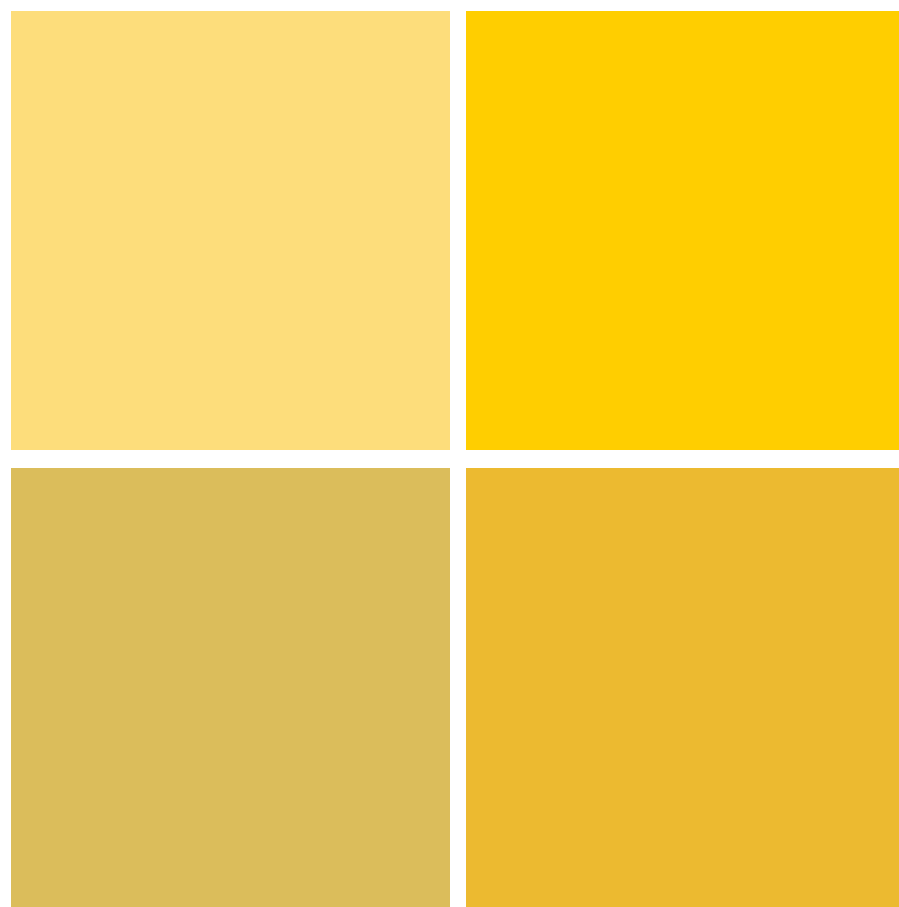


ANROWS

# ATTITUDES MATTER:



# NCAS

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

**Findings for Aboriginal and  
Torres Strait Islander respondents**

## ANROWS acknowledgement

This material was largely produced with funding from the Australian Government. Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) gratefully acknowledges the financial and other support it has received from the Australian Government, without which this work would not have been possible. The findings and views reported in this paper are those of the authors and cannot be attributed to the Australian Government.

ANROWS would also like to acknowledge Respect Victoria for its contribution to the project by funding an additional 1,600 Victorian interviews.

## 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 First Nations people, honouring the truths set out in the [Warawarni-gu Guma Statement](#) (Douglas et al., 2018).

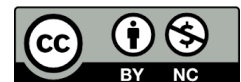
## Peer review process

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.

©ANROWS 2024

With the exception of the ANROWS branding, content provided by third parties, and any material protected by a trademark, all material presented in this publication is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 3.0 Australia (CC BY-NC 3.0 AU) licence.

The full licence terms are available at [creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/au/legalcode](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/au/legalcode)



## Published by

Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety Limited (ANROWS)  
PO Box Q389, Queen Victoria Building, NSW 1230 | [www.anrows.org.au](http://www.anrows.org.au)  
ABN 67 162 349 171

**ISBN: 978-1-922645-96-8 (paperback)**

**ISBN: 978-1-922645-98-2 (PDF)**

Please note that there is the potential for minor revisions of this report.

Please check the online version at [www.anrows.org.au](http://www.anrows.org.au) for any amendment.



A catalogue record for this work is available from the National Library of Australia

**Edited by** Neat Copy – a Supply Nation certified business.

**Designed and typeset by** Rareland Studio – a First Nations creative studio specialising in visual storytelling, art and design.

**Cover art by** Rareland Studio: "Trees bear scars that tell stories of their resilience and strength. Despite the challenges, they continue to reach for light, growing stronger.

They heal, grow, and persevere, showing that even in the face of adversity, there is the ability to thrive and flourish."



# Attitudes matter



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

**Findings for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents**

## **Project lead**

**Dr Christine Coumarelos**

Director, Research Program (NCAS), ANROWS

## **Research team**

**Dr Nicole Weeks**

Principal Research Officer (NCAS), ANROWS

**Dr Belinda Parker**

Senior Research Officer (NCAS), ANROWS

**Dr Ella Gorman**

Research and Administration Officer (NCAS), ANROWS

# ANROWS

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

**Australia's National Research  
Organisation for Women's Safety**

PO Box Q389,  
Queen Victoria Building NSW 1230



# Social Research Centre

**Social Research Centre**

Level 5, 350 Queen St  
Melbourne VIC 3000

## **Author acknowledgement**

Our sincere thanks to the 2021 NCAS Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group (Appendix A). This advisory group provided valuable guidance on the new module of questions for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, early input into the plan for data analysis, weighting and reporting, and comments on a draft of the report. Our thanks also to the independent Aboriginal academics who provided blind peer review of this report.

We thank the 2021 NCAS Panel of Experts and the 2021 NCAS Advisory Group for their guidance on the NCAS and our research partner, the Social Research Centre (SRC), led by Dr Nikki Honey. The researchers and statisticians at the SRC who contributed to the data collection and statistical analysis included Andrew Ward, Laura Rimington, Sandra Roperio and Sebastian Misson.

We also thank the ANROWS staff: Annie Blatchford, Amy Watson, Dr Samantha Parker, Dr Natalie Roberts and Dr Shireen Bernstein for their contribution to this report, and Kate Minter and Dr Erin Carlisle for their early work on the NCAS survey and the Main report.

## **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).



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. It also provides insights relevant to the five reform areas of the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan 2023-2025*.

### **Suggested citation**

Coumarelos, C., Weeks, N., Parker, B., & Gorman, E. (2024). *Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents* (Research report, 09/2024). ANROWS.

# Contents

Table of figures	4
Table of tables	5
Shortened forms	6
Data symbols table and figure notations	8
Key terms	9
<b>About this report</b>	<b>15</b>
Terminology	16
<b>About the NCAS</b>	<b>17</b>
2021 NCAS	18
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>19</b>
Research design and analysis	20
Key findings	21
Conclusions and insights	24
<b>1 Introduction: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, gendered attitudes and violence against women</b>	<b>26</b>
1.1 Truth-telling and the 2021 NCAS	26
1.2 Violence against women is a widespread problem	29
1.3 Drivers of violence against women	29
1.4 Forms and prevalence of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women	35
1.5 Barriers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women reporting and accessing culturally safe support for violence	37
1.6 Insights offered by measuring attitudes and understandings	38
1.7 The present report	39
<b>2 Research design</b>	<b>40</b>
2.1 Aims of the 2021 NCAS for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents	40
2.2 2021 NCAS instrument	41
2.3 About the NCAS Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample	44
2.4 Analysis and reporting	47
2.5 Strengths and limitations	49

<b>3 Findings: Perceptions about community and system responses to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women</b>	<b>50</b>
3.1 Perceptions about whether violence is taken seriously	51
3.2 Perceptions about whether services, police and courts provide confidentiality and fair treatment	52
<b>4 Findings: Understanding of violence against women held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents</b>	<b>55</b>
4.1 Understanding of the prevalence of violence	56
4.2 Understanding of different aspects of violence	57
<b>5 Findings: Attitudes held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards gender inequality</b>	<b>61</b>
5.1 Attitudes towards different aspects of gender inequality	62
<b>6 Findings: Attitudes held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards violence against women</b>	<b>65</b>
6.1 Different types of attitudes towards violence against women	66
<b>7 Findings: Understanding and attitudes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards different types of violence against women</b>	<b>71</b>
7.1 Domestic violence	72
7.2 Sexual violence	73
7.3 Technology-facilitated abuse and stalking	73
<b>8 Findings: Factors associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes towards violence against women</b>	<b>75</b>
8.1 Understandings and attitudes associated with attitudes towards violence	76
8.2 Demographics associated with attitudes towards violence	76
<b>9 Insights for policy and practice</b>	<b>77</b>
9.1 Insights about <i>how</i> to design and deliver interventions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	78
9.2 NCAS insights about <i>what</i> prevention initiatives are needed	80

<b>10 Conclusion</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>11 Appendix: 2021 NCAS Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>12 References</b>	<b>86</b>



# Table of figures

Figure 1-1: The socio-ecological model of violence against women	30
Figure 1-2: Link between intergenerational trauma and violence	34
Figure 2-1: Components of the NCAS instrument, Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	43
Figure 3-1: Perceptions of whether violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	52
Figure 3-2: Perceptions of whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women victims and survivors would be treated fairly, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	53
Figure 3-3: Perceptions of whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander accused men would be treated fairly, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	53
Figure 4-1: Perception of violence against women as a problem, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	56
Figure 4-2: Recognising domestic violence (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	57
Figure 4-3: Recognising violence against women (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	58
Figure 4-4: Understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence perpetration (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	59
Figure 4-5: Understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence impacts (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	59
Figure 4-6: Understanding of different aspects of violence against women (UVAWS subscales), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	60
Figure 5-1: Denying gender inequality experiences (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	62
Figure 5-2: Limiting women's personal autonomy in relationships (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	63
Figure 5-3: Normalising sexism (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	63
Figure 5-4: Reinforcing rigid gender roles (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	64
Figure 5-5: Undermining women's leadership in public life (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	64
Figure 6-1: Minimising violence against women and shifting blame (AVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	67
Figure 6-2: Mistrusting women's reports of violence (AVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	68
Figure 6-3: Objectifying women and disregarding consent (AVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	69
Figure 6-4: Rejection of different aspects of violence against women (AVAWS subscales), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021.	70
Figure 7-1: Knowledge of domestic violence services, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021	72

# Table of tables

Table 1-1: Socio-ecological factors that contribute to or facilitate violence against women	31
Table 2-1: Demographics of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample, 2021	45
Table 2-2: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander multiple regression models, 2021	48

# Shortened forms

<b>ABS</b>	Australian Bureau of Statistics
<b>ACCOS</b>	Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations
<b>Action Plan</b>	<i>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan 2023–2025 under the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032</i>
<b>ADFVDRN</b>	Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network
<b>AG</b>	2021 NCAS Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group
<b>AGIS</b>	Attitudes towards Gender Inequality Scale
<b>AIHW</b>	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
<b>ANROWS</b>	Australia’s National Research Organisation for Women’s Safety
<b>AVAWS</b>	Attitudes towards Violence against Women Scale
<b>COAG</b>	Council of Australian Governments
<b>DSS</b>	Department of Social Services
<b>DVS</b>	Domestic Violence Scale
<b>GVIS</b>	Gendered Violence and Inequality Scale
<b>HREOC</b>	Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
<b>LGBTQ+</b>	An evolving acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans gender, queer/questioning, asexual and other sexuality- or gender-diverse people
<b>Main report</b>	Coumarelos, C., Weeks, N., Bernstein, S., Roberts, N., Honey, N., Minter, K., & Carlisle, E. (2023). <i>Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Findings for Australia</i> . (Research report 02/2023). ANROWS.
<b>National Plan 2022–2032</b>	<i>National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032</i>
<b>NCAS</b>	National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey
<b>NIAA</b>	National Indigenous Australians Agency

<b>PSS</b>	Personal Safety Survey
<b>Recognise DV Subscale</b>	Recognise Domestic Violence Subscale
<b>Recognise VAW Subscale</b>	Recognise Violence Against Women Subscale
<b>RDD</b>	Random digital dialling
<b>SAS</b>	Sexual Assault Scale
<b>SEIFA</b>	Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018). See key term socio-economic status of area.
<b>SHS</b>	Sexual Harassment Scale
<b>SVS</b>	Sexual Violence Scale
<b>Technical report</b>	Coumarelos, C., Honey, N., Ward, A., Weeks, N., & Minter, K. (2023). <i>Attitudes matter: The 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS), Technical report</i> . (Insights 02/2023). ANROWS.
<b>TFAS</b>	Technology-Facilitated Abuse Scale
<b>Understand Gendered DV Subscale</b>	Understand Gendered Domestic Violence Subscale
<b>UNDRIP</b>	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
<b>UVAWS</b>	Understanding of Violence against Women Scale

# ■ 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

---

**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

---

**Attitudes**

Evaluations or appraisals 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).

---

**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.

---

**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], 2022a). 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, 2022a). 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".)

---

**Economic abuse**

See financial abuse.

---

<b>Emotional and psychological abuse</b>	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 and survivor (National Family and Domestic Violence Bench Book, 2023).
<b>Equality</b>	The state of being equal, especially in status, rights or opportunities.
<b>Equity</b>	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.
<b>Family violence</b>	A broader term than “domestic violence”. Refers not only to violence between intimate partners but also to violence between family members. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities, “family violence” typically 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.
<b>Financial abuse</b>	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.
<b>Forced sex</b>	See sexual assault. ANROWS acknowledges that forced sex is the same as rape or sexual assault. “Forced sex” or “forces sex” is used in NCAS items, and therefore retained when reporting those items. “Forces sex” is interpreted as a less judgemental term than “rape” or “sexual assault” and therefore is less likely to invoke a social desirability bias when used in a survey item.
<b>Gender</b>	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.

<b>Gendered drivers of violence</b>	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.
<b>Gender equality</b>	Refers to 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.
<b>Gender stereotypes</b>	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, 2022a).
<b>Gender norms</b>	Shared standards of acceptable and appropriate behaviour that are based on gender stereotypes held by members of a community, culture or group (Moura, 2023).
<b>Heteronormativity</b>	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, such as gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, trans people (American Psychological Association, 2022). The dominance of heteronormative and cisnormative models of domestic and family 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).
<b>Intersectionality</b>	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).
<b>Justice system</b>	In this report, the justice system refers to all government institutions, agencies, departments and staff responsible for the management of alleged violations of the laws in Australia, including the police, criminal and civil courts, and institutional and community corrections services, at a jurisdictional and national level.
<b>Men</b>	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.



<b>Multiple linear regression analysis</b>	<p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are <i>independently</i> related to or “predict” the outcome variable, <i>after</i> accounting for any relationships between the factors</li> <li>• are <i>most important</i> in predicting the outcome variable.</li> </ul>
<b>Multivariate analysis</b>	<p>A type of statistical analysis that examines the interrelationships between three or more variables. Multiple linear regression analysis is a type of multivariate analysis.</p>
<b>Non-binary</b>	<p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• explicitly identified as non-binary</li> <li>• provided another response that was consistent with a gender identity outside the gender binary.</li> </ul>
<b>Non-physical violence</b>	<p>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.</p>
<b>Physical violence</b>	<p>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.</p>
<b>Primary prevention</b>	<p>Initiatives that aim to stop violence before it starts by changing the underlying social drivers of violence, including attitudes and systems (DSS, 2022a; Our Watch, 2024).</p>
<b>Recovery and healing</b>	<p>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, 2022a).</p>
<b>Response to violence</b>	<p>Also referred to as tertiary prevention. The provision of services and supports to address existing violence and support victims and survivors experiencing violence, including via crisis support and police intervention, and fostering trauma-informed justice systems to hold perpetrators of violence to account (DSS, 2022a).</p>
<b>Scale</b>	<p>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 the Technical report, pp. 102–113.</p>
<b>Sexism</b>	<p>Attitudes, stereotypes, prejudice and other cultural elements that promote discrimination based on gender.</p>

<b>Sexual assault</b>	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, 2022a). 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, 2022a).
<b>Sexual harassment</b>	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.
<b>Sexuality</b>	The experience of sexual attraction, behaviour and identity (Carman, Rosenberg, et al., 2020). 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".
<b>Sexual violence</b>	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.
<b>Significant</b>	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.
<b>Social norms</b>	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.
<b>Socio-economic status of area</b>	In this report, socio-economic status of area is based on the Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage and Disadvantage (ISRAD, a SEIFA index) – an Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) measure of the socio-economic conditions in geographic areas in terms of people's access to material and social resources, and their opportunity to participate in society (ABS, 2018).
<b>Stalking</b>	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 (Campbell, 2019; Victorian Law Reform Commission, 2021). Examples of stalking behaviours include tracking or following someone (in person or online) and loitering.

<b>Subscale</b>	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 the Technical report, pp. 102-113.
<b>Technology-facilitated abuse</b>	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).
<b>Trans gender</b>	“Trans gender” is an inclusive umbrella term meaning people whose gender is different from the sex recorded or presumed for them at birth (TransHub, 2021a). 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, 2022a).
<b>Univariate analysis</b>	The data analysis of a single variable or item, such as the number or percentage of respondents in each gender category.
<b>Victims and survivors</b>	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, 2022a).
<b>Violence against women</b>	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.
<b>Women</b>	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 who identified as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander persons. The report will interest stakeholders tasked with responding to, reducing and preventing violence against women, including policymakers, practitioners, practice designers, educators, researchers, community organisations and media. It has relevance for violence prevention in Australia, particularly violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.



This report is one among a suite of 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.
- 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. (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.
- Coumarelos, C., Rasmussen, V., & Weeks, N. (2024). *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*. (Research report: 05/2024). ANROWS

## Terminology

This report focuses on 2021 NCAS respondents who identified as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander persons. We recognise that no term that groups different peoples together, including people from the many First Nations across Australia, or Indigenous peoples across the world, adequately represents the diverse cultures, languages, traditions and identities within these groups (Peters & Mika, 2017). We also recognise the preference of the former Minister for Indigenous Australians, the Honourable Linda Burney MP, for the use of the term “First Nations people” (Australian Public Service Commission, 2022).

We have chosen to consistently use “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander” respondents to describe our sample. The use of this term is recommended as best-practice in the *Demonstrating inclusive and respectful language* terminology guide developed and produced by Reconciliation Australia (Reconciliation Australia, n.d.). It is also the term used in the 2021 NCAS questions asked only of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents.

We use “Indigenous” when describing international populations and we use “non-Indigenous” for brevity when describing people who do not identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander. We also retain the use of “Indigenous” when it is a proper noun (e.g. part of an organisation’s or a document’s name) or when it is embedded into an organisation’s programs or policies. Examples include the Maïam nayri Wingara Indigenous Data Sovereignty Collective and the Australian Indigenous Governance Institute, who refer directly to Indigenous data sovereignty (Maïam nayri Wingara, 2018). We use “First Nations” to refer to the different and distinct Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups across Australia.

We have taken this approach with the understanding and recognition that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, cultures and identities are diverse and with the desire to be inclusive and respectful (Reconciliation Australia, n.d.). We use these terms carefully and respectfully, keeping in mind the diverse peoples they represent.



# About the NCAS

The 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
- attitudes towards gender inequality
- 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) and will continue to evaluate progress against the current *National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032* (the National Plan 2022–2032; Council of Australian Governments [COAG], 2010; Department of Social Services [DSS], 2022a). 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 Australian 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.



## 2021 NCAS

The 2021 NCAS sample consisted of 19,100 Australians aged 16 years or older, who were interviewed via mobile telephone, including 442 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. All interviews with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were conducted in English.

The findings of the 2021 NCAS for all Australians demonstrated gradual improvements in Australians' understanding and attitudes regarding gender inequality and violence against women, suggesting encouraging progress towards achieving a community that offers equal opportunities to women and safety from violence. However, further intervention is still necessary where harmful individual attitudes and harmful social norms prevail. It is important to continue to challenge biases, myths and misconceptions regarding violence against women and gender inequality because these 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 and 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.



# 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. Measuring knowledge and attitudes regarding violence against women can provide insights into the broader climate that facilitates and maintains violence against women and gender 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, 2022a). 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 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. The focus on the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander demographic group is in keeping with the literature and national recognition that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experience high rates of violence and face barriers to seeking help and reporting violence because of the impacts of colonialism, racism and government practices. These impacts have resulted in mistrust of police and mainstream services, misidentification as perpetrators, inappropriate incarceration and child removal (see Sections 1.4 and 1.5). The report aims to provide insights for initiatives to prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women by examining the following for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents who completed the 2021 NCAS:

- understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women and attitudes towards gender equality
- any notable gaps in understanding or more problematic attitudes
- 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. The oppression of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and their experience of violence must be understood as resulting from the intersecting impacts of colonisation and racial and gender discrimination. The Introduction and Insights chapters (Chapters 1 and 9) provide greater discussion of the complex and interconnected factors underpinning these attitudes.

In the spirit of truth-telling, we acknowledge that this report was written by non-Indigenous authors. We recognise the limitations of this approach, as we do not have personal experience with First Nations cultural traditions nor with the devastating impacts of colonisation and racism against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. However, we worked with our Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group

(AG) of experts throughout this project, who provided invaluable guidance on cultural safety and sensitivity, including in relation to the design of survey questions, the data analysis and weighting plan, data sovereignty issues, and the write-up of this report. The AG, along with two independent Aboriginal academics, also provided feedback on a draft of this report.

## Research design and analysis

The 2021 NCAS was conducted via mobile telephone interviews with 19,100 respondents across Australia. The sample included 442 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, constituting 2.3 per cent of the total sample.

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.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were presented with an additional module of questions which examined their attitudes regarding responses by service providers, police, the legal system and the community to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (Section 2.2).

Most 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 “type of violence” scales to measure and allow comparisons between attitudes towards five types of violence, which are:

- the Domestic Violence Scale (DVS)
- the Sexual Violence Scale (SVS)
- the Sexual Assault Scale (SAS)
- the Sexual Harassment Scale (SHS)
- the Technology-Facilitated Abuse Scale (TFAS).

Respondents’ scores on each scale were used to calculate the average 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.

## Sample

The NCAS sample was largely obtained via random digit dialling (RDD) of mobile telephones and was supplemented or “topped up” with listed mobile telephones. Random sampling, such as via RDD, is widely acknowledged as the best approach for achieving a sample that facilitates accurate and representative reporting about the population.

The 2021 NCAS sample included 442 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 405 of whom identified as Aboriginal (92%), 20 as Torres Strait Islander (5%) and 17 as both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (4%).<sup>1</sup> Interviews with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were all conducted in English. Over half the sample were women (56%) and employed as their main labour activity (55%). Almost one quarter of the sample had a university education (23%).

As Sections 2.3 to 2.5 discuss, despite using random sampling, the NCAS, like most research with Aboriginal

and Torres Strait Islander people, is unlikely to be fully representative of the many diverse Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples across Australia. Thus, the present report does not:

- compare results over time across different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander samples
- generalise the 2021 findings to the broader Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population
- compare the 2021 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents with the 2021 non-Indigenous sample. (See Sections 2.3 to 2.5.)

## Key findings

The NCAS findings show that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents did not trust the police and government to take violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women seriously, nor to treat Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people fairly when family violence is reported. The NCAS findings highlight the need for improvement in systems and services that are meant to serve all Australians, as well as providing insights for initiatives to prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

### Key finding 1: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents agreed that violence against women is taken seriously by their community, but many disagreed that it is taken seriously by the police and government

While most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) that violence against women was taken seriously by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the suburb or town in which they live (60%), fewer than half “agreed” that this violence is taken seriously by the police (44%) and the government (36%).

<sup>1</sup> Percentages do not add to 100 due to rounding.

**Key finding 2: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents reported higher trust in the confidentiality of services than in fair treatment by police and courts, but more than one in four did not expect confidential or fair treatment**

Respondents had higher trust in services providing confidentiality than in police and courts providing fair treatment in family violence matters involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Approximately three in five or more (59–66%) respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) that services would maintain confidentiality for women reporting violence and men accused of violence, but fewer than three in five “agreed” that fair treatment would be provided by the police and courts (40–55%). In addition, sizeable proportions of respondents – at least one in four – “disagreed” (strongly or somewhat) with these statements.

**Key finding 3: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had higher trust in confidential and fair treatment for women reporting violence than for accused men**

More respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) that confidential treatment by services would be provided to women reporting family violence (66%) than to men accused of family violence (59%). Similarly, more respondents “agreed” that fair treatment by police and courts would be provided to women reporting family violence (49–55%) than to accused men (40–45%).

**Key finding 4: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had lower trust in police responses to violence if they identified as LGBTQ+**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents who identified as heterosexual were significantly more likely than those who identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual,

pansexual, asexual, queer or diverse (LGBTQ+) to “agree” (strongly or somewhat) that the police would respond appropriately to family violence matters (44–58% of heterosexual versus 14–22% of LGBTQ+ respondents).

**Key finding 5: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were more likely to recognise that violence against women is a problem in Australia than in their own local area**

More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) that violence against women was a problem in Australia (93%) than in their local area (67%).

**Key finding 6: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had a stronger understanding of some aspects of violence than others**

More respondents recognised physical forms of domestic violence (79–86%) than non-physical forms of domestic violence (61–75%) as “always” domestic violence. Respondents had significantly better recognition of domestic violence behaviours than other forms of violence against women. In addition, more respondents recognised in-person stalking as a form of violence against women (81%) than technology-facilitated abuse behaviours (64–70%) as “always” violence against women.

Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents did not understand that domestic violence is gendered in that most perpetrators are men and most victims are women. Most respondents thought that men and women were equally likely to commit domestic violence (70%) and to suffer physical harm from domestic violence (54%). Respondents had a significantly better understanding of the behaviours constituting domestic and other forms of violence than of the gendered nature of domestic violence.

