender inequality.

"Advanced" understanding and rejection of problematic attitudes: mean scores do not intrinsically indicate what might be considered a very "high" level of understanding or very "progressive" attitudes. Consequently, for the 2021 NCAS, we classified respondents into "advanced" and "developing" categories to provide information on how Australia is tracking against the aspiration that everyone in the community has "advanced" understanding and attitudes. For each scale, each respondent was placed into one of two categories: "advanced" or "developing". For the UVAWS, these categories represented "advanced" or "developing" understanding of violence against women. For the scales measuring attitudes (AGIS, AVAWS, DVS, SVS), these categories represented "advanced" or "developing" rejection of problematic attitudes towards violence or gender inequality. The criteria used to define "advanced" understanding and "advanced" attitudes were as follows:

- Respondents in the "advanced" understanding category answered "yes, always" the behaviour is violence to at least 75 per cent of the UVAWS items and "yes, usually" to the remaining UVAWS items (or the equivalent).
- Respondents in the "advanced" rejection category for each attitude scale "strongly disagreed" with at least 75 per cent of the items in the scale, which described problematic attitudes, and "somewhat

disagreed" with the remaining items in the scale (or the equivalent).[13]

Univariate, bivariate and multivariate data analyses were conducted as follows.

Univariate analysis involves one variable only and was used to report on respondents' responses to each understanding, attitude and bystander item and on the percentage of respondents categorised as having "advanced" understanding or attitudes according to each scale.

Bivariate analysis examines the direct or straightforward relationship between two variables only, such as an outcome of interest (e.g. understanding of violence against women) and one other variable or factor (e.g. a demographic factor such as gender), without taking into account the effect of any other variables or factors. The bivariate analyses examined the results for respondents born in N-MESCs on each scale and subscale (based on mean scores):

- split by gender[14]
- split by years in Australia
- split by language spoken at home
- compared to the results for respondents born in Australia.

Multiple regression examines the relationship of an outcome variable of interest (e.g. attitudes towards violence against women) to *multiple* factors (or input variables) considered together (e.g. multiple demographic characteristics). Multiple regression analysis has the advantage that it can determine which of multiple factors are *independently* related to or "predict" the outcome variable, *after* accounting for any relationships between the factors, and which factors are *most important* in predicting the outcome variable.

Multiple linear regression models were conducted to examine the factors that are independent predictors of respondent's attitudes towards violence against women (AVAWS).

As Table 2-2 shows, three separate multiple regression models were conducted on the N-MESC sample to examine whether respondents' scores on the AVAWS (the outcome variable) could be predicted by their demographic characteristics and their UVAWS and AGIS scale scores (the input variables). The demographic factors examined as potential predictors in the regressions are listed in the table note.

Table 2-2: Multiple regression models, respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

Outcome variable of interest	Model number	Input variables
AVAWS	AVAWS Model 1	Demographics
	AVAWS Model 2	UVAWS, AGIS
	AVAWS Model 3	Demographics, UVAWS, AGIS

Note: The demographic factors examined as input variables in the models were age, English proficiency, formal education, gender, main labour activity, remoteness, socioeconomic status of area and length of time in Australia. Country of birth (major group) was not reported on but was included as a covariate in all regression analyses because it is related to migration patterns and other factors such as length of time in Australia and English proficiency.

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13 The "advanced" TFAS category means that the respondent answered "yes, always" the behaviour is violence or "strongly disagreed" with problematic attitudes for at least 75 per cent of items, and answered the remaining items "yes, usually" or "somewhat disagree".

14 In all reporting on the 2021 NCAS, we only report on categories involving at least 30 respondents due to the potential unreliability of reporting on small numbers. As only five respondents born in an N-MESC identified as a non-binary gender, we do not report on this group in gender comparisons. However, these five respondents were included in all analyses that did not involve a breakdown by gender.

Comparisons: most comparisons were conducted within the N-MESC sample because these are likely to be of most relevance to practitioners working specifically with this population, and it maintains focus on the range of understandings and attitudes within this population. In addition, comparisons between respondents born in N-MESCs and respondents born in Australia or MESCs are provided on the NCAS scales because these high-level results help to inform policy decisions on priority populations.

Statistical significance: throughout the report, "significant" refers to *statistically significant* findings where we can be confident (with 95% certainty) that the difference observed in the survey sample is meaningful and likely to represent a true difference in the population ($p < 0.05$) that is not negligible in size (Cohen's $d \geq 0.2$ or equivalent). Statistical significance tests were conducted for bivariate analysis (e.g. comparing respondents born in N-MESCs on different items or subscales in Chapters 3 to 8 and between respondents born in N-MESCs and respondents born elsewhere in Section 8.3) and also for multiple regressions (see Chapter 8). Statistical significance tests are not relevant for univariate analyses (such as responses to individual items provided in Chapters 3 to 7).

2.5 Strengths and limitations

The strengths and limitations of the 2021 NCAS are detailed in the Main report (Section 2.6). Some further strengths and limitations apply to this report:

- People born overseas, including those born in an N-MESC, were somewhat difficult to reach via the random sampling methodology. As a result, the proportion of respondents born overseas in the NCAS sample (27.5%) was smaller than the corresponding proportion in the Australian population aged 16 years or older (33.3%).[15] However, the weighting adjusted for the under-representation of overseas-born respondents in the total NCAS sample ($N = 19,100$) to help ensure that the results for all Australians (Main report) reflect the proportion of overseas-born people in the Australian population.

- The N-MESC sample, like the N-MESC population in Australia, constitutes people from many different cultural, racial and linguistic backgrounds and is not a homogeneous group. Due to sample size limitations, we present most results for the N-MESC sample as a whole, without further demographic breakdown by, for example, each country of birth or CALD background. It is likely that the results would not be identical for different countries of birth or CALD backgrounds. Note, also, that categorising respondents by specific countries of birth would also not take into account the many elements that make up cultural and language diversity.

- Since the 2021 NCAS was conducted, the ABS has released standards for statistics on CALD that state that the N-MESC categorisation is no longer considered appropriate as a general purpose indicator of culturally related disadvantage given that it groups people who are relatively disadvantaged with those who are not (ABS, 2022d).

- Although weighting for the total NCAS sample ($N = 19,100$) adjusted for population proportions by gender, age, education, region (capital city versus rest of state) and country of birth (main language is English versus other language), weighting was not conducted within the N-MESC sample. Thus, the demographic profile of our N-MESC sample in terms of age, gender, education level, country of birth etc. may differ from that of the N-MESC population.[16]

- Survey items underwent cognitive testing to check that respondents interpreted, processed and responded to items as intended. However, this cognitive testing was conducted with adult respondents, including three respondents who spoke a LOTE at home, and only two respondents born in N-MESCs.

- As already noted, 116 interviews were conducted in LOTEs. Despite efforts taken, it is possible that differences in the translation and interpretation of items in LOTEs could have had some influence on the results.

- Results for respondents born in N-MESCs are not presented where numbers were insufficient (less than 30 cases) for reliable reporting.[17]

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15 See the Technical report (Sections T8.2 and T18) for further details about the number and breakdown of respondents.

16 However, Chapter 8 presents regression results that identify differences in understanding and attitudes within the N-MESC sample for various demographic subgroups.

17 For further detail on the methodology, see the Technical report.

3 Findings: Understanding of violence against women by people born in N-MESCs

Understanding of violence against women can influence both attitudes towards violence against women and prosocial behaviours to intervene when witnessing abuse or violence (Webster et al., 2018). A strong understanding of violence against women, together with knowledge of the support and legal services available to victims and survivors, also facilitates reporting, help-seeking and recovery for victims and survivors (Gadd et al., 2003; Gracia et al., 2020; Harmer & Lewis, 2022; Paul et al., 2014). The 2021 NCAS measured respondents' understanding of violence against women, including domestic violence between partners, sexual violence and technology-facilitated abuse, via the **Understanding of Violence against Women Scale (UVAWS).**

The **UVAWS** comprises three psychometrically validated subscales, each measuring a different conceptual aspect of understanding of violence against women:

- The **Recognise DV Subscale** comprises 12 items that ask whether problematic behaviours are a form of domestic violence on a four-point scale: "yes, always", "yes, usually", "yes, sometimes" and "no".
- The **Recognise VAW Subscale** comprises four items that ask whether problematic behaviours are a form of violence against women on a four-point scale: "yes, always", "yes, usually", "yes, sometimes" and "no".
- The **Understand Gendered DV Subscale** comprises three items that examine understanding of the gendered nature of domestic violence by asking about who is more likely to perpetrate and experience fear and harm from domestic violence: "men", "women" or "both equally".

3.1 Key finding 1: Understanding of the prevalence, non-physical forms and gendered nature of violence could be further increased

■ **Finding 1a: Respondents born in N-MESCs were more likely to recognise that violence against women is a problem in Australia than to recognise it as a problem in their own local area**

Figure 3-1 presents the results of respondents born in N-MESCs to the items asking whether violence against women is a problem in Australia and in the respondent's suburb or town.

Most respondents born in N-MESCs "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that violence against women is a problem in Australia (82%), but fewer "agreed" that it is a problem in their suburb or town (40%). Respondents were significantly more likely to "strongly agree" that violence against women is a problem in Australia (53%) than in their suburb or town (16%).

Figure 3-1: Perception of violence against women as a problem, respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

Violence against women is a problem in …
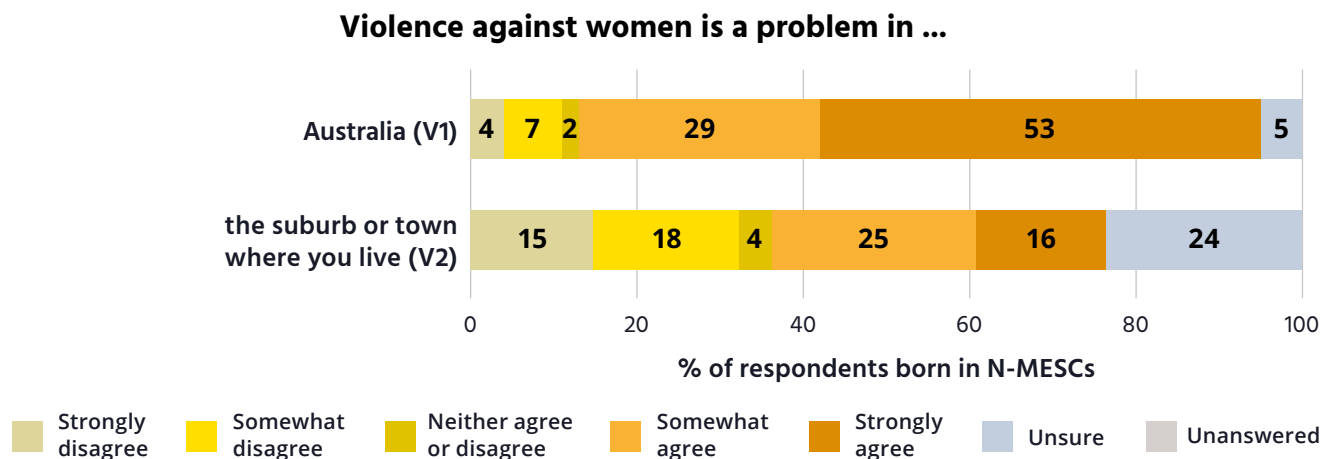
Note: *N* = 811. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 or exactly correspond to percentages in the text due to rounding.

■ **Finding 1b: Respondents born in N-MESCs were better at recognising physical than non-physical forms of domestic violence**

Figure 3-2 presents the results of respondents born in N-MESCs on the items in the Recognise DV Subscale of the UVAWS. Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised that a range of violent, abusive and controlling behaviours are "always" forms of domestic violence (57–89%).[18] At least 7 in 10 respondents born in N-MESCs identified physical harm or threats of physical harm as "always" forms of domestic violence

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18 Percentage ranges throughout this report refer to results for more than one survey item.

(72–89%; D1, D2, D12; Figure 3-2). However, there was less recognition that non-physical forms of domestic violence are "always" violence (57–68%; D3–D11), including repeatedly criticising a partner, controlling a partner by denying them money and repeated electronic tracking of a partner.

Figure 3-2: Recognising domestic violence (UVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021
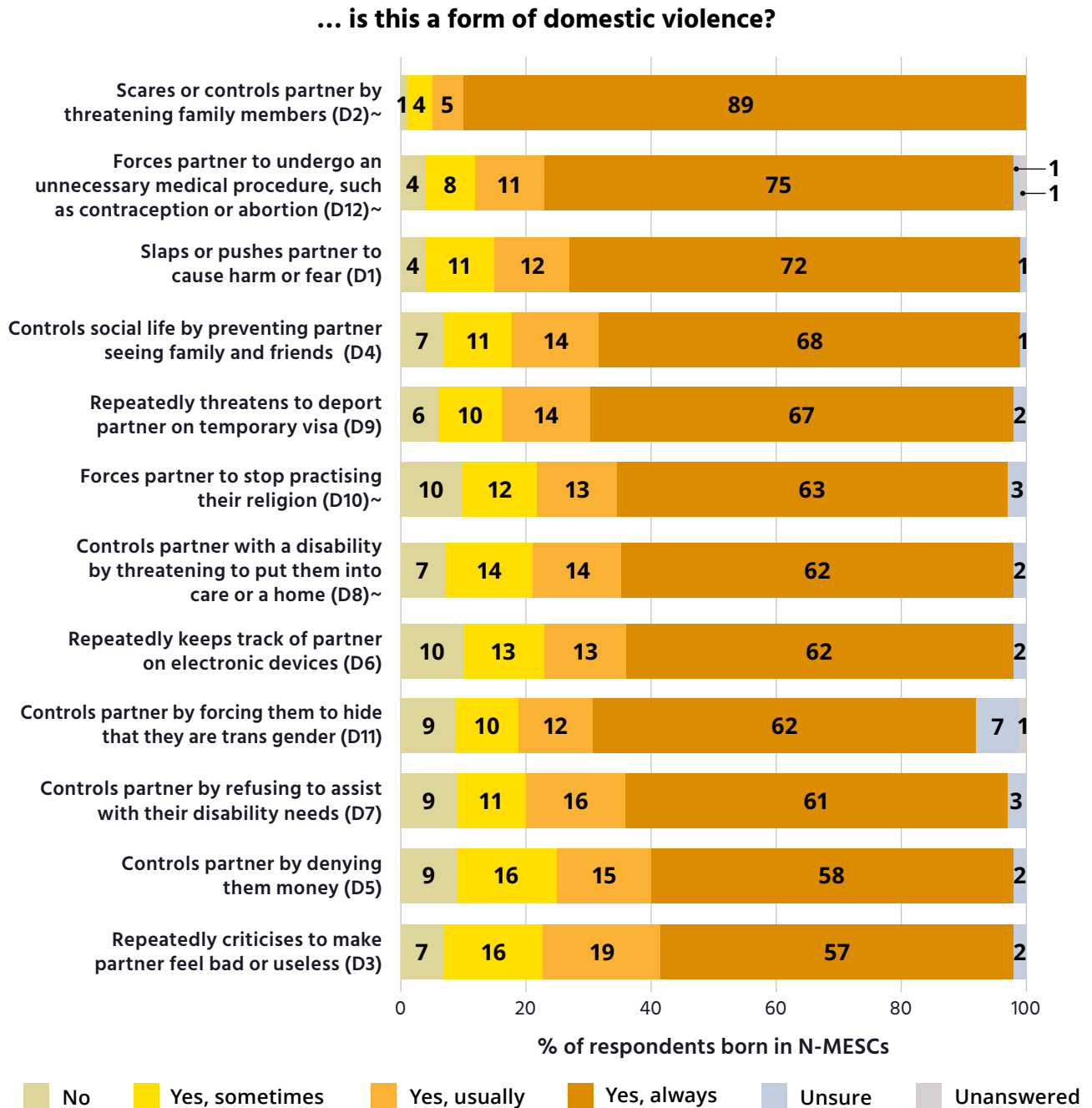
… is this a form of domestic violence?

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Legend: No | Yes, sometimes | Yes, usually | Yes, always | Unsure | Unanswered

Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 or exactly correspond to percentages in the text due to rounding.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

🟨 **Finding 1c: Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised repeated threats of deportation, being forced to stop religious practice and being forced to undergo an unnecessary medical procedure by a partner as always domestic violence**

Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised that it is "always" a form of domestic violence to force a partner to undergo an unnecessary medical procedure (75%; D12), to repeatedly threaten to deport a partner who is on a temporary visa (67%; D9) or to force a partner to stop practising their religion (63%; D10). However, a substantial minority of respondents (13%, D12; 18%, D9; 25%, D10) did not recognise these behaviours as forms of domestic violence, were unsure if they are domestic violence or felt they are only "sometimes" domestic violence (Figure 3-2). These items did not differ significantly between respondents born in N-MESCs and other respondents, by years in Australia or by English proficiency. The exception was for respondents who spoke a LOTE at home and spoke English not well or not at all; this group was significantly less likely (46%) to recognise forcing a partner to undergo an

unnecessary medical procedure as "always" a form of domestic violence than other people born in N-MESCs (75–80%).