**Key finding 7: Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents rejected problematic attitudes towards gender inequality, but there is room for improvement across all aspects of gender equality**

The AGIS measured attitudes towards five different aspects of gender inequality via five subscales. The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with the items in three of the subscales describing attitudes that normalise sexism (55–91%), reinforce gender roles (50–77%) and undermine women’s leadership in public life (65–77%). Around half “strongly disagreed” with items in the subscale describing attitudes that condone limiting women’s autonomy in relationships (46–63%). Fewer than half “strongly disagreed” with the items in the subscale describing attitudes that deny gender inequality experiences (23–31%). Scores on the five AGIS subscales indicated similar levels of rejection of these five types of attitudes towards gender inequality.

**Key finding 8: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents rejected problematic attitudes that minimise violence, objectify women and mistrust women, but there is room for improvement, especially in attitudes that mistrust women**

The AVAWS measured three different types of attitudes towards violence via three subscales. The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with all the items describing minimising violence against women (51–91%) and all the items describing objectifying women and disregarding their consent (61–90%). However, there was significantly lower rejection of attitudes that mistrust women’s reports of violence, with substantial variation in the proportion of respondents who “strongly disagreed” with these items (26–83%).

**Key finding 9: Domestic violence – most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents showed strong rejection of domestic violence and knowledge of support services, but there is room for improvement**

The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with many problematic myths and misconceptions about domestic violence. However, at least one in four respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) with some problematic myths including that women going through a custody battle exaggerate claims of domestic violence (47%), a woman who does not leave their abusive partner is partly responsible for abuse continuing (29%) and domestic violence is a normal reaction to stress (25%). Most respondents did, however, indicate that they would know where to access support services for domestic violence (65%).

**Key finding 10: Sexual violence – most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents showed strong understanding and rejection of sexual violence, but there is room for improvement**

The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with most of the problematic attitudes towards sexual violence measured by the NCAS. However, there was a sizeable proportion who “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) with some attitudes that mistrust reports of sexual violence (28–47%) and some attitudes that disregard women’s consent (13–24%). Most respondents demonstrated a good understanding of the law and myth about stranger rape. However, almost one in five (18%) respondents thought that women were more likely to be raped by a stranger than by someone they know.

### ■ Key finding 11: Technology-facilitated abuse and stalking – most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents showed strong understanding and rejection of these types of violence

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised that technology-facilitated abuse behaviours always constitute a form of violence (64–70%) and “strongly disagreed” with problematic attitudes towards this abuse (68–90%). Compared to technology-facilitated stalking (68%), in-person stalking (81%) was recognised by more respondents as “always” constituting violence.

### ■ Key finding 12: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women were strongly associated

Based on multiple regression analyses, the strongest measured predictor of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ attitudes towards violence against women was attitudes towards gender inequality, followed by understanding of violence against women.

### ■ Key finding 13: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ gender, education and employment status were modestly related to their attitudes towards violence against women

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents that had higher rejection of violence against women were women, university graduates and those who were employed. However, the influence of demographics on these attitudes was modest.

## Conclusions and insights

Although the NCAS results are unlikely to fully represent the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, they include a broad coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from across Australia, including people living in urban, regional, remote and very remote areas. Thus, the results highlight important insights relevant to many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. These insights provide valuable evidence to help inform violence prevention policy and programs aimed at ending violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

All initiatives to prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women should be designed and implemented according to the principles of self-determination and embed the perspectives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The following insights are intended to *supplement* those in the Main report by focusing on prevention strategies that may be adapted to meet the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The NCAS findings in the present report provide important insights about *what* content areas prevention initiatives should focus on. The broader literature provides guidance on *how* such initiatives should be developed and implemented to ensure they are culturally responsive, safe and appropriate.

### ■ Insights about *how* to design and deliver interventions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

Recommendations from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research indicate that all violence prevention policies and programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should:

- support self-determination
- listen to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s perspectives on what is needed.

## ■ NCAS insights about *what* prevention initiatives are needed

The NCAS findings suggest that prevention initiatives are needed to:

- **tackle systemic racism through system-level change**, for example, by:

- providing culturally responsive and appropriate mainstream services to reduce barriers to accessing these services
- developing culturally appropriate justice system responses to increase fair treatment and reduce barriers to accessing justice
- providing adequate and ongoing funding to Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations (ACCOs)
- holding mainstream services accountable for providing equitable service and treatment for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

- **work with ACCOs to prevent violence against women**, for example, by:

- conducting research to investigate the factors underlying gaps in understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence
- providing education initiatives to increase awareness of the high prevalence and impacts of domestic violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women
- building capacity among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to recognise violence and shift attitudes that condone or normalise violence
- increasing access to services and justice for both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence who are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people
- conducting research to deepen knowledge of the factors that shape problematic attitudes towards violence against women.



# 1 Introduction: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, gendered attitudes and violence against women

## 1.1 Truth-telling and the 2021 NCAS

The *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan 2023–2025* (the Action Plan) under the National Plan 2022–2032 states that “Establishing an honest account of events and processes, both historical and contemporary, is essential to forming mutual understanding between non-Indigenous people and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples” (DSS, 2023a, p. 5). We are committed to truth-telling throughout this report.

In the spirit of truth-telling, this section outlines the NCAS processes regarding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s input into the 2021 NCAS, including into design, data sovereignty considerations and reporting. For further details, see Section 2.5.



## Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group

The AG was formed to provide guidance on the 2021 NCAS (see Appendix A for members). The AG included Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander professionals from various First Nations (see Appendix A for details) who have a range of expertise in family, domestic and sexual violence, including in qualitative and quantitative research, sociology, social work, psychology, public health, law and justice, policy and service provision. As further discussed in this chapter and Chapter 2, the AG provided valuable guidance on:

- the new module of questions for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents
- the data analysis, weighting plan and data sovereignty issues
- the framing of the report given that the sample should not be considered representative of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples
- a draft of this report.

## Data sovereignty

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have the right to govern the creation, collection, ownership and application of their data (Maiaam nayri Wingara, 2018). Australia is a signatory to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which outlines minimum standards to protect Indigenous peoples' rights across the world. Article 18 of the UNDRIP states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own Indigenous decision-making institutions." (United Nations, 2007, pp. 15–16). Further, Article 19 stipulates that states are required to "consult and cooperate in good faith with Indigenous peoples through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them" (Lovett et al., 2019, p. 30). Given policy decisions are informed by relevant research, it is important that these rights apply to the collection and dissemination of research data as well as the policies themselves.

The Maiaam nayri Wingara Indigenous Data Sovereignty Collective and the Australian Indigenous Governance Institute released Indigenous data sovereignty

principles arising from the Indigenous Data Sovereignty Summit in 2018 (Maiaam nayri Wingara, 2018). These include three foundational statements (p.1; See Maiaam nayri Wingara, 2018):

- "In Australia, 'Indigenous Data' refers to information or knowledge, in any format or medium, which is about and may affect Indigenous peoples both collectively and individually.
- 'Indigenous Data Sovereignty' refers to the right of Indigenous peoples to exercise ownership over Indigenous Data. Ownership of data can be expressed through the creation, collection, access, analysis, interpretation, management, dissemination and reuse of Indigenous Data.
- 'Indigenous Data Governance' refers to the right of Indigenous peoples to autonomously decide what, how and why Indigenous Data are collected, accessed and used. It ensures that data on, or about, Indigenous peoples reflect our priorities, values, cultures, worldviews and diversity."

These principles are that "Indigenous peoples have the right to:

- exercise control of the data ecosystem including creation, development, stewardship, analysis, dissemination and infrastructure
- data that are contextual and disaggregated (available and accessible at individual, community and First Nations levels)
- data that are relevant and empower sustainable self-determination and effective self-governance
- data structures that are accountable to Indigenous peoples and First Nations
- data that are protective and respect our individual and collective interests" (Maiaam nayri Wingara, 2018, p. 2).

Further, it has been noted that non-Indigenous data governance has led to the "5D deficit narrative", which has harmed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people for generations by primarily collecting data and framing conclusions based on "disparity, deprivation, disadvantage, dysfunction and difference" (p. 80) rather than focusing on strengths (I. Brown & Stephens, 2023; Walter, 2016).

The NCAS data collected from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents are "Indigenous data" and, therefore, subject to Indigenous data sovereignty principles. Accordingly, the AG was heavily involved in the development of the 2021 NCAS Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module and the Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander data analysis plan (see also Chapter 2).



The NCAS data from waves prior to 2021 has been made available on the Australian Data Archive (ADA) for broader access beyond the research team. A variable identifying Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander status was included in these data releases. To facilitate data sovereignty in relation to the 2021 NCAS data, a key decision driven by the AG was to exclude a variable identifying Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander status from the initial dataset to be made available on the ADA after the publication of the 2021 NCAS reports. The AG expressed concerns that the ADA did not yet have an appropriate protocol to ensure Indigenous data sovereignty to mitigate any harm to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. As a result, the AG felt it was unsafe for the data released to the ADA to contain an identifier of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents. This decision was a difficult one because the AG acknowledged that access to data about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, particularly by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, can help shape community decisions and policies that benefit Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. However, the AG also acknowledged that, historically and presently, data about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people that is not appropriately managed can, and has, caused harm. For example, misuse of data has been associated with the stigmatisation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities and the adoption of harmful policies, services, programs and practices. The AG stated that the decision to exclude an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identifier could be reviewed if the ADA implemented an appropriate Indigenous data sovereignty protocol in the future.

## Representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have diverse historical and contemporary experiences, cultures, traditions and languages, with more than 250 unique and distinct language groups across Australia (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2023). Given this diversity, it is unlikely that the present sample of 442 respondents adequately canvasses all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, particularly peoples in very remote areas. Thus, the 2021 NCAS sample of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents *should not* be considered representative of the entire Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population in Australia. In accordance with the advice of the AG, this report references only the understanding and attitudes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents and does not draw

implications about the population. See Sections 2.4 and 2.5 for details. Nonetheless, the findings from the present respondents provide a useful starting point for highlighting issues relevant to some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons.

## Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander input in reporting and review

There is a history in Australia of reported data across sectors often excluding information on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Walter & Carroll, 2020). Further, many research reports relevant to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have been written without their input and have failed to recognise both the adverse impacts of racism and colonialism on First Nations communities and the strength and resilience of these communities (Lovett, 2016; Lovett et al., 2019; Maïam nayri Wingara, 2018). There is also recent history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people not having adequate input into policies and data collections that affect them. For example, in 2023, a referendum to change the Australian Constitution to establish a body called the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice in accordance with the Uluru Statement from the Heart was not passed (National Indigenous Australians Agency [NIAA], n.d.).

Although the AG provided guidance, this report was written by non-Indigenous authors. We recognise the adverse impacts of racism and colonialism and draw on research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's authorship or input. However, we acknowledge the limitations of this approach. We do not have personal experience with First Nations cultural traditions. Additionally, we may be subject to the "privilege hazard", whereby "more privileged" members of society may have difficulty detecting the oppressions faced by "less privileged" members (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2023).

The report underwent academic blind peer review by two Aboriginal experts. The AG also provided early input into the framing of the report and commented on a draft of the report prior to publication. All feedback was greatly appreciated, carefully considered and incorporated into the final report where possible. ANROWS plans to further improve processes for collaboration with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in future iterations of the NCAS (see also Section 2.5).

## 1.2 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, 2021). Major forms of violence against women include physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, social, cultural, spiritual, financial and technology-facilitated violence, abuse or control. This violence occurs in contexts such as homes, workplaces, social environments, the public domain, residential care facilities or institutions, and the virtual or online world (Cox, 2015; Our Watch, 2021). 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 (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2023a; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014; World Health Organization, 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).

Violence against women 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 [ADFVDRN] & ANROWS, 2022; Campbell et al., 2018; Stubbs & Szoek, 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) show that violence against women remains a pervasive problem. One in four Australian women have experienced intimate partner violence since the age of 15 years. Sexual violence and stalking are separately estimated to affect one in five Australian women since the age of 15 years (ABS, 2023a).

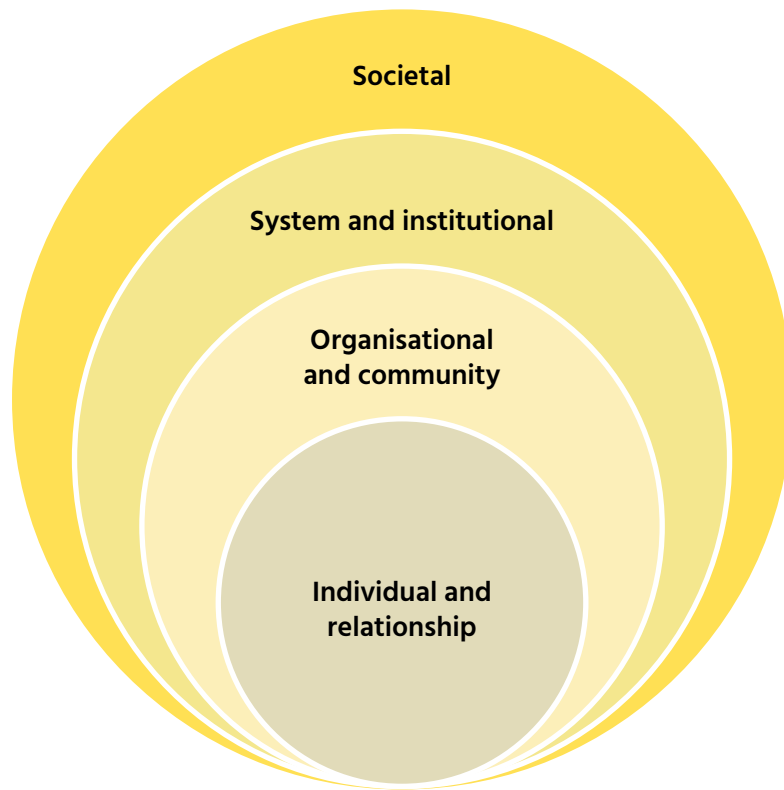
As is further detailed below, experiences of violence among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are diverse and can differ from the experiences of other women due to intersecting influences of gender, colonisation, racism, remoteness and socio-economic status (Atkinson, 1990; Blagg et al., 2022; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Hovane, 2015). Research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women has also identified unique challenges in reporting and accessing appropriate supports for violence, as detailed in Section 1.5 (Fitts et al., 2023; Prentice et al., 2016).

## 1.3 Drivers of violence against women

Violence against women is the outcome of many complex and related factors including attitudes that condone violence against women and gender inequality (COAG, 2010; García-Moreno et al., 2015; Our Watch, 2021; Sardinha & Catalán, 2018). As Figure 1-1 and Table 1-1 show, the socio-ecological model describes the complex interplay between factors operating across specific levels: individual and relationship, organisational and community, system and institutional and societal (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2022; Heise, 1998). The model is consistent with an intersectional approach to violence as detailed in the following section. This model helps to highlight key interacting drivers of violence against women related to oppression and discrimination, such as sexism, racism, colonialism, ableism, classism, cissexism and heteronormativity (Carman, Fairchild, et al., 2020; Hulley et al., 2023; Our Watch, 2021; Weldon & Kerr, 2020).

The socio-ecological model acknowledges that individual attitudes can both influence and be influenced by factors at higher levels in the social ecology. Problematic attitudes may contribute to the incidence of violence against women and influence responses to violence from supports, such as family, friends, work colleagues, service providers, law enforcement and government (Tekkas Kerman & Betrus, 2020). Individual attitudes can also reflect what is considered acceptable or normal in the various social, organisational and community groups with which an individual interacts (Nayak et al., 2003).

Figure 1-1: The socio-ecological model of violence against women



Source: Adapted from Our Watch (2021), p. 34.

Table 1-1: Socio-ecological factors that contribute to or facilitate violence against women

## Socio-ecological 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., 2021; 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 the LGBTQ+ community, migrant women and women with disability, can also perpetuate violence against women from these communities

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

Broad health, economic, educational and social policies can also serve to maintain or disrupt gender, economic and social inequalities (CDC, 2022; 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, 2021; 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, 2021; 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, 2021; 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., 2021)

### 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., 2022; Hamai et al., 2021; 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 et al., 2018; Flood, 2008, 2019a; Ha et al., 2019; Leen et al., 2013)

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

## Inequities as drivers of violence against women: An intersectional approach

The violence perpetrated against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is fundamentally influenced by Australia's colonisation. Although gender inequality is often considered one of the central drivers of violence against women more broadly (Our Watch, 2015; Webster & Flood, 2015), it is widely recognised that Australia's colonisation has left long-lasting and devastating impacts on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples that must be acknowledged to fully understand violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. The process of colonisation has resulted in systemic racism, discrimination and oppression, the impacts of which interplay with the experience of sexism for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (Andrews, 1997; Blagg et al., 2022; Olsen & Lovett, 2016). This interaction has been called the "double bind", referring to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's simultaneous experience of both gender inequality and systemic racism, discrimination, and oppression (Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria, 2015, p. 22). Similar adverse impacts from sexism combined with systemic racism have been reported for Indigenous women from other countries (Bourassa et al., 2005; Quince, 2010).

The impacts of colonisation are still being experienced in modern Australia and continue to influence the violence that is committed against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. To understand contemporary attitudes, such as those measured by the NCAS, it is integral to understand the process of colonisation and its impacts on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

### Ongoing impacts of colonisation

Colonisation is the process through which Indigenous peoples are dispossessed of their traditional lands to establish colonies in an area (Australian Human Rights Commission [AHRC], 2007). The colonisation of Australia was based on the legal principle of *terra nullius*, or unowned land (Banner, 2005), which denied Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples their sovereignty and regarded the colonisers' society as progressive and, therefore, superior (Buchan & Heath, 2006; Watson, 2009). Colonisation purposefully disrupted and reshaped Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families, cultures, and family and community relationships, and imposed European ideals, perspectives, structures and systems (e.g. the British justice and legal systems, and the Western notion of the patriarchy; Australian Law Reform Commission [ALRC],

1986; Guthrie et al., 2020). Australia's colonisation was also violent, involving a range of harmful practices, such as dispossession and control, relocation, physical violence, sexual violence, enslavement, exploitation, forced child removal and assimilation, forced labour, murder, and massacre (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission [HREOC], 1991, 1997; Paradies, 2016; Sullivan, 2018). Moreover, the violence was, and still is, carried out by not only individuals but also all levels of government, organisations and religious groups (Cunneen, 2019, 2022). It is important to recognise that although this violence has historical roots, racist violence is still occurring.

Colonisation is a continuing process through which structures and systems are developed and established (Wolfe, 2006). The adverse impacts of colonisation and the resulting inequalities are significant, wide-ranging and still being experienced today across all aspects of everyday life, including employment, education and housing, and interactions with individuals, retail services, police, the legal system and government agencies (Healing Foundation, 2022; HREOC, 1997; Our Watch, 2018a; Zubrick et al., 2004). Additionally, these structures and systems have fostered racist and discriminatory social and institutional norms and have shaped the attitudes and practices of non-Indigenous Australians, which then serve to reinforce and fortify the colonial structures and systems (Cunneen, 2019; Elias & Paradies, 2021; Lowitja Institute, 2022).

It has been argued that one of the most significant legacies of colonisation is the trauma caused by the forced removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families and communities (the "Stolen Generations") and the imposed assimilation into non-Indigenous culture (Atkinson, 2002a; Darwin et al., 2023; Grace et al., 2017; Menzies, 2019). This removal has had devastating and long-lasting effects on children and their families and communities. Often, removed children lived in fear and were vulnerable to abuse, sexual abuse and exploitation. They experienced limited affection and received limited to no education (HREOC, 1997). The forced assimilation that was at the heart of these child removal policies used strategies such as "... continual denigration of Aboriginal people and values to lies about the attitudes of families to the children themselves. Many children were told their parents were dead" (HREOC, 1997, p. 173; see also Bessant, 2013). Although the official practice of separating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families ceased in Australia in the 1970s (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2018a; Guthrie et al., 2020; Healing Foundation, 2022), the practice of removing children from their homes is still occurring at a high rate. Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islander children are substantially over-represented in out-of-home care today, being 10 times more likely to be placed in out-of-home care than non-Indigenous children (ALRC, 2017; O'Donnell et al., 2019). Moreover, the majority of removed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children are never restored to their homes (Newton et al., 2023). As a result, these contemporary child removal practices have been seen as a modern version of the Stolen Generations, requiring urgent action to prevent further intergenerational trauma to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (O'Donnell et al., 2019).

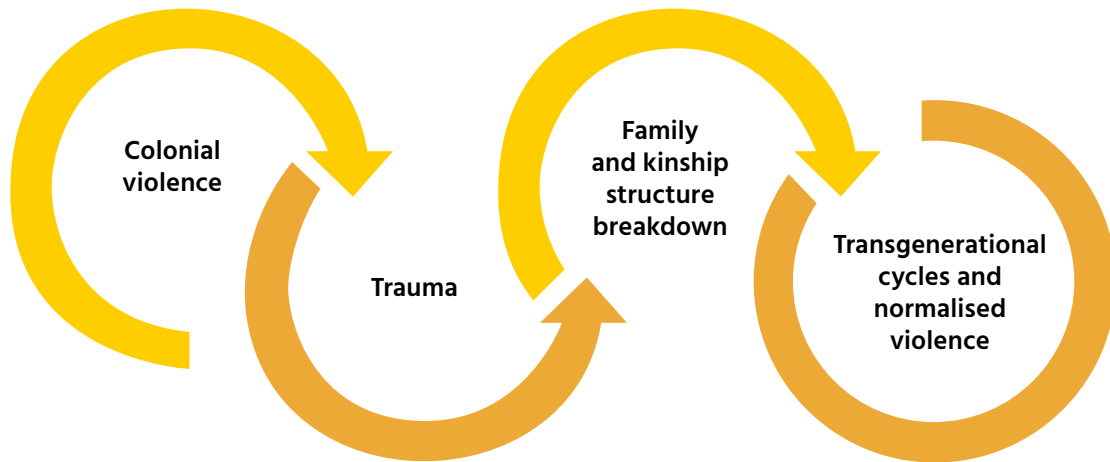
Colonisation and the *terra nullius* principles resulted in Australia deliberately being founded on a set of structural and institutional inequalities that were inherently discriminatory and racist towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Through the changes to the law that were introduced around the Federation of Australia, racist beliefs became reflected within legislation (Dudgeon et al., 2010). Racism in contemporary Australia continues to be widespread in the attitudes, social norms and practices of non-Indigenous people, institutions and culture (Markwick et al., 2019; Our Watch, 2018a; Paradies & Cunningham, 2009). While cultural racism refers to the broadly shared racist foundation that is part of a society's ideas, beliefs and values, institutional racism more directly refers to policies, structures and practices that are racialised (Jones, 1997). Consequently, the majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people experience discrimination or prejudice (Reconciliation Australia, 2022). This racism has directly impacted processes such as police response or the lack thereof. For example, it has been reported that police have shown apathy towards victims and survivors and distrusted or disbelieved allegations of sexual assault made by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, in keeping with myths about the characteristics of "genuine" or "ideal" victims (Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; Cripps, 2023; Mellor, 2003). Such biases in policing are associated with inaction, inappropriate use of sanctions and orders against victims and survivors, and the death of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in situations of domestic violence (Cripps, 2023; Hynes,

2022; Nancarrow et al., 2020). Studies in New Zealand and Canada similarly provide evidence that systemic racism substantially and negatively impacts Indigenous women's interactions with police (Kingi & Jordan, 2009; McQueen et al., 2021; Murphy-Oikonen et al., 2022). Mistrust of victims and survivors by police has led to a system in which victims and survivors under report violence and are often mistakenly identified as perpetrators (Birdsey & Snowball, 2013; Mansour, 2014; Reeves, 2020).

In addition to the trauma faced by individuals as a result of their own experience of child removal, racism and discrimination, there has also been recognition of intergenerational trauma in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Intergenerational trauma has been defined as "a discrete process and form of psychological trauma transmitted within families and communities" (Isobel et al., 2019, p. 1). Not only is this type of trauma devastating to communities in terms of the disadvantage they experience, but there is also evidence of a link between the experience of intergenerational trauma and perpetration of violence (ALRC, 1986; Bevis et al., 2020; Collis & Webb, 2014; Darwin et al., 2023; Grace et al., 2017; Guthrie et al., 2020; Menzies, 2019). The mechanism through which this link can occur was described by Guthrie et al. (2020; see Figure 1-2), who explained:

"Individuals and communities have experienced severe and widespread trauma across generations, with limited capacity to address it. In some instances, this trauma has been left unresolved. This has resulted in damaged family structures, impeding the establishment and maintenance of healthy relationships and, in turn, perpetuating the use and experience of violence. Trauma was described as both contributing to, and resulting from, the perpetration and experience of violence. The contributors to trauma and violence are intertwined and affect many areas of people's lives." (p. 45).

Figure 1-2: Link between intergenerational trauma and violence



Source: Guthrie et al. (2020, p. 45).

## Gender inequality as a driver of violence against women

Much violence against women is underpinned by gender inequality, which can be manifested in the gender norms, structures, systems and practices that privilege men and discriminate against women (Flood, 2019b; Our Watch, 2021; Webster et al., 2018). Gender inequality is a social problem in which women and men do not have equal social standing, value, power, resources or opportunities in society, providing a key context that facilitates and maintains violence against women (Our Watch, 2021). Attitudes supportive of gender inequality have been associated with the perpetration of violence against women (Ozaki & Otis, 2016; Pöllänen et al., 2021). Gendered drivers of violence include attitudes that condone violence against women, support rigid gender roles, tolerate disrespect or aggression towards women, and endorse limits to women's decision-making and independence (Our Watch, 2021).