🟨 **Finding 1d: Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised in-person stalking and technology-facilitated abuse as forms of violence against women, but there is room for improvement**

Figure 3-3 presents the results of respondents born in N-MESCs on the items in the Recognise VAW Subscale of the UVAWS.

Approximately two thirds of respondents born in N-MESCs recognised that a range of abusive behaviours are "always" forms of violence against women (62–67%), namely sending unwanted intimate images, in-person and electronic stalking, abusive messages on social media and harassment via technology (D6, V4–V7; Figures 3-2 and 3-3). However, around 1 in 5 (18–23%) respondents born in N-MESCs did not recognise these behaviours as violence or thought they were only violence "sometimes".

Figure 3-3: Recognising violence against women (UVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

... is this a form of violence against women?

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Legend: No | Yes, sometimes | Yes, usually | Yes, always | Unsure | Unanswered
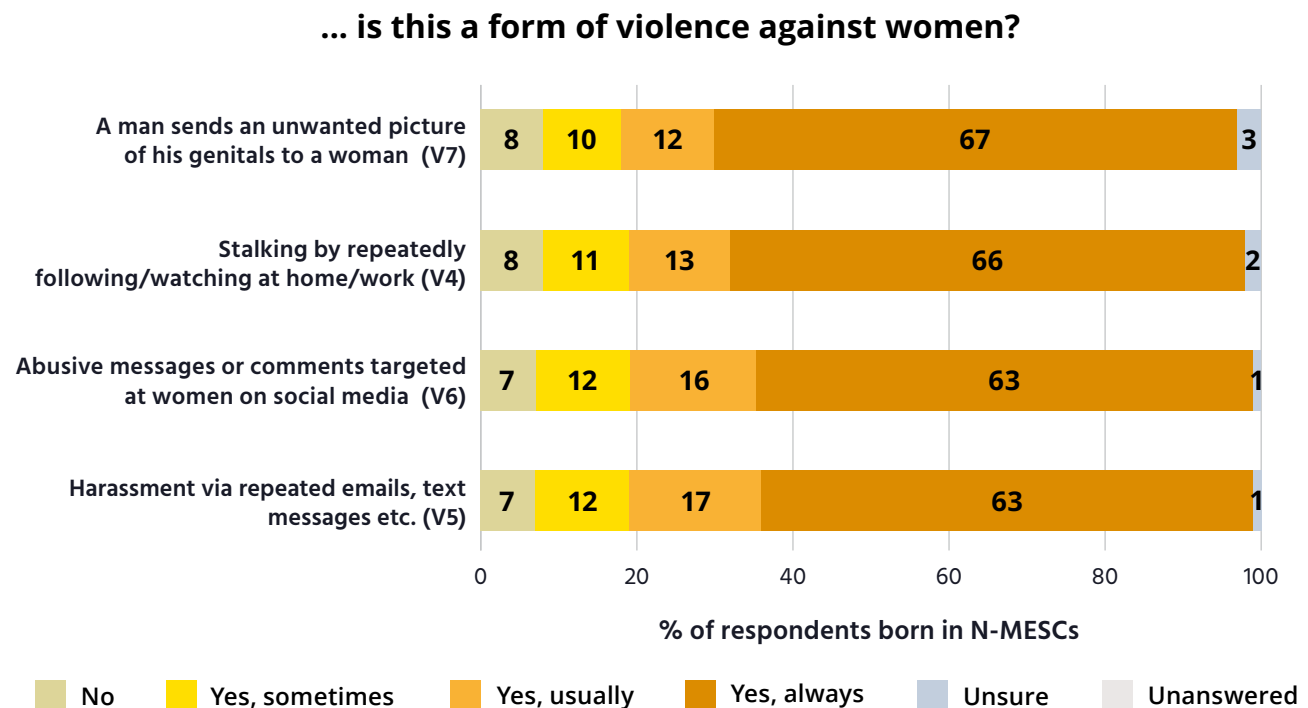
Note: N = 3,224. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

◼ Finding 1e: Respondents born in N-MESCs were better at recognising the behaviours constituting violence than understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence

Like all other respondents (Main report, pp. 84–97), respondents born in N-MESCs were more adept at identifying behaviours that constitute violence than understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence as a phenomenon mainly perpetrated by men against women. Respondents born in N-MESCs had significantly higher mean scores in 2021 on the Recognise DV and Recognise VAW Subscales than on the Understand Gendered DV Subscale.

◼ Finding 1f: Half of respondents born in N-MESCs did not understand the gendered nature of domestic violence

Figures 3-4 and 3-5 present the results of respondents born in N-MESCs on the items in the Understand Gendered DV Subscale of the UVAWS.

As Section 1.1 of this report notes, population-level victimisation surveys and health data in Australia demonstrate that domestic violence is gendered in that it is disproportionately perpetrated by men against women. However, substantial proportions of respondents born in N-MESCs, like other respondents (Main report, pp. 95–97), incorrectly believed that:

- domestic violence is equally committed by men and women (50%; Figure 3-4)
- men and women are equally likely to suffer physical harm from domestic violence (23%; Figure 3-5)
- men and women are equally likely to experience fear as a result of domestic violence (32%; Figure 3-5).

Figure 3-4: Understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence perpetration (UVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021
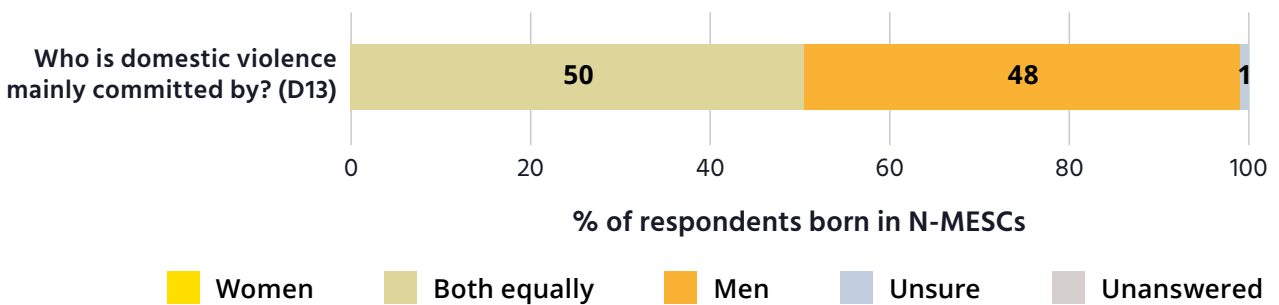
Note: *N* = 810. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

Figure 3-5: Understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence impacts (UVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021
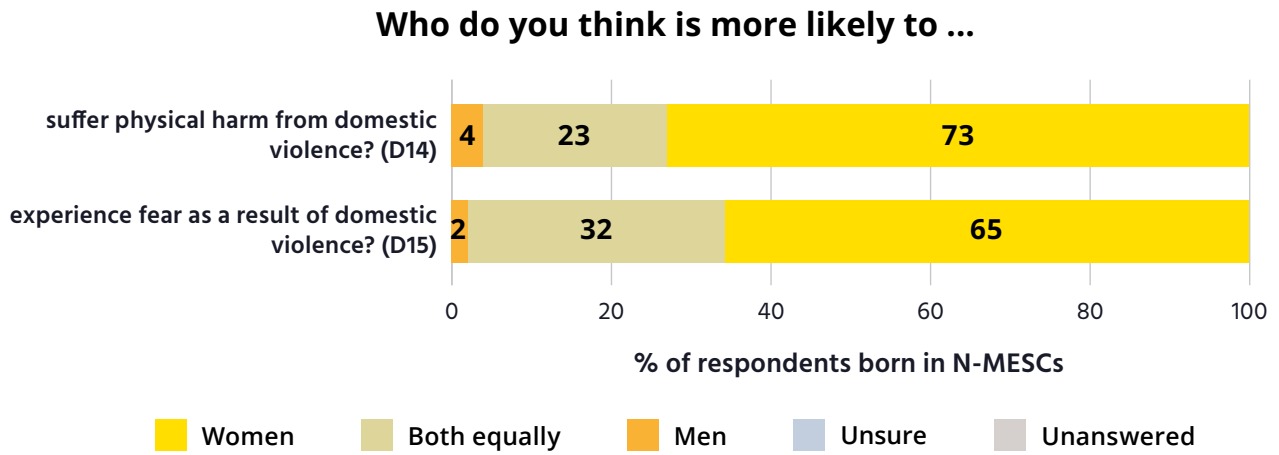
Who do you think is more likely to …

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

- **Women**
- **Both equally**
- **Men**
- **Unsure**
- **Unanswered**

Note: *N* = 810. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

4 Findings: Attitudes held by people born in N-MESCs towards gender inequality

Gender inequality remains a pervasive issue in Australia and addressing gender inequality is critical if we are to end violence against women (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2016; COAG, 2010; DSS, 2022; Riach et al., 2018; Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2022). "Reduction of attitudes that are associated with gender inequality" is a key indicator for preventing violence according to the National Plan 2022–2032 (DSS, 2022, p. 30). These attitudes include the denial of gender inequality, the limitation of women's personal autonomy, the normalisation of sexism, the reinforcing of rigid gender roles and norms, and the undermining of women's leadership in both the public and private spheres. Problematic attitudes towards gender inequality can be reflected in, and interact with, systemic and structural inequalities related to gender. Gender inequality can intersect with racist attitudes and systemic and structural inequalities related to racism to increase risk of violence against women from CALD backgrounds (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018; Maher & Segrave, 2018). The 2021 NCAS measured N-MESC-born Australians' attitudes towards gender inequality via the **Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale (AGIS).**

The **AGIS** comprises five psychometrically validated subscales, each measuring a different conceptual aspect of attitudes towards gender inequality:

- The **Deny Inequality Subscale** comprises three statements that deny that gender inequality is experienced by women, suggesting backlash or resistance to gender equality.
- The **Limit Autonomy Subscale** comprises two statements that condone men being in charge in intimate relationships and limiting women's personal autonomy.
- The **Normalise Sexism Subscale** comprises three statements that downplay or normalise sexism.
- The **Reinforce Gender Roles Subscale** comprises five statements that reinforce traditional, rigid gender roles and expectations.
- The **Undermine Leadership Subscale** comprises four statements that undermine women's leadership in work and public life.

4.1 Key finding 2: All aspects of attitudes towards gender inequality could be further improved

Figures 4-1 to 4-5 present the results of respondents born in N-MESCs on the items in the five AGIS subscales.

The majority of respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with all the items in three of the AGIS subscales, which describe attitudes that normalise sexism (59–89%; Figure 4-3), reinforce gender roles and stereotypes (53–75%; Figure 4-4) and undermine women's leadership in public life (59–77%; Figure 4-5). With the exception of one item, fewer than half the respondents "strongly disagreed" with the items in the other two AGIS subscales, which describe attitudes that deny gender inequality experiences (21–30%; Figure 4-1) and attitudes that condone limiting women's autonomy in relationships (41–63%; Figure 4-2). Responses to items in each subscale were combined to form subscale scores, which were used to check for differences between subscales. There was no significant difference between the AGIS subscales based on subscale scores. That is, respondents showed similar levels of rejection of attitudes that deny gender inequality experiences, condone limiting women's autonomy, normalise sexism, reinforce gender roles and stereotypes, and undermine women's leadership in public life.

Figure 4-1: Denying gender inequality experiences (AGIS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021
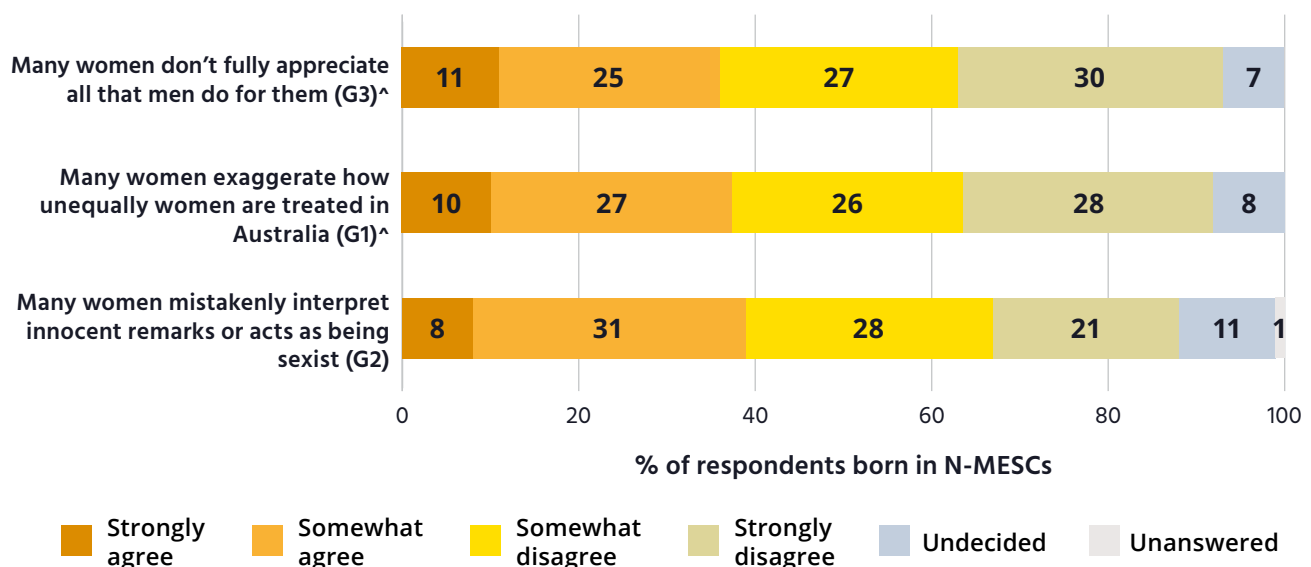
Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 4-2: Limiting women's personal autonomy in relationships (AGIS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

Men should take control in relationships and be the head of the household (G12)	6 / 11 / 17 / 63 / 3
Women prefer a man to be in charge of the relationship (G13)	6 / 22 / 25 / 41 / 6

% of respondents born in n-MESCs

■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Undecided ■ Unanswered
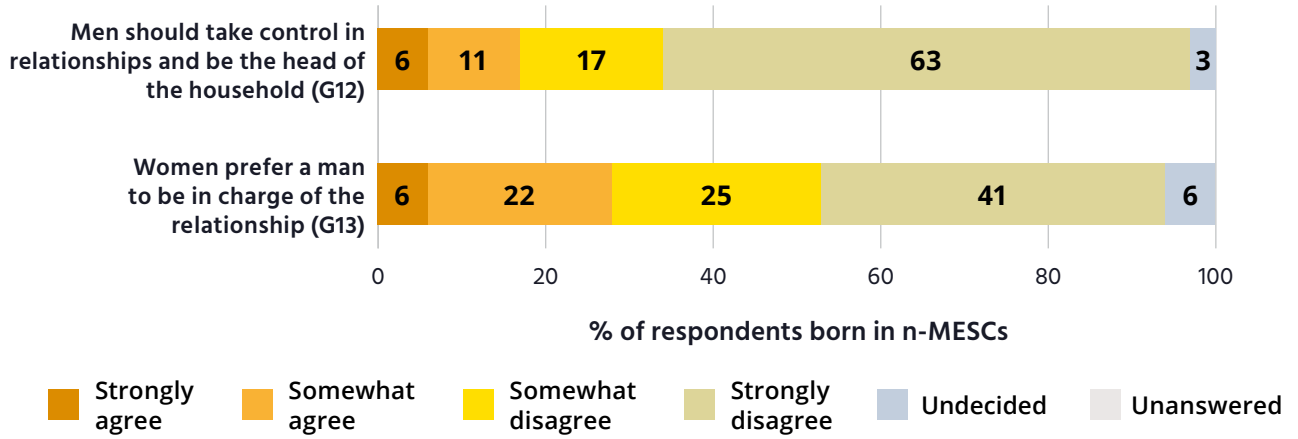
Note: *N* = 3,224.

Figure 4-3: Normalising sexism (AGIS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021
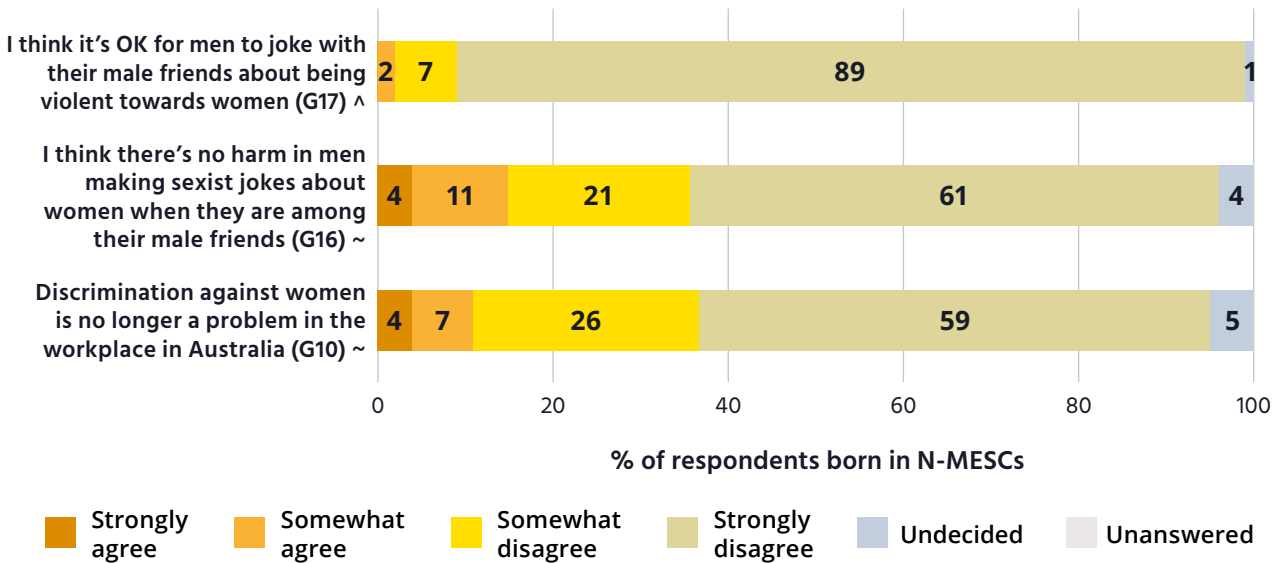
I think it's OK for men to joke with their male friends about being violent towards women (G17) ^	2 / 7 / 89 / 1
I think there's no harm in men making sexist jokes about women when they are among their male friends (G16) ~	4 / 11 / 21 / 61 / 4
Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the workplace in Australia (G10) ~	4 / 7 / 26 / 59 / 5

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Undecided ■ Unanswered

Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 4-4: Reinforcing rigid gender roles (AGIS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

I think it is embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually held by a woman (G7): 2, 5, 16, 74, 2

A man should never admit when others have hurt his feelings (G8): 3, 6, 16, 72, 3

If a woman earns more than her male partner, it is not good for the relationship (G14)^: 3, 7, 21, 65, 4

Women need to have children to be fulfilled (G9)^: 6, 7, 20, 61, 5

When a couple start dating, the woman should not be the one to initiate sex (G15)^: 4, 6, 26, 53, 9, 2

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Legend: Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Undecided | Unanswered

Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.
^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 4-5: Undermining women's leadership in public life (AGIS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021
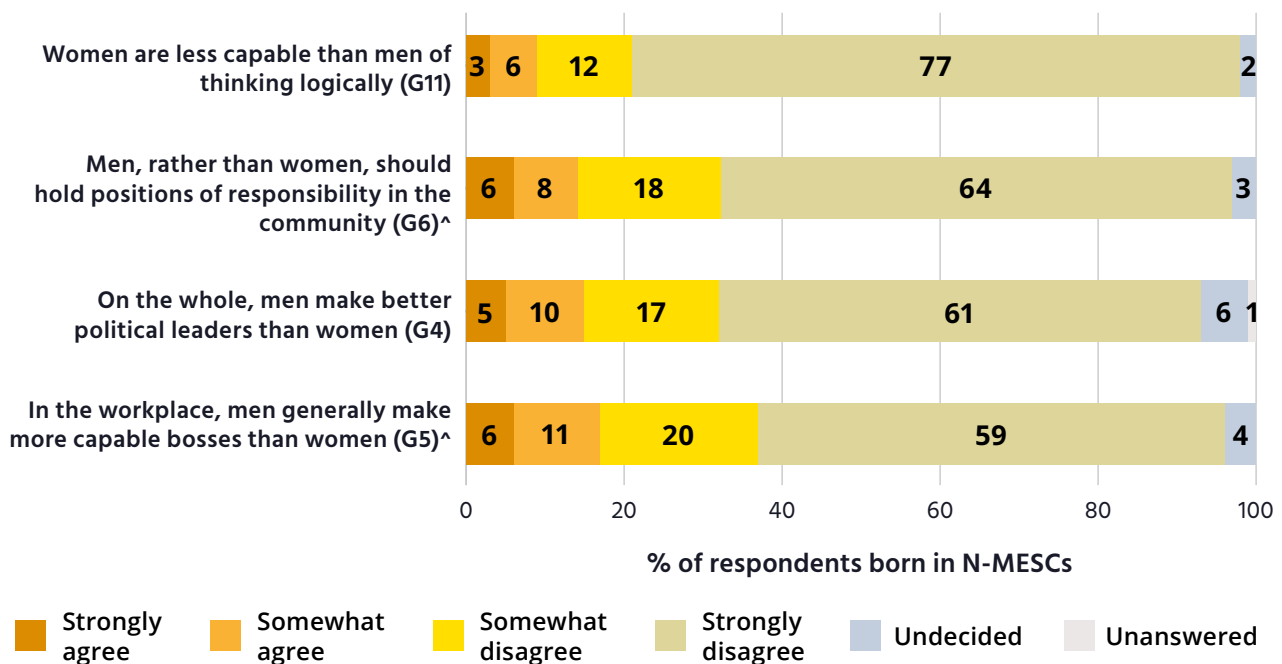
Women are less capable than men of thinking logically (G11): 3, 6, 12, 77, 2

Men, rather than women, should hold positions of responsibility in the community (G6)^: 6, 8, 18, 64, 3

On the whole, men make better political leaders than women (G4): 5, 10, 17, 61, 6, 1

In the workplace, men generally make more capable bosses than women (G5)^: 6, 11, 20, 59, 4

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Legend: Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Undecided | Unanswered

Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.
^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

5 Findings: Attitudes held by people born in N-MESCs towards violence against women

The **Attitudes towards Violence against Women Scale (AVAWS)** measures Australians' attitudes towards violence against women and provides a means of monitoring changes over time in community attitudes that reject violence. "Reduction of attitudes that are associated with violence against women" is cited in the National Plan 2022–2032 as a key (primary) prevention indicator (DSS, 2022, p. 30). The attitudes assessed by the AVAWS include minimising the extent and seriousness of violence against women and victim-blaming, mistrusting women's disclosures of violence, and objectifying women and disregarding the need to gain consent.

The **AVAWS** comprises three psychometrically validated subscales, each measuring a different conceptual aspect of attitudes towards violence against women:

- The **Minimise Violence Subscale** comprises 15 statements that minimise the seriousness of violence against women and shift blame from perpetrators to victims and survivors.
- The **Mistrust Women Subscale** comprises 13 statements that mistrust women's reports of violence.
- The **Objectify Women Subscale** comprises 15 items – 11 standalone items presenting statements that objectify women or disregard the need to gain women's consent and four items presenting scenarios about sexual consent.

5.1 Key finding 3: Attitudes that minimise violence, mistrust women and objectify women could be further addressed

Figures 5-1 to 5-3 present the results of respondents born in N-MESCs on the items in the three AVAWS subscales.

The majority of respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with the items in the Minimise Violence Subscale that describe attitudes that minimise the seriousness of violence against women and shift blame to the victim (54–88%; Figure 5-1), with one exception. Specifically, only 46 per cent of respondents "strongly disagreed" with the item that "A lot of what is called domestic violence is really just a normal reaction to day-to-day stress and frustration" (D17).

The majority of respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with 7 of the 13 items in the subscale measuring mistrust of women's reports of violence victimisation (Figure 5-2). For example, most respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with items stating that women who report sexual assault or harassment are probably lying or shouldn't be taken too seriously (56–77%; S1, S2, S10, S22, S25). However, only a minority (22–47%) "strongly disagreed" with other items in the Mistrust Women Subscale, including items stating that allegations of violence are false or exaggerated and items stating that women lie about victimisation due to ulterior motives such as revenge or regret or to gain a tactical advantage in custody cases (D23, S18, S23, S24, V3).

The majority of respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with all the standalone items in the Objectify Women Subscale that describe objectifying women and disregarding the need to gain their consent (51–83%; Figure 5-3). However, a concerning minority of respondents born in N-MESCs "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) with problematic attitudes that minimise violence (4–33%; Figure 5-1), mistrust women's reports of violence (8–40%; Figure 5-2) and objectify women or disregard the need for consent (7–30%; Figure 5-3).[19]

Comparison of mean scores on the three AVAWS subscales indicated similar levels of rejection of attitudes that minimise violence, attitudes that mistrust women and attitudes that objectify women and disregard their consent. For further discussion of these items, by type of violence, see Chapter 6.

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19 Scenario items that are also in this subscale are presented in Section 6.1, Finding 4b.

Figure 5-1: Minimising violence against women and shifting blame (AVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

Statement	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Undecided
Women should keep quiet about domestic violence to protect their family's reputation (D30)	2	3	6	88	1
Women who are sexually harassed should deal with it themselves rather than report it (S9)^	3	4	9	82	1
It's a woman's duty to stay in a violent relationship to keep the family together (D24)^	5	6	6	82	1
A man is less responsible for rape if he is drunk or affected by drugs at the time (S19)^	6	4	6	82	1
Domestic violence can be excused if the offender is heavily affected by alcohol (D20)	6	5	8	79	1
It's only really stalking if it's by a stranger (V8)^	3	5	11	76	4
Domestic violence can be excused if the victim is heavily affected by alcohol (D21)	6	6	12	74	2
Women who stay in abusive relationships deserve less help from counselling and support services than women who leave their abusive partner (D31)^	7	7	9	72	4
It's acceptable for police to give lower priority to domestic violence cases they've attended many times before (D32)^	8	9	11	68	4
Domestic violence can be excused if the violent person was themselves abused as a child (D22)	7	10	15	66	3
Domestic violence can be excused if it results from people getting so angry that they temporarily lose control (D18)	11	13	11	63	1
Sometimes a woman can make a man so angry that he hits her when he didn't mean to (D25)^	6	19	11	61	3
Domestic violence is a private matter that should be handled in the family (D16)^	8	13	19	59	2
Domestic violence can be excused if, afterwards, the violent person genuinely regrets what they have done (D19)	9	16	18	54	3
A lot of what is called domestic violence is really just a normal reaction to day-to-day stress and frustration (D17)	10	22	18	46	4

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Legend: Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Undecided, Unanswered
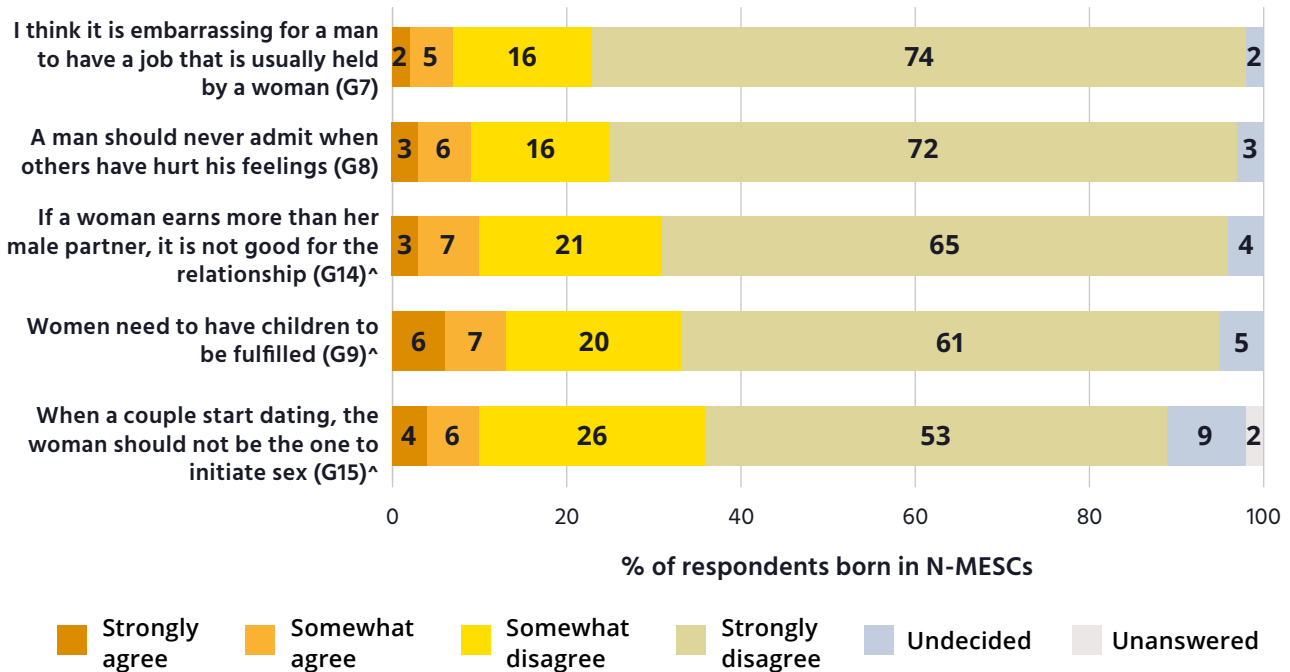
Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 5-2: Mistrusting women's reports of violence (AVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

Item	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Undecided	Unanswered
If a woman claims to have been sexually assaulted but has no other physical injuries she probably shouldn't be taken too seriously (S22)	3	5	12	77	3	
When lesbian or bisexual women claim to have been sexually assaulted by their partner, they probably shouldn't be taken too seriously (S2)~	4	2	11	76	6	1
Women who wait weeks or months to report sexual harassment are probably lying (S10)	4	6	19	66	5	
Women who wait weeks or months to report sexual assault are probably lying (S25)	4	7	20	64	4	
If a woman keeps going back to her abusive partner then the violence can't be very serious (D27)^	9	10	18	58	4	
Women with mental health issues who report being sexually assaulted are probably lying (S1)~	5	8	22	56	9	1
It's easy for a woman to leave an abusive relationship (D28)^	11	7	25	53	3	
Many allegations of sexual assault made by women are false (S18)~	5	12	25	47	10	1
A female victim who does not leave an abusive partner is partly responsible for the abuse continuing (D29)	14	26	16	40	4	
A lot of times, women who say they were raped had led the man on and then had regrets (S24)	6	19	24	38	13	1
It is common for sexual assault accusations to be used as a way of getting back at men (S23)	7	25	22	35	10	
Many women exaggerate the extent of men's violence against women (V3)^	9	23	24	34	10	
Women going through custody battles often make up or exaggerate claims of domestic violence in order to improve their case (D23)^	10	27	23	22	17	1

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

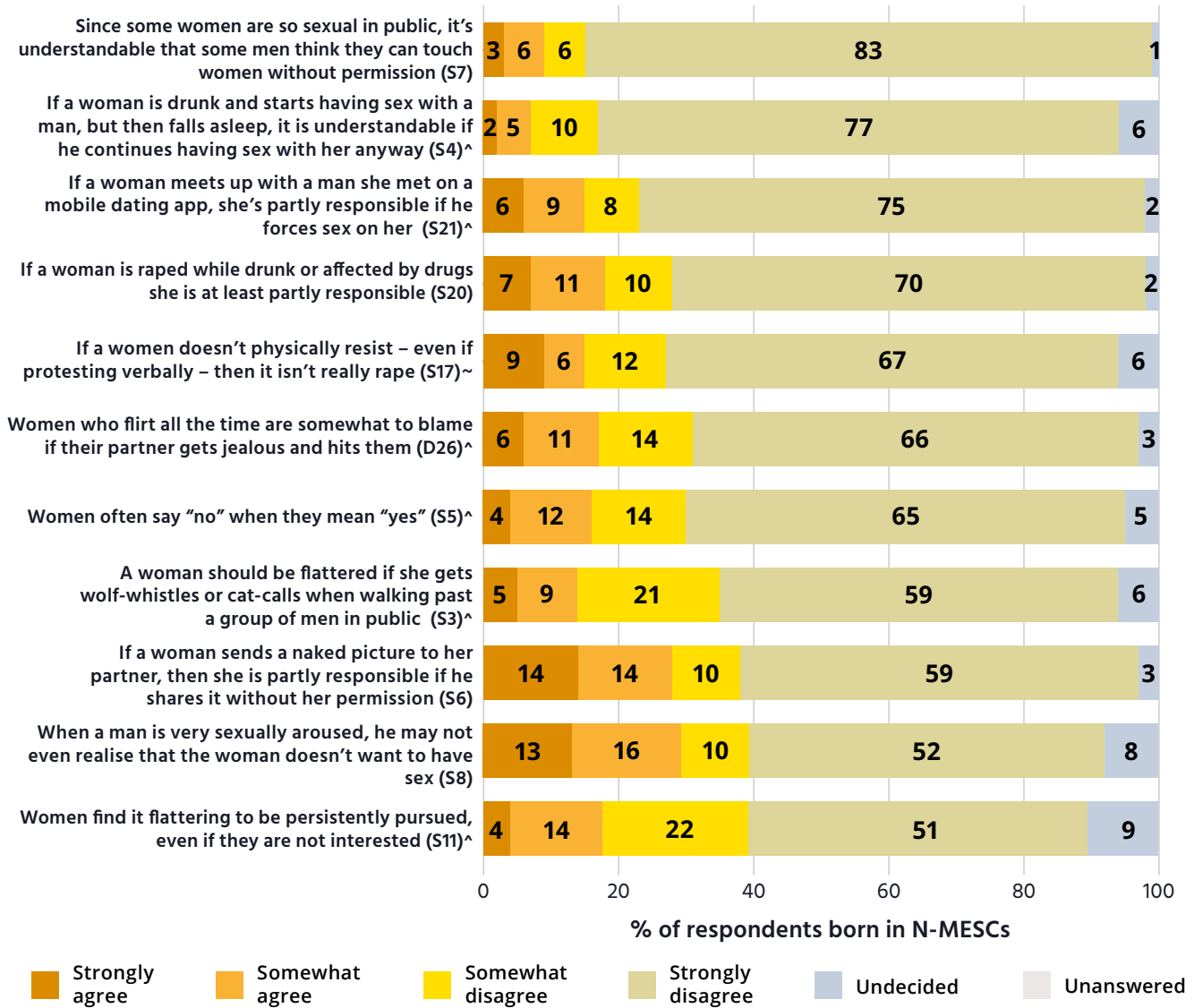~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 5-3: Objectifying women and disregarding consent (AVAWS subscale items), respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