However, gender inequality is not central to the Action Plan under the National Plan 2022–2032, which emphasises that the underlying causes of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are different to those of non-Indigenous women (DSS, 2023a). The Action Plan instead highlights the potentially stronger impacts of colonialism, intergenerational trauma, and ongoing racism and structural inequality on violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women: a call that is echoed through a large body of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academic work (Cox et al., 2009; Cripps, 2010;

Hovane, 2015). A Western feminist model focused predominantly on gender inequality can neglect the influence of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's experience of violence (Blagg et al., 2020; Keddie et al., 2023) and place them within an "ideological and structural gender inequality and patriarchy, within Eurocentric familial structures" (Blagg et al., 2020, p. 544). Consequently, this invisibility can pivot policy and intervention responses towards the needs of non-Indigenous women and render these responses less relevant, relatable and effective for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (Blagg et al., 2020; Carlson et al., 2024; Guthrie et al., 2020; Langton et al., 2020).

Consistent with an intersectional approach, advocates argue that gender inequality in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities must be understood within the broader context of colonialism and violence (DSS, 2023a; Keddie et al., 2023). As mentioned in Section 1.3, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women can experience a "double bind" where they face gender-based discrimination and abuse, while simultaneously experiencing racial inequalities (Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria, 2015, p. 22). The "double bind" concept promotes an intersectional perspective by highlighting the dual impacts of colonisation and patriarchy on contemporary structures and practices in Australian society, politics and systems. Therefore, the oppression of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and their experience of violence must be understood as resulting from the intersecting impacts of colonisation and racial and gender discrimination.

## 1.4 Forms and prevalence of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women

Historical and current systemic racism and sexism have exacerbated violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. As outlined in Section 1.3, for example, the forced removal of children, racism and intergenerational trauma intersect with the impacts of gender inequality to drive violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Australia also has a history of sexual violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women by non-Indigenous men (Sullivan, 2018). Abusive behaviours have continued since colonisation, with violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women being perpetrated by both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous men. While information regarding the cultural background of perpetrators is limited, the evidence suggests that a significant proportion of the sexual violence committed against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is committed by non-Indigenous men (Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria, 2015; Our Watch, 2018a). Specifically, most violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is perpetrated by an intimate partner (AIHW, 2022), and 81.7 per cent of all partnered Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have a non-Indigenous partner (ABS, 2021; Bricknell, 2023). This challenges the common perception that violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is mostly perpetrated by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men.

It has been estimated that approximately three in five Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women have experienced physical or sexual violence by a co-habiting or non-co-habiting partner since the age of 15 (Webster, 2016).<sup>2</sup> However, it is difficult to obtain accurate prevalence data regarding violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Below are some of the factors that limit this ability:

- The **exclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's self-reported status in data collection** or reporting (ADFVDRN & ANROWS, 2022; Griffiths et al., 2019; Walter, 2016). As highlighted by Walter (2016), there is limited research that meaningfully includes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and much research focuses on the "5D deficit". For example, the ABS PSS is the

most comprehensive collection of data regarding violence against women, but it does not disaggregate information by Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander status.

- There may be **mistrust and reluctance to participate** in data collections founded on colonial structures, values and assumptions (see also Section 1.1 on data sovereignty and Griffiths et al., 2019). For example, there has been a history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people being included in research as objects of study with the aim of demonstrating racial inferiority. This flawed research was then used to justify assimilation policies such as child removal (Rigney, 2001). This likely contributes to the distrust of government more broadly (see Section 1.5).
- There is **substantial under-reporting** of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (see Section 1.5). It is estimated that up to 90 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims and survivors do not disclose experiences of sexual violence (N. Taylor & Putt, 2007) and victims and survivors are more likely to report to a trusted family friend than to authorities (Mulrone, 2003; N. Taylor & Putt, 2007).
- A **difference in terminology** between family and domestic violence. Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people prefer the term "family violence" rather than "domestic violence" as it is broader and more holistically represents the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (Cripps & Davis, 2012; Department for Child Protection, 2012; Our Watch, 2018a). Definitions of family violence across data sources and terminology used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people can differ from professional and academic language, which has been developed based on a Western scientific discourse (Cripps, 2008). However, family violence usually describes "a wide range of physical, emotional, sexual, social, spiritual, cultural, psychological and economic abuses that occur within families, intimate relationships, extended families, kinship networks and communities" (Victorian Indigenous Family Violence Task Force, 2003, p. 123). Although family violence encompasses domestic violence, many national Australian surveys, including the NCAS, focus on domestic violence, often limited to intimate partner violence (see Section 2.5). The difference between family and domestic violence needs to be considered when interpreting the results of surveys as it is unclear whether the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents interpret the questions in the same manner as non-Indigenous respondents.

<sup>2</sup> Note this is an estimation rather than determined prevalence rate. See Ayre et al. (2016).



These limitations mean that the prevalence of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is likely to be severely underestimated. However, the evidence indicates that, compared to non-Indigenous women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experience violence perpetrated by men (including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men and non-Indigenous men) at elevated rates (Ayre et al., 2016). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are 27 to 32 times more likely to be hospitalised due to assault and are 7.6 times more likely to become a victim of homicide compared to other women in Australia (AIHW & NIAA, 2023; Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, 2016). The Australian Government has acknowledged this elevated prevalence of violence within the National Agreement on Closing the Gap (Australian Government, 2020) and the National Plan 2022–2032 (particularly through the Action Plan). With the data limitations in mind, we know that almost two in three (57%) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women who have experienced family and domestic violence are physically injured (ABS, 2019).

Violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (particularly that perpetrated by an intimate partner) accounts for 10.9 per cent of their burden of disease, which is higher than other health-related burdens and conditions (Ayre et al., 2016). Family and domestic violence causes physical and emotional harm and distress (ABS, 2019) and can result in significant negative financial and economic outcomes (Cortis & Bullen, 2016; Guthrie et al., 2020). Housing insecurity and reliance on income support as a result of violence can add to the financial discrimination that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women already face (AIHW & NIAA, 2023; AIHW, 2018b; Closing the Gap Clearinghouse, 2013). Given that much violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women occurs within the family context, it can also have both immediate and long-lasting impacts on their children.

These impacts can be profound and can include personal injury, as well as social, developmental, emotional and mental health issues (Campo, 2015; Orr et al., 2020; Orr, O'Donnell, et al., 2022; Orr, Sims, et al., 2022). In addition, this violence can lead to children experiencing trauma; maintain the cycle of violence; and result in children's removal from the home or, in some cases, death (Holt et al., 2008; Orr et al., 2019). Such impacts can serve to sustain intergenerational trauma within families and can increase a child's likelihood of experiencing disadvantage and other negative outcomes (Menziés, 2019).

Domestic violence is most commonly perpetrated by men against women in the Australian population, and there is evidence that this is also the case for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population (AIHW & NIAA, 2023; AIHW, 2018b; Bricknell, 2023; Flood et al., 2022; Guthrie et al., 2020; Wundersitz, 2010). Unfortunately, there is a history of misidentifying Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women as perpetrators of violence, particularly when interacting with police. Over-reliance on myths about the "ideal victim" and racist stereotypes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women can lead police to misidentify victims and survivors as perpetrators (Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; Nancarrow et al., 2020). Incorrect assumptions about how victims and survivors of domestic violence should behave can contribute to this misidentification, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women being particularly vulnerable as they face individual cultural and institutional racism (Jones, 1997; Nancarrow et al., 2020). For example, women who use defensive violence (such as fighting back against an aggressor) or who are uncooperative with authorities are more likely to be misidentified as perpetrators by police (Nancarrow et al., 2020).

## 1.5 Barriers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women reporting and accessing culturally safe support for violence

In her address to the National Press Club, Aboriginal lawyer, businesswoman and advocate, Josephine Cashman, emphasised that without proper response to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, there can be no progress, pointing to the need to hold those who perpetrate criminal behaviour to account (Price et al., 2016). However, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women face a range of barriers, often simultaneously, if they choose to seek a criminal justice outcome. Widespread negative experiences, such as racism, discrimination and intergenerational trauma have left many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with feelings of betrayal and mistrust towards some non-Indigenous Australians and institutions (Atkinson, 2002a; ABS, 2011; Krieg, 2009; Reconciliation Australia, 2022). As a result, violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is severely under-reported.

Australia's colonisation (see Section 1.3) has led to many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people fearing and deeply distrusting the police, justice system and government due to intergenerational trauma and direct experiences of racism, mistreatment and unsatisfactory responses from the police and legal system (Bessant, 2013; Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; HREOC, 1991, 1997). For example, the AIHW (2021) estimated that, as at 2022, there were approximately 33,600 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Stolen Generations survivors. Thus, there are a significant number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have personally experienced mistreatment from health and welfare services, institutions and the state due to past official government child removal policies (Anderson & Tilton, 2017; Rickwood et al., 2010). Further, historical and contemporary experiences with police and emergency services can be racialised and harmful and can include:

- substantial delays in police and service response or follow-up
- poor, inconsistent, culturally inappropriate and disengaged police responses to emergency situations

- not being believed or being blamed or judged by police
- non-enforcement of domestic violence orders or laws
- police inaction or actions departing from operational guidelines and causing harm to victims and survivors and their families
- inherent racism underlying police service delivery and practices (Bevan et al., 2024; Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; Cripps, 2023; Langton et al., 2020; Prentice et al., 2016).

Victims and survivors can also experience adverse consequences if they do report. They are often misidentified as perpetrators (see Section 1.3) and can be criminalised by the people and services that are supposed to protect them (Bessant, 2013). These negative personal and collective experiences likely discourage or prevent victims and survivors from reporting, likely contributing to and exacerbating the perception and expectation that reporting will not help (Langton et al., 2020; Nancarrow et al., 2020; Willis, 2011).

Given the impact of past government child removal policies and the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in out-of-home care today (Section 1.3) there is a fear that engagement with government agencies and services will lead to child removal (Fitts et al., 2023; Guthrie et al., 2020; Jones et al., 2023; Langton et al., 2020). Parents often experience a sense of powerlessness when trying to have their children restored and feel betrayed and failed by government systems while facing disrespectful, discriminatory, stigmatising and untrustworthy child protection caseworkers (Ivec et al., 2012; Newton, 2020; Newton et al., 2023). Consequently, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have reported that they are often reluctant and unwilling to report to and work with child protection services (Guthrie et al., 2020; O'Donnell et al., 2019). This reluctance is reflective of the impacts of colonisation (both the lived experience and intergenerational trauma) and their recent experience of forced child removal and lack of support from government and services once they are removed (Guthrie et al., 2020; Ivec et al., 2012; Newton, 2020).

Further practical barriers to reporting include:

- fear of insecure housing or homelessness and loss of financial support
- lack of awareness and access to appropriate, culturally safe, good-quality and affordable health, legal and court support and advice services

- concern regarding confidentiality
- the feeling of having to choose between their partner and their child or other roles and responsibilities (Fitts et al., 2023; Langton et al., 2020; Wendt & Baker, 2013).

Moreover, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women report they experience feelings of shame or stigma regarding family violence and can hold fears relating to the perception, reaction and retaliation from the perpetrator and community members, including becoming ostracised or isolated (Guthrie et al., 2020; Prentice et al., 2016). These experiences can be compounded for women who live in remote areas (Neame & Heenan, 2004). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experiencing gender-based violence, including life-threatening family violence and sexual assault, may be dealing with:

- the trauma of assault
- the stress and confusion of multiple related legal proceedings
- the financial and emotional cost of separation
- the complexities of a loved one facing imprisonment
- the frustration of an un-coordinated and bureaucratic reporting, police and legal system.

## 1.6 Insights offered by measuring attitudes and understandings

Attitudes are shaped by, and in part reflect, the world around us, including our close friends and families, and the broader organisational, community, institutional and societal systems and structures (Flood & Pease, 2009; Pease & Flood, 2008). Therefore, measuring attitudes can provide an insight into the broader climate that facilitates and maintains violence against women. Attitudes that condone or normalise violence are a key aspect of the “underlying social conditions that produce and drive violence against women, and that excuse, justify, or even promote it” (Our Watch, 2021, p. 8). Indirectly, they can influence the responses of service providers, and the family, friends, neighbours and work colleagues of those affected. Attitudes can also influence perpetrators and women subject to violence. The evidence for this is discussed in the report of the national sample (Main report). Primary

prevention aims to shift attitudes, social norms and practices expressed by individuals and embodied within institutions and social structures, which, over time, will ultimately change the underlying social context that drives violence against women (Our Watch, 2021).

Attitudes towards violence against women can be influenced by one’s understanding of violence against women, including the nuanced and gendered nature of its expression (see the Main report). 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; Harmer & Lewis, 2022; Paul et al., 2014). A well-informed community, including well-informed friends, family and service workers, also has better capability to prevent and respond appropriately to violence against women and its precursors (McGregor, 2009; Pease, 2017; Webster et al., 2018). In addition, recognition by perpetrators of their abusive behaviours and the profound adverse impacts of those behaviours provides a starting point for changing these behaviours (Alderson et al., 2013; Meyer & Frost, 2019; Peckover & Everson, 2014).

Measuring and considering Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ understanding and attitudes can provide important indicators of broader systemic issues. Responses can infer the extent to which systems are perceived as culturally safe and appropriate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and how much more improvement is required. These attitudes are particularly important to measure given that research has reported high levels of “historical and ongoing mistrust of the police, courts and justice systems, and the perceived inability of these systems to provide responses that meet the specific needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples” (Hovane, 2015, p. 16; see also Blagg et al., 2022). Thus, measuring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s attitudes regarding service and justice responses to violence can help inform strategies for breaking down barriers to reporting violence and accessing justice. The responses can also provide insight into the extent to which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents have resisted problematic patriarchal attitudes likely to have been reinforced by colonisers and the process of colonisation.

## 1.7 The present report

The present report focuses on the findings of the 2021 NCAS for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the research design and analysis.

Chapters 3 to 8 provide the key findings.

- Chapter 3 details Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes about the adequacy of service and justice system responses to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women who report violence and to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men accused of violence.
- Chapters 4 to 7 detail the findings on respondents' understanding of violence against women and attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women.

- Chapter 8 examines the demographic, understanding and attitudinal factors that were associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes towards violence against women.
- Chapter 9 discusses the insight from the findings for policy and practice.

Chapters 3 to 8 focus on the results regarding the range of understandings and attitudes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, without drawing conclusions about the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population and without drawing comparisons with non-Indigenous respondents. The reasons for this approach are described in Chapters 1 and 2.

## 2 Research design

### 2.1 Aims of the 2021 NCAS for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents

This report:

- examines Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Island respondents' understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women and attitudes towards gender equality
- identifies any notable gaps in this understanding or more problematic attitudes
- identifies demographic, attitudinal and contextual factors that are associated with these understandings and attitudes.<sup>3</sup>

This report examines each of the aims above specifically for the group of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents who completed the 2021 NCAS rather than for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population. The AG advised that the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample obtained via the 2021 NCAS should not be considered fully representative of the many diverse Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples across Australia (see Sections 2.3–2.5). Thus, this report:

- does not compare results over time across different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander samples
- does not refer to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, but instead to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents or sample.

<sup>3</sup> The 2021 NCAS Main report on the findings for all Australians also reports on intention to intervene when witnessing abuse or disrespect of women, and on changes over time in Australians' understanding and attitudes.

Also, in accordance with the AG's advice and the Warawarni-gu Guma Statement, this report does not compare Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents with non-Indigenous respondents to avoid causing harm (Douglas et al., 2018). Such comparisons risk ignoring the strengths and resilience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Such comparisons also draw attention away from the past and continuing impact of colonialism and racism on understandings and attitudes. Finally, such comparisons could lead to false conclusions given that this sample should not be considered representative of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population.

Ethics clearance for the project was provided by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (project number 2020/650), which included clearance for the cultural safety of the project for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.2 2021 NCAS instrument

The 2021 NCAS instrument included items measuring demographics, understanding or attitudes regarding violence against women and attitudes towards gender inequality, as well as an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module, as described below (Figure 2-1).<sup>5</sup> Most items were retained from the 2017 NCAS.

### Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were presented with an additional module of questions that was not presented to non-Indigenous respondents: the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module. This module was developed in close consultation with the AG to ensure culturally safe questions that would be useful in informing policy and practice relevant to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (see also Section 1.1). The module focused on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes regarding responses by service providers, police, the legal system and the community to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Specifically, the module asked for respondents' attitudes about whether:

- violence is *taken seriously* by the police, the government and the community
- services *maintain confidentiality*
- women reporting and men accused of violence are *treated fairly* by the police and the courts.

The 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module replaced a 2017 version that focused on respondents' knowledge of the "causes" or "contributing factors" of violence against women. In keeping with other stakeholder feedback, the AG had concerns about the 2017 module's clarity, cultural appropriateness and usefulness for policy and prevention, and recommended that the module be replaced.

The 2021 module drew on the findings of existing research that found high levels of mistrust of police, the courts and justice systems, as well as a lack of confidence in these systems to respond appropriately to the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Blagg et al., 2020; Langton et al., 2020).

Key violence prevention frameworks at the Commonwealth and state/territory level call for government and justice services to transform the way they work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to tackle systemic racism and ensure cultural safety (DSS, 2022a, 2022b, 2023a). The 2021 module aligns with such key policy frameworks and aims to:

- identify attitudes about whether violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is minimised or excused by police, governments and other community members
- identify potential barriers to reporting and seeking assistance for violence (e.g. concerns about service and justice system responses to violence)
- inform policy, service and prevention reforms, including decisions about the relevance of alternative or diversionary justice responses to violence (e.g. cultural justice responses such as greater involvement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders and cultural leaders).

The 2021 module underwent face-to-face cognitive testing with six Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants to ensure the items were clear and understood as they were intended.

<sup>4</sup> See the Technical report (Section T2.4) for further ethics considerations.

<sup>5</sup> Scenario-based items examining bystander responses and sexual consent were not included for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents to make room for the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module.

## 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, formal education, main labour activity, remoteness (major city or other) and socio-economic status of area of residence.<sup>6</sup> Demographic information was also used to assess how closely the demographic profile of the sample matched that of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population in Australia and to make any necessary adjustments through data weighting (see also Section 2.3).

## Items and scales measuring understanding and attitudes

Understanding and attitude items were grouped into nine psychometric scales, validated via Rasch analysis.<sup>7</sup> A 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 one of the other eight scales. The other eight scales included three "main" scales:

- 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:

- the Domestic Violence Scale (DVS)
- the Sexual Violence Scale (SVS), which comprises 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 comprised all but 2 of the 39 items in the AVAWS.<sup>8</sup>

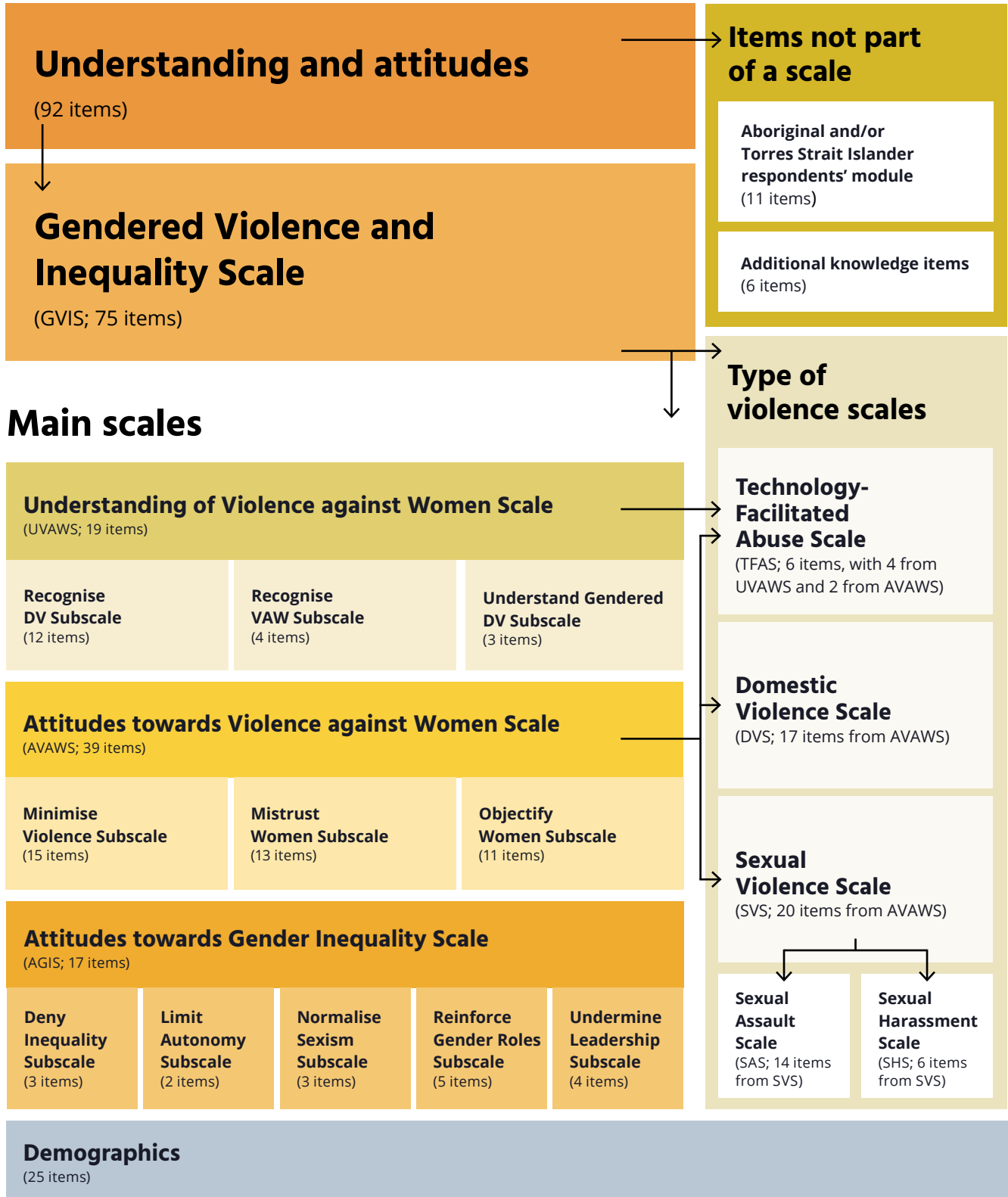
<sup>6</sup> See the Technical report (Section T4.3) for descriptions of new and revised demographic items.

<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> There were 43 items in the AVAWS scale, but four of these were scenario items in the AVAWS Objectify Women subscale that were not asked of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents.

Figure 2-1

# Components of the NCAS instrument, Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021



**Note:** Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were not asked bystander questions or four of the Objectify Women items, thus their exclusion from this figure.

DV = Domestic violence. VAW = Violence against women.



## Changes to NCAS instrument

As detailed earlier, the Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module was replaced in 2021.

New or revised demographic items were included in 2021 assessing gender, sexuality and disability. These items were included 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. As only two Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents identified as non-binary, and “brotherboy” and “sistergirl” options were not included, reliable results cannot be reported separately for non-binary genders.<sup>9</sup>

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 migrant status, disability, gender experience, sexuality or religion. Items were also added on technology-facilitated abuse, sexual harassment and stalking.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3 About the NCAS Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample

The 2021 NCAS sample included 442 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, representing 2.3 per cent of the total sample of 19,100 Australians aged 16 years or older. As Table 2-1 shows, 405 respondents identified as Aboriginal (92%), 20 as Torres Strait Islander (5%), and 17 as both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (4%).<sup>11</sup> Of the entire NCAS 2021 sample, 2.1 per cent identified as Aboriginal and 0.2 per cent identified as either Torres Strait Islander or both Aboriginal and

Torres Strait Islander. Due to the small number of Torres Strait Islander respondents, Aboriginal respondents, Torres Strait Islander respondents, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were combined into one group for all analyses and reporting. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample included respondents from major city, regional, remote and very remote areas across Australia (Table 2-1).

All 2021 NCAS respondents were interviewed via mobile telephone between 23 February and 18 July 2021. The sampling approach largely involved RDD of mobile telephones, which was supplemented or “topped up” with listed mobile telephones. Of the 19,100 interviews, 81 per cent were achieved via RDD mobiles. The response rate was 11 per cent.<sup>12</sup> Interviews with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were all conducted in English.

Random sampling of respondents, such as via the RDD approach used for the 2021 NCAS, is widely acknowledged in the broad research literature as the best approach for achieving a sample that reflects the demographic profile of the population and facilitates accurate and representative reporting about the population. Nonetheless, some sections of the population can be somewhat under-represented even when random sampling is used, for example, because they are less likely to own a telephone or less likely to agree to an interview.

The 2021 NCAS is likely to have under-represented Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who do not have a mobile phone, including some people living in very remote areas such as in parts of the Northern Territory. In addition, the sample of 442 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents is unlikely to be large enough to fully represent the perspectives of all First Nations people in Australia. As noted in Section 2.1, substantial diversity exists within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, with more than 250 distinct living languages including around 800 dialects across Australia.

9 These are terms used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to describe gender diverse people who have a male spirit and take on male roles (“brotherboy”) or a female spirit and take on female roles (“sistergirl”) within the communities. For more information, see TransHub. (2021b). *Trans Mob*. <https://www.transhub.org.au/trans-mob>

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

11 Percentages do not add to 100 per cent due to rounding.

12 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.

Table 2-1: Demographics of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample, 2021

Demographic factor	Demographic group	Unweighted <sup>a</sup>		Weighted <sup>b</sup>	
		N	%	N	%
<b>Identification as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander</b>	Aboriginal	405	92%	376	93%
	Torres Strait Islander	20	5%	13	3%
	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	17	4%	14	4%
	<b>Total answered</b>	<b>442</b>		<b>403</b>	
<b>Gender</b>	Men	189	43%	192	48%
	Women	248	56%	205	51%
	Non-binary respondents	2	<1%	2	1%
	<b>Total answered</b>	<b>439</b>		<b>403</b>	
<b>Age (in years)</b>	16–24 years	57	13%	116	26%
	25–34 years	79	18%	97	22%
	35–44 years	74	17%	76	17%
	45–54 years	100	23%	69	16%
	55–64 years	91	21%	49	11%
	65–74 years	35	8%	26	6%
	75+ years	6	1%	8	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>442</b>		<b>442</b>		
<b>Formal education</b>	University or higher	102	23%	39	9%
	Trade/certificate/diploma	146	33%	156	36%
	Secondary or below	191	44%	243	55%
	<b>Total answered</b>	<b>439</b>		<b>439</b>	
<b>Main labour activity</b>	Employed	239	55%	229	52%
	Unemployed	34	8%	41	9%
	Home duties	61	14%	67	15%
	Student	27	6%	38	9%
	Retired	39	9%	32	7%
	Unable to work	34	8%	29	7%
	Volunteering	2	0%	1	0%
	Other <sup>c</sup>	2	0%	1	0%
<b>Total answered</b>	<b>438</b>		<b>438</b>		

Continues on next page

Table 2-1: Demographics of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample, 2021

Demographic factor	Demographic group	Unweighted <sup>a</sup>		Weighted <sup>b</sup>	
		N	%	N	%
Sexuality	Heterosexual	390	89%	379	87%
	Lesbian, gay, bisexual or pansexual, asexual, queer or diverse sexualities	46	11%	57	13%
	<b>Total answered</b>	<b>436</b>		<b>436</b>	
Remoteness	Major city	173	40%	161	37%
	Inner regional	103	24%	115	26%
	Outer regional	123	28%	108	25%
	Remote	22	5%	27	6%
	Very remote	15	3%	24	6%
	<b>Total with valid area status</b>	<b>436</b>		<b>436</b>	
State/Territory <sup>d</sup>	Australian Capital Territory	14	3%	5	1%
	New South Wales	106	24%	148	34%
	Northern Territory	74	17%	41	9%
	Queensland	106	24%	127	29%
	South Australia	22	5%	22	5%
	Tasmania	28	6%	17	4%
	Victoria	58	13%	34	8%
	Western Australia	34	8%	48	11%
<b>Total</b>	<b>442</b>		<b>442</b>		
Socio-economic status of area <sup>e</sup>	1 – Lowest status	113	26%	134	31%
	2 – Second-lowest status	95	22%	110	25%
	3 – Middle status	92	21%	87	20%
	4 – Second-highest status	70	16%	61	14%
	5 – Highest status	63	15%	41	10%
	<b>Total with valid area status</b>	<b>433</b>		<b>433</b>	

**Note:** Totals do not always add to 442 due to unanswered items or otherwise unavailable data.

**a** Unweighted numbers and percentages represent the exact number and proportion of the sample's Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents from each demographic group.

**b** Weighted numbers and percentages refer to the number and proportion of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents from each demographic group after weighting to more closely reflect the corresponding proportions for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population.

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

**d** See also Technical report Section T18 Appendix D for weighting benchmarks split by capital city and rest of state.

**e** "Socio-economic status of area" refers to an ABS measure of socio-economic conditions in geographic areas in terms of people's access to material and social resources, and their opportunity to participate in society (SEIFA quintiles).

## Weighting

As agreed with the AG, to strengthen confidence in comparisons within the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample, such as between men and women, responses were weighted based on population benchmarks to align the sample with the demographic profile of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia.

## 2.4 Analysis and reporting

As per the AG's advice, we acknowledge that the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample is unlikely to fully represent all First Nations people even though we used the widely accepted best approach of random sampling (see also Sections 2.1 and 2.3). Consequently, we do not:

- generalise the 2021 findings for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample to the broader Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population
- compare the 2021 findings for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample and the non-Indigenous sample
- compare the findings for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander samples from different waves of the NCAS.

Thus, this report examines the understandings, attitudes and perspectives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander *respondents*, and the extent to which demographic factors influence these results. Although these results are unlikely to represent the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, they provide broad coverage of the perspectives of many Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander individuals, including coverage of people living in city, regional, remote and very remote parts of Australia. Thus, these perspectives provide valuable insights to help inform violence prevention policy and programs aimed at ending violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

In this context, and acknowledging the value of achieving samples that are fully representative of the many diverse Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, it is worth noting that it is very challenging to do so. **Quantitative research studies** to date have typically not achieved fully representative samples.

Extremely large random samples of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people would be needed to obtain sufficient numbers of respondents to fully represent and reliably report on all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples across all First Nations, given the diversity of languages, cultures, locations and experiences.<sup>13</sup> However, it is also worth noting that many research studies with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents are **qualitative research studies**. While qualitative studies by their nature do not aim to achieve representative samples, it is widely accepted that they provide valuable insights relevant to at least some sections of the population by giving voice to the perspectives of their respondents. Similarly, by providing the perspectives of over 400 respondents, the 2021 NCAS provides valuable insights for informing policy and practice but recognises that there may also be other valuable insights that are not captured through the present sample.

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; I = Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module item). 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 between 0 and 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 against women or gender inequality.

Univariate, bivariate and multivariate data analyses were conducted and are summarised below.

**Univariate analysis** involves one variable only and was used to report on respondents' answers to each understanding and attitude item.

<sup>13</sup> For example, a sample of 10,000 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents would on average include approximately 40 or fewer respondents from each First Nation. This average number for each First Nation would also require adequate funding to overcome the challenges in reaching people living in very remote areas who have poor phone or internet coverage.

**Bivariate analysis** examines the direct or straightforward relationship between two variables only, such as an outcome of interest (e.g. attitudes towards 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 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents on each scale and subscale (based on mean scores) split by gender.<sup>14</sup>

**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 (A<sub>VAWS</sub>).

As shown in Table 2-2, three separate multiple regression models were conducted to examine whether scores on the A<sub>VAWS</sub> (the outcome variable) could be predicted by the demographic factors and U<sub>VAWS</sub> and A<sub>GIS</sub> scale scores (the input variables) in each model. The demographic factors examined as potential predictors in the regressions are listed in the note to Table 2-2. A minimum sample size of 30 was set as a cutoff requirement for analyses. As a result, some demographic categories were collapsed for select variables.

**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). We have retained discussion of significant results to provide an objective marker of more meaningful and reliable results, despite the sample not being representative of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population.

Table 2-2: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander multiple regression models, 2021

Outcome variable of interest	Model number	Input variables
A <sub>VAWS</sub>	A <sub>VAWS</sub> Model 1	Demographics
	A <sub>VAWS</sub> Model 2	U <sub>VAWS</sub> , A <sub>GIS</sub>
	A <sub>VAWS</sub> Model 3	Demographics, U <sub>VAWS</sub> , A <sub>GIS</sub>

**Note:** The demographic factors examined as input variables in the models were age, formal education, gender, main labour activity, remoteness and socio-economic status of area.

<sup>14</sup> Comparisons involving non-binary respondents were not conducted due to small numbers.

## 2.5 Strengths and limitations

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

- As we (the project team and authors) are non-Indigenous, we do not have personal experience with Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander cultural traditions and we may be subject to the “privilege hazard”, whereby “more privileged” members of society may have difficulty detecting the oppressions faced by “less privileged” members (D’Ignazio & Klein, 2023). We acknowledge the limitations of this approach. However, the report received invaluable guidance and input from our AG on the design of the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module, the data analysis and weighting plan, data sovereignty issues and an early draft of this report (see also Chapters 1 and 2). The report was also blind peer reviewed by two Aboriginal researchers.
- The relatively small number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents ( $N=442$ ) should not be considered fully representative of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, which include a diversity of peoples with different languages and cultures.
  - The survey was not offered in any Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander languages, and therefore was not accessible for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with limited English literacy.
  - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in very remote areas, such as parts of the Northern Territory, were under-represented.
  - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community organisations were not involved in the recruitment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents.
  - Respondents were given the opportunity to identify as a man, woman, non-binary person or another term, but not as a “brotherboy” or “sistergirl”.<sup>15</sup>
- Although the survey underwent cognitive testing with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to ensure understanding of the items, no qualitative data was gathered from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to supplement the quantitative survey responses.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with higher mistrust in government may have been less

likely to complete the NCAS given it is government-funded. Therefore, the present respondents’ level of trust in services and justice systems may be higher than what would have been achieved if the NCAS were not government-funded.

- With the exception of the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module, the 2021 NCAS did not include questions specifically about family violence involving family or kinship relationships outside intimate partner relationships. Therefore, most of the findings concern understanding and attitudes towards domestic violence, and violence against women more broadly, rather than family violence. These issues regarding terminology should be considered when examining the results as many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people prefer the term “family violence” and may have interpreted these questions differently to non-Indigenous respondents (Section 1.4; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Department for Child Protection, 2012; Our Watch, 2018a).

We will endeavour to address these limitations in collaboration with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people for the 2025 NCAS. For example, improvements may include:

- a) gathering a larger, more representative sample of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, including building capacity to interview in First Nations languages
- b) involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the recruitment and interviewing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents
- c) maintaining relationships with our AG members throughout the entire duration of the NCAS in a way that is respectful and responsive to the needs of both parties
- d) seeking Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s paid input into the project and report writing early within the project, to allow time for more considered Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander input into the writing and not just the review of the report
- e) budget for the time and resources required to facilitate the above from the outset.

<sup>15</sup> These are terms used by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to describe gender diverse people who have a male spirit and take on male roles (“brotherboy”) or a female spirit and take on female roles (“sistergirl”) within the communities. For more information, see TransHub. (2021b). *Trans Mob*. <https://www.transhub.org.au/trans-mob>



## ■ 3 Findings: Perceptions about community and system responses to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women

Key violence prevention frameworks at both the Commonwealth and the state and territory levels call for government and justice services to tackle systemic racism, ensure cultural safety and work collaboratively and respectfully with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (DSS, 2022a, 2023a; Family Safety Victoria, 2018). Tackling systemic racism involves not only directly addressing racialised and discriminatory practices, but also racist and sexist attitudes that condone or minimise violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Eradicating systemic racism is seen as critical for breaking the cycle of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and removing the barriers to reporting violence and seeking assistance (DSS, 2023a). The 2021 NCAS measured Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes and perceptions about responses to violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, including attitudes concerning the likelihood of achieving fairness and justice.



Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with higher mistrust of government may be less likely to complete government-funded surveys such as the NCAS compared to those with higher trust in government. Thus, the present respondents' level of trust in services and justice systems may be higher than what would have been achieved if the NCAS were not government-funded.

The present chapter reports the findings for the items in the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module that were only asked of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with each item, on a five-point scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The items were as follows:

- Do you agree or disagree that violence against Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander women in the suburb or town you live is taken seriously by:
  - police?
  - the government?
  - Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people in the suburb or town where you live?
- If an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander woman in the suburb or town you live reported family violence, do you agree or disagree that:
  - she would be treated fairly by police?
  - she would be treated fairly by the courts?
  - decisions about the custody of her children would be fair?
  - she could trust services to keep the matter confidential?
- If an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander man in the suburb or town you live was accused of family violence, do you agree or disagree that:
  - he would be treated fairly by police?
  - he would be treated fairly by the courts?
  - decisions about the custody of his children would be fair?
  - he could trust services to keep the matter confidential?

### 3.1 Perceptions about whether violence is taken seriously

#### Key finding 1: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents agreed that violence against women is taken seriously by their community, but many disagreed that it is taken seriously by the police and government

Figure 3-1 shows the extent to which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents felt that violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously. Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents (60%; 13) "agreed" (strongly or somewhat) that this violence is taken seriously by Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people in the suburb or town where they live. In contrast:

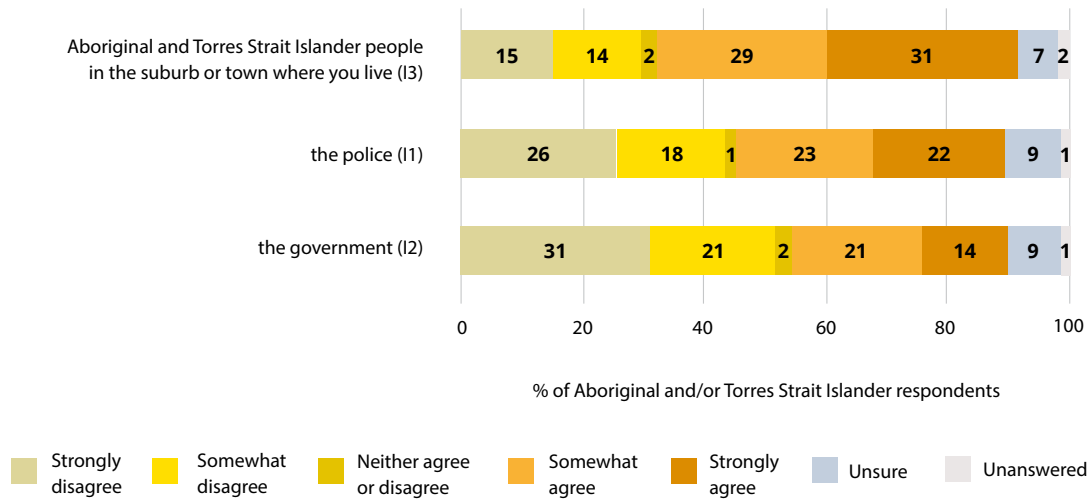
- fewer than half "agreed" that this violence is taken seriously by the police (44%; 11) and the government (36%; 12)
- many "disagreed" (strongly or somewhat) that it is taken seriously by the police (44%; 11) and the government (52%; 12).

More efforts are needed in all of these areas to ensure that violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously.



Figure 3-1: Perceptions of whether violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021

**Violence against Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously by ...**



**Note:** N = 442. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 or exactly correspond to percentages in the text due to rounding.

### 3.2 Perceptions about whether services, police and courts provide confidentiality and fair treatment

**Key finding 2: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents reported higher trust in the confidentiality of services than in fair treatment by police and courts, but more than one in four did not expect confidential or fair treatment**

Figures 3-2 and 3-3 show the extent to which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents trusted that services would maintain confidentiality and that police and courts would provide fair treatment for:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women reporting family violence (Figure 3-2)
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men accused of family violence (Figure 3-3).

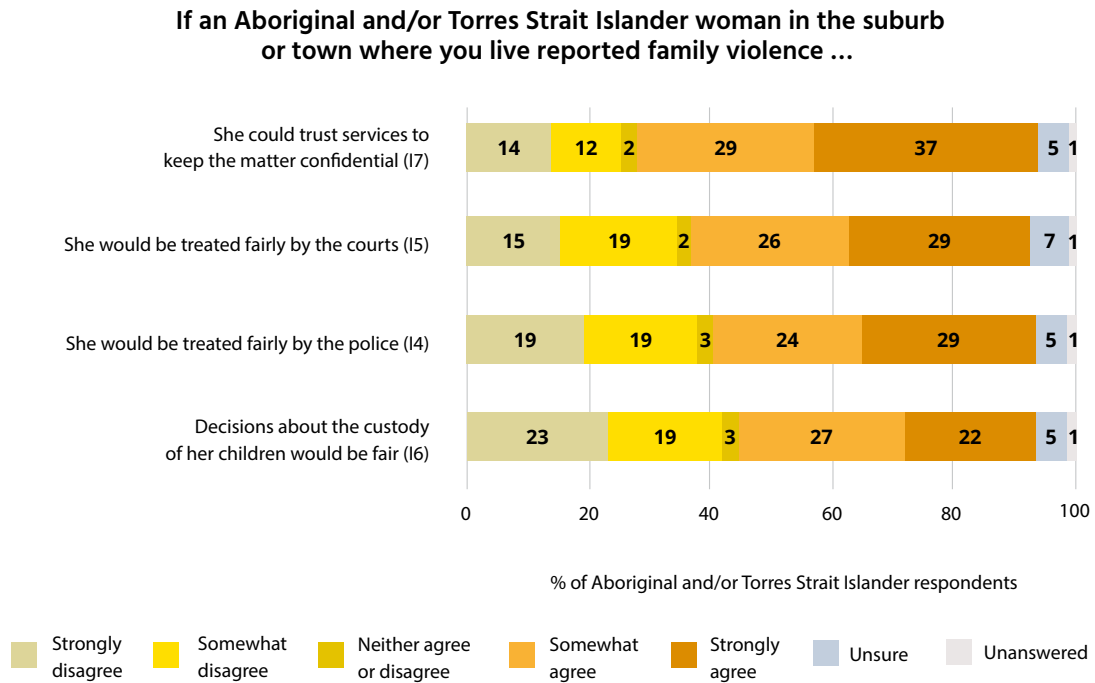
For both women reporting violence (Figure 3-2) and men accused of violence (Figure 3-3), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had higher trust in services providing confidentiality than in police and courts providing fair treatment. Approximately three in five or more (59–66%; I7, I11) respondents “agreed”

(strongly or somewhat) that services would maintain confidentiality for women reporting violence and men accused of violence.

However, fewer than three in five respondents “agreed” that fair treatment for women and men would be provided by police and courts and that court decisions about child custody would be fair (40–55%; I4, I5, I6, I8, I9, I10). It is also worth noting that sizeable proportions of respondents – at least one in four – “disagreed” (strongly or somewhat) with these statements. Again, there was greater “disagreement” that police and courts would provide fair treatment (35–53%; I4, I5, I6, I8, I9, I10) than that services would provide confidentiality (26–32%; I7, I11; Figures 3-2 and 3-3).

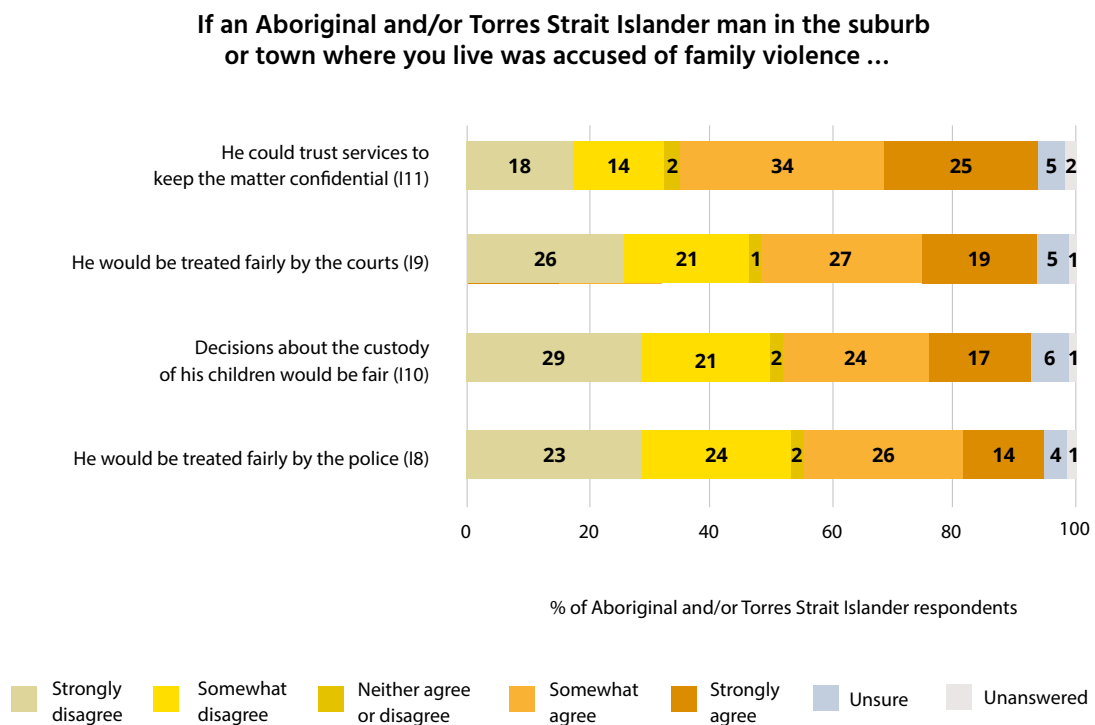
The lack of confidence among sizeable numbers of respondents that family violence involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people would be responded to appropriately by services, police and courts suggests there are still very real barriers to reporting this violence. Thus, it is important to remove these barriers by improving the cultural safety, appropriateness and fairness of service and justice system responses to violence involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and by working towards increased trust and confidence in these responses (see Chapter 9).

**Figure 3-2: Perceptions of whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women victims and survivors would be treated fairly, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 or exactly correspond to percentages in the text due to rounding.

**Figure 3-3: Perceptions of whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander accused men would be treated fairly, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442. Percentages in the figure do not always exactly correspond to percentages in the text due to rounding.

**Key finding 3: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had higher trust in confidential and fair treatment for women reporting violence than for accused men**

Confidence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people receiving confidential and fair treatment in response to family violence was somewhat lower in the case of men accused of family violence than women reporting family violence. Approximately half to two thirds of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) that women who report family violence would be provided confidential treatment by services (66%; I7) and fair treatment by police and courts (49–55%; I4, I5, I6; Figure 3-2). Fewer respondents “agreed” that men accused of family violence would be provided with confidential treatment by services (59%; A11) and fair treatment by police and courts (40–45%; I8, I9, I10; Figure 3-3).

**Key Finding 4: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had lower trust in police responses to violence if they identified as LGBTQ+**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents who identified as heterosexual were significantly more likely than those who identified as LGBTQ+ to trust that

police would respond appropriately to family violence matters. Specifically, heterosexual respondents were significantly more likely than LGBTQ+ respondents to “agree” (strongly or somewhat) that:

- violence against Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously by the police (49% of heterosexual versus 21% of LGBTQ+ respondents; I1)
- if an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander woman reported family violence, she would be treated fairly by police (58% versus 22%; I4)
- if an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander man was accused of family violence, he would be treated fairly by the police (44% versus 14%; I8).

Despite the above significant differences, it is important to note that substantial proportions of both heterosexual (34–50%) and LGBTQ+ (66–77%) respondents in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sample did not trust police responses and “disagreed” (strongly or somewhat) with the above three statements.

There were no other significant demographic differences on the questions in the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module based on gender, age, state, remoteness, socio-economic status, formal education, main labour activity, occupation or disability.

## ■ 4 Findings: Understanding of violence against women held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents

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 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' understanding of violence against women, including domestic violence between partners, sexual violence and technology-facilitated abuse, via the 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”.

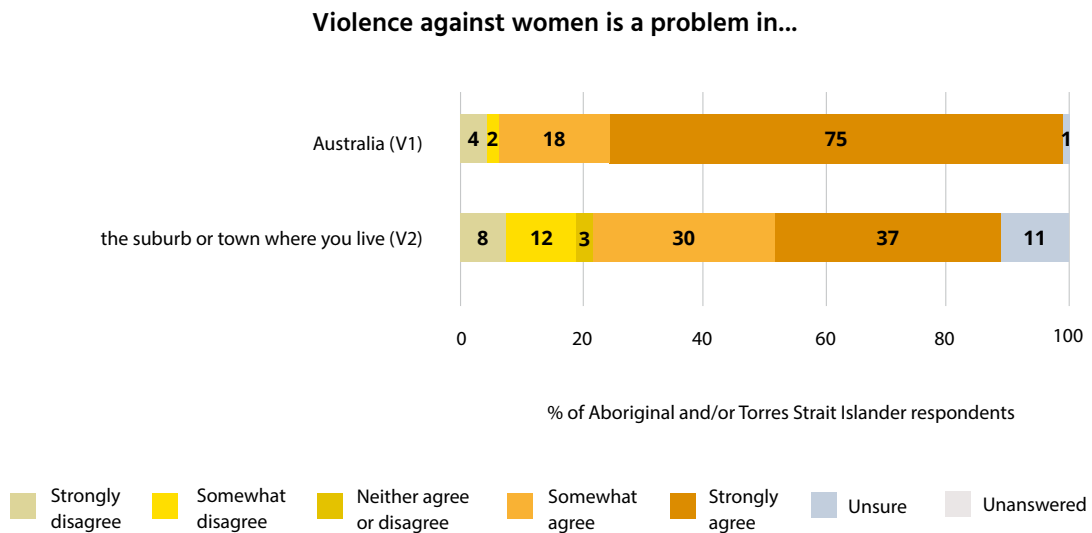
## 4.1 Understanding of the prevalence of violence

**Key finding 5: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were more likely to recognise that violence against women is a problem in Australia than in their own local area**

Figure 4-1 presents Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ answers to the items asking whether violence against women is a problem in Australia and in the respondent’s suburb or town.

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) that violence against women is a problem in Australia (93%; V1) and that it is a problem in their suburb or town (67%; V2). However, respondents were significantly more likely to “strongly agree” that violence against women is a problem in Australia (75%) than in their suburb or town (37%).