Statement	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Undecided
Since some women are so sexual in public, it's understandable that some men think they can touch women without permission (S7)	3	6	6	83	1
If a woman is drunk and starts having sex with a man, but then falls asleep, it is understandable if he continues having sex with her anyway (S4)^	2	5	10	77	6
If a woman meets up with a man she met on a mobile dating app, she's partly responsible if he forces sex on her (S21)^	6	9	8	75	2
If a woman is raped while drunk or affected by drugs she is at least partly responsible (S20)	7	11	10	70	2
If a women doesn't physically resist – even if protesting verbally – then it isn't really rape (S17)~	9	6	12	67	6
Women who flirt all the time are somewhat to blame if their partner gets jealous and hits them (D26)^	6	11	14	66	3
Women often say "no" when they mean "yes" (S5)^	4	12	14	65	5
A woman should be flattered if she gets wolf-whistles or cat-calls when walking past a group of men in public (S3)^	5	9	21	59	6
If a woman sends a naked picture to her partner, then she is partly responsible if he shares it without her permission (S6)	14	14	10	59	3
When a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realise that the woman doesn't want to have sex (S8)	13	16	10	52	8
Women find it flattering to be persistently pursued, even if they are not interested (S11)^	4	14	22	51	9

% of respondents born in N-MESCs

Legend: ■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Undecided □ Unanswered

Note: *N* = 3,224 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 or exactly correspond to percentages in the text due to rounding.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

6 Findings: Attitudes held by people born in N-MESCs towards different types of violence

6.1 Key finding 4: Attitudes towards all types of violence could be further improved

In 2021, respondents born in N-MESCs showed significantly stronger rejection of sexual violence than domestic violence based on scale scores. As outlined in this chapter and Chapter 5, some myths, misconceptions and harmful stereotypes regarding different types of violence are still evident among a minority of respondents born in N-MESCs.

■ **Finding 4a: Domestic violence – Many respondents born in N-MESCs rejected many problematic attitudes towards domestic violence, but a concerning minority thought it should be handled in the family, women are partially to blame if they stay in abusive relationships and women lie about victimisation**

Many respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with items that blame victims and survivors (40–72%; D25, D26, D29, D31; Figures 5-1, 5-2 and 5-3) and that normalise or excuse domestic violence (46–79%; D16–D21, D27, D28; Figures 5-1 and 5-2). The majority of respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with many myths or misconceptions about domestic violence, including that:

- women should keep quiet about domestic violence to protect their family's reputation (88%; D30; Figure 5-1)
- it's a woman's duty to stay in a violent relationship to keep the family together (82%; D24; Figure 5-1)
- domestic violence can be excused if the offender is heavily affected by alcohol (79%; D20; Figure 5-1)
- domestic violence can be excused if the victim is heavily affected by alcohol (74%; D21; Figure 5-1).

However, a sizeable minority of respondents born in N-MESCs endorsed some items describing domestic violence as a private or family matter. Specifically, 1 in 5 (21%; D16; Figure 5-1) "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that "Domestic violence is a private matter that should be handled in the family", and a smaller proportion "agreed" that "It's a woman's duty to stay in a violent relationship to keep the family together" (11%; D24) or that "Women should keep quiet about domestic violence to protect their family's reputation" (4%; D30).

A concerning minority of respondents born in N-MESCs also "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) with shifting the blame for domestic violence to the woman if she stays in an abusive relationship. Specifically, 2 in 5 respondents born in N-MESCs (40%; D29; Figure 5-2) "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that "A female victim who does not leave an abusive partner is partly responsible for the abuse continuing", and about 1 in 5 "agreed" that "It's easy for a woman to leave an abusive relationship" (19%; D28) and that "If a woman keeps going back to her abusive partner then the violence can't be very serious" (19%; D27). A smaller minority "agreed" that "Women who stay in abusive relationships deserve less help from counselling and support services than women who leave their abusive partner" (14%; D31; Figure 5-1).

A concerning minority of respondents born in N-MESCs also endorsed attitudes that mistrust women's reports of domestic violence. For example, about one third of respondents "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that women going through custody battles often make up or exaggerate claims of domestic violence (37%; D23; Figure 5-2).

Similar to all NCAS respondents (Main report, p. 164), 2 in 5 (41%) respondents born in N-MESCs indicated that they would not know where to go if they needed outside support for someone experiencing domestic violence (D33). This proportion was similar regardless of how long respondents had lived in Australia and how well they spoke English.

■ **Finding 4b: Sexual assault – Most respondents born in N-MESCs demonstrated strong rejection of attitudes that excuse sexual assault but weaker rejection if the woman initially consented or if the couple was married**

In addition to the standalone items in Figure 5-3, the Objectify Women Subscale also included two scenarios about sexual consent, one about a married couple and the other about a couple who had just met at a party. Both scenarios asked respondents whether sexual assault was justified if the man had initiated kissing before the woman pushed him away, and if the woman had initiated kissing before pushing him away. Figure 6-1 shows the results for the married couple scenario, while Figure 6-2 shows the results for the acquaintance scenario.

While the majority of respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" that the man was justified in forcing sex when he had initiated intimacy, fewer "strongly disagreed" in the married couple scenario (73%; S12; Figure 6-1) than in the acquaintance scenario (83%; S14; Figure 6-2). In addition, for both scenarios, fewer respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" that forced sex was justified when the woman had initiated intimacy (50% for the married couple scenario, S13, Figure 6-1; 60% for the acquaintance scenario, S15, Figure 6-2). Concerningly, more than 1 in 7 respondents born in N-MESCs "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that the man would be justified in forcing sex if the woman had initiated intimacy (19% for the married couple scenario, S13, Figure 6-1; 15% for the acquaintance scenario, S15, Figure 6-2).

These attitudes were similar regardless of how long people had lived in Australia. However, respondents

born in N-MESCs who spoke English at home were significantly more likely than those who spoke a LOTE at home to "strongly disagree" with all the scenarios except for the scenario where the married woman had initiated intimacy.

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (72%) recognised that it is a criminal offence for a man to have sex with his wife without her consent, but a concerning minority incorrectly thought that it is not a criminal offence (16%) or were unsure (11%; S26).

Figure 6-1: Sexual consent scenario (AVAWS Objectify Women Subscale items), married couple variation, respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

After coming home from a party, a man kisses his wife and tries to have sex with her ...
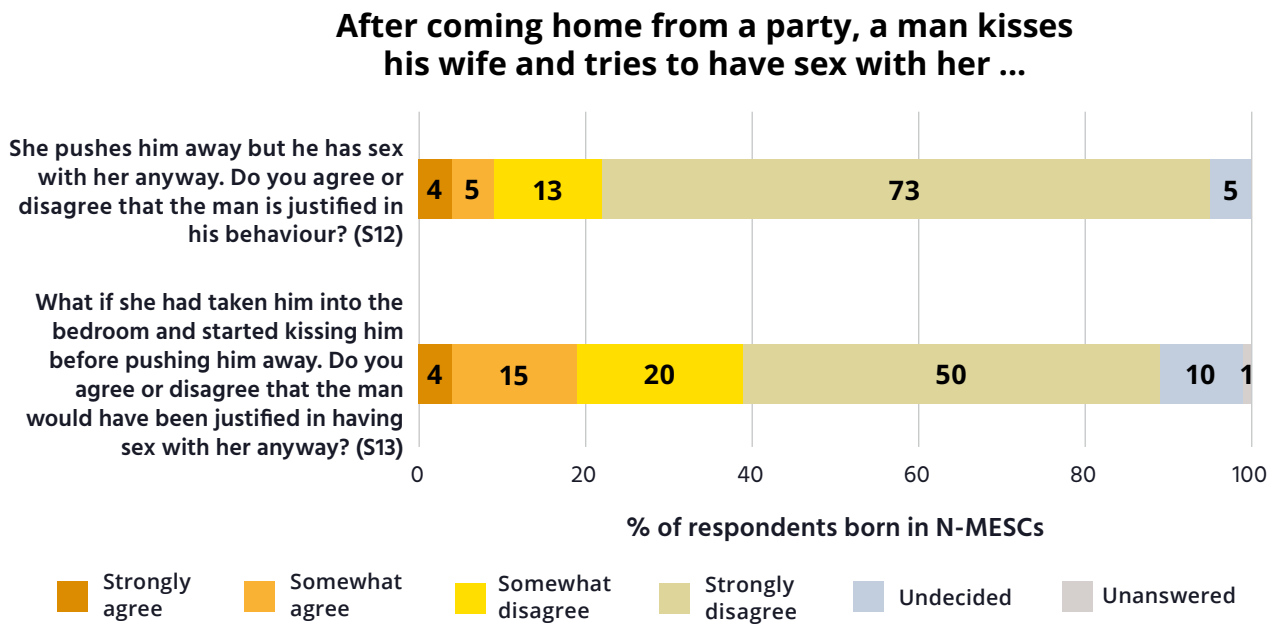
Note: *N* = 817. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

Figure 6-2: Sexual consent scenario (AVAWS Objectify Women Subscale items), acquaintance variation, respondents born in N-MESCs, 2021

A man and woman have just met at a party and get on well. They go back to the woman's home where he kisses her and tries to have sex with her ...
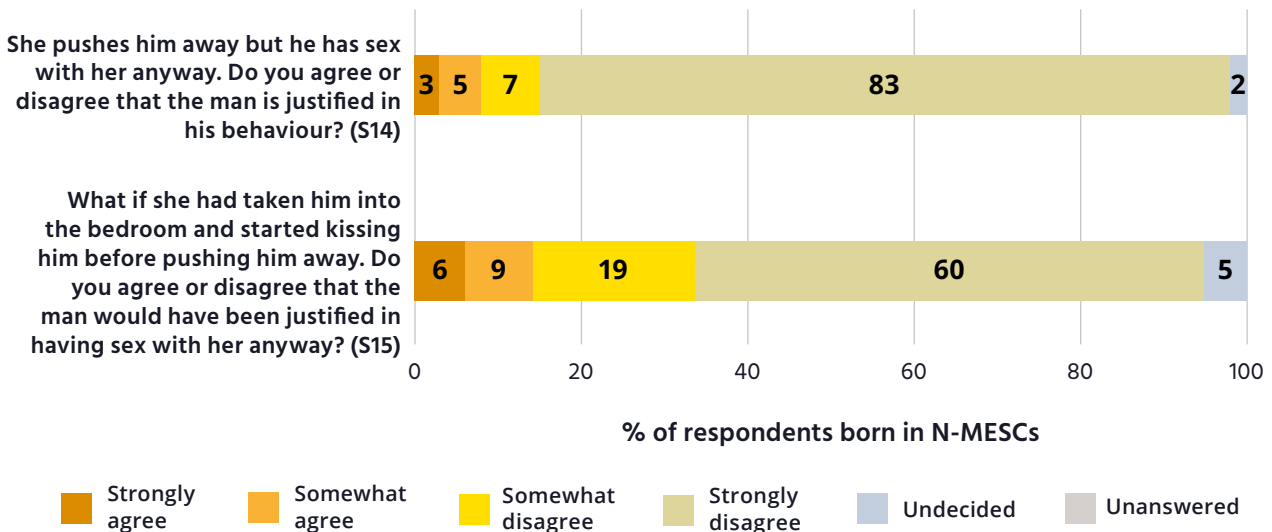
Note: *N* = 786. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

The finding for the scenario items that some respondents thought that forced sex was justified when the woman had initiated intimacy was reflected in responses to other items. For example, concerningly:

- Almost 1 in 6 (15%; S21; Figure 5-3) respondents born in N-MESCs "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that "If a woman meets up with a man she met on a mobile dating app, she's partly responsible if he forces sex on her" (while 75% "strongly disagreed").
- 7 per cent of respondents born in N-MESCs "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that "If a woman is drunk and starts having sex with a man but then falls asleep, it is understandable if continues having sex with her anyway" (S4; Figure 5-3).

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (66%) correctly recognised that women are more likely to be raped by someone they know than by a stranger (S16; see also ABS, 2023c). However, 1 in 5 (21%) respondents born in N-MESCs incorrectly thought that women are more likely to be raped by a stranger.

Finding 4c: Sexual harassment – Most respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with problematic attitudes that sexual harassment is not serious, but a concerning minority did not

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (51–83%; Figure 5-3) "strongly disagreed" with all the problematic attitudes regarding sexual harassment measured by the 2021 NCAS. However, a minority of respondents born in N-MESCs "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) with myths that sexual harassment is flattering or benign, including that:

- women find it flattering to be persistently pursued even if they are not interested (18%; S11; Figure 5-3)
- women should be flattered by wolf-whistles or cat-calls in public (14%; S3; Figure 5-3)
- since some women are so sexual in public, it's understandable that some men think they can touch women without permission (9%; S7; Figure 5-3).

Finding 4d: Technology-facilitated abuse – Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised technology-facilitated abuse and rejected attitudes that condone it, but a concerning minority did not

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (62–67%; D6, V5, V6, V7; Figures 3-2 and 3-3) recognised that different forms of technology-facilitated abuse "always" constitute a form of violence, but a minority did not. For example, a minority of respondents born in N-MESCs said that the following behaviours are not forms of violence:

- a man sending an unwanted picture of his genitals to a woman (8%; V7; Figure 3-3)
- harassment via repeated emails and text messages (7%; V5; Figure 3-3)
- abusive messages or comments targeted at women on social media (7%; V6; Figure 3-3).

Regarding attitudes, most respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" that a woman is partly responsible if her partner shares a naked picture without her permission (59%), but a concerning minority "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) with this statement (29%; S6; Figure 5-3). In addition, although most respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" that a woman is partly responsible if a man she met on a mobile dating app forces sex on her (75%; S21), a minority "agreed" with this statement (15%).

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (91%; S27) recognised that it is a criminal offence to post or share a sexual picture of an ex-partner on social media without their consent, but about 1 in 10 incorrectly thought that it is not a criminal offence (5%) or were unsure (4%).

▉ Finding 4e: Stalking – Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised stalking as a form of violence against women, but about 1 in 10 did not

Most respondents born in N-MESCs (62–66%; D6, V4; Figures 3-2 and 3-3) recognised technology-facilitated and in-person stalking as "always" constituting violence, but a minority did not. For example, a minority of respondents born in N-MESCs did not recognise the following stalking behaviours as violence:

- 10 per cent thought electronic tracking of a partner is not a form of domestic violence (D6; Figure 3-2)
- 8 per cent thought in-person stalking by repeatedly following or watching someone at home or work is not a form of violence against women (V4; Figure 3-3).

7 Findings: Bystander responses of people born in N-MESCs

7.1 Key finding 5: Bystander intentions depended on the context

Respondents were asked about three bystander scenarios and whether they would be bothered by the scenario, how they would react, reasons for not acting and the responses they anticipated from their peers if they did respond (see Technical report, pp. 36–37, Table T3-2, B1a–B1d, B2a, B2d, B3a–B3d). The three scenarios were:

- a work friend telling a sexist joke
- a boss telling a sexist joke
- a friend verbally abusing a woman he is in a relationship with.

Most respondents born in N-MESCs said they would be bothered by each scenario (75–95%). However, the responses of respondents born in N-MESCs varied by context, depending on:

- **the type of abusive or disrespectful behaviour**, with significantly more respondents saying they would be bothered by the verbal abuse scenario (95%) than the sexist joke scenarios (75–89%)
- **the presence of a power differential** between the bystander and the perpetrator, with respondents who were bothered by a sexist joke being significantly less likely to intervene if the joke was told by a boss rather than a work friend. For the boss compared to the friend sexist joke scenario, they were significantly more likely to report saying nothing (21% versus 7%) and also significantly less

likely to report speaking up then and there (31% versus 48%)
- **anticipated peer support or criticism**, with most of the respondents who reported that they would show disapproval upon witnessing disrespectful behaviour anticipating that their friends would support them (67–68%)
- **barriers to intervention**, with most respondents who would be bothered but would not intervene citing fear of negative consequences (75–88%) and discomfort with speaking up (75–78%)
- **demographic factors**, with men born in N-MESCs (69–84%) being significantly less likely than women born in N-MESCs (81–94%) to report that they would be bothered by sexist jokes.

8 Findings: Factors associated with understanding of violence against women and attitudes towards this violence and gender inequality

Efforts to prevent violence against women are aided by understanding the factors that are associated with, or contribute to, an individual's attitudes towards this violence. For example, such factors can inform the barriers and facilitators of violence prevention initiatives with different groups of people.

This chapter presents demographic, understanding and attitudinal factors associated with the attitudes towards violence against women of respondents born in N-MESCs, based on multiple regression and bivariate analyses. The demographic factors examined as predictors of attitudes towards violence against women in the regression analyses are outlined in Section 2.4. Together, understanding of violence against women, attitudes towards gender inequality and demographic factors explained just over half (51%) of the variation in attitudes towards violence against women among respondents born in N-MESCs (AVAWS Model 3 in Table 2-2).[20] As almost half (49%) of the variance in attitudes towards violence against women held by respondents born in N-MESCs was not explained by the regression model, other factors not included in the model are also important in predicting or shaping respondents' attitudes towards violence.

This chapter also compares the understanding and attitudes of respondents born in N-MESCs with those of other respondents based on bivariate analyses.

8.1 Key finding 6: Attitudes towards violence against women and gender inequality were strongly related

Based on regression analysis (AVAWS Model 2, Table 2-2), attitudes towards violence against women were significantly and closely associated with attitudes towards gender inequality, and, to a lesser extent, with understanding of violence against women among respondents born in N-MESCs. The Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale (AGIS) was the strongest NCAS scale predictor of attitudes towards violence against women, explaining 34 per cent of the variation in respondents' attitudes towards violence against women. The Understanding of Violence against Women Scale (UVAWS) explained 13 per cent of the variation in attitudes towards violence.

8.2 Key finding 7: Attitudes towards violence against women were modestly related to demographic factors

The regression analysis (AVAWS Model 1, Table 2-2) revealed that the relationship of the attitudes held by respondents born in N-MESCs to various demographic characteristics was statistically significant, albeit only modest. Together, all the demographic factors in the model explained 18 per cent of the variation in these attitudes. The strongest demographic predictors of respondents' attitudes towards violence against women were English proficiency (which explained 4% of the variation), formal education (2%), length of time in Australia (2%), age (1%), socioeconomic status of area (1%) and gender (1%).[21]

Based on the regression analysis, the demographic subgroups of respondents born in N-MESCs who had significantly higher rejection of violence against women were:

- English proficiency: those who speak English at home compared to those who speak a LOTE at home (who speak English very well, well, not well or not at all)
- formal education: university graduates compared to respondents without university education
- length of time in Australia: respondents who had lived in Australia for at least six years compared to those who had lived in Australia for less than six years
- age: respondents aged 16 to 24 years and 25 to 34 years compared to all ages on average
- socioeconomic status of area: respondents living in areas with the highest socioeconomic status compared to those living in areas with the lowest socioeconomic status
- gender: women compared to men.[22]

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20 Note that 51 per cent of the variance in AVAWS scores could be explained based on both respondents' demographic characteristics and their scores on the UVAWS and AGIS (AVAWS Model 3). Because respondents' demographic characteristics, understanding of violence against women and attitudes towards gender inequality are all interrelated, the combined predictive ability of these factors is less than the sum of the demographic contribution alone (18%; AVAWS Model 1) and the scale contribution alone (47%; AVAWS Model 2).

21 Main labour activity was retained in the final model because it improved model fit. However, it was not a "significant predictor" in that it did not involve any significant differences of non-negligible size ($p < 0.05$ and standardised regression coefficient ≥ 0.2). Remoteness was removed from the final model because it did not improve model fit.

22 In all reporting on the 2021 NCAS, we only report on categories involving at least 30 respondents due to the potential unreliability of reporting on small numbers. As only five respondents born in an N-MESC identified as a non-binary gender, we do not report on this group in gender comparisons. However, these five respondents were included in all analyses that did not involve a breakdown by gender.

■ Finding 7a: English proficiency – Respondents born in N-MESCs had stronger understanding of violence against women and stronger rejection of violence against women and gender inequality if they were more proficient in English

The NCAS measured respondents' self-reported English ability and language spoken at home. Based on bivariate analysis, compared to respondents born in N-MESCs who spoke a LOTE at home and reported speaking English not well or not at all, those who spoke English at home had significantly greater:

• understanding of violence against women, including recognition of domestic violence and violence against women, and understanding of the gendered nature of domestic violence (3 of 3 UVAWS subscales)
• rejection of gender inequality, including rejection of attitudes that condone limiting women's autonomy, normalise sexism, reinforce gender roles and undermine women's leadership (4 of 5 AGIS subscales)
• rejection of violence against women, including rejection of attitudes that minimise violence, mistrust women and objectify women (3 of 3 AVAWS subscales).

■ Finding 7b: Length of time in Australia – Respondents born in N-MESCs had stronger understanding and rejection of violence against women and stronger rejection of some aspects of gender inequality if they had lived in Australia for longer

Based on bivariate analysis, compared to respondents born in N-MESCs who had lived in Australia for no more than five years, those who had lived in Australia for more than 10 years had significantly greater:

• understanding of violence against women, including recognition of violence against women and understanding of the gendered nature of domestic violence, but similar recognition of domestic violence (2 of 3 UVAWS subscales)

• rejection of some aspects of gender inequality, including rejection of attitudes that normalise sexism and undermine women's leadership (2 of 5 AGIS subscales)
• rejection of violence against women, including rejection of attitudes that minimise violence, mistrust women and objectify women (3 of 3 AVAWS subscales).

As Section 9.2 discusses, improvement in understanding and attitudes with increased length of time in Australia and English proficiency may reflect multiple factors, including factors related to pre-migration, migration and acculturation experiences.

■ Finding 7c: Gender – Men respondents born in N-MESCs typically lagged behind women born in N-MESCs in their attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women

Based on bivariate analysis, men and women respondents born in N-MESCs were generally similar in their understanding of violence against women, based on the UVAWS and its subscales and items.

However, many gender differences in attitudes were observed on the NCAS scales, subscales and items, with men born in N-MESCs consistently lagging behind women born in N-MESCs.[23] Compared to men born in N-MESCs, women born in N-MESCs had significantly greater:

• rejection of gender inequality, including rejection of attitudes that deny inequality experiences, condone limiting women's autonomy, normalise sexism, reinforce rigid gender roles and undermine women's leadership (5 of 5 AGIS subscales)
• rejection of violence against women, including rejection of attitudes that minimise violence against women and mistrust women's reports of violence, but similar rejection of attitudes that objectify women (2 of 3 AVAWS subscales).

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23 We only report on categories involving at least 30 respondents due to the potential unreliability of reporting on small numbers. As only five respondents born in an N-MESC identified as a non-binary gender, we do not report on this group in gender comparisons. However, these five respondents were included in all analyses that did not involve a breakdown by gender.

8.3 Key finding 8: Understanding and rejection of violence and gender inequality were lower for respondents born in N-MESCs than those born in Australia

Based on bivariate analyses of NCAS scale scores, compared to respondents born in Australia, respondents born in N-MESCs had significantly lower:

- understanding of violence against women (UVAWS)
- rejection of problematic attitudes, including those related to:
  - gender inequality (AGIS)[24]
  - violence against women (AVAWS)
  - domestic violence (DVS)
  - sexual violence (SVS)

- understanding and rejection of technology-facilitated abuse (TFAS).

These NCAS findings, together with the literature demonstrating that women from N-MESCs can be at heightened risk of unique forms of violence and can face additional barriers in accessing assistance and justice, highlight that people from N-MESCs are a priority population for violence prevention initiatives.

As Figure 8-1 shows, there is still substantial work to be done to improve community understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women and gender inequality for all Australians. One fifth to half of respondents born in N-MESCs, MESCs and Australia met the aspirational goal for "advanced" understanding of violence against women and "advanced" rejection of problematic attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women.

Figure 8-1: "Advanced" understanding of violence against women and rejection of problematic attitudes, 2021
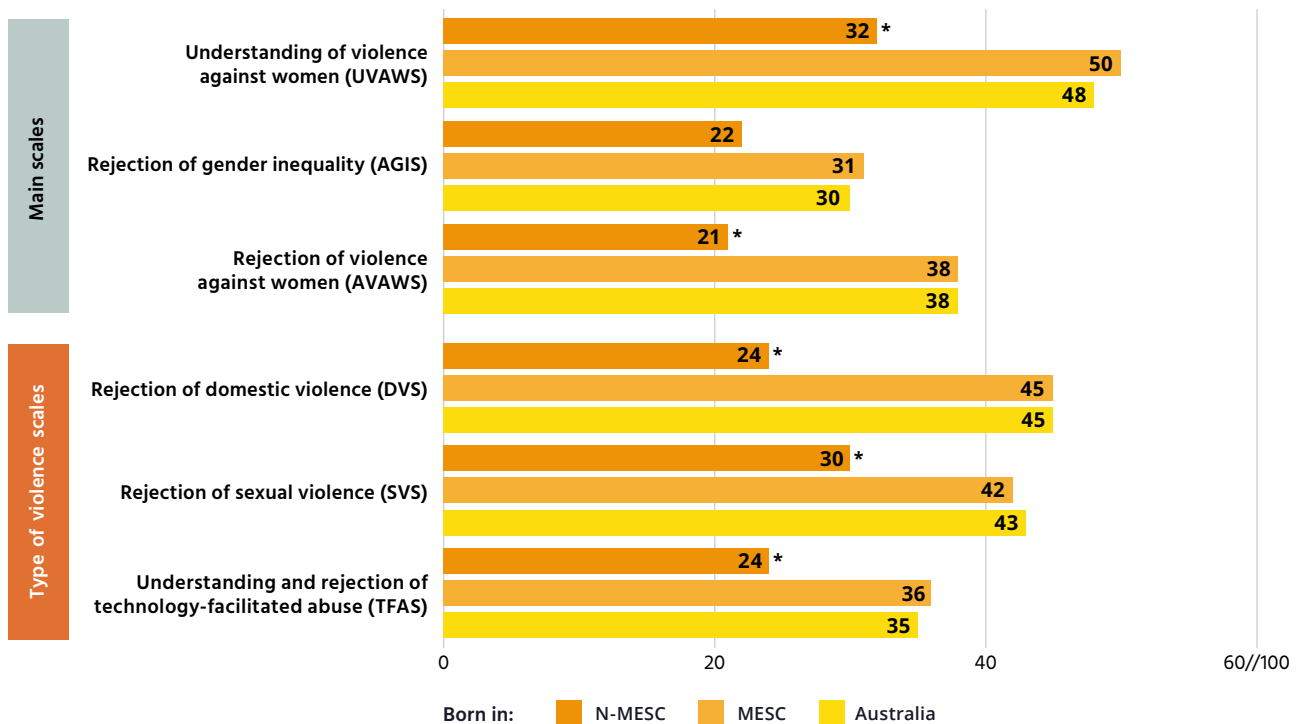
Note: *N*s for the UVAWS, AGIS, AVAWS, DVS, SVS and TFAS in 2021 were:
- Born in N-MESC: 3,224; 3,222; 3,224; 3,224; 3,223; 3,224
- Born in MESC: 2,032; 2,031; 2,032; 2,032; 2,032; 2,032
- Born in Australia: 13,760; 13,755; 13,760; 13,759; 13,759; 13,760.

*Significant difference between respondents born in N-MESCs and other respondents.

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24 There was a significant difference between respondents born in N-MESCs and those born in Australia based on mean AGIS score, but the difference in the percentage with "advanced" rejection of gender inequality did not reach significance.

9 Implications for policy and practice regarding people born in N-MESCs

The 2021 NCAS findings for respondents born in N-MESCs provide evidence that most people born in N-MESCs, like most Australians from all backgrounds, generally reject violence against women and gender inequality. However, the NCAS findings for respondents born in N-MESCs, like those for all Australians, also identified prevailing gaps in understanding and problematic attitudes in some areas. Thus, the NCAS findings for respondents born in N-MESCs can be used to inform *what* prevention strategies could usefully focus on to improve understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women among people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. The findings offer insights for those who support CALD communities, including community and religious leaders, service workers and professionals.

Overall, the NCAS findings indicate that people born in N-MESCs are a priority population for violence prevention initiatives that support improvement in understanding and attitudes. The broader literature similarly highlights the importance of prioritising support for women from CALD backgrounds living in Australia who experience violence, given that they can be at heightened risk of unique forms of violence and can face additional barriers to accessing support and justice (Green et al., 2023; Vaughan et al., 2020). For example, there is national recognition that women and girls from CALD backgrounds can be at increased risk of specific forms of gendered violence, such as visa law-related abuse by domestic and family violence perpetrators (DSS, 2022). Experiences of violence by women from CALD backgrounds are underpinned by structural and systemic inequalities that contribute to multiple, intersecting forms of oppression and discrimination (DSS, 2022). Furthermore, CALD women can experience barriers in seeking support for violence and attaining justice and safety, including language barriers, a scarcity of culturally competent and linguistically appropriate services, and fears of impacts on visa status, deportation and child removal by formal services (Green et al., 2023; Vaughan et al., 2020).

Throughout this chapter, the NCAS findings are used to generate recommendations for addressing knowledge gaps and problematic attitudes via prevention strategies in N-MESC communities. This approach needs to be complemented by other strategies that focus on eliminating violence against women from N-MESCs that is perpetrated by Australian-born men and others outside N-MESC communities, as well as strategies that remove the structural and systemic inequalities that fuel this violence. The implications offered in Section 9.2, Key finding 8, provide a more detailed discussion of the need to drive deep-seated change in attitudes and practices in the broader Australian community, including within its structures and the immigration system, to appropriately address violence against women from N-MESCs.

Importantly, while the NCAS findings indicate **what** prevention initiatives with N-MESC communities could usefully focus on, they cannot tell us **how** prevention strategies should best be implemented in N-MESC communities. Thus, in Section 9.1, we have collated evidence-based recommendations from the wider literature about best practice and culturally responsive and linguistically appropriate approaches to implementing interventions with N-MESC communities. These recommendations should be applied when

using the NCAS findings to develop violence education and prevention strategies to improve particular understandings and attitudes among people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. Community-led, tailored initiatives that are centred on an intersectional approach are called for within the *First Action Plan 2023–2027* (DSS, 2023) under the National Plan 2022–2032 (DSS, 2022). Developing prevention efforts in partnership with communities and tailoring to their needs and cultural norms are important steps to ensure relevance, respectfulness and effectiveness.

Many of the high-level 2021 NCAS findings for respondents born in N-MESCs are similar to those for Australians of all backgrounds, as outlined in the Main report. For example, people born in N-MESCs, like all Australians, could improve their:

- understanding that violence against women occurs in their own networks
- understanding of non-physical forms of violence against women and that this violence is gendered
- attitudes towards gender inequality
- attitudes towards violence against women, including mistrust of women's reports of violence.

Consequently, many of the implications detailed in the Main report for all Australians about **what** prevention efforts should focus on to end violence against women are also relevant for people born in N-MESCs. To avoid repetition, the present chapter refers the reader to the Main report for the detailed discussion of the implications that are similar for people born in N-MESCs and the Australian population as a whole. The present chapter thus focuses on **additional** information about prevention efforts with N-MESC communities arising from their unique results and needs.

In reading the implications that follow, it is also important to keep in mind the diversity of the N-MESC population in Australia. Due to sample size limitations, we have presented most results for the whole N-MESC sample rather than broken down by each CALD background. Although the NCAS results could vary somewhat between different CALD backgrounds, the findings for the whole N-MESC sample nonetheless provide a useful starting point for considering the key areas that are likely to be important for prevention efforts with people from many CALD backgrounds.

9.1 Implications about *how* to design and deliver prevention initiatives to people from N-MESCs

Adopt an intersectional approach to prevention design and delivery

The literature recognises that intersecting forms of discrimination and oppression contribute to the gendered drivers of violence and that inequalities are not the result of singular factors such as race, religion, socioeconomic status or gender (Chen, 2017; Koleth et al., 2020; Our Watch, 2021a). Rather, it has been argued that violence and inequality are the cumulative outcome of "social locations", power relations and experiences which are tied to aspects of identity (Hankivsky, 2014). "Social location" refers to an individual's place in a system of social relations and hierarchies based on intersecting identity markers and perceptions of their degree of value or disadvantage within a specific society (National Council on Family Relations, 2019; Sveinsdóttir, 2018). Social locations influence people's identity, as well as the level of power they hold, what is expected of them, how they are treated and the aspects of society and resources they can access (National Council on Family Relations, 2019). Examining social locations can increase understanding of how individuals are seen and positioned in relation to the many systems of power that structure society (Chen, 2017). Adopting an intersectional approach involves recognising that violence can be experienced differently depending on the combination of intersecting oppressions experienced. This awareness helps to foster culturally responsive, appropriate and safe interventions by more accurately representing individuals and communities in their experiences of violence.