Figure 4-1: Perception of violence against women as a problem, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021



Note: N = 442. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

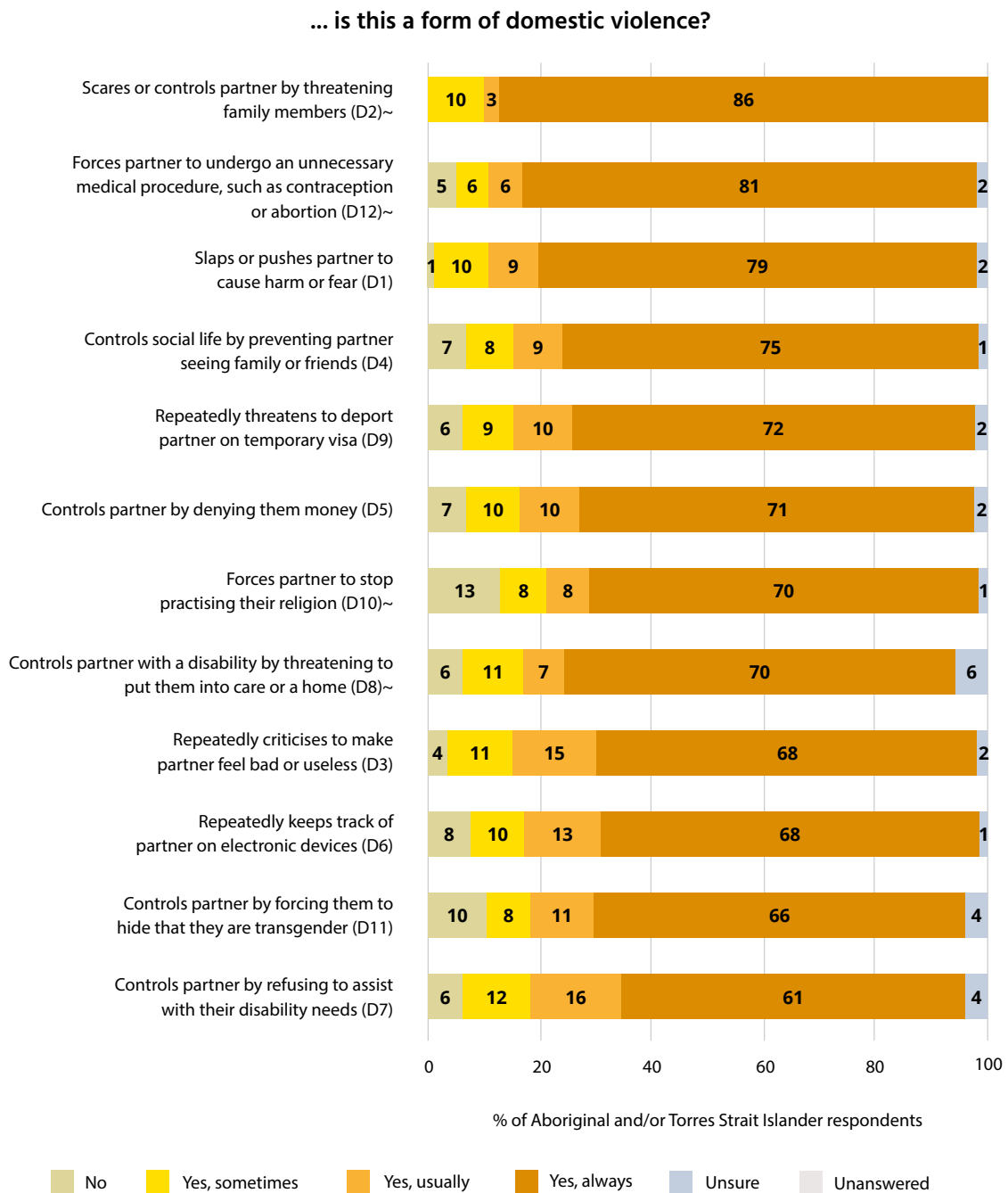
## 4.2 Understanding of different aspects of violence

**Key finding 6: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had a stronger understanding of some aspects of violence than others**

**Finding 6a: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were better at recognising physical than non-physical forms of domestic violence**

Figure 4-2 presents the results of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents on the items in the Recognise DV Subscale of the UVAWS.

Figure 4-2: Recognising domestic violence (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021



**Note:** N = 442 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.

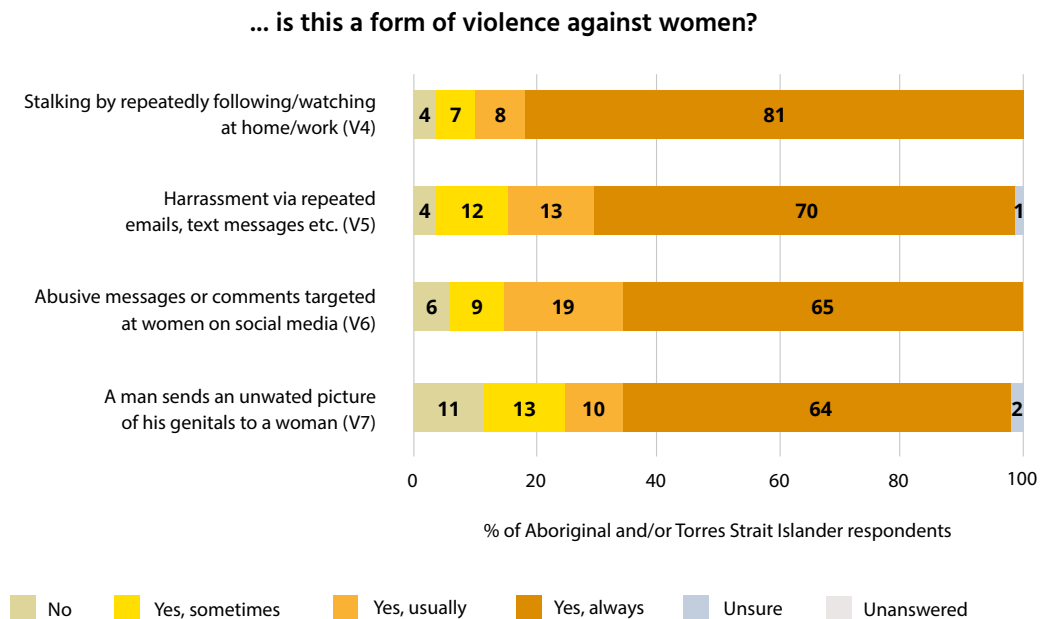
Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised that a range of violent, abusive and controlling behaviours are “always” forms of domestic violence (61–86%). Around 4 in 5 or more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents identified physical harm or threats of physical harm as “always” forms of domestic violence (79–86%; D1, D2, D12; Figure 4-2). However, there was less recognition that non-physical forms of domestic violence are “always” violence (61–75%; D3–D11), including repeatedly criticising a partner, repeated electronic tracking of a partner and controlling a partner by forcing them to hide that they are trans gender or refusing to help with their disability needs (Figure 4-2).

**Finding 6b: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were better at recognising in-person stalking than technology-facilitated abuse behaviours as forms of violence against women**

Figure 4-3 presents the results of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents on the items in the Recognise VAW Subscale of the UVAWS.

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised that a range of abusive behaviours are “always” forms of violence against women (64–81%). Around 4 in 5 (81%; V4) respondents recognised in-person stalking as “always” a form of violence against women, but fewer (64–70%; V5, V6, V7) recognised forms of technology-facilitated abuse as “always” forms of violence against women (Figure 4-3).

**Figure 4-3: Recognising violence against women (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442.

**Finding 6c: Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents did not understand that domestic violence is gendered**

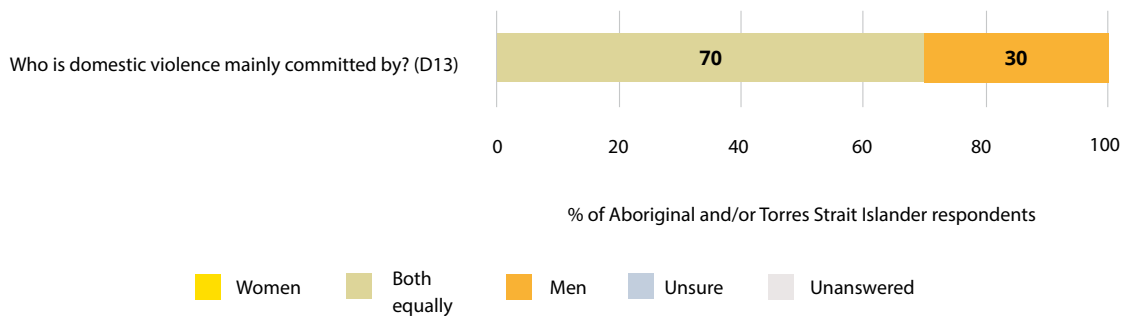
Figures 4-4 and 4-5 present the results of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents on the items in the Understand Gendered DV Subscale of the UVAWS.

Contrary to research evidence that shows domestic violence is gendered, in that most perpetrators are men and most victims are women (AIHW & NIAA, 2023;

AIHW, 2018b; Bricknell, 2023; Flood et al., 2022; Guthrie et al., 2020; Wundersitz, 2010; see Section 1.3), substantial proportions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents believed that:

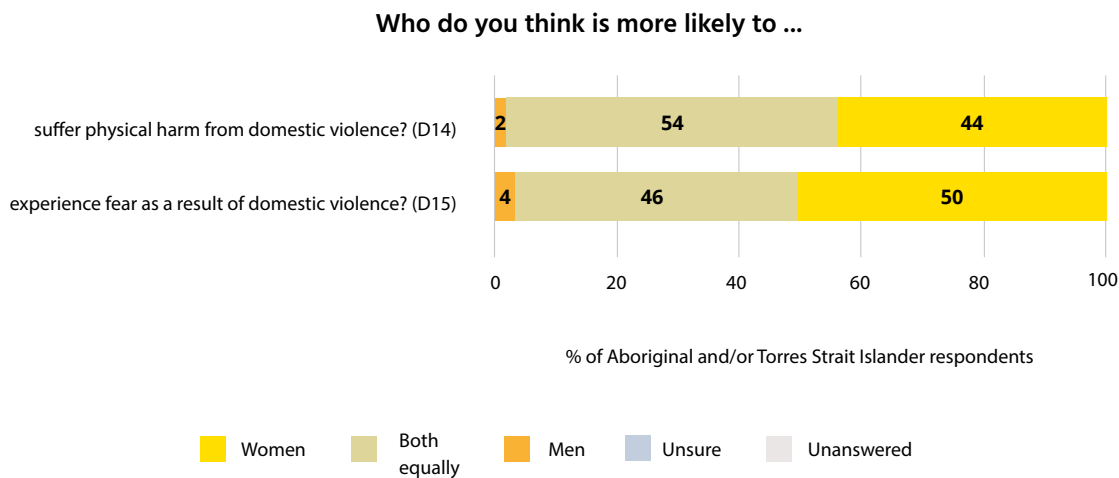
- domestic violence is equally committed by men and women (70%; Figure 4-4)
- men and women are equally likely to suffer physical harm from domestic violence (54%; Figure 4-5)
- men and women are equally likely to experience fear as a result of domestic violence (46%; Figure 4-5).

**Figure 4-4: Understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence perpetration (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 98. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

**Figure 4-5: Understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence impacts (UVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 98. Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

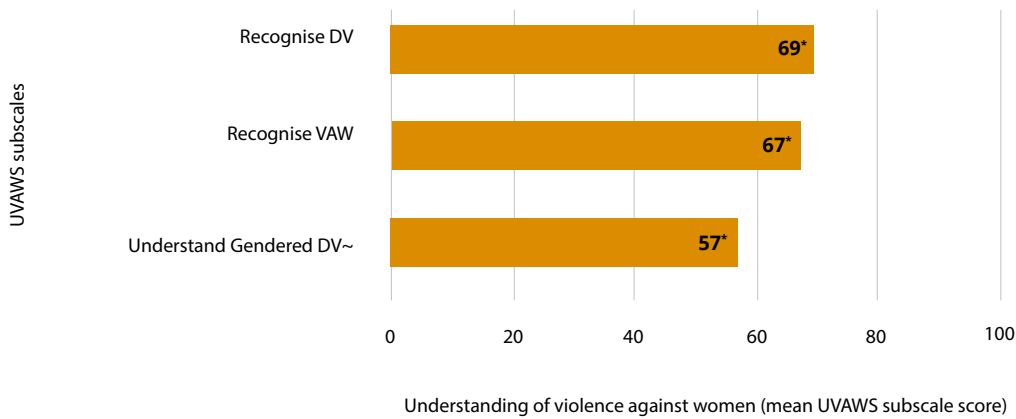


**Finding 6d: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were more likely to recognise domestic violence than other forms of violence against women, and more likely to recognise violence than understand that domestic violence is gendered**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents had significantly higher mean scores in 2021 on the Recognise DV subscale than the Recognise VAW subscale, and both of these mean scores were significantly higher than the mean score on the Understand Gendered DV Subscales (Figure 4-6).

This finding indicates that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' level of recognition of the behaviours constituting domestic violence was significantly higher than their recognition of other forms of violence against women. In addition, respondents' recognition of both domestic violence behaviours and other forms of violence against women were significantly higher than their level of understanding of the gendered nature of domestic violence.

**Figure 4-6: Understanding of different aspects of violence against women (UVAWS subscales), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442 unless otherwise noted.

\* Statistically significant difference compared to each of the two other subscales.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample.



## ■ 5 Findings: Attitudes held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards gender inequality

According to the Action Plan, “community attitudes and beliefs [that] embrace gender equality” must be achieved if we are to reach the goal that “all Australians live free from gender-based violence and are safe in all settings” (DSS, 2023a, p. 79). Gender inequality remains a pervasive issue in Australia and addressing gender inequality is critical if we are to end violence against women (AIHW, 2016; COAG, 2010; DSS, 2022a; Riach et al., 2018; Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2022). In the case of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, it is also critical that gender inequality as a driver of violence is viewed with an intersectional lens within the context of colonisation, racism, oppression, dispossession, and the cultural, social and geographic dislocation imposed upon Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples by European invasion (Blagg et al., 2020; DSS, 2023a; Guthrie et al., 2020).



Problematic attitudes towards gender inequality include:

- the denial of gender inequality
- condoning the limitation of women’s personal autonomy
- the normalisation of sexism
- the reinforcing of rigid gender roles and norms
- the undermining of women’s leadership in both the public and private spheres.

The 2021 NCAS measured Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ attitudes towards gender inequality via the 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.

## 5.1 Attitudes towards different aspects of gender inequality

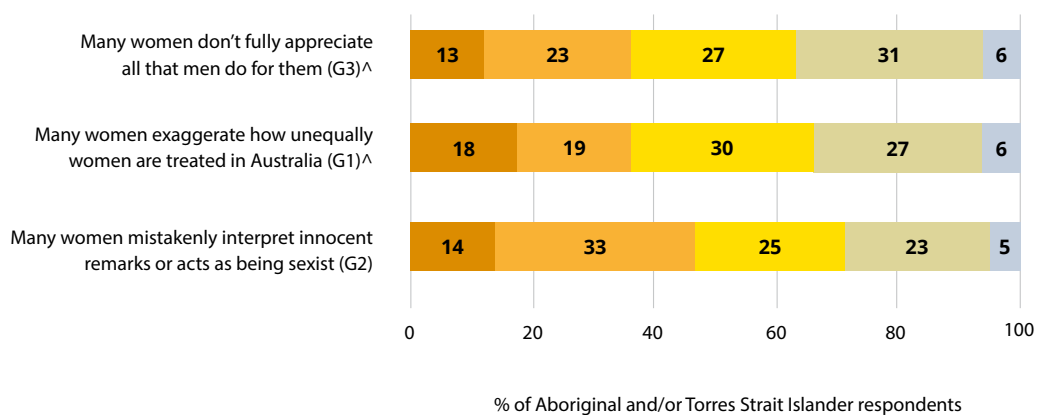
**Key finding 7: Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents rejected problematic attitudes towards gender inequality, but there is room for improvement across all aspects of gender equality**

Figures 5-1 to 5-5 present the results of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents’ answers on the items in the AGIS subscales.

At least half of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with all the items in three of the AGIS subscales, which describe attitudes that:

- normalise sexism (55–91%; Figure 5-3)
- reinforce gender roles and stereotypes (50–77%; Figure 5-4)
- undermine women’s leadership in public life (65–77%; Figure 5-5).

Figure 5-1: Denying gender inequality experiences (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021



**Note:** N = 442 unless otherwise noted.

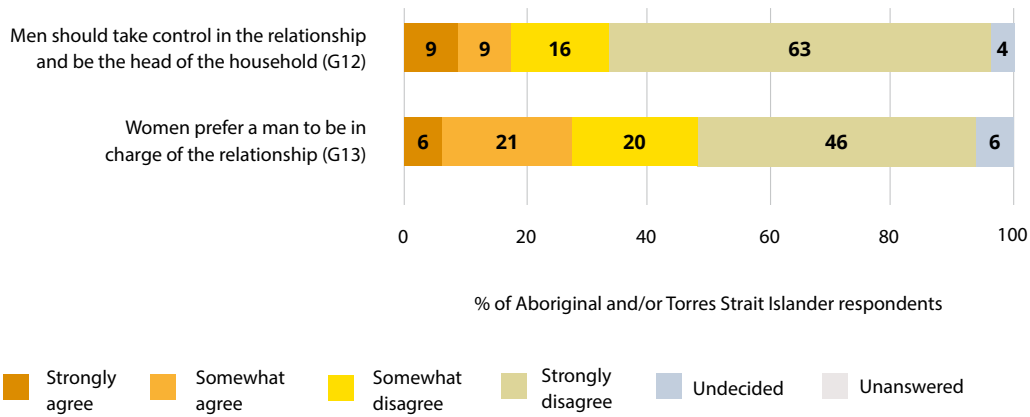
<sup>^</sup> Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

With the exception of one item, fewer than half of the respondents “strongly disagreed” with the items in the other two AGIS subscales, which describe attitudes that deny gender inequality experiences (23–31%; Figure 5-1) and attitudes that condone limiting women’s autonomy in relationships (46–63%; Figure 5-2). Responses to items in each AGIS 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:

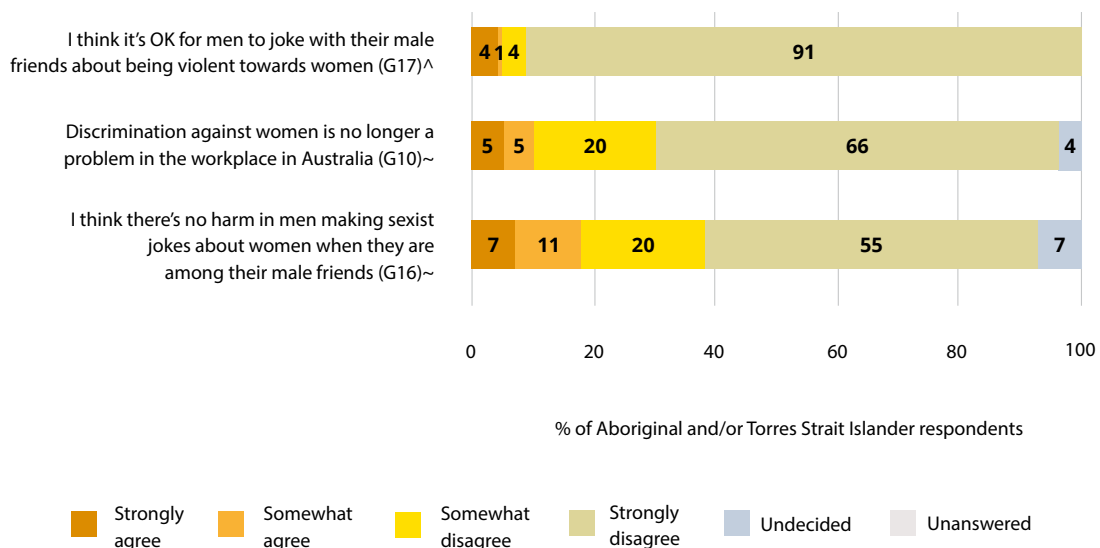
- deny gender inequality experiences
- condone limiting women’s autonomy
- normalise sexism
- reinforce gender roles and stereotypes
- undermine women’s leadership in public life.

**Figure 5-2: Limiting women’s personal autonomy in relationships (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

**Figure 5-3: Normalising sexism (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**

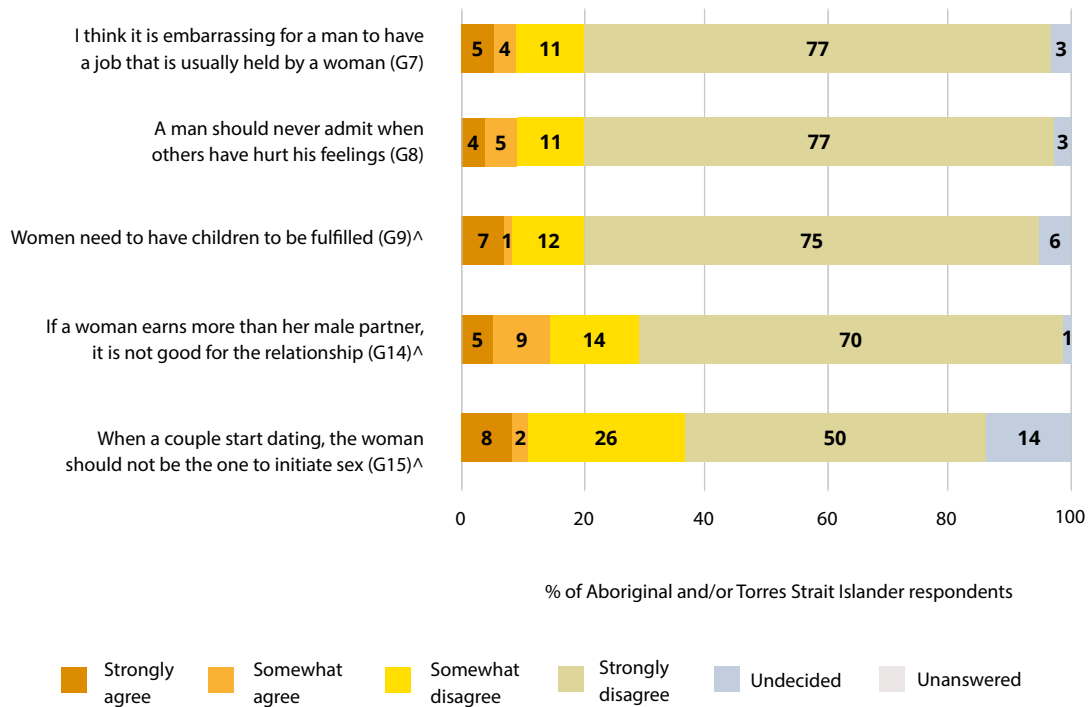


**Note:** N = 442 unless otherwise noted.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

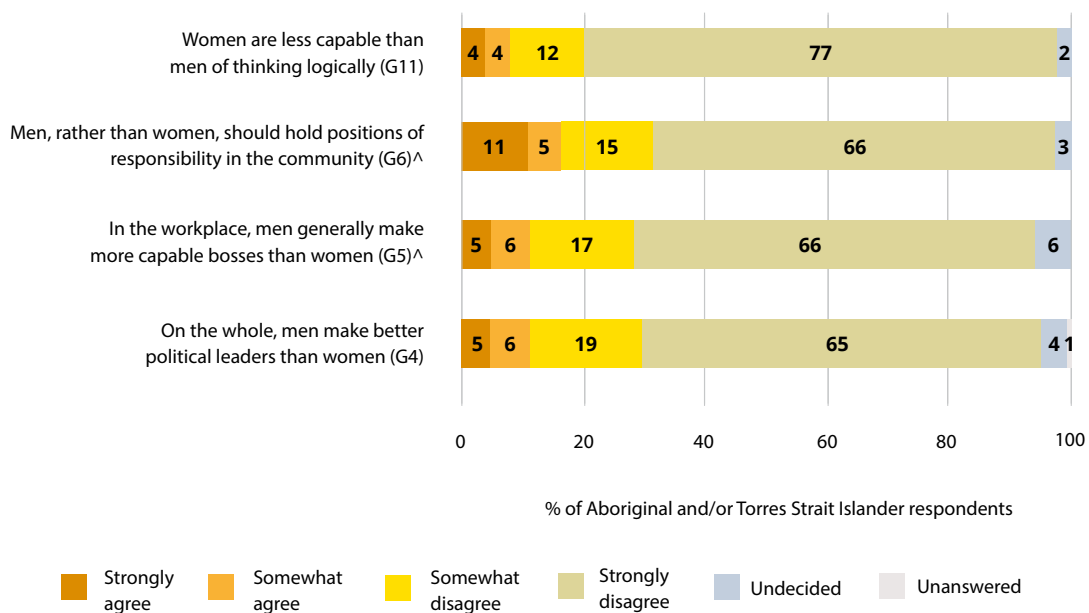
**Figure 5-4: Reinforcing rigid gender roles (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442 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 5-5: Undermining women’s leadership in public life (AGIS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**



**Note:** N = 442 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.



## 6 Findings: Attitudes held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards violence against women

The AVAWS measures attitudes towards violence against women and provides a means of monitoring changes over time in attitudes that reject violence. “Community attitudes and beliefs [that] condemn all forms of gendered violence without exception” must be achieved if we are to reach the goal that “all Australians live free from gender-based violence and are safe in all settings” according to the Action Plan (DSS, 2023a, p. 79). Australian community attitudes that condone gendered violence include minimising the extent and seriousness of violence against women and victim-blaming, mistrusting women’s disclosures of violence, 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 11 items presenting statements that objectify women or disregard the need to gain women's consent.<sup>16</sup>

## 6.1 Different types of attitudes towards violence against women

**Key finding 8: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents rejected problematic attitudes that minimise violence, objectify women and mistrust women, but there is room for improvement, especially in attitudes that mistrust women**

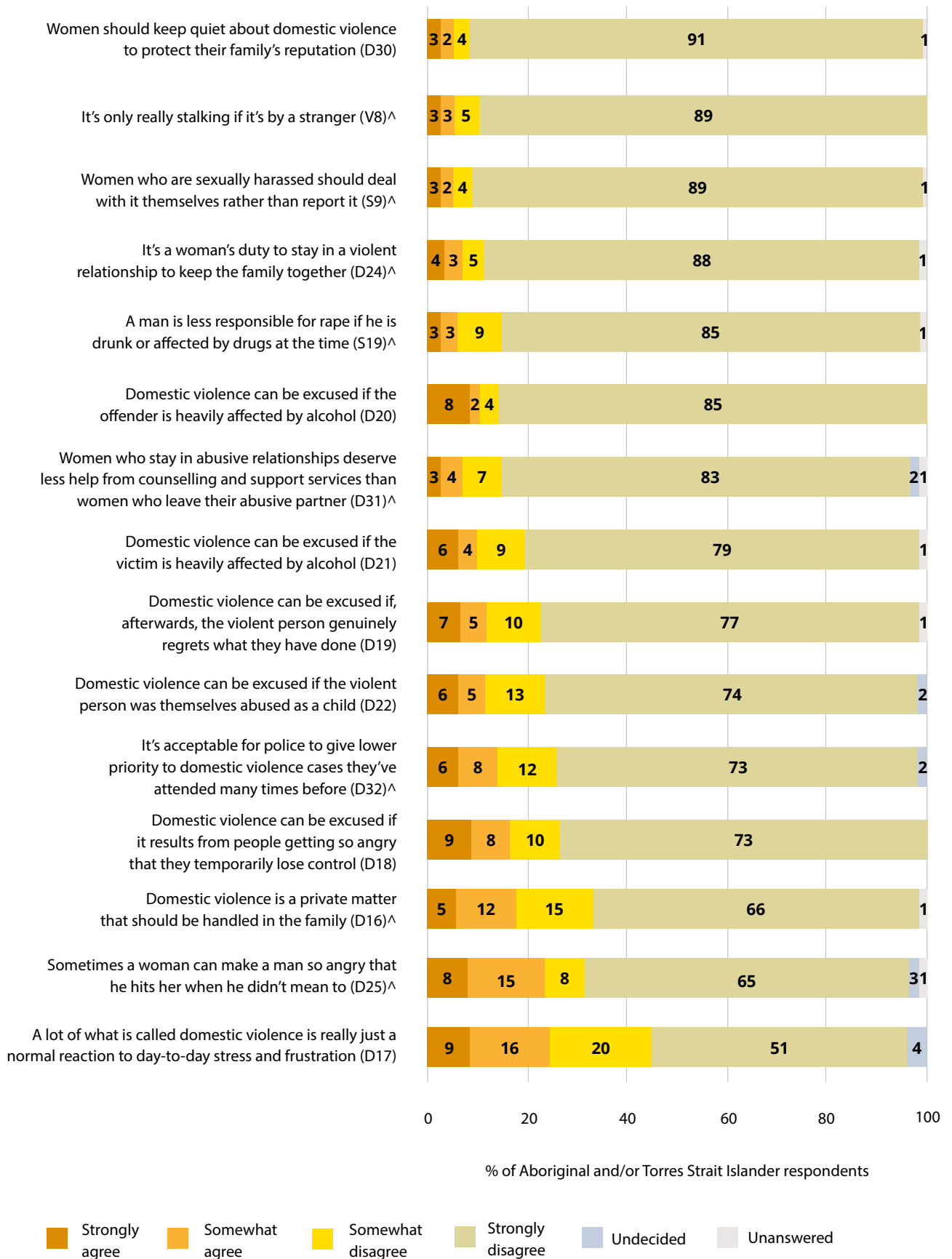
Figures 6-1 to 6-3 present the results of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents on the items in the three AVAWS subscales.