Examples of intersectional approaches to prevention are presented throughout this chapter, including in Key finding 3 and Key finding 8. These examples include suggestions to improve service responses for women from N-MESCs through cultural responsiveness training, trust-building initiatives and organisational reform that address systemic racism and discrimination (Section 9.2, Key finding 3). Also, interventions are recommended to promote positive family relationships and gender equality in non-judgemental spaces for men from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds (Section 9.2, Key finding 7c).

Adopt a participatory approach and invite community members to partner in designing and delivering prevention initiatives

It is important to ensure that people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds have leadership and ownership of interventions in their communities by inviting their expertise and experience in all stages of planning, implementation and evaluation (Chen, 2017). Adopting a participatory approach helps to increase the relevance of interventions to communities and promotes meaningful engagement among participants (Chen, 2017; Salter & Gore, 2020).

Community members' potential inexperience in prevention work can be bridged by ongoing training and opportunities to build and share content knowledge. Furthermore, adopting a participatory approach facilitates mutual learning and relationship building between communities and individuals working to prevent violence against women (Chen, 2017). Prevention strategies should also prioritise the leadership of women and girls to increase gender equality from conceptualisation to implementation and evaluation (Chen, 2017). Inviting women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds to comment on the success or failure of a prevention approach in their community can inform improvements to prevention programs (Chen, 2017).

Tailor interventions to specific communities' needs, norms and readiness to participate

Given the diversity of the N-MESC population in Australia, it is crucial that interventions are appropriately tailored to the specific CALD group that is being targeted by an intervention. A critical process in co-designing prevention strategies with communities is to establish community knowledge levels, identify cultural norms and shared attitudes, and assess readiness to participate in prevention (Satyen et al., 2020). The NCAS findings highlight areas to target via knowledge-based and attitudinal interventions, which are discussed in Section 9.2. However, each community may have specific knowledge gaps and focus points.

First, it is important to determine community members' understanding of specific forms of violence against women, the dynamics and impacts of violence, and access to support and justice. Second, understanding the cultural norms affecting how violence is identified and discussed in the community is necessary to ensure

that prevention efforts are delivered in culturally responsive and appropriate ways. It is also important to ask community members, service providers and organisations about the settlement issues experienced in communities and how these affect family relationships (Koleth et al., 2020; Pearce & Sokoloff, 2013). For example, there is value in understanding the potential adverse impacts of common settlement scenarios, such as a reduction in economic status, downward mobility in employment and cultural changes to gender and family roles (Koleth et al., 2020; Pearce & Sokoloff, 2013).

Lastly, it is important to assess community members' readiness to participate in prevention using evidence-based tools such as the Community Readiness Model (Oetting et al., 1995). Such tools provide frameworks for evaluating the readiness of a community to address a problem internally and guiding the development and implementation of appropriate, effective prevention strategies (Satyen et al., 2020). The results from the readiness and needs assessment can be used to identify and address challenges to community participation prior to implementation, such as resistance and backlash responses (Satyen et al., 2020).

◼ Engage men from N-MESCs in violence prevention using strengths-based and aspirational language

It is widely recognised that men need to be engaged in the prevention of violence against women. The majority of violence against women and children is perpetrated by men and there is a strong relationship between men's attitudes to male dominance and violence against women (Flood, 2013, 2019a, as cited in Koleth et al., 2020). When working with men from N-MESCs, it is important to frame prevention actions with language that emphasises community members' aspirations for a successful life and a strong family (Koleth et al., 2020). It is also critical to focus on communities' strengths to mitigate feelings of stigmatisation surrounding violent cultural stereotypes (Pan et al., 2006).

Thoughtful framing and language have been shown to affect community engagement. For example, using "healthy relationships" rather than "gender inequality" has been reported to improve community members' engagement in prevention activities (Koleth et al., 2020). Koleth and colleagues (2020) reported that changes to family roles during migration and settlement increased migrants' sensitivity to further role changes associated with the language of gender inequality. Discussing healthy relationships was reported to work around this sensitivity, while still addressing imbalances in areas

such as the gendered distribution of domestic labour (Koleth et al., 2020).

◼ Disseminate information in languages commonly spoken by people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds residing in Australia

Census data collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics is a useful resource for informing the languages in which prevention materials should be available because it reports the size of different language communities in Australia, their recentness of arrival and their English proficiency levels. The 2021 Census data revealed that 22.8 per cent of Australians reported using a LOTE at home (ABS, 2022c). Additionally, 3.4 per cent of the population reported not speaking English well or at all (ABS, 2022c). The five most common LOTEs used at home were Mandarin, Arabic, Vietnamese, Cantonese and Punjabi (ABS, 2022c). This data can also be used to identify the most common LOTEs spoken in particular geographic locations to tailor interventions appropriately.

◼ Use multiple sources to provide information on women from N-MESCs' rights to safety, visa rights, access to support services and reporting pathways

Migrant and refugee women have reported low levels (22%) of confidence in their visa rights in Australia in tandem with experiencing immigration-related controlling behaviours by partners, such as threats to report women to immigration, have them deported, withdraw sponsorship and separate women from their children (Segrave et al., 2021). It is critical that multilingual educational initiatives are incorporated into immigration processes to ensure that women from N-MESCs learn their rights and those of their children at entry into Australia. Equally important is the need to provide accessible information to women on where to access supports for violence and reporting pathways.

To achieve this, it is important to identify women's key knowledge sources and, where appropriate and feasible, explore collaboration with individuals and organisations in knowledge dissemination activities (Satyen et al., 2020). Community input to identify collaborators is critical as information sources and supports are inconsistently identified in the literature. For example, some research has found that spiritual leaders were among the first individuals to whom migrant and refugee women disclosed experiences of

violence (Beaulaurier et al., 2007; Horne & Levitt, 2004; Westenberg, 2017). In contrast, a recent research study with migrant and refugee women reported very few disclosures of violence to religious leaders (Segrave et al., 2021). In this study, women's choices not to disclose were attributed to beliefs about domestic violence being a family matter and fearing that disclosure would make the situation worse (Segrave et al., 2021).

Overall, cross-sector collaboration is required to diversify and strengthen women's sources of information related to violence against women prevention and support. For example, it may be helpful to train translation service providers working across various settings to identify signs of domestic abuse in women and offer appropriate and useful referrals to specialised services.

9.2 Implications about *what* prevention initiatives with people from N-MESCs should focus on

Key finding 1: Understanding of the prevalence, non-physical forms and gendered nature of violence could be further increased

Finding 1a: Respondents born in N-MESCs were more likely to recognise that violence against women is a problem in Australia than to recognise it as a problem in their own local area

Finding 1b: Respondents born in N-MESCs were better at recognising physical than non-physical forms of domestic violence

Finding 1c: Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised repeated threats of deportation, being forced to stop religious practice and being forced to undergo an unnecessary medical procedure by a partner as always domestic violence

Finding 1d: Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised in-person stalking and technology-facilitated abuse as forms of violence against women, but there is room for improvement

Finding 1e: Respondents born in N-MESCs were better at recognising the behaviours constituting violence than understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence

Finding 1f: Half of respondents born in N-MESCs did not understand the gendered nature of domestic violence

Implications for Key finding 1

Community-based educational interventions are a key component of prevention of violence against women (Our Watch, 2021a). Such interventions aim to improve community recognition of violence against women; advance understanding of the gendered nature of violence, its prevalence and impacts; and raise awareness of supports for people affected by or using violence. Educational interventions could target women's capacity to identify violence in their relationships and connect with supports to improve their safety, achieve justice through legal response and, ultimately, escape violence. More broadly, educating community members about violence against women can increase intolerance of violence through raising awareness of the harms to women, families and communities (United Nations, 2014).

Research shows that CALD women are at greater risk of specific forms of domestic violence than other groups of Australian women (Ghafournia, 2011; Satyen et al., 2020). Additionally, they can face unique challenges in accessing information about violence, support services and reporting pathways (Robinson et al., 2021). Such unique challenges include linguistic and cultural communication barriers and difficulty accessing organisations where information dissemination is available (Satyen et al., 2018; Satyen et al., 2020). CALD women have also reported receiving racist responses and unequal treatment from service providers, including higher rates of child removal compared with Anglo-Saxon women in Western countries (Dosanjh et al., 2008; Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Landrine et al., 2006; Smedley et al., 2003).

Concerns about racism and discrimination have been found to shape women's future help-seeking behaviours and decisions to report violence (Aly & Gaba, 2007; Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018). For example, studies have reported that barriers to accessing information on violence against women and associated

supports underlie lower rates of formal service use by CALD women compared to Anglo-Saxon women and can increase risk of victimisation for women and their children (Cho et al., 2020; Flicker et al., 2011; Green et al., 2023; Satyen et al., 2018).

Women's limited understanding of violence against women and available supports can also inhibit their identification of pathways out of violent relationships, affect their capacity to care for the wellbeing of their children, limit access to legal justice and maintain fears about the adverse impact of reporting violence on visa status (Kasturirangan et al., 2004; Satyen et al., 2020). Informing women of their right to safety at entry into Australia and pre-emptively addressing any visa-related concerns associated with reporting victimisation can help women to escape violence during settlement.

To prevent and respond to violence against women through improved information access and support, it is important to ensure that educational interventions are tailored to specific communities' needs, developed in collaboration with their members and provide culturally responsive and useful information (see also Section 9.1). The NCAS findings offer important insights into selecting the relevant content areas of educational interventions with N-MESC communities, as outlined in this section.

Findings 1a and 1b for respondents born in N-MESCs indicate a need to increase their understanding that violence occurs in their own local areas and their understanding of the non-physical forms of violence. These findings reflect the findings for all Australians (Main report). Thus the following implications from the Main report are also relevant for people from N-MESCs:

- **"Personalise" violence against women by raising awareness that it is a community-wide social problem that requires community-wide responsibility** (Main report, p. 239)
- **Develop consistent definitions of domestic violence and coercive control across legislative and policy settings Australia-wide** (Main report, p. 239)
- **Increase recognition of the many forms of domestic violence and violence against women within the community and justice and service systems** (Main report, p. 240)

Finding 1c indicates the importance of interventions with N-MESC communities that:

- **Increase recognition of forms of domestic violence that disproportionately affect women from N-MESCs, including at community, service and government levels**

Educational interventions should target recognition of forms of domestic violence that have been shown to disproportionately impact women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. The NCAS results, and the broader literature on migrant and refugee communities, support raising awareness of the seriousness and harms of reproductive coercion (e.g. forcing a partner to have an unnecessary medical procedure affecting her reproductive health), visa law-related abuse (e.g. perpetrators' threats to deport partners with temporary visas) and forcing a partner to stop practising her religion (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Segrave et al., 2021; Suha et al., 2022).

The remaining implications of the findings for people from N-MESCs regarding understanding of violence against women are similar to those discussed in the Main report for all Australians (Main report, pp. 255–258). For example, Finding 1d indicates that there is room to increase understanding of in-person stalking and technology-facilitated abuse among N-MESC communities. The following implications from the Main report could be adapted to provide people from N-MESCs with culturally appropriate information and education on these forms of violence and abuse, and could also be applied to the organisations and systems that work with or affect people from N-MESCs:

- **Increase understanding of the different forms of technology-facilitated abuse and its serious impact** (Main report, p. 256)
- **Increase digital literacy to facilitate recognition and reporting of technology-facilitated abuse and to enhance skills for accessing support** (Main report, p. 256)
- **Prevent technology-facilitated abuse through safety-by-design principles and responsive legislative frameworks that address emerging forms of this abuse** (Main report, p. 257)
- **Raise awareness of the range of stalking behaviours, both in person and online, and its serious impacts** (Main report, p. 257)
- **Support victims and survivors of stalking to seek assistance and increase perpetrator accountability** (Main report, p. 258)

Findings 1e and 1f indicate that people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds, like all Australians, could benefit from initiatives that:

- **Increase awareness of the gendered nature of domestic violence by addressing "gender-ignoring" bias and "backlash"** (Main report, p. 241)

> ■ **Key finding 2: All aspects of attitudes towards gender inequality could be further improved**

■ **Implications for Key finding 2**

Attitudinal interventions are also a critical component of prevention of violence against women in communities (Our Watch, 2021a). Attitudinal interventions aim to reshape attitudes that condone or promote gender inequality and violence against women into attitudes that promote respect, equality and non-violence (United Nations, 2014). Attitudinal interventions that aim to improve attitudes towards gender inequality may challenge rigid gender roles, stereotypes and expectations and adopt gender-transformative approaches with men and the wider community.[25]

As Sections 1.2 and 9.1 outline, adopting an intersectional approach is important for attitudinal interventions with N-MESC communities. Interventions must acknowledge that violence is compounded by women's location at the intersections of multiple factors, including gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, sexual orientation and immigrant systems of oppression and discrimination (Ghafournia, 2014). Public abuse of women wearing hijabs and the underpayment of female migrant domestic helpers are examples of violence against women and gender inequality that intersect with racism (Chen, 2017). Therefore, interventions need to address Australians' attitudes towards gender together with race, religion and immigration status, as these attitudes underlie violence against women from N-MESCs, including structural and systemic forms of violence (Chen, 2017). Equally, interventions are needed in specific communities to challenge cultural attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women that are indirectly related to violence perpetration (Green et

al., 2023). For example, within the migrant and refugee literature, cultural gender norms have been identified that pressure women to tolerate abuse for the sake of family unity and affirm men's ownership of women's bodies, thereby legitimising physical and sexual violence (Green et al., 2023).

Overall, the NCAS implications regarding attitudes towards gender inequality for respondents born in N-MESCs are similar to those detailed for all Australians in the Main report (pp. 242–243). The NCAS findings for both samples indicate the need for prevention initiatives that reshape attitudes towards gender roles, women's marital obligations and expectations that abuse should be tolerated (Green et al., 2023). However, it should be kept in mind that all prevention initiatives with people from N-MESCs must be culturally appropriate and adapted to the specific community context (Section 9.1). Examples of initiatives to **improve attitudes and behaviours that support gender inequality** include initiatives that:

- **Address "backlash"**, or resistance towards gender equality movements, wherever it occurs across the community, including resistance based on misperceptions that gender equality may result in men losing their social standing (Main report, p. 242).
- **Promote gender equality in private and public life.** Institutions, organisations and community groups should take responsibility for ensuring that both formal and informal processes provide equal opportunities and identify and remove systemic obstacles to gender equality (Main report, p. 243).
- **Address the normalisation of sexism and tolerance of sexist microaggressions** across social settings, including among peer groups, in organisations and in the media. It is important to challenge both benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes, as both are damaging to the achievement of gender equality and the eradication of violence against women (Main report, p. 243).
- **Challenge rigid or harmful gender roles, stereotypes and expectations** that diminish, denigrate or objectify women; that limit their opportunities in public or private life; and that legitimise men's dominant position in the family, in intimate relationships and in workplaces (Main report, p. 243).
- **Ensure all strategies are gender-transformative in their design** by encouraging individuals to actively challenge and reject limiting gender norms and inequities (Main report, p. 243).

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25 Attitudinal interventions that aim to reshape attitudes that normalise and perpetuate violence are discussed under Key findings 3 and 4 in this section.

Key finding 3: Attitudes that minimise violence, mistrust women and objectify women could be further addressed

Implications for Key finding 3

- **Improve service responses to women from N-MESCs through cultural responsiveness training, trust-building initiatives and organisational reform that addresses systemic racism and discrimination**

Initiatives are needed to foster trust and respect between communities and service providers (Harrison et al., 2019). Cultural sensitivity training and raising awareness of community needs among service providers are critical for improving service responses to women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds (Green et al., 2023). Such training will assist service providers to consider women's cultural context and the influence of cultural norms on reporting of violence, appraisals of options for seeking support and justice, and perceptions of the consequences of help-seeking (e.g. fears of community ostracism, violence escalation, deportation and removal of children by formal services; Green et al., 2023; Vaughan et al., 2020). Additionally, initiatives with service providers could work towards shifting harmful attitudes, practices and policies within service organisations that inadvertently tolerate, justify or excuse racism or violence against N-MESC women.

It is particularly important to increase women's access to specialised trauma-informed translator services across reporting and help-seeking contexts (e.g. during police attendance for domestic violence, when seeking medical treatment). For example, a national phone service for specialist trained interpreters for migrant and refugee women experiencing domestic violence has been recommended by domestic violence advocates (Blakkarly, 2020). Such an initiative may increase women's access to information and also minimise harmful interactions with untrained and biased translators (e.g. failure to interpret impartially and non-judgementally, failure to interpret accurately and without omission; Professionals Australia, 2015; Vaughan et al., 2016).