The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents "strongly disagreed" with all items in the Minimise Violence Subscale, which describe attitudes that minimise the seriousness of violence against women and/or shift blame to the victim (51–91%; Figure 6-1), and all items in the Objectify Women Subscale, which describe objectifying women and disregarding the need to gain their consent (61–90%; Figure 6-3). However, there was less disagreement with some of the items in the Mistrust Women Subscale, describing mistrust of women's reports of violence victimisation. Although a majority of respondents "strongly disagreed" with 9 of the 13 items in the Mistrust Women Subscale (54–83%), fewer than half "strongly disagreed" with the other four items (26–46%; Figure 6-2).

Consistent with these item-level results, mean scores on the AVAWS subscales also indicated significantly higher rejection of attitudes that minimise violence and objectify women than attitudes that mistrust women's reports of violence (Figure 6-4; see also Sections 1.3, 1.5 and 7.2).

<sup>16</sup> The four items presenting scenarios about sexual consent were not asked of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents.

**Figure 6-1: Minimising violence against women and shifting blame (AVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021**

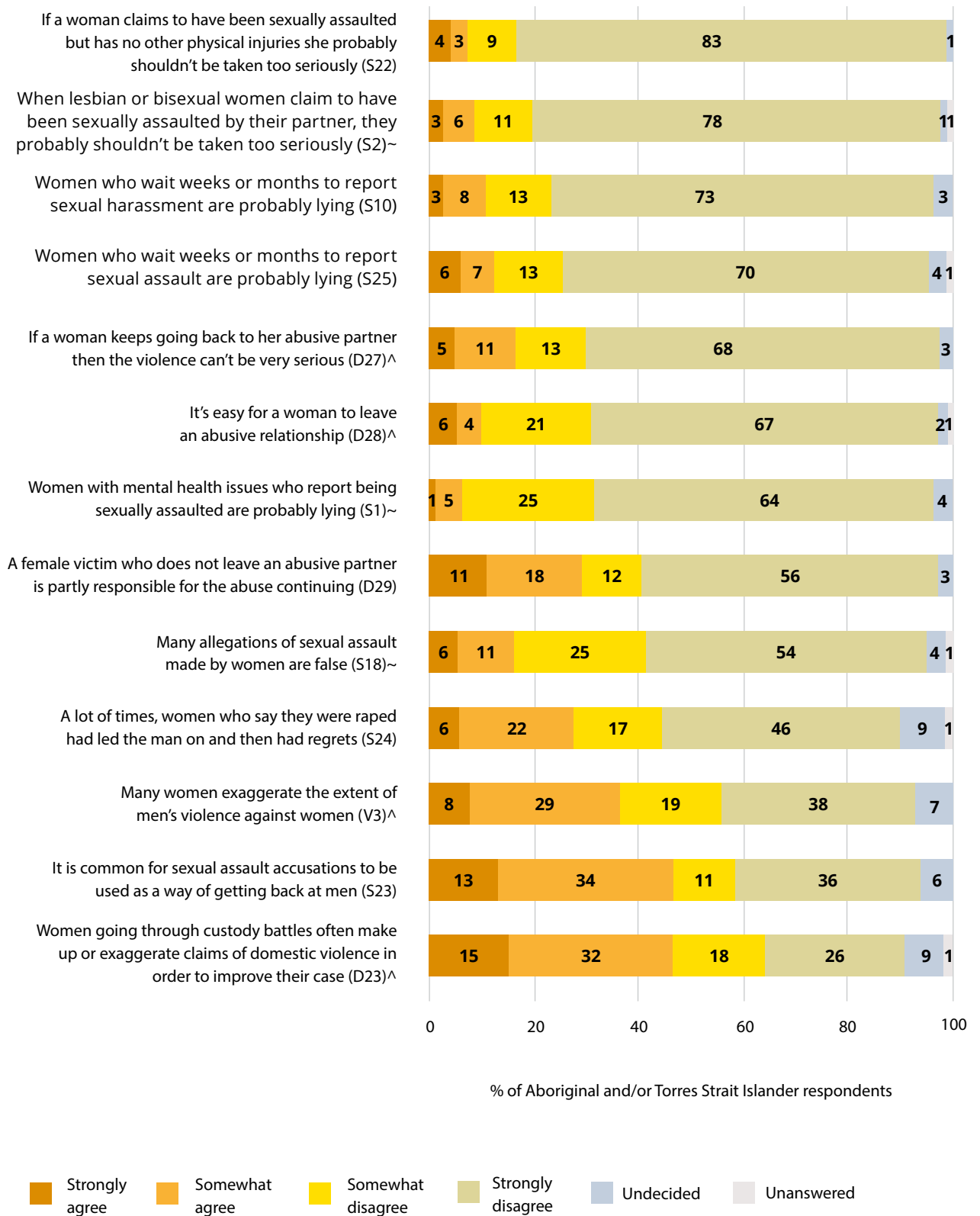


**Note:** N = 442 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.



Figure 6-2: Mistrusting women’s reports of violence (AVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021

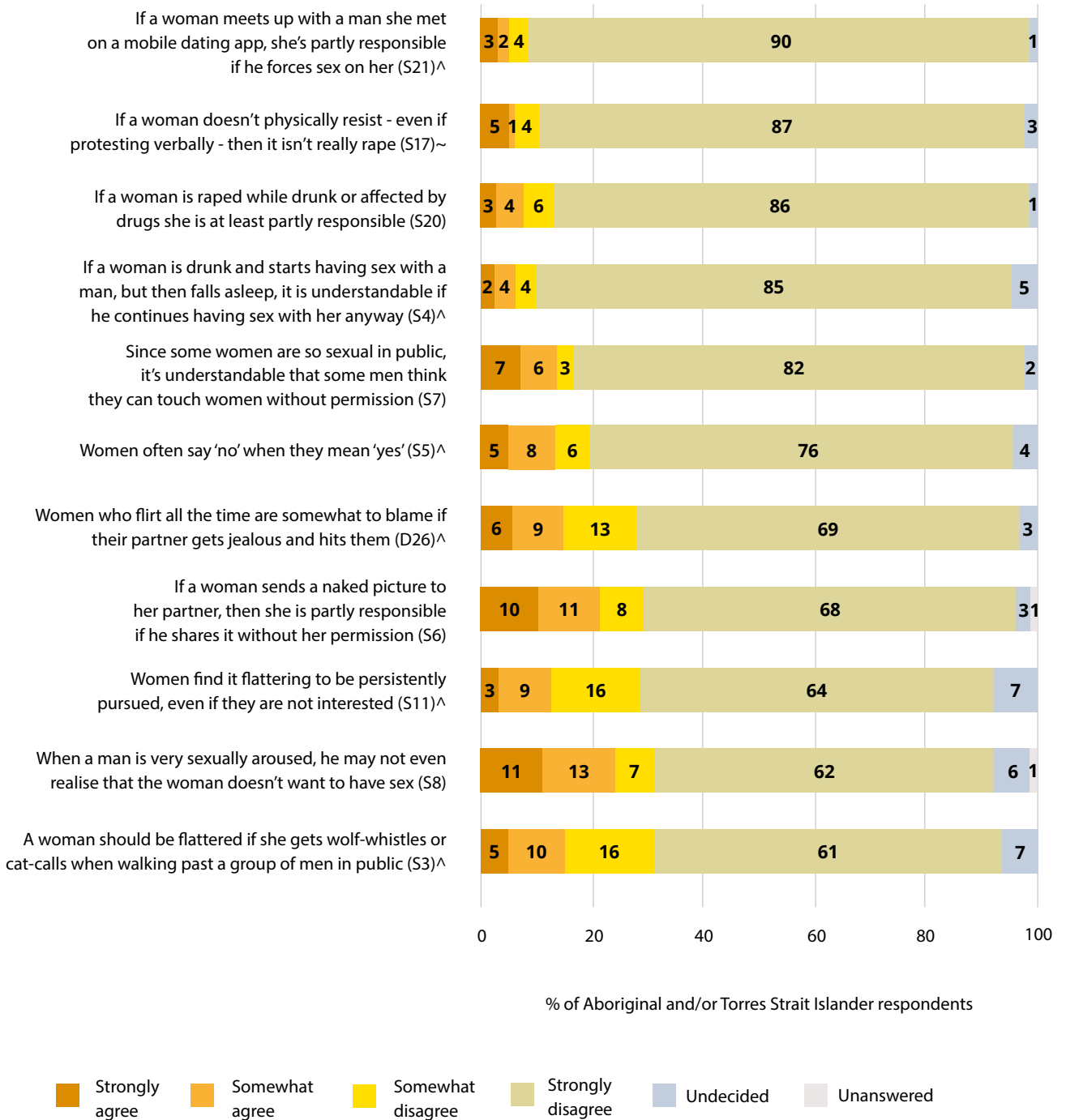


**Note:** N = 442 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 6-3: Objectifying women and disregarding consent (AVAWS subscale items), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021

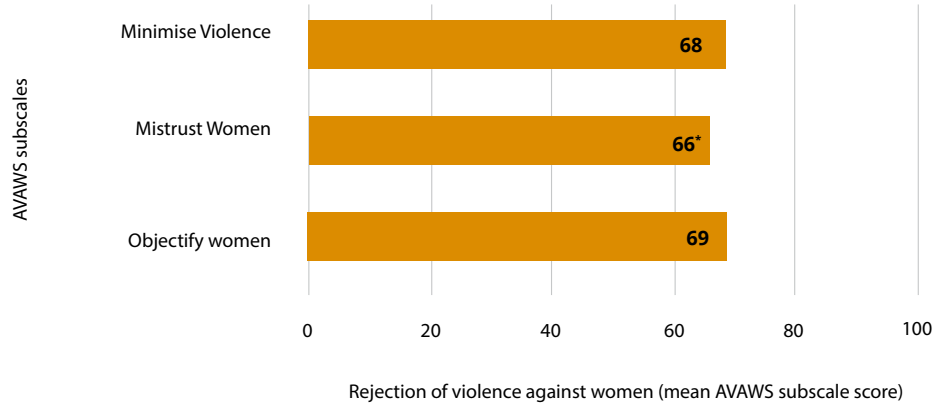


**Note:** N = 442 unless otherwise noted. Percentages in the figure do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

~ Asked of one quarter of the sample in 2021.

^ Asked of one half of the sample in 2021.

Figure 6-4: Rejection of different aspects of violence against women (AVAWS subscales), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021.



**Note:** Ns were:

- Minimise Violence Subscale = 441
- Mistrust Women Subscale = 439
- Objectify Women Subscale = 433.

\* Statistically significant difference compared to each of the two other subscales.



## ■ 7 Findings: Understanding and attitudes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards different types of violence against women

The items in the AVAWS were subdivided according to the type of violence they describe and were used as the basis for creating five “type of violence” scales:

- the DVS
- the SVS, which is a composite of two scales:
  - the SAS
  - the SHS
- the TFAS.

The TFAS also included four items from the UVAWS. The NCAS included some additional items measuring understanding and attitudes regarding different types of violence (e.g. in-person stalking) that were not part of any of the type of violence scales (Figure 2-1; Section 2.2).



## 7.1 Domestic violence

**Key finding 9: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents showed strong rejection of domestic violence and knowledge of support services, but there is room for improvement**

**Finding 9a: Domestic violence: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents rejected many problematic attitudes towards domestic violence, but a sizeable minority supported some of these problematic attitudes**

Based on the DVS items, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with problematic attitudes, myths and misconceptions regarding domestic violence, including that:

- women should keep quiet about domestic violence to protect their family’s reputation (91%; D30; Figure 6-1)
- it’s a woman’s duty to stay in a violent relationship to keep the family together (88%; D24; Figure 6-1)
- domestic violence can be excused if the offender is heavily affected by alcohol (85%; D20; Figure 6-1)
- women who stay in abusive relationships deserve less help from counselling and support services than women who leave their abusive partner (83%; D31; Figure 6-1)

However, one in four or more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) with some myths or misconceptions about domestic violence, namely that:

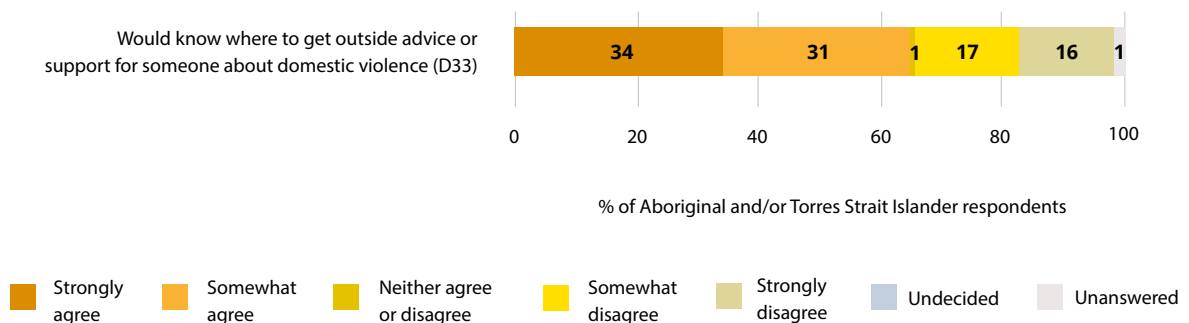
- women going through custody battles often make up or exaggerate claims of domestic violence to improve their case (47%; D23; Figure 6-2)
- a woman who does not leave her abusive partner is partly responsible for the abuse continuing (29%; D29; Figure 6-2)
- much domestic violence is a normal reaction to day-to-day stress and frustration (25%; D17; Figure 6-1).

These findings may indicate a need for further education about the impacts of family and domestic violence among some respondents.

**Finding 9b: Domestic violence: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents would know where to go to seek help for domestic violence, but this could be improved**

Approximately two in three (65%) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents indicated that they would know where to go if they needed outside support for someone experiencing domestic violence (D33; Figure 7-1).

Figure 7-1: Knowledge of domestic violence services, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents, 2021



Note: N = 442.

## 7.2 Sexual violence

### Key finding 10: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents showed strong understanding and rejection of sexual violence, but there is room for improvement

#### Finding 10a: Sexual violence: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents rejected many problematic attitudes towards sexual violence, but a sizeable minority supported attitudes that mistrust women or disregard consent

The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” with most of the items in the SVS describing problematic attitudes to this type of violence, including 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 (90% “strongly disagreed”; S21; Figure 6-3)<sup>17</sup>
- women who are sexually harassed should deal with it themselves rather than report it (89%; S9; Figure 6-1)
- if a woman doesn’t physically resist – even if protesting verbally – then it isn’t really rape (87%; S17; Figure 6-3)
- a man is less responsible for rape if he is drunk or affected by drugs at the time (85%; S19; Figure 6-1).

Sizeable minorities of respondents also “agreed” (strongly or somewhat) with some attitudes that disregard women’s consent. Almost one in four Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “agreed” that when a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realise that the woman doesn’t want to have sex (24%; S8; Figure 6-3) and more than 1 in 10 “agreed” that women “often say ‘no’ when they mean ‘yes’” (13%; S5; Figure 6-3).

Given the substantial under-reporting of sexual assault, some of the mistrust of women’s reports of sexual assault and attitudes towards consent could stem from a misconception that the prevalence of sexual assault is lower than it actually is (Sections 1.4 and 1.5). Mistrust may also be fostered by the historical and contemporary examples where authorities have demonstrated apathy and disbelief when Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women have made allegations of sexual violence (Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; Cripps, 2023; Mellor, 2003; N. Taylor & Putt, 2007).

#### Finding 10b: Sexual violence: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents demonstrated a good understanding of the law and the myth about stranger rape, but there is room for improvement

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents (80%) 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 (4%; S26).

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents (76%) recognised that women are more likely to be raped by someone they know than by a stranger (S16; see ABS, 2023c). However, almost one in five (18%) respondents thought that women are more likely to be raped by a stranger. Based on police data, in 2022 in New South Wales, 86 per cent of female Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims of sexual assault knew the perpetrator (ABS, 2023b).

## 7.3 Technology-facilitated abuse and stalking

### Key finding 11: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents showed strong understanding and rejection of technology-facilitated abuse and stalking

#### Finding 11a: Technology-facilitated abuse: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised technology-facilitated abuse and rejected attitudes that condone it

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents (64–70%; D6, V5, V6, V7; Figures 4-2 and 4-3) recognised that the technology-facilitated behaviours described by the TFAS “always” constitute a form of violence, but a minority did not. For example, a small proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents did not consider the following behaviours to be forms of violence:

- a man sending an unwanted picture of his genitals to a woman (11%; V7; Figure 4-3)
- abusive messages or comments targeted at women on social media (6%; V6; Figure 4-3).

Regarding attitudes, most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents “strongly disagreed” that a woman is partly responsible if her partner shares a naked picture without her permission (68%), but, concerning, one in five agreed with this statement (wz

<sup>17</sup> ANROWS acknowledges that forced sex is the same as rape or sexual assault. See ‘forced sex’ in the key terms.

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents (89%) 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 approximately 1 in 10 incorrectly thought that it is not a criminal offence (9%) or were unsure (2%; S27).

**Finding 11b: Stalking: Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised stalking, especially in-person stalking, as a form of violence against women**

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised stalking as violence against women. However, more recognised in-person stalking (81%; V4; Figure 4-3) than technology-facilitated stalking (68%; D6; Figure 4-2) as “always” a form of violence, and a minority did not recognise these as forms of violence (4% and 8%, respectively).



## ■ 8 Findings: Factors associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes towards violence against women

Efforts to change problematic attitudes towards violence against women can be aided by understanding the factors that shape or are associated with these attitudes. For example, understanding the factors associated with attitudes can inform the barriers and facilitators of violence prevention initiatives with different groups of people.

Based on multiple regression and bivariate analyses, this chapter presents demographic, understanding and attitudinal factors that were associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes towards violence against women. The demographic factors examined are outlined in Chapter 2.





Together, these demographic, understanding and attitudinal factors explained just over half (56%) of the variation in attitudes towards violence against women among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents (Multiple Regression AVAWS Model 3).<sup>18</sup> As almost half (44%) of the variance in respondents' attitudes towards violence against women was not explained by these factors, this suggests that other factors not included in the model are also important in predicting or shaping respondents' attitudes towards violence.

## 8.1 Understandings and attitudes associated with attitudes towards violence

Multiple regression analyses examined whether attitudes towards violence against women (AVAWS scores) were significantly related to attitudes towards gender inequality (AGIS scores), understanding of violence against women (UVAWS scores) and various demographic characteristics (Section 2.4).

### Key finding 12: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women were strongly associated

Based on the regression analysis (AVAWS Model 2), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' attitudes towards violence against women were significantly associated with both their attitudes towards gender inequality (AGIS) and their understanding of violence against women (UVAWS). Attitudes towards gender inequality (AGIS) was the strongest predictor of attitudes towards violence against women (AVAWS), explaining 39 per cent of the variation. Understanding of violence against women (UVAWS) explained 15 per cent of the variation in attitudes towards violence against women.

## 8.2 Demographics associated with attitudes towards violence

### Key finding 13: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' gender, education and employment status were modestly related to their attitudes towards violence against women

The regression analysis (AVAWS Model 1) revealed that the attitudes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents towards violence against women were only modestly related to their demographic characteristics. Together, all the demographic factors in the model explained 15 per cent of the variation in these attitudes. The strongest of the *demographic* predictors of respondents' attitudes towards violence against women were gender (which explained 6% of the variation in these attitudes), formal education (5%) and main labour activity (2%).<sup>19</sup>

Based on the regression, the demographic subgroups of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents who had significantly higher rejection of violence against women were:

- gender: women compared to men<sup>20</sup>
- formal education: university graduates compared to respondents without a university education
- main labour activity: employed respondents compared to those not working (unemployed, retired, unable to work).

Bivariate analysis revealed a fairly consistent gender gap in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' understanding and attitudes, with men lagging behind women. Specifically, compared to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men respondents, women respondents demonstrated significantly higher:

- understanding of violence against women (UVAWS), particularly recognition of domestic violence behaviours (one of the three UVAWS subscales)
- rejection of gender inequality (AGIS), including attitudes that deny inequality, condone limiting autonomy and undermine women's leadership (three of the five AGIS subscales)
- rejection of violence against women overall (AVAWS) and of domestic and sexual violence, including attitudes that minimise violence and mistrust women's reports of violence (two of the three AVAWS subscales).

18 Note that 56 per cent is the variance in AVAWS scores that could be explained if you know respondents' demographic characteristics, as well as 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 (15%; AVAWS Model 1) and the scale contribution alone (54%; AVAWS Model 2).

19 Remoteness and socio-economic status of area were retained in the final model because they improved model fit (see Technical Report, pp. 120–121). However, they were not "significant predictors" in that they didn't involve any significant differences of non-negligible size ( $p < 0.05$  and standardised regression coefficient  $\geq 0.2$ ). Age was removed from the final model because it did not improve model fit.

20 Given the small number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander non-binary respondents (2), comparisons involving non-binary respondents could not be conducted.



## ■ 9 Insights for policy and practice

Chapter 9 presents the insights for policy and practice from the 2021 NCAS results for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. The limitations of the present study should be kept in mind when considering these insights. As Sections 2.3 to 2.5 discuss, despite using the widely accepted best approach of random sampling, the NCAS, like most research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, is unlikely to be fully representative of the many diverse Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples across Australia. Nonetheless, the results cover the perspectives of a sample of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples from across Australia, including people from urban, regional, remote and very remote areas. Thus, the results highlight valuable insights and evidence for informing policy and programs that aim to work towards ending violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.



We also acknowledge that the report has been written by non-Indigenous authors, guided by an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander AG, incorporating feedback from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics and experts, and with reference to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander publications. Therefore, it is particularly important that the insights included in this chapter are applied with the guidance and expertise of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities. We will aim to address limitations in future iterations of the NCAS, as outlined in Section 2.5.

The NCAS findings for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents highlight *some areas* that may be relevant to consider, including:

- developing strategies to address the systemic effects of racism within services responding to family violence, including police, justice and government services, so that they can gain the trust of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who currently need, but do not have confidence in, these services (see findings in Chapter 3)
- working with ACCOs to develop violence prevention and education strategies for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to address areas of misunderstanding and problematic attitudes towards violence (see findings in Chapters 4 to 8).

However, the NCAS findings cannot tell us how such strategies should best be implemented. Thus, in Section 9.1 below, we have summarised recommendations from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research and literature regarding *how* policy and programs should be developed and implemented. Recommendations are provided to ensure that strategies are culturally responsive, safe and appropriate to the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities. Any action taken to inform policy and prevention programs based on the present findings should be co-designed with, and led by, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and the communities that they are likely to affect (C. Brown, 2018).

The Main report includes implications about *what* prevention efforts could focus on to improve understanding and attitudes for all Australians. Some of these implications may also be relevant for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Section 9.2 of the present chapter thus focuses on *additional* insights about areas that may be useful to focus on based on the results for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. All strategies for preventing violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, including those outlined in Section 9.2 or adapted from the Main report, should be designed and implemented according to the principles of self-determination and

embedding the perspectives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, which are summarised below in Section 9.1.

## 9.1 Insights about *how* to design and deliver interventions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

The following insights about how to design interventions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples align closely with Action 7 of the First Action Plan of the National Plan 2022–2032 (DSS, 2023b). Furthermore, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are a key priority population specified within the Australian National Research Agenda, which aims to identify the evidence required to end family, domestic and sexual violence to ensure communities remain strong and healthy (Lloyd et al., 2023). Working in formal partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is integral to ensuring that policies and service, police and legal system responses are strengths-based, culturally responsive and safe, focused on healing and ultimately meet the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities (Carlson et al., 2024; DSS, 2023b). Insights are also relevant to all five reform areas of the Action Plan as detailed throughout this section (DSS, 2023a).

### Support self-determination

For effective and meaningful change, policymakers, services and researchers need to support and fund initiatives that restore self-determination of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. As outlined by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), self-determination is

“...an ongoing process of ensuring that peoples are able to make decisions about matters that affect their lives. Essential to the exercise of self-determination is choice, participation and control. It is the right of peoples to freely determine their political status and economic, social and cultural development.” (AHRC, 2023, p. 2)

The United Nations Human Rights Committee cites self-determination as an “essential condition” for the observance and strengthening of human rights (United Nations Human Rights Committee, 1984, p. 1).

International and Australian evidence demonstrates that using self-determination is the only policy

approach that is likely to result in sustainable and effective outcomes for Indigenous peoples (Behrendt et al., 2017). *Dhelk Dja: Safe Our Way – Strong Culture, Strong Peoples, Strong Families* is an example of an Aboriginal-led policy agreement, signed by the Aboriginal community and service leaders, and the Victorian State Government (Family Safety Victoria, 2018). As outlined in the Dhelk Dja agreement, Aboriginal self-determination in the context of family violence is:

“...a systemic shift from government and the non-Aboriginal service sector, that requires the transfer of power, control, decision making and resources to Aboriginal communities and their organisations...” (p. 20)

Self-determination can be supported by:

- investing in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-determining institutions, structures and organisations
- transferring policy and program development decision-making powers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations, for example, via funding prioritisation to ACCOs or Aboriginal Legal Services
- supporting the growth of a skilled Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workforce and community-controlled sector
- ensuring the cultural safety, transparency, and accountability of governments and services
- ensuring widespread access to culturally informed and safe service provision from the non-Aboriginal service sector
- investing in community sustainability, resources and capacity building to ensure reforms are supported to continue (Family Safety Victoria, 2018).

These principles are not only relevant to policy and policymaking, but also to how family violence services, government departments and research spaces operate. These reforms must take a multi-sector approach, by considering and linking justice, health, housing and

education, and supporting both grassroots and top-down change.

### Action Plan Reform Area 1

*Voice, self-determination and agency* is recognised as the first reform area in the Action Plan (DSS, 2023a).

## Listen to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s perspectives on what is needed

Principles of self-determination are echoed as critical to family violence approaches by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers working in this area. Olsen and Lovett (2016) and C. Brown (2021) have collated principles from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers and practitioners on “what works and what is needed”. Principles of good practice to prevent violence against women involve (C. Brown, 2021; Olsen & Lovett, 2016):

- **holistic** approaches that are not limited to individuals but consider and work with the family, community and society to address the underlying drivers of violence (Carlson et al., 2024; Cripps, 2010; Memmott et al., 2006; Memmott et al., 2001)
- **community-driven** strategies, where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities have a key role in the design and delivery, resulting in their ownership, leadership and governance of programs and services that affect them (Carlson et al., 2024; Cripps, 2007; Gordon et al., 2002)
- **culturally responsive and appropriate** mainstream services and justice system responses, as detailed in Section 9.2
- **sustainable** funding, resourcing and support that is planned, consistent, facilitates ongoing service provision, minimises bureaucracy between the community-based project and the funding agency, and funds people within the community (C. Brown, 2021; Carlson et al., 2024; Gordon et al., 2002; Marmot et al., 2008; Memmott et al., 2006).

## 9.2 NCAS insights about *what* prevention initiatives are needed

### Systems and services must be equitable and trustworthy for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

#### Finding

Fewer than half of the sample “agreed” that violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is taken seriously by the police or by the government. Just over half “agreed” that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women reporting family violence would be treated fairly by the police or courts, and fewer than half “agreed” that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men accused of family violence would be treated fairly by the police or courts, or that decisions about the custody of their children would be fair (Key findings 1–3, Chapter 3). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents who identified as LGBTQ+ had significantly lower trust in police responses to violence than heterosexual respondents (Key finding 4, Section 3.2).

#### Insight: Tackle systemic racism through system-level change

#### Action Plan Reform Area 3

*Reform to institutions and systems* is recognised as the third reform area in the Action Plan (DSS, 2023a).

As highlighted by the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module findings, along with countless formal and informal accounts, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are highly distrustful of the institutions and services that are supposed to support safety and justice for all Australians (Bessant, 2013; Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; HREOC, 1991, 1997). The real-world inequities and injustices that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people face in response to family violence are blatant and well-documented and are couched within the context of historical and ongoing colonialism (see Section 1.3; ANROWS, 2022; Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; Cripps, 2023; O’Donnell et al., 2019).

Tackling systemic racism involves not only directly addressing racialised and discriminatory practices, but also racist and sexist attitudes that condone or minimise violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. Where such attitudes are expressed by service providers and police and legal officials in their responses to violence, they can create and amplify barriers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women reporting violence and obtaining assistance through formal channels. For example, problematic attitudes towards violence can contribute to victims and survivors feeling that they will not be taken seriously nor treated fairly if they make a formal report. Addressing injustices and inequities and restoring trust requires radical change in how institutions and services approach issues of family violence for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Achieving system-level change requires significant practical and cultural shifts in how non-Indigenous governments, policymakers, services and researchers work together with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, families and communities. Section 9.1 provides some discussion about how systems and interventions need to change to address racism and restore self-determination to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities. Further ideas are provided here:

- **Provide culturally responsive and appropriate mainstream services (Olsen & Lovett, 2016).** For example, this may be achieved through:
  - employing Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander workers or partnering with Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander services (Farrelly & Lumby, 2009; Lumby & Farrelly, 2009; Rawsthorne et al., 2010)
  - facilitating continuity of service; training service providers, police, lawyers, judges and support workers in culturally competent service delivery, cultural awareness and creating cultural safety (Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland, 2015; Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria, 2010b; Laing, 2013)
  - improving communication with clients and family members about laws and processes (Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria, 2010a)
  - linking clients to independent, trusted legal advice (Victims of Crime Commissioner, 2023)
  - catering for families, particularly children, as well as women (Wendt & Baker, 2013)
  - taking a holistic approach as described in Section 9.1.

- **Develop culturally appropriate justice system responses (Olsen & Lovett, 2016).** Culturally appropriate justice system responses have been modelled and evaluated through Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sentencing courts (Cox et al., 2009; Lawrie & Matthews, 2002). While the aims and outcomes differ, they often model restorative justice, aim to change the behaviour of perpetrators and rebuild family relationships, and involve Elders and other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the court process of enacting Australian criminal laws (Atkinson, 2002b; Marchetti, 2014; McGlade, 2006; Widders, 2003). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sentencing court approaches to family violence are preferred and considered fairer and more culturally appropriate by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims and survivors and perpetrators in many situations (Nancarrow, 2006).
- **Provide adequate and ongoing funding to ACCOs.** ACCOs are central to putting principles of self-determination into practice (Section 9.1), providing essential, culturally safe services, and advocating for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities' needs through partnerships with mainstream services (Farrelly & Lumby, 2009). For example, Family Violence Prevention Legal Services provide essential legal assistance and social support to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims and survivors of family violence and sexual assault. However, service capacity is limited by underfunding and resourcing constraints (Cripps & Davis, 2012; Victims of Crime Commissioner, 2023).
- **Hold mainstream services accountable for providing equitable service and treatment for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.** This includes ensuring that services, including the police, treat people equitably regardless of whether they are Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, or their gender or sexual orientation, and that services provide information, resources and support in ways that make them accessible to everyone (Dwyer et al., 2016; Minnican & O'Toole, 2020; Whellum et al., 2019).

### Action Plan Reform Area 5

*Inclusion and intersectionality*, the fifth reform area in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan, applies to all insights in this chapter (DSS, 2023a).

## Work with Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations to prevent violence against women

Chapters 4 to 8 provide some insight into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents' understanding and attitudes related to violence against women. Overall, they highlight that the majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents recognised forms of violence against women and rejected problematic attitudes towards gender inequality and violence against women. This section provides a discussion and potential implications of some of the specific findings from these chapters.

### Finding

Contrary to research evidence that shows domestic violence is gendered (see also Section 1.3; Guthrie et al., 2020), the majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents believed that domestic violence is equally committed by men and women (70%) and that men and women are equally likely to suffer physical harm as a result of domestic violence (54%; Key finding 6, Section 4.2).

### Insight: Conduct research to investigate the factors underlying gaps in understanding the gendered nature of domestic violence

Some factors that could have influenced these results are as follows.

- The NCAS questions ask about the gendered nature of "domestic violence", whereas the broader term of "family violence", which also encompasses violence in extended families and kinship networks, has often been reported to be preferred by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Cripps & Davis, 2012; Department for Child Protection, 2012; Our Watch, 2018a).<sup>21</sup>
- Compared to men and non-Indigenous women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are more frequently misidentified as perpetrators of domestic violence when they fight back to defend themselves and their children (Buxton-Namisnyk, 2022; Nancarrow et al., 2020). This misidentification may contribute to misperceptions that domestic violence is equally perpetrated by men and women.

21 Note, however, that the 2021 Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Module focused on attitudes towards service responses to family violence.

- Our findings also suggest a substantive minority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents indicated mistrust for women's reports of violence, suggesting that violence against women may be more frequently dismissed or not believed compared to violence against men (Chapter 6).

**Insight: Provide education initiatives to increase awareness of the high prevalence and impacts of domestic violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women**

These education initiatives could also raise awareness of the barriers that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women can face to escaping further victimisation and seeking assistance (see also Section 1.5 and the insight below on increasing access to services for both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence who are Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people).

In addition, see the Main report for information related to increasing awareness of the gendered nature of domestic violence by addressing "gender-ignoring" bias and "backlash" (pp. 241–242) and the barriers that many women face to leaving violent relationships (pp. 250–251).

**Finding**

The majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents "strongly disagreed" with problematic attitudes that minimise violence or objectify women and disregard their consent. However, a minority "agreed" with some statements that mistrust women (Key finding 8, Section 6.1), shift blame for domestic violence to the victim (Key finding 9, Section 7.1), mistrust women's reports of sexual violence or disregard sexual consent (Key finding 10, Section 7.2), and do not recognise technology-facilitated abuse or shift blame to the victim for this abuse (Key finding 11, Section 7.3).

**Insight: Build capacity among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to recognise and report violence and shift attitudes that condone or normalise violence**

This finding suggests that violence prevention initiatives may benefit from educational components that build community members' capacity to recognise violence against women, intervene when safe to do so, report violence, and challenge attitudes that condone or normalise violence. Including an educational

component in violence prevention initiatives with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is also recommended by practitioners and researchers working in this area (C. Brown, 2021; Keel, 2004). However, this work needs to happen in conjunction with reform to systems and services, to improve outcomes for people who choose to report violence, and to provide safe and appropriate options for escaping from or preventing future violence (see Section 9.2 "Systems and services must be equitable and trustworthy for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people").

**Action Plan Reform Area 2**

The addition of educational components could be incorporated into actions to address the second reform area in the Action Plan: *strength, resilience and therapeutic healing* (DSS, 2023a).

Also see the Main report for information related to:

- addressing attitudes that minimise violence, shift blame to victims and survivors and mistrust women's reports of violence (pp. 244–247) and disregard the need for consent (pp. 252–254)
- increasing understanding of forms of technology-facilitated abuse (p. 256).

**Finding**

Although most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents "agreed" that they would know where to go if they needed outside support for someone experiencing domestic violence, one in three respondents did not know where to access outside support (Key finding 9, Section 7.1).

**Insight: Increase access to services for both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence who are Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people**

Given a substantial minority of respondents did not agree they would know where to go to seek support for domestic violence, further work is needed. To increase this access, it is important to:

- increase the availability of accessible, culturally responsive and appropriate domestic violence services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people throughout Australia

- increase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's awareness of these services
- adequately fund, resource, and support ACCOs and other organisations that specialise in culturally responsive and appropriate family violence services
- remove barriers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people accessing these services (See also Section 1.5, and Section 9.1).

See also the Main report (pp. 251–252) for information on raising public awareness of where and how to seek help for domestic violence.

### **Finding**

Almost half of the variance in respondents' attitudes towards violence against women was not explained by the demographic, understanding and attitudinal factors examined in the regression analysis (Chapter 8).

### **Insight: Future research could deepen knowledge of the factors that shape attitudes towards violence against women**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations that deliver family violence services and other ACCOs are likely to have valuable insights into the protective factors and risk factors influencing violence against women that may also influence attitudes towards this violence. Future NCAS iterations could also aim to investigate additional demographic, experiential or systemic factors that may be potential predictors of attitudes towards violence against women. It is also important that specific policies address the drivers of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women because, as discussed in Section 1.3, these cannot be assumed to be the same as those for non-Indigenous Australians.

### **Action Plan Reform Area 4**

*Evidence and data eco-systems is the fourth reform area in the Action Plan (DSS, 2023a).*





## 10 Conclusion

The NCAS provides unique insight into understanding and attitudes regarding violence against women. The NCAS findings for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents suggest that among this sample, many do not trust the police and government to take violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women seriously, nor to treat Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people fairly when family violence is reported.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents strongly rejected violence against women and gender inequality, although the NCAS indicated certain areas where the understanding and attitudes of some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people could be improved. Importantly, the NCAS findings also highlight the need for improvement in systems and services that are meant to serve all Australians, as well as providing some insight for initiatives to prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

It is evident that deep-seated cultural change is needed across the Australian community, including within its structures and systems, to address the oppression and discrimination underlying violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. It is critical that initiatives to prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are designed and delivered according to self-determination principles and after genuinely listening to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives on what is needed.




# 11 Appendix: 2021 NCAS Aboriginal and/ or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group

The following individuals were members of the 2021 NCAS Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group. We thank them for their guidance and input into the 2021 NCAS.

Name	
Dr Mick Adams	University of Newcastle (previously at Australian Indigenous HealthInfoNet, Edith Cowen University) Yadhiagana/Wuthathi people of Cape York and the Gurindji people of Central Western Northern Territory
Dorinda Cox	Inspire Change Consulting Group Noongar and Yamatji
Professor Kyllie Cripps	Director, Monash Indigenous Studies Centre, Monash University Palawa, from Lutruwita/Tasmania
Nadia Currie	The Little Black Bee (previously at the Healing Foundation) Badtjala and Muninjahli
Dr David Gallant	Lecturer and Director of Engagement, Department of Social Work, University of Melbourne Palawa, from Lutruwita/Tasmania
Corina Martin	CEO, Aboriginal Family Law Services Gooniyandi and Mulgin Jaru Nations
Leanne Miller	Koorie Women Mean Business Dhulanyagan Ulupna, Yorta Yorta Nation
Debbie Mitchell	National Indigenous Australians Agency
Distinguished Professor Emerita Maggie Walter	School of Social Sciences, College of Arts, Law and Education, University of Tasmania Palawa, from Lutruwita/Tasmania



# 12 References

- Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria. (2010a). *Improving accessibility of the legal system for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims/survivors of family violence and sexual assault*. Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria. <https://djirra.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/FVPLS-Policy-Papers-June-2010.pdf>
- Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria. (2010b). *Strengthening on-the-ground service provision for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander victims/survivors of family violence and sexual assault in Victoria*. Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria. <https://djirra.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/FVPLS-Policy-Papers-June-2010.pdf>
- Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria. (2015). *Submission to the Victoria Royal Commission into Family Violence*. <https://djirra.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/FVPLS-Victoria-submission-to-Royal-Commission-FINAL-15Jul15.pdf>
- Alderson, S., Westmarland, N., & Kelly, L. (2013). The need for accountability to, and support for, children of men on domestic violence perpetrator programmes. *Child Abuse Review*, 22(3), 182–193. <https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2223>
- American Psychological Association. (2022). *APA Dictionary: Heteronormativity*. APA. <https://dictionary.apa.org/heteronormativity>
- Anderson, P., & Tilton, E. (2017). *Bringing them home 20 years on: An action plan for healing*. Healing Foundation. <https://healingfoundation.org.au/app/uploads/2017/05/Bringing-Them-Home-20-years-on-FINAL-SCREEN-1.pdf>
- Andrews, P. (1997). Violence against Aboriginal women in Australia: Possibilities for redress within the international human rights framework. *Albany Law Review*, 60, 917–941. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=912988>
- Armenti, N. A., Snead, A. L., & Babcock, J. C. (2018). Exploring the moderating role of problematic substance use in the relations between borderline and antisocial personality features and intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women*, 24(2), 223–240. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216687875>
- Atkinson, J. (1990). Violence in Aboriginal Australia: Colonisation and gender. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 14(2), 5–21. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.291270013921347>
- Atkinson, J. (2002a). *Trauma trails, recreating song lines: The transgenerational effects of trauma in Indigenous Australia*. Spinifex Press.
- Atkinson, J. (2002b). Voices in the wilderness. Restoring justice to traumatised peoples. *University of New South Wales Law Journal*, 25(1), 233–241. [https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/agis\\_archive.20024738](https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/agis_archive.20024738)
- Attorney-General's Department. (2023). *National Principles to Address Coercive Control in Family and Domestic Violence*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.ag.gov.au/families-and-marriage/publications/national-principles-address-coercive-control-family-and-domestic-violence>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011, February 17). *The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples*, Oct 2010 (4704.0): *Social and emotional wellbeing: Discrimination*. ABS. <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/lookup/4704.0Chapter450Oct+2010>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2018, November 6). *Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia – Stories from the Census, 2016 (2071.0): Socio-economic advantage and disadvantage*. ABS. <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/2071.0~2016~Main%20Features~Socio-Economic%20Advantage%20and%20Disadvantage~123>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2019, February 19). *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey, 2014–15 (4714.0): Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's experiences of family and domestic violence*. ABS. [https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/4714.0~2014-15~Feature%20Article~Aboriginal%20and%20Torres%20Strait%20Islander%20women's%20experiences%20of%20family%20and%20domestic%20violence%20\(Feature%20Article\)~10100](https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/4714.0~2014-15~Feature%20Article~Aboriginal%20and%20Torres%20Strait%20Islander%20women's%20experiences%20of%20family%20and%20domestic%20violence%20(Feature%20Article)~10100)



- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2021, April 4). *Understanding change in counts of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians: Census*. ABS. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples/understanding-change-counts-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-australians-census/latest-release>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2023a, March 15). *Personal Safety, Australia*. ABS. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/personal-safety-australia/latest-release>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2023b, June 27). *Recorded Crime – Victims*. ABS. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/recorded-crime-victims/latest-release>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2023c, August 23). *Sexual violence*. ABS. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/sexual-violence/2021-22>
- Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network, & Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. (2022). *Australian Domestic and Family Violence Death Review Network data report: Intimate partner violence homicides 2010–2018* (2nd ed.; Research report, 03/2022). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/australian-domestic-and-family-violence-death-review-network-data-report-intimate-partner-violence-homicides-2010-2018/>
- Australian Government. (2020). *National Agreement on Closing the Gap*. National Indigenous Australian Agency. <https://www.closingthegap.gov.au/national-agreement>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2007). *Glossary: Bring them home education module*. AHRC. <https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/education/bth/download/glossary.pdf>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2023). *Voice referendum: Self-determination and Indigenous peoples*. AHRC. Retrieved March 28, 2024, from <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/self-determination-and-indigenous>
- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. (2023, March 23). *Languages alive*. AIATSIS. Retrieved March 11, 2024, from <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/languages-alive>
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2016). *Domestic & family violence & homelessness 2011–12 to 2013–14* (Cat no. WEB 109). Australian Government. <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/family-domestic-and-sexual-violence/domestic-family-violence-homelessness-2011-12-to/contents/about>
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2018a). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Stolen Generations and descendants: Numbers, demographic characteristics and selected outcomes* (Cat. no. IHW 195). Australian Government. <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/indigenous-australians/stolen-generations-descendants/summary>
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2018b). *Family, domestic and sexual violence in Australia, 2018* (Cat. no. FDV 2). Australian Government. <https://doi.org/10.25816/5ebcc144fa7e6>
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2021). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Stolen Generations aged 50 and over: Updated analyses for 2018–19*. (Cat. no. IHW 257). Australian Government. <https://doi.org/10.25816/69kw-7h07>
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2022). *Australian Burden of Disease Study: Impact and causes of illness and death in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people 2018* (Cat. no. BOD 32). Australian Government. <https://doi.org/10.25816/xd60-4366>
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, & National Indigenous Australians Agency. (2023, January 30). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Performance Framework: 2.10 Community safety*. Australian Government. Retrieved March 1, 2024, from <https://www.indigenoushpf.gov.au/measures/2-10-community-safety>
- Australian Law Reform Commission. (1986). *Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Laws* (ALRC Report 31). Australian Government. <https://www.alrc.gov.au/publication/recognition-of-aboriginal-customary-laws-alrc-report-31/>
- Australian Law Reform Commission. (2017). *Pathways to justice – Inquiry into the incarceration rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples* (ALRC Report no. 133). Australian Government. <https://www.alrc.gov.au/publication/pathways-to-justice-inquiry-into-the-incarceration-rate-of-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples-alrc-report-133/>
- Australian Public Service Commission. (2022, July 27). *First Nations Vocabulary – Using culturally appropriate language and terminology*. Australian Government. Retrieved March 4, 2024, from <https://www.apsc.gov.au/working-aps/diversity-and-inclusion/diversity-inclusion-news/first-nations-vocabulary-using-culturally-appropriate-language-and-terminology>
- Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety. (2022). *Response to the Inquiry into missing and murdered First Nations women and children* [Submission]. ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/resources/senate-legal-and-constitutional-affairs-committee-response-to-the-inquiry-into-missing-and-murdered-first-nations-women-and-children/>

- Ayre, J., Lum On, M., Webster, K., Gourley, M., & Moon, L. (2016). *Examination of the burden of disease of intimate partner violence against women in 2011: Final report* (ANROWS Horizons, 06/2016). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/examination-of-the-burden-of-disease-of-intimate-partner-violence-against-women-in-2011-final-report/>
- Banner, S. (2005). Why terra nullius? Anthropology and property law in early Australia. *Law and History Review*, 23(1), 95–131. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248000000067>
- Banyard, V., Edwards, K., & Rizzo, A. (2019). “What would the neighbors do?” Measuring sexual and domestic violence prevention social norms among youth and adults. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(8), 1817–1833. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22201>
- Behrendt, L., Jorgenson, M., & Vivian, A. (2017). *Self-determination: Background concepts*. UTS: Jumbunna Indigenous House of Learning. <https://www.health.vic.gov.au/publications/self-determination-background-concepts>
- Bell, K. M., & Higgins, L. (2015). The impact of childhood emotional abuse and experiential avoidance on maladaptive problem solving and intimate partner violence. *Behavioral Sciences*, 5(2), 154–175. <https://doi.org/10.3390/bs5020154>
- Bessant, J. C. (2013). History and Australian Indigenous child welfare policies. *Policy Studies*, 34(3), 310–325. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2013.803531>
- Bevan, C., Lloyd, J., & McGlade, H. (2024). *Missing, murdered and incarcerated Indigenous women in Australia: A literature review*. ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/missing-murdered-and-incarcerated-indigenous-women-in-australia-a-literature-review/>
- Bevis, M., Atkinson, J., McCarthy, L., & Sweet, M. (2020). *Kungas' trauma experiences and effects on behaviour in Central Australia* (Research report, 03/2020). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/kungas-trauma-experiences-and-effects-on-behaviour-in-central-australia/>
- Birdsey, E., & Snowball, L. (2013). *Reporting violence to police: A survey of victims attending domestic violence services* (Issue paper 91). NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. <https://bocsar.nsw.gov.au/documents/publications/bb/bb01-100/bb91.pdf>
- Blagg, H., Hovane, V., Tulich, T., Raye, D., May, S., & Worrigal, T. (2022). Law, culture and decolonisation: The perspectives of Aboriginal Elders on family violence in Australia. *Social & Legal Studies*, 31(4), 535–558. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09646639211046134>
- Blagg, H., Tulich, T., Hovane, V., Raye, D., Worrigal, T., & May, S. (2020). *Understanding the role of Law and Culture in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in responding to and preventing family violence*, Ngarluma/Jaru/Goonyandi (Hovane), Kimberley and Pilbara region, WA, Jabirr Jabirr/Bardi (Raye), Dampier Peninsula and Kimberley region, WA, Goonyandi/Gija (Worrigal), Kimberley region, WA (Research report, 19/2020). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/understanding-the-role-of-law-and-culture-in-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-communities-in-responding-to-and-preventing-family-violence/>
- Bourassa, C., McKay-McNabb, K., & Hampton, M. (2005). Racism, sexism and colonialism: The impact on the health of Aboriginal women in Canada. *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme*, 24(1), 23–29. <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/issue/view/391>
- Bricknell, S. (2023). *Homicide in Australia 2020-21* (AIC Statistical Report 42). Australian Institute of Criminology. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/sr/sr42>
- Brown, C. (2018, December 3–5). *Experts and Influencers: The need for Indigenous-led responses to violence against women* [Conference presentation]. STOP Domestic Violence Conference Australia, Gold Coast, Qld, Australia. [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Chay-Brown/publication/331344362\\_Experts\\_and\\_Influencers\\_the\\_need\\_for\\_Indigenous-led\\_responses\\_to\\_violence\\_against\\_women/links/5c74c3b792851c6950414d49/Experts-and-Influencers-the-need-for-Indigenous-led-responses-to-violence-against-women.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Chay-Brown/publication/331344362_Experts_and_Influencers_the_need_for_Indigenous-led_responses_to_violence_against_women/links/5c74c3b792851c6950414d49/Experts-and-Influencers-the-need-for-Indigenous-led-responses-to-violence-against-women.pdf)
- Brown, C. (2021). *From the roots up: Principles of good practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory* [Doctoral dissertation, Australian National University]. Australian National University Open Research Repository. <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/items/3b59c0ad-c2c0-408e-9f45-2e0d463b2c26>
- Brown, C., Yap, M., Thomassin, A., Murray, M., & Yu, E. (2021). “Can I just share my story?” Experiences of technology-facilitated abuse among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in regional and remote Australia. *Journal of Global Indigeneity*, 5(2), Article 29716. <https://www.journalofglobalindigeneity.com/article/29716.pdf>
- Brown, I., & Stephens, M. (2023). *Ngaramanala: Aboriginal Knowledge Program: Responding to Indigenous data sovereignty and Indigenous data governance*. NSW Family and Community Services Insights Analysis and Research. <https://dcj.nsw.gov.au/about-us/facsiar/facsiar-research-seminars/past-seminars/2023-seminars/january-2023.html>
- Buchan, B., & Heath, M. (2006). Savagery and civilization: From terra nullius to the “tide of history”. *Ethnicities*, 6(1), 5–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796806061077>