The remaining implications of the findings regarding attitudes towards violence against women for people born in N-MESCs are similar to those detailed for all

Australians in the Main report (pp. 244–249). Examples of these recommendations are listed here:

- **Raise awareness that problematic attitudes towards violence against women normalise and perpetuate this violence** (Main report, p. 244)
- **Challenge attitudes that mistrust women and minimise violence that reflect discrimination based on structural inequalities** (Main report, p. 245)
- **Raise awareness that structural and systemic inadequacies adversely impact the reporting of violence** (Main report, p. 246)
- **Affirm the seriousness of violence against women and place responsibility on the perpetrator** (Main report, p. 247)

Key finding 4: Attitudes towards all types of violence could be further improved

Finding 4a: Domestic violence – Many respondents born in N-MESCs rejected many problematic attitudes towards domestic violence, but a concerning minority thought it should be handled in the family, women are partially to blame if they stay in abusive relationships and women lie about victimisation

Finding 4b: Sexual assault – Most respondents born in N-MESCs demonstrated strong rejection of attitudes that excuse sexual assault but weaker rejection if the woman initially consented or if the couple was married

Finding 4c: Sexual harassment – Most respondents born in N-MESCs "strongly disagreed" with problematic attitudes that sexual harassment is not serious, but a concerning minority did not

Finding 4d: Technology-facilitated abuse – Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised technology-facilitated abuse and rejected attitudes that condone it, but a concerning minority did not

Finding 4e: Stalking – Most respondents born in N-MESCs recognised stalking as a form of violence against women, but about 1 in 10 did not

Implications for Key finding 4

Funding and support are needed for initiatives with N-MESC communities to challenge problematic attitudes towards all types of violence, with particular focus on attitudes towards domestic violence. Relevant implications for each type of violence are provided below.

Domestic violence

Global population-level data indicates the gendered nature of domestic violence, with men as the main perpetrators and women as the main victims (ABS, 2023a; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014; WHO, 2021). Domestic violence against women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds may be perpetrated by men born in Australia, MESCs or N-MESCs and is underpinned by attitudes that condone violence towards women and gender inequality (DSS, 2022; García-Moreno et al., 2015; Our Watch, 2021a; Sardinha & Catalán, 2018). While these problematic attitudes can vary across cultures, they share the universal impact of contributing to violence against women.

- **Adopt a whole-of-community approach to domestic violence prevention using attitudinal interventions, community campaigns and perpetrator intervention programs**

Only a minority of NCAS respondents born in N-MESCs endorsed attitudes previously identified in the migrant and refugee literature that condone women tolerating domestic violence to maintain family honour and cohesion (Green et al., 2023). Nonetheless, the NCAS findings suggest that attitudinal interventions for domestic violence in N-MESC communities should focus on dispelling myths and misconceptions that blame and mistrust women and excuse men's violence. Additionally, community awareness programs are needed to promote beliefs that domestic violence is never justified (Farr et al., 2004; Flood, 2021; The Men's Project & Flood, 2018). Community campaigns should increase visibility of the barriers experienced by women in leaving violent relationships, such as financial independence and safe housing; fears about partner reprisals; concerns for their children, including fear of child removal; and poor knowledge about accessing services or support networks (Blunden & Flanagan, 2021; Hayes, 2017; Langton et al., 2020; Meyer, 2016; Murray et al., 2019; Postmus et al., 2020; Summers, 2022; Warren & McAuliffe, 2021).

Perpetrator intervention programs with men from N-MESC communities, and from the wider Australian community, should assist perpetrators of domestic violence to accept responsibility for their ongoing pattern of behaviour rather than viewing it as "out of character" due to stress or perceived provocation (Eckhardt et al., 2012; Hill, 2019). See Finding 7c later in this section for detailed discussion of the design and delivery of violence prevention programs with men in N-MESC communities. Additional implications regarding increasing understanding of domestic violence and addressing attitudes that minimise violence and shift blame to victims and survivors and mistrust women's reports of violence are outlined in the Main report (pp. 249–252).

- **Address access barriers and raise awareness within N-MESC communities of where to access support for individuals witnessing, experiencing or perpetrating domestic violence**

Research shows that initiatives that empower victims and survivors, as well as bystanders, with knowledge of where to seek help encourage action and expedite help-seeking (Ahmad et al., 2009; Donovan & Barnes, 2020; Ragusa, 2017). Such initiatives need to address the barriers identified in the literature that affect CALD women's access to violence-related information, supports and reporting pathways, which may similarly impact help-seeking by other N-MESC-born community members (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Segrave et al., 2021). For example, some of the barriers to CALD women accessing assistance for domestic violence include language barriers, a scarcity of culturally and linguistically appropriate services, concerns about racism and discrimination from service providers, community attitudes that normalise violence and fears of adverse repercussions from seeking help, such as community ostracism, violence escalation, deportation and removal of children (Femi-Ajao et al., 2020; Fineran & Kohli, 2020; Green et al., 2023; Hulley et al., 2023; Murray et al., 2019). See implications under Key finding 3 in this section for further discussion of how to address access barriers using attitudinal interventions and improvements to service responses.

A similar approach to identifying and addressing access barriers may be beneficial in raising awareness and early uptake of men's behaviour change programs. See Finding 7c later in this section for greater discussion of how to design and deliver interventions with men in N-MESC communities.

As Section 9.1 discusses, multilingual and multi-source approaches to the provision of information on support services and reporting pathways for domestic violence are needed in N-MESC communities.

- **Work with community members to leverage cultural strengths and community support services to improve safety for women and children**

Cultures and the individuals within them may vary on the extent to which they value independence and autonomy (called "individualism") compared to group harmony and interdependence (called "collectivism"). When applied to families who have more collectivist values, domestic violence prevention initiatives built on individualist assumptions may be ineffective or may increase barriers to reporting violence and overlook family strengths (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2019). One solution is to work with community leaders to examine how community support services might be better tailored to the values of the community while also progressing towards the aim of keeping all family members safe and upholding Australian laws. For example, drawing on collectivist perspectives, the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response model was developed in North America to address domestic violence and could potentially be adapted to an Australian context (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2019).

- **Challenge norms that normalise and justify domestic violence and its cultural construction as a private family matter**

In addition to indirectly influencing violence perpetration, community attitudes have been shown to shape women's perceptions of violence and help-seeking behaviours (Green et al., 2023). Therefore, promoting community recognition and intolerance of violence are important steps in both the prevention of men's violence and in reducing its impact on women. In communities that value the collective and the reputation of the community over the needs of the individual, interventions may need to target community responses of shaming abused women who seek help for "dishonouring" their husbands, families and communities (Green et al., 2023). For example, the Communities Care Program, led by the United Nations Children's Fund, found that challenging norms regarding sexual violence, protecting family honour, and husbands' rights to use violence led to a change in the community's tolerance of violence and, consequently, an increase in women's confidence in formal services (Glass et al., 2019; United Nations, 2014).

The NCAS findings for people born in N-MESCs support the need for attitudinal interventions focused on challenging the normalisation of domestic violence. Such interventions should be developed in partnership with community members to raise awareness of the unacceptability of violence while upholding communities' collectivist values where relevant (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2019). For example, education about the unacceptability and adverse consequences of violence against women could be expanded to focus not only on the harms experienced by individual victims and survivors but also on the harms experienced by their children and the broader community. This education could include raising awareness of the harms that can ensue from community tolerance of violence and silencing of women, such as developmental challenges in children, higher rates of physical and mental illness in the community, greater strain on health and government services, elevated costs to the economy and reduced community cohesion (Kitzmann et al., 2003; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2015; Savopoulos et al., 2023). A similar approach to reframing within a collectivist context could be taken to challenge justifications that excuse men's violent acts based on a loss of control, anger or stress levels.

Sexual assault

- **Shift problematic heterosexual sex scripts that privilege men's entitlement to sex**

Women experience sexual violence perpetrated by Australian-born men, men from MESCs and men from N-MESCs. Therefore, it is important to challenge views throughout the Australian community that position men as dominant and aggressive sexual initiators and women as submissive sexual gatekeepers. These heteronormative sex scripts place the responsibility of voicing consent and preventing sexual violence on women while absolving men from responsibility (Brady et al., 2018). For example, respectful relationships education strategies within schools and the broader community should focus on intimate mutuality and affirmative and ongoing consent within sexual encounters (Our Watch, 2021b; Struthers et al., 2019).

- **Challenge gender and marital roles that condone sexual violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives**

Research with CALD groups has identified beliefs that legitimise men's ownership of women's bodies through marriage and pressure women to tolerate men's violence (Femi-Ajao, 2018; Green et al., 2023). Pressures experienced by women stemmed from cultural views of marriage as a sacrament and divorce as taboo and were compounded by gender roles which placed the onus on women to maintain family cohesion and self-sacrifice (Green et al., 2023). However, women's concerns about children's safety and wellbeing were reported to transcend the influence of norms that support tolerating violence, so that the family and community is

not "dishonoured", rather than seeking help (Green et al., 2023).

Community awareness-raising initiatives are needed to challenge the normalisation of violence, deconstruct ideas about men's dominance and ownership of women, and raise awareness that it is a criminal offence in Australia for a man to have sex with his wife without her consent. Such initiatives are particularly important given the influence of community beliefs on men's sense of entitlement and on women's capacity to recognise violence and to feel justified in seeking help. Community-led gender transformative approaches are needed to address the drivers of sexual violence against women from N-MESCs in culturally responsive ways (Green et al., 2023). See Sections 9.1 and Key findings 1 to 3 in this section for further discussion of educational and attitudinal interventions for addressing violence against women from N-MESCs.

- **Remove barriers to the reporting of sexual assault**

Addressing systemic barriers to reporting sexual assault, including bias entrenched in policing and the judiciary, remains fundamental to improving community attitudes towards sexual violence (Avalos, 2017; Dewald & Lorenz, 2021; Gray & Horvath, 2018; Maddox et al., 2011; McGuire et al., 2012; Temkin et al., 2018). Women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds may face additional barriers to seeking help for sexual assault related to difficulties identifying reporting pathways, the scarcity of linguistically and culturally appropriate services and fears of immigration-related impacts to reporting violence (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021; Green et al., 2023). Thus, trauma-informed and culturally responsive reporting processes are needed to make reporting easier, safer and more accessible for all victims and survivors with diverse identity markers (Carroll, 2021).

In addition, see Main report (pp. 245–248 and p. 254) for further discussion of raising awareness of, and addressing barriers to, women reporting and seeking assistance and justice for violence victimisation (e.g. trauma-informed responses) and for information related to addressing attitudes that minimise violence and shift blame to victims and survivors, mistrust women's reports of violence, and objectify women and disregard the need for consent.

For example:

- **Increase community understanding of affirmative ongoing consent and address barriers to the success of affirmative consent initiatives** (Main report, p. 252)

Sexual harassment

- **Adopt an intersectional approach within workplace and community initiatives to prevent sexual harassment**

Recent research reveals that sexual harassment is commonly experienced by migrant and refugee women in Australia, with almost half of all reported incidents occurring in workplaces (Segrave et al., 2023). Workplaces, and the wider community, are therefore important settings for the prevention of sexual harassment. Initiatives must be designed with an understanding that sexual harassment against women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds is often the result of men's aggression towards women's gender, sex, race and/or religion (Chen, 2017; Segrave et al., 2023). Sexual harassment can be driven by gender stereotypes, attitudes that promote aggression and disrespect towards women, and racist attitudes that devalue women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. Initiatives must also recognise that women's experiences of sexual harassment can be compounded by structural factors, such as workplace policies that minimise women's decision-making, immigration policies that limit women's opportunities to choose another type of employment and industry regulations that allow employers to exploit migrants and refugees on particular visas (Chen, 2017; Segrave et al., 2023).

- **Raise awareness of the seriousness and unacceptability of sexual harassment**

In addition to adopting an intersectional approach, sexual harassment initiatives in N-MESC communities need to educate the community about the seriousness of sexual harassment and its potential adverse impacts, including social, psychological, physical and financial impacts (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2020; Harmer & Lewis, 2022). Such initiatives should raise awareness of the need for consent and shift problematic heterosexual sex scripts that privilege men's entitlement to sex (Minter et al., 2021). For example, it is important to challenge assumptions that men are entitled to persist with unwanted sexual advances and that women should be flattered by such advances. Initiatives should highlight the importance of respecting boundaries and avoiding sexual advances if there is a power differential or lack of consent. For further discussion of implications regarding addressing public misconceptions regarding sexual harassment, see Main report (pp. 254–255).

Technology-facilitated abuse

Emerging research suggests that CALD women may be one of the groups most at risk of technology-facilitated abuse (Douglas et al., 2019; Louie, 2021; WESNET, 2018; Woodlock, 2015). Furthermore, they can face unique barriers to accessing support, such as limited or no English-language skills, limited financial resources, immigration-related concerns, a scarcity of culturally and linguistically appropriate legal and support services, and distrust of government institutions (Henry et al., 2022). The difficulty of accessing support is heightened among women with limited or no English who have migrated away from their social and familial networks and have abusive partners who control or restrict their use of digital technologies. In particular, digital surveillance by male partners has been reported to prevent women from using specialist services as they fear that their partners will identify this by tracking their physical movements (Henry et al., 2022).

A further tactic identified among perpetrators is to restrict women's access to digital information and to provide misinformation about the impacts of reporting domestic violence or leaving the relationship, including impacts on women's immigration status and the removal of their children (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2021). These examples demonstrate how women's experiences of technology-facilitated abuse in N-MESC communities may be compounded by structural factors such as citizenship or migration status, cultural norms, social isolation and financial dependency (Henry et al., 2022). As such, a multifaceted approach is required to address technology-facilitated abuse, including cultural sensitivity training among service providers and whole-of-community awareness-raising initiatives.

- **Improve service accessibility and response for women from N-MESCs who are experiencing technology-facilitated abuse**

Cultural responsiveness training within support services and the justice system could be used to better support women from N-MESCs who are experiencing technology-facilitated abuse. Such training could educate service and justice workers about the specific challenges these women face, including compounding barriers to accessing support related to social isolation, language barriers, restricted access to digital technologies and provision of misinformation by their abusers. It would be valuable to increase the capacity of services to identify and respond to technology-facilitated abuse experienced by their clients via frontline responder training and programs tailored to the specific needs of different N-MESC communities. Examples include training staff in how to increase

clients' digital literacy and enhance understanding of the relevant laws, coupled with hiring women from N-MESCs in frontline roles (Henry et al., 2022). Additionally, as highlighted under Key finding 3 in this section, initiatives with service providers could work towards shifting harmful attitudes, practices and policies within service organisations that inadvertently tolerate, justify or excuse racism or violence against N-MESC women.

- **Disseminate information on technology-facilitated abuse using multiple sources and pathways to safely reach women from N-MESCs and raise community awareness**

Multiple sources of information and pathways are needed to educate N-MESC communities about technology-facilitated abuse and to reach women who are experiencing this abuse. For example, linguistically and culturally appropriate community awareness-raising initiatives could be used to disseminate key information and engender support within specific N-MESC communities. It is also important to offer information in person, hardcopy and online to reach women experiencing varying levels of partner surveillance. Further, consideration should be given to how to create safer pathways for women to access information and supports that are less likely to raise suspicion from their partners. For example, one possibility is to train health providers to identify technology-facilitated abuse and respond with referrals to culturally appropriate services (Henry et al., 2022).

- **Challenge attitudes that shift blame for violence to victims and survivors**

The 2021 NCAS findings highlight a mismatch between understanding of technology-facilitated abuse and attitudes towards it. The vast majority of people born in N-MESCs recognised technology-facilitated abuse as a form of violence and knew that it is a criminal offence to post or share a sexual picture of an ex-partner on social media without their consent. However, a sizeable minority held attitudes that shift blame to the victim or survivor for a partner sharing a naked picture without her consent and for rape when a woman agrees to meet up with a man she had initially met via a dating app. These results highlight that attitudes that shift blame away from perpetrators are evident across types of violence and suggest the importance of considering both in-person and online contexts in the development of policies and services. The results also demonstrate that awareness of Australian laws of violence is not sufficient to prevent the victim being blamed. Therefore, more work is needed to reinforce messages that perpetrators need to be held accountable for

their behaviour. Implications detailed under Sexual Assault and Sexual Harrassment are also relevant here, including "Shift problematic heterosexual sex scripts that privilege men's entitlement to sex" and "Raise awareness of the seriousness and unacceptability of sexual harassment".

Stalking

- **Raise awareness of the range and seriousness of stalking behaviours, including in person and online**

As discussed in the Main report (p. 257), it is important to raise awareness that stalking involves a pattern of repeated, unwanted behaviours intended to intimidate and control the victim that can have serious impacts, including psychological and physical ill health, and even homicide or suicide. It is also important to raise awareness of the different forms that digital and in-person stalking can take, including phone calls, text messages, messages on social media (e.g. Facebook and Twitter), electronic tracking, following the target in person, notes left on the target's car and unwanted gifts left at the target's home (NSW Government & NSW Police, 2022).

- **Offer culturally responsive and practical support for women from N-MESCs to seek support and report incidents of stalking**

As the Main report (p. 258) notes, the level of evidentiary proof needed to seek recourse for stalking through the justice system can be challenging and can require victims to collect evidence, apply for an intervention order and manage their risk of harm (Jerath et al., 2022; NSW Government & NSW Police, 2022). For women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds, pre-existing challenges to reporting stalking may be compounded by a scarcity of culturally and linguistically appropriate services and reporting pathways. Funding of independent and culturally informed advocates with appropriate linguistic skills is needed to offer women guidance through the justice system from reporting to any court actions.

Key finding 5: Bystander intentions depended on the context

Implications for Key finding 5

- **Increase bystander capacity to identify and respond to disrespect towards women**

As discussed in the Main report (pp. 258–260), bystander training and awareness campaigns are needed to boost bystander intention and competence to intervene when witnessing violence or disrespect against women in a range of contexts. For example, such interventions should increase bystander knowledge, confidence and skills for intervening; encourage identification with positive group norms that reject violence; remove barriers to, and negative consequences of, speaking up; employ context-specific initiatives; and educate leaders to maintain respectful work environments. It is critical that bystander interventions in N-MESC communities adopt an intersectional lens and explore respondents' concerns about acting that may involve adverse personal consequences (e.g. fears of community ostracism, anticipating a racist response) or stem from distrust of policing and other power structures.

In addition, bystander initiatives should be sensitive to power differentials experienced by people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds when speaking up about disrespect (Segrave et al., 2023). For example, in the workplace, the power differential between boss and employee may be compounded by gender and/or racial discrimination, leading to reduced intentions to call out a boss than a work friend for a sexist joke.

Furthermore, bystander initiatives should recognise the high rates of sexual harassment reported by women from N-MESCs and the barriers to reporting workplace incidents (Segrave et al., 2023). If women do not feel justified and safe to report experiences of sexual harassment, it is less likely that they will report witnessing sexist jokes and verbal abuse towards others. For example, research examining migrant and refugee women's experiences of sexual harassment found low rates of formal reporting, which were attributed to women feeling responsible for the harassment, their lack of knowledge about what to do and concerns about adverse impacts on their employment (Segrave et al., 2023). In approximately 33 per cent of the incidents of workplace-based sexual harassment, women had been threatened or warned not to report the incident (Segrave et al., 2023).

- **Drive cultural change in workplaces and communities to eliminate sexism and racism and encourage positive group norms that reject violence against women**

Routine investigations of workplace sexism and racial discrimination with subsequent organisational reform are needed to create safer workplaces for women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2020; Commission for Gender

Equality in the Public Sector, 2023). Furthermore, community-based initiatives are needed to challenge the normalisation of everyday hostile sexism such as the tendency for people, especially men, to perceive sexist and racist jokes as harmless (M. Lowe et al., 2021; Pina & Gannon, 2012).

Key finding 6: Attitudes towards violence against women and gender inequality were strongly related

Implications for Key finding 6

Attitudes towards violence against women are strongly associated with attitudes towards gender inequality, suggesting they need to be tackled together. We need to:

- **Strengthen attitudes supporting gender equality and improve understanding of violence against women to improve attitudes towards violence against women** (Main report, p. 248)
- **Improve attitudes towards violence against women by targeting individual- and relationship-level factors within the social ecology** (Main report, p. 248)

Key finding 7: Attitudes towards violence against women were modestly related to demographic factors

Finding 7a: English proficiency – Respondents born in N-MESCs had stronger understanding of violence against women and stronger rejection of violence against women and gender inequality if they were more proficient in English

Finding 7b: Length of time in Australia – Respondents born in N-MESCs had stronger understanding and rejection of violence against women and stronger rejection of some aspects of gender inequality if they had lived in Australia for longer

Finding 7c: Gender – Men respondents born in N-MESCs typically lagged behind women born in N-MESCs in their attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women

Implications for Key finding 7

English proficiency, formal education, length of time in Australia, gender, age and socioeconomic status of area were modestly related to the attitudes towards violence against women held by respondents born in N-MESCs. These NCAS results, and those in the Main report for all Australians, indicate that all demographic groups have room for improvement in understanding and attitudes towards violence against women and attitudes towards gender inequality. However, it would be beneficial to ensure interventions have the resources required to support people from N-MESCs who:

- speak LOTEs at home (e.g. resources in multiple languages, translators, etc.)
- do not have university-level education (e.g. plain language resources, resources that are relevant for people in trades)
- have recently moved to Australia (e.g. practical support, opportunities for connection building)
- are older
- are from lower socioeconomic areas (e.g. local support, free or subsidised support)
- are men.

Further implications based on the N-MESC results for English proficiency, length of time in Australia and gender are provided below.

English proficiency and length of time in Australia

Settlement in a new country is an inherently stressful process that can be compounded by pre-migration experiences of trauma and hardship (Nickerson et al., 2021). Settlement can be a source of heightened stress and psychological distress that may be associated with increased incidents of domestic violence (Nava et al., 2014; Njie-Carr et al., 2021). Similarly, beliefs and attitudes towards gender and violence against women may be impacted during a period of chronic distress spanning pre- and post-migration experiences. Such experiences can include exposure to racism, war and conflict, loss of social networks, learning a new language and exposure to different cultural norms. Given the multifaceted impacts on attitudes towards violence against women and gender equality, the observed changes in attitudes related to increased length of time in Australia and improved English proficiency cannot be attributed to a single factor. It is possible that these relationships are explained, in part, by problematic attitudes diminishing over time with acculturation to the Australian context. Greater research is needed to increase knowledge of the factors underlying attitudinal change in relation to settlement duration and language development.

It also important to recognise that focusing on attitudes and beliefs in N-MESC communities does not give insight into the prevention of violence against women from N-MESCs that is perpetrated by men born in Australia or MESCs. See Main report (pp. 261–263) for implications related to eliciting changes in men's attitudes and behaviours and wider cultural changes to increase women's safety and equality. Furthermore, problematic attitudes and beliefs within Australian culture and the immigration environment can have adverse impacts on women's experiences of violence and their capacity to escape it (e.g. institutional racism, the scarcity of culturally and linguistically appropriate services and women's inability to access services, health care, housing and government benefits based on visa status; Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018, 2021; Maher & Segrave, 2018). See Key finding 8 in this section for greater discussion of implications related to addressing the structural factors and discrimination underlying experiences of violence for women from N-MESCs.

- **Incorporate multilingual, violence awareness-raising initiatives into immigration processes for people from N-MESCs**

Initiatives should aim to increase recognition of different forms of violence and awareness of the unacceptability of violence in Australia, the legal ramifications of using violence, and women and children's rights under specific visa conditions. Information should be offered to people from N-MESCs at entry into Australia and afterwards via multiple community sources. Additionally, community-led attitudinal interventions are needed to address attitudes and beliefs that condone violence against women and gender inequality. See Key findings 2–4 in this section for detailed implications to address problematic attitudes in N-MESC communities.

- **Support the development and evaluation of peer education or mentoring for people born in N-MESCs**

People born in N-MESCs who have lived in Australia for many years could be recruited to educate, mentor or buddy with new immigrants. There is limited research into the efficacy of peer mentoring approaches but some indication that they can be beneficial for mental health, coping and access to resources (Barbaresos et al., 2023).

Gender

The NCAS finding that, in N-MESC communities, men lagged behind women in their attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women is consistent with the gender gap for all Australians. See the Main report (pp. 261–263) for strategies to address this gender gap across the Australian population, including gender-transformative, strengths-based and intersectional approaches; building attitude change into men's behaviour change programs; and fostering masculinity norms that reject violence.

- **Promote positive family relationships and gender equality in non-judgemental spaces for men from N-MESC backgrounds**

To address the gender gap in attitudes between men and women from N-MESCs, it is important to consider how to tailor programs, including gender-transformative, strengths-based and intersectional approaches, so that they are culturally and linguistically appropriate for each community. It is also important to consider how migration and settlement may be related to this gender gap. For example, Koleth et al. (2020) suggest:

- drawing on intersectional, trauma-informed and gender-transformative approaches to design spaces for men from N-MESCs to discuss experiences of migration, settlement and racism alongside prevention material
- inviting women and girls to co-design prevention strategies and set goals for behavioural change
- engaging a group facilitator who is a respected male community leader or other males with prevention expertise and knowledge of the community's culture and language
- drawing on the facilitator skillset and background to create culturally responsive and non-judgemental spaces where violence is treated as a community problem
- inviting gradual discussions of settlement, family and migration challenges, which progress to discussing family relationships and gender inequality
- using focused discussions to build understanding among men from N-MESCs of the intersections of structural discrimination and violence against women.

Raising awareness of the links between structural racism and gender inequality is important, as research suggests that migrant and refugee men view changing family structures, loss of social and economic status and adjustment to settlement as influencing their relationships with women and gender equality (Carmody et al., 2014). Some men's resistance to community-based prevention work and gender equality initiatives has been explained as their defence against perceived threats to male dominance (Carmody et al., 2014). This perceived loss of power can be strongly

rejected by men who have already lost their social standing, family and employment roles (Carmody et al., 2014). Thus, complex and continuing discussions are needed to unpack men's reasonings and reactions to racist discrimination and gender inequality. Helping men from N-MESCs to recognise the structural factors underlying both their experiences of racial discrimination and women's experiences of gender inequality is one pathway towards transforming gender roles and attitudes (Koleth et al., 2020). Partnering with existing services for engaging men (e.g. men's sheds) may be a means of achieving the long-term and sustained support needed for men-focused prevention work in N-MESC communities (Koleth et al., 2020).

It is also important to include leadership from women in prevention initiatives with N-MESC communities that fit within a broader program of activities and whole-of-community approach to prevention of violence against women (Koleth et al., 2020; Wells et al., 2020).

Key finding 8: Understanding and rejection of violence and gender inequality were lower for respondents born in N-MESCs than those born in Australia

Implications for Key finding 8

The NCAS findings suggest that people born in N-MESCs are a priority population for supporting attitudinal and knowledge-based interventions. The findings align with national recognition that culturally diverse, migrant and refugee women experience unique risks in relation to family and domestic violence and major barriers in accessing support for violence (DSS, 2022). Taken together, the NCAS findings and wider research underpin the need for targeted support, funding and resources within N-MESC communities, including support to improve community members' understanding and attitudes towards violence against women.

As noted in Key finding 7 in this section, multiple factors, including factors related to pre-migration, migration and acculturation, can influence the understanding and attitudes of people from N-MESCs.

Multifaceted approaches to increasing both the understanding and rejection of violence against women

and gender inequality are examined in Sections 9.1 and Key findings 1–4 in this section. As discussed throughout the present chapter, targeting knowledge and attitudes in N-MESC communities in isolation will have a limited impact on reducing violence against women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. For example, such approaches will not directly impact on the perpetration of violence by men born in Australia or MESCs, nor on the systemic and structural racism and inequalities that may facilitate violence experienced by women from N-MESCs.

- **Address structural factors affecting violence against women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds and drive sector-level cultural change**

The National Plan 2022–2032 recognises that women and girls from various cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups can be at increased risk of gendered violence (DSS, 2022). Within the wider literature, women and girls' risk of violence is understood as arising from forms of oppression and discrimination that are tied to intersecting aspects of women's identity and the Australian immigration environment (Ghafournia, 2014). As such, it is important to raise awareness across sectors of the structural factors that shape women's experiences and risk of experiencing violence to drive the deep-seated change needed across systems, language, discourses, societal norms, policies and practices to ensure safe and just outcomes for women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds (Henry et al., 2022).

- **Challenge racist attitudes against people from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds, including racialised representations of violence**

Challenging racial attitudes and stereotypes about migrant and refugee communities is an essential component of preventing violence against migrant and refugee women (Chen, 2017). Stereotypes about migrant and refugee people vary depending on the combination of their gender and racial characteristics. Compared to Anglo-Australian women, women from various N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds are sometimes stereotypically presented as more passive, submissive and vulnerable, and in greater need of saving (Chen, 2017). Men from certain N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds have been portrayed as hyper-masculine, domineering and controlling compared to Anglo-Australian men, while men from other N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds have been portrayed as less masculine than the idealised norm (Chen, 2017). Many migrant and refugee women's experiences of violence and gendered inequality are interlinked

with their experiences of racism and discrimination (Chen, 2017). Furthermore, research has revealed connections between violence against women and migrant and refugee men's reasonings and reactions to racist discrimination against them (Carmody et al., 2014). It is important that prevention approaches foster positive identities of people from migrant and refugee backgrounds and support them to reject rigid stereotypes about gender and race within their communities (Chen, 2017). This work needs to co-occur with efforts to challenge sexist and racist stereotypes in the wider Australian community, including its structures and systems.

10 Conclusion

The NCAS provides unique insight into the attitudes and beliefs held by a large, representative sample of the Australian population. It is among few high-quality sources of data that capture Australians' understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women. The 2021 NCAS findings provide evidence that most people born in N-MESCs, like most Australians from all backgrounds, strongly reject violence against women and gender inequality. The NCAS findings also highlight many areas for improvement in N-MESC communities. They can be used to inform prevention efforts that address prevailing knowledge gaps and deeply entrenched problematic attitudes towards violence and gender inequality. For example, the 2021 NCAS identified gaps in N-MESC-born respondents' understanding of violence against women, including gaps in recognising specific forms of violence, understanding its gendered nature as violence perpetrated mainly by men and estimating the extent of violence in Australia and one's own networks. Additionally, the NCAS results illuminate problematic attitudes held by a minority of people born in N-MESCs that preventative actions need to address. These include attitudes that endorse rigid gender roles, normalise, justify and excuse domestic and sexual violence, mistrust women and blame women for men's violence.

It is critical that prevention approaches are designed and delivered in partnership with communities to ensure culturally responsive and appropriate supports are offered and to increase meaningful engagement by community members (Koleth et al., 2020). Research supports the use of intersectional, gender-transformative and trauma-informed approaches across educational and attitudinal initiatives delivered in N-MESC communities (Chen, 2017; Koleth et al., 2020). As a first step, information to raise awareness about violence, its unacceptability in Australia and women and children's visa rights must be offered at entry into the country and in appropriate languages. Ongoing multilingual and multi-source dissemination of information on violence, available services and reporting pathways is needed to increase women and girls' access to support and justice (Satyen et al., 2020). Men's violence against women must be addressed using men's behaviour change programs, gender equality initiatives and effective justice responses (Forsdike et al., 2021; Pološki Vokić et al., 2019). Community-based and tailored prevention approaches are key to creating a culture of intolerance for violence against women and widespread value and respect for women and girls (Glass et al., 2019; United Nations, 2014).

Community beliefs and attitudes are among many complex factors underpinning men's violence against women and are shown to impact women's perceptions of violence and help-seeking (COAG, 2010; García-Moreno et al., 2015; Our Watch, 2021a; Sardinha & Catalán, 2018). Addressing the knowledge gaps and problematic attitudes identified by the NCAS is an important step towards promoting community recognition and intolerance of violence and, ultimately, preventing violence. However, initiatives beyond targeting knowledge and attitudes in N-MESC communities are also needed to reduce violence against women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. Prevention within N-MESC communities will not affect Australian-born men's choices to perpetrate violence. Similarly, this approach will not influence the structural and systemic forms of violence experienced by women from N-MESCs and CALD backgrounds. It is evident that deep-seated cultural change is needed across the Australian community, including within its structures and the immigration system, to address the oppression and discrimination underlying violence against women from N-MESCs.

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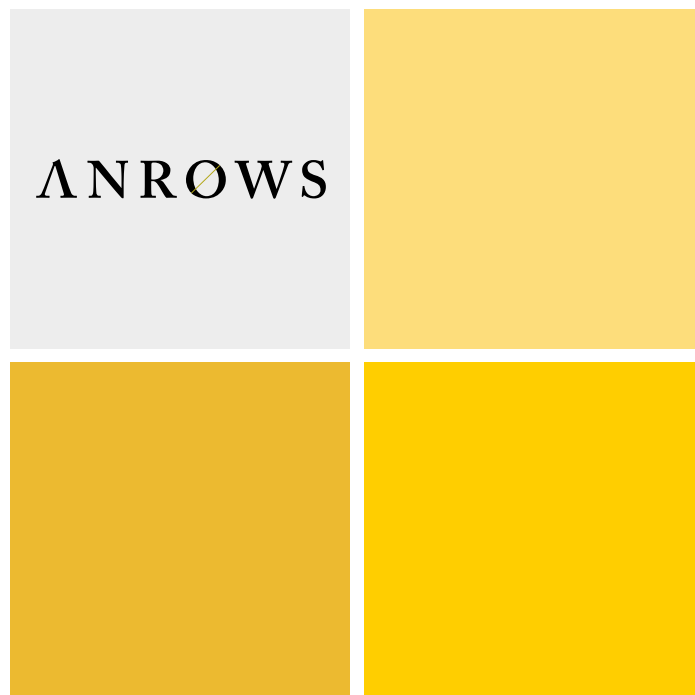
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ATTITUDES MATTER:

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NCAS

THE 2021 NATIONAL COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY (NCAS)

Findings for people born in countries where the main language is not English