- Burton, L. J., Cyr, D., & Weiner, J. M. (2020). "Unbroken, but bent": Gendered racism in school leadership. *Frontiers in Education*, 5(52), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/educ.2020.00052>
- Buxton-Namisnyk, E. (2022). Domestic violence policing of First Nations women in Australia: "Settler" frameworks, consequential harms and the promise of meaningful self-determination. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 62(6), 1323–1340. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azab103>
- Campbell, H. (2019). Domestic violence: Stalking and abuse in the digital age: What you can do to protect your clients. *Law Society Journal*, 52, 87–89. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/agispt.20190226007206>
- Campbell, J. C., Anderson, J. C., McFadgion, A., Gill, J., Zink, E., Patch, M., Callwood, G., & Campbell, D. (2018). The effects of intimate partner violence and probable traumatic brain injury on central nervous system symptoms. *Journal of Women's Health*, 27(6), 761–767. <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2016.6311>
- Campo, M. (2015). *Children's exposure to domestic and family violence: Key issues and responses*. Australian Institute of Family Studies. <https://aifs.gov.au/resources/policy-and-practice-papers/childrens-exposure-domestic-and-family-violence>
- Cano-Gonzalez, I., Charak, R., Gilbar, O., Viñas-Racionero, R., & Strait, M. K. (2022). Witnessing parental violence and cyber IPV perpetration in Hispanic emerging adults: The mediating role of attitudes toward IPV. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(9–10), NP8115–NP8137. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520975834>
- Carlson, B., Day, M., & Farrelly, T. (2024). *What works? A qualitative exploration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander healing programs that respond to family violence* (Research report, 02/2024). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/what-works-a-qualitative-exploration-of-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-healing-programs-that-respond-to-family-violence/>
- Carman, M., Fairchild, J., Parsons, M., Farrugia, C., Power, J., & Bourne, A. (2020). *Pride in prevention: A guide to primary prevention of family violence experienced by LGBTIQ communities*. Rainbow Health Victoria. <https://rainbowhealthaustralia.org.au/news/launch-pride-in-prevention-evidence-guide>
- Carman, M., Rosenberg, S., Bourne, A., & Parsons, M. (2020). *Research Matters: What does LGBTIQ mean? A fact sheet by Rainbow Health Victoria*. Rainbow Health Victoria. <https://rainbowhealthaustralia.org.au/research-resources>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2022). *About violence prevention: A framework for prevention*. CDC. <https://www.cdc.gov/violence-prevention/about/index.html>
- Clark, T., Dodson, S., Guivarra, N., & Widders Hunt, Y. (2021). "We're not treated equally as Indigenous people or as women": The perspectives and experiences of Indigenous women in Australian public relations. *Public Relations Inquiry*, 10(2), 163–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2046147X211005358>
- Closing the Gap Clearinghouse. (2013). *The role of community patrols in improving safety in Indigenous communities* (Resource sheet no. 20). Australian Institute of Health and Welfare & Australian Institute of Family Studies. <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/indigenous-australians/the-role-of-community-patrols-in-improving-safety/summary>
- Collins, M. (2012). Women most at risk of violence from their male partner. *Kai Tiaki: Nursing New Zealand*, 18(7), 12–13. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/3a084fbb0101c1d53a3024e96e735d97/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=856343>
- Collis, P., & Webb, J. (2014). The visible and the invisible: Legacies of violence in contemporary Australian Aboriginal contexts. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 38(4), 490–503. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2014.952764>
- Copp, J. E., Giordano, P. C., Manning, W. D., & Longmore, M. A. (2019). Neighborhood norms, disadvantage, and intimate partner violence perpetration. *Sociological Forum*, 34(3), 594–615. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sof.12516>
- Corboz, J., Flood, M., & Dyson, S. (2016). Challenges of bystander intervention in male-dominated professional sport: Lessons from the Australian Football League. *Violence Against Women*, 22(3), 324–343. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801215602343>
- Cortés-Treviño, K. L., Garduño-Alanis, A., & Monroy, G. V. (2022). Association between dating violence and personality type in Mexican university students. *Current Psychology*, 41(9), 6597–6607. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-020-01159-4>
- Cortis, N., & Bullen, J. (2016). *Domestic violence and women's economic security: Building Australia's capacity for prevention and redress: Final report* (ANROWS Horizons, 05/2016). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/domestic-violence-and-womens-economic-security-building-australias-capacity-for-prevention-and-redress-final-report/>
- Council of Australian Governments. (2010). *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.dss.gov.au/women/programs-services/reducing-violence/the-national-plan-to-reduce-violence-against-women-and-their-children-2010-2022>
- Cox, D., Young, M., & Bairnsfather-Scott, A. (2009). No Justice Without Healing: Australian Aboriginal People and Family Violence. *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, 30(1), 151–161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13200968.2009.10854421>

- Cox, P. (2015). *Violence against women in Australia: Additional analysis of the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Personal Safety Survey, 2012* (Rev. ed.; ANROWS Horizons, 01.01/2016). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/violence-against-women-in-australia-additional-analysis-of-the-australian-bureau-of-statistics-personal-safety-survey-2012/>
- Cripps, K. (2007). Indigenous family violence: From emergency measures to committed long-term action. *Australian Indigenous Law Review*, 11(2), 6–18. <http://www8.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdoc/au/journals/AILRev/2007/34.html>
- Cripps, K. (2008). Indigenous family violence: A statistical challenge. *Injury*, 39(Suppl. 5), S25–S35. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0020-1383\(08\)70026-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0020-1383(08)70026-3)
- Cripps, K. (2010). Indigenous family violence: Pathways forward. In N. Purdie, P. Dudgeon, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health and wellbeing principles and practice* (pp. 145–154). [https://research.acer.edu.au/indigenous\\_education/24/](https://research.acer.edu.au/indigenous_education/24/)
- Cripps, K. (2023). Indigenous women and intimate partner homicide in Australia: Confronting the impunity of policing failures. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 35(3), 293–311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10345329.2023.2205625>
- Cripps, K., & Davis, M. (2012). *Communities working to reduce Indigenous family violence* (Brief no. 12). Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse. <https://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/publications/communities-working-to-reduce-family-violence/>
- Cunneen, C. (2019). Institutional racism and (in) justice: Australia in the 21st century. *Decolonization of Criminology and Justice*, 1(1), 29–51. <https://doi.org/10.24135/dcj.v1i1.9>
- Cunneen, C. (2022, November 9). The criminal legal system does not deliver justice for First Nations people, says a new book. *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/the-criminal-legal-system-does-not-deliver-justice-for-first-nations-people-says-a-new-book-191005>
- Dahl, J., Vescio, T., & Weaver, K. (2015). How threats to masculinity sequentially cause public discomfort, anger, and ideological dominance over women. *Social Psychology*, 46(4), 242–254. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000248>
- Darwin, L., Vervoort, S., Vollert, E., & Blustein, S. (2023). *Intergenerational trauma and mental health*. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. <https://www.indigenoumhspsc.gov.au/publications/trauma>
- DeKeseredy, W. S., Hall-Sanchez, A., & Nolan, J. (2018). College campus sexual assault: The contribution of peers' proabuse informational support and attachments to abusive peers. *Violence Against Women*, 24(8), 922–935. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801217724920>
- Department for Child Protection. (2012). *Family and domestic violence background paper 2012*. Government of Western Australia. <https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/34.1%20Family%20and%20Domestic%20Violence%20Background%20Paper%202012.pdf>
- Department of Social Services. (2022a). *National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032: Ending gender-based violence in one generation*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.dss.gov.au/the-national-plan-to-end-violence-against-women-and-children/the-national-plan-to-end-violence-against-women-and-children-2022-2032>
- Department of Social Services. (2022b). *Safe and supported: The National Framework for Protecting Australia's Children 2021–2031: First Action Plan 2023–2026*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.dss.gov.au/families-and-children-programs-services-children-protecting-australias-children-safe-and-supported-the-national-framework-for-protecting-australias-children-2021-2031-safe-and-supported-first-action-plan-2023-2026>
- Department of Social Services. (2023a). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan 2023–2025*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.dss.gov.au/the-national-plan-to-end-violence-against-women-and-children/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-action-plan-2023-2025>
- Department of Social Services. (2023b). *First Action Plan 2023–2027*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.dss.gov.au/the-national-plan-to-end-violence-against-women-and-children/first-action-plan-2023-2027>
- D'Ignazio, C., & Klein, L. F. (2023). *Data feminism*. MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/11805.001.0001>
- Douglas, L., Wenitong, M., Cox, D., Muir, W., Martin-Pedersen, M., Masterton, G., Mosby, E., Ah Kit, C., Dowling, C., Taylor, H., Ngahere, J., Ricky, P., Wells, S., Salmon, M., Hovane, V., Bassani, M., Martin, C., Rosengrave, J., Frawley, P., Stokoe, L., Huggins, J. (2018). *Warawarni-gu Guma Statement: Healing Together in Ngurin Ngarluma*. ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/warawarni-gu-guma-statement/>
- Dudgeon, P., Wright, M., Paradies, Y., Garvey, D., & Walker, I. (2010). The social, cultural and historical context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. In N. Purdie, P. Dudgeon, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health and wellbeing principles and practice* (pp. 25–42). [https://research.acer.edu.au/indigenous\\_education/24/](https://research.acer.edu.au/indigenous_education/24/)
- Dwyer, J., O'Donnell, K., Willis, E., & Kelly, J. (2016). Equitable care for Indigenous people: Every health service can do it. *Asia Pacific Journal of Health Management*, 11(3), 11–17. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.536721181318048>

- Dyson, S., Frawley, P., & Robinson, S. (2017). "Whatever it takes": Access for women with disabilities to domestic and domestic violence services: Final report (ANROWS Horizons, 05/2017). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/whatever-it-takes-access-for-women-with-disabilities-to-domestic-and-family-violence-services-final-report/>
- Elias, A., & Paradies, Y. (2021). The costs of institutional racism and its ethical implications for healthcare. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, 18(1), 45–58. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-020-10073-0>
- eSafety Commissioner. (2022). *Domestic violence*. Australian Government. Retrieved March 24, 2024, from <https://www.esafety.gov.au/key-issues/domestic-family-violence>
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2014). *Violence against women: An EU-wide survey*. FRA. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report>
- Family Safety Victoria. (2018). *Dhelk Dja: Safe Our Way. Strong culture, strong peoples, strong families*. State Government of Victoria. <https://www.vic.gov.au/dhelk-dja-partnership-aboriginal-communities-address-family-violence>
- Farrelly, T., & Lumby, B. (2009). A best practice approach to cultural competence training. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 33(5), 14–22. <https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/informit.054265880108033>
- Fitts, M., Cullen, J., & Barney, J. (2023). Barriers preventing Indigenous women with violence-related head injuries from accessing services in Australia. *Australian Social Work*, 76(3), 406–419. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2023.2210115>
- Flood, M. (2008). Men, sex, and homosociality: How bonds between men shape their sexual relations with women. *Men and Masculinities*, 10(3), 339–359. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X06287761>
- Flood, M. (2019a). *Engaging men and boys in violence prevention*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://xonline.net/content/new-book-engaging-men-and-boys-violence-prevention>
- Flood, M. (2019b). Gender equality: Engaging men in change. *The Lancet*, 393(10189), 2386–2387. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(19\)31295-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(19)31295-4)
- Flood, M. (2020). *Masculinities and Health: Attitudes towards men and masculinities in Australia*. Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth). <https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/news-publications/research-publications/masculinities-and-health>
- Flood, M., Brown, C., Demebele, L., & Mills, K. (2022). *Who uses domestic, family, and sexual violence, how, and why? The State of Knowledge Report on Violence Perpetration*. Queensland University of Technology. <https://blogs.qut.edu.au/crime-and-justice-research-centre/2023/02/14/research-report-who-uses-domestic-family-and-sexual-violence-how-and-why-the-state-of-knowledge-report-on-violence-perpetration/>
- Flood, M., & Pease, B. (2009). Factors influencing attitudes to violence against women. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 10(2), 125–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838009334131>
- Gadd, D., Farrall, S., Dallimore, D., & Lombard, N. (2003). Equal victims or the usual suspects? Making sense of domestic abuse against men. *International Review of Victimology*, 10(2), 95–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026975800301000201>
- Gallagher, K. E., & Parrott, D. J. (2011). What accounts for men's hostile attitudes toward women? The influence of hegemonic male role norms and masculine gender role stress. *Violence Against Women*, 17(5), 568–583. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211407296>
- García-Moreno, C., Zimmerman, C., Morris-Gehring, A., Heise, L., Amin, A., Abrahams, N., Montoya, O., Bhate-Deosthali, P., Kilonzo, N., & Watts, C. (2015). Addressing violence against women: A call to action. *The Lancet*, 385(9978), 1685–1695. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(14\)61830-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(14)61830-4)
- Gordon, S., Hallahan, K., & Henry, D. (2002). *Putting the picture together: Inquiry into response by government agencies to complaints of family violence and child abuse in Aboriginal communities*. Western Australian Department of Premier and Cabinet. <https://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/resources/putting-the-picture-together-inquiry-into-response-by-government-agencies-to-complaints-of-family-violence-and-child-abuse-in-aboriginal-communities/>
- Grace, R., Burns, K., & Menzies, K. (2017). Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and families: The legacy of strong state intervention. In R. Grace, K. Hodge, & C. McMahon (Eds.), *Children, families and communities* (5th ed., pp. 292–317). Oxford University Press.
- Gracia, E., Lila, M., & Santirso, F. A. (2020). Attitudes toward intimate partner violence against women in the European Union: A systematic review. *European Psychologist*, 25(2), 104–121. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000392>
- Graham, K., Bernards, S., Laslett, A.-M., Gmel, G., Kuntsche, S., Wilsnack, S., Bloomfield, K., Grittner, U., Taft, A., Wilson, I., & Wells, S. (2018). Children, parental alcohol consumption, and intimate partner violence: A multicountry analysis by perpetration versus victimization and sex. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(11–12), 5608–5634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518804182>



- Griffiths, K., Coleman, C., Al-Yaman, F., Cunningham, J., Garvey, G., Whop, L., Pulver, L. J., Ring, I., & Madden, R. (2019). The identification of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in official statistics and other data: Critical issues of international significance. *Statistical Journal of the IAOS*, 35(1), 91–106. <https://doi.org/10.3233/SJI-180491>
- Guthrie, J., Thurber, K., Lovett, R., Gray, M., Banks, E., Olsen, A., Calabria, B., Priest, N., Dance, P., & Thandrayen, J., Colonna, E., Cohen, R., Brinckley, M.-M., Wells, S., Salmon, M., Doery, K., Movva, N., Dunbar, T., & Hovane, V. (2020). "The answers were there before white man come in": Stories of strength and resilience for responding to violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities – Family and Community Safety for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Study Report. Australian National University. [https://nceph.anu.edu.au/files/CHM200082%20TAWTBWMC1%20v9%20WEB\\_1.pdf](https://nceph.anu.edu.au/files/CHM200082%20TAWTBWMC1%20v9%20WEB_1.pdf)
- Ha, T., Otten, R., McGill, S., & Dishion, T. J. (2019). The family and peer origins of coercion within adult romantic relationships: A longitudinal multimethod study across relationships contexts. *Developmental Psychology*, 55(1), 207–215. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000630>
- Hamai, T. A., & Felitti, V. J. (2021). Adverse childhood experiences: Past, present, and future. In R. Geffner, J. W. White, L. K. Hamberger, A. Rosenbaum, V. Vaughan-Eden, & V. I. Vieth (Eds.), *Handbook of interpersonal violence and abuse across the lifespan* (pp. 97–120). Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89999-2\\_305](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89999-2_305)
- Hardesty, J. L., & Ogolsky, B. G. (2020). A socioecological perspective on intimate partner violence research: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(1), 454–477. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12652>
- Harmer, E., & Lewis, S. (2022). Disbelief and counter-voices: A thematic analysis of online reader comments about sexual harassment and sexual violence against women. *Information, Communication & Society*, 25(2), 199–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2020.1770832>
- Healing Foundation. (2022). *Stolen Generations collective healing initiatives rounds 1–6: Impacts and findings*. Healing Foundation. <https://healingfoundation.org.au/resources/stolen-generation-collective-healing-initiatives-rounds-1-6-impacts-and-findings/>
- Heise, L. L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. *Violence Against Women*, 4(3), 262–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801298004003002>
- Hideg, I., & Shen, W. (2019). Why still so few? A theoretical model of the role of benevolent sexism and career support in the continued underrepresentation of women in leadership positions. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 26(3), 287–303. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1548051819849006>
- Hlavka, H. R. (2014). Normalizing sexual violence: Young women account for harassment and abuse. *Gender & Society*, 28(3), 337–358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214526468>
- Holt, S., Buckley, H., & Whelan, S. (2008). The impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people: A review of the literature. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32(8), 797–810. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.02.004>
- Hourani, J., Block, K., Phillimore, J., Bradby, H., Ozcurumez, S., Goodson, L., & Vaughan, C. (2021). Structural and symbolic violence exacerbates the risks and consequences of sexual and gender-based violence for forced migrant women. *Frontiers in Human Dynamics*, 3, Article 769611. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fhumd.2021.769611>
- Hovane, V. (2015). Our story to tell: Aboriginal perspectives on domestic and family violence. In J. Gregory & T. Mitra-Kahn (Eds.), *Footprints* (Vol. 1, pp. 13–17). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publications/archive/>
- Hulley, J., Bailey, L., Kirkman, G., Gibbs, G. R., Gomersall, T., Latif, A., & Jones, A. (2023). Intimate partner violence and barriers to help-seeking among Black, Asian, minority ethnic and immigrant women: A qualitative metasynthesis of global research. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 24(2), 1001–1015. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380211050590>
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. (1991). *Racist violence: Report of the national inquiry into racist violence in Australia*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/NIRV.pdf>
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. (1997). *Bringing them home: National inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://bth.humanrights.gov.au/the-report/bringing-them-home-report>
- Hynes, N. (2022, June 10). NT coroner calls for more supervision of violent offenders in inquest of woman killed by her ex-partner. *ABC News*. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-06-10/coronal-inquest-roberta-findings-darwin-local-court/101141340>
- Isobel, S., Goodyear, M., Furness, T., & Foster, K. (2019). Preventing intergenerational trauma transmission: A critical interpretive synthesis. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 28(7–8), 1100–1113. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jocn.14735>
- Ivec, M., Braithwaite, V., & Harris, N. (2012). "Resetting the Relationship" in Indigenous child protection: Public hope and private reality. *Law & Policy*, 34(1), 80–103. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9930.2011.00354.x>

- Jackson, C., & Sundaram, V. (2018). "I have a sense that it's probably quite bad ... but because I don't see it, I don't know": Staff perspectives on "lad culture" in higher education. *Gender and Education, 33*(4), 435–450. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2018.1501006>
- Jones, J., Roarty, L., Gilroy, J., Brook, J., Wilson, M., Garlett, C., McGlade, H., Williams, R., & Leonard, H. (2023). *Research report: Wangkiny Yirra "Speaking Up". First Nations women and children with disability and their experiences of family and domestic violence*. Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability. <https://disability.royalcommission.gov.au/publications/wangkiny-yirra-speaking-project-first-nations-women-and-children-disability-and-their-experiences-family-and-domestic-violence>
- Jones, J. M. (1997). *Prejudice and Racism*. McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Jouriles, E. N., Vu, N. L., McDonald, R., & Rosenfield, D. (2014). Children's appraisals of conflict, beliefs about aggression, and externalizing problems in families characterized by severe intimate partner violence. *Journal of Family Psychology, 28*(6), 915–924. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037921>
- Keddie, A., Delaney, M., McVeigh, B., & Thorpe, J. (2023). Understanding and addressing gender-based violence: An Australian Indigenous approach. *Journal of Gender Studies, 32*(4), 370–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2021.2016383>
- Keel, M. (2004). *Family violence and sexual assault in Indigenous communities: "Walking the talk"* (Briefing no. 4). Australian Institute of Family Studies. <https://aifs.gov.au/resources/practice-guides/family-violence-and-sexual-assault-indigenous-communities>
- Kidman, R., & Kohler, H.-P. (2020). Emerging partner violence among young adolescents in a low-income country: Perpetration, victimization and adversity. *PLoS ONE, 15*(3), Article e0230085. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0230085>
- Kimber, M., Henriksen, C. A., Davidov, D. M., Goldstein, A. L., Pitre, N. Y., Tonmyr, L., & Afifi, T. O. (2015). The association between immigrant generational status, child maltreatment history and intimate partner violence (IPV): Evidence from a nationally representative survey. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 50*(7), 1135–1144. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-014-1002-1>
- Kingi, V., & Jordan, J. (2009). *Responding to sexual violence: Pathways to recovery*. Ministry of Women's Affairs. <https://www.women.govt.nz/library/responding-sexual-violence-pathway-recovery-2009>
- Krieg, A. (2009). The experience of collective trauma in Australian Indigenous communities. *Australasian Psychiatry, 17*(Suppl. 1), S28–S32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10398560902948621>
- Laing, L. (2013). *"It's like this maze that you have to make your way through": Women's experiences of seeking a domestic violence protection order in NSW*. University of Sydney. <https://dx.doi.org/10.13140/2.1.4881.2167>
- Langton, M., Smith, K., Eastman, T., O'Neill, L., Cheesman, E., & Rose, M. (2020). *Improving family violence legal and support services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women* (Research report, 25/2020). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/improving-family-violence-legal-and-support-services-for-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-women/>
- Latzman, N. E., D'Inverno, A. S., Niolon, P. H., & Reidy, D. E. (2018). Gender inequality and gender-based violence: Extensions to adolescent dating violence. In D. A. Wolfe & J. R. Temple (Eds.), *Adolescent dating violence* (pp. 283–314). Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-811797-2.00012-8>
- Lawrie, R., & Matthews, W. (2002). Holistic community justice: A proposed response to family violence in Aboriginal communities. *University of New South Wales Law Journal, 25*(1), 228–232. <https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/INFORMIT.116865402944596>
- Leen, E., Sorbring, E., Mawer, M., Holdsworth, E., Helsing, B., & Bowen, E. (2013). Prevalence, dynamic risk factors and the efficacy of primary interventions for adolescent dating violence: An international review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 18*(1), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.11.015>
- LGBTIQ+ Health Australia. (2022, July 29). *LGBTIQ+ health peak body welcomes paid domestic and family violence leave, calls for LGBTIQ+ inclusion in implementation*. LGBTIQ+ Health Australia. <https://www.lgbtiqhealth.org.au/lgbtiq-health-peak-body-welcomes-paid-domestic-and-family-violence-leave>
- Liu, H. (2021). *Redeeming leadership: An anti-racist feminist intervention*. Bristol University Press.
- Lloyd, J., Dembele, L., Dawes, C., Jane, S., & Macmillan, L. (2023). *The Australian National Research Agenda to End Violence against Women and Children (ANRA) 2023–2028*. ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/australian-national-research-agenda-to-end-violence-against-women-and-children/>

- Lovett, R. (2016). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community wellbeing: Identified needs for statistical capacity. In T. Kukutai & J. Taylor (Eds.), *Indigenous data sovereignty: Toward an agenda* (pp. 213–232). Australian National University Press. <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/31875/624262.pdf?sequence#page=237>
- Lovett, R., Lee, V., Kukutai, T., Cormack, D., Rainie, S. C., & Walker, J. (2019). Good data practices for Indigenous data sovereignty and governance. In A. Daly, S. K. Devitt, & M. Mann (Eds.), *Good data* (pp. 26–36). Institute of Network Cultures. <https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/server/api/core/bitstreams/448d234e-850e-4ab0-a916-a2fc9ff10030/content>
- Lowe, H., Brown, L., Ahmad, A., Daruwalla, N., Gram, L., Osrin, D., Panchal, K., Watson, D., Zimmerman, C., & Mannell, J. (2022). Mechanisms for community prevention of violence against women in low- and middle-income countries: A realist approach to a comparative analysis of qualitative data. *Social Science & Medicine*, 305, Article 115064. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.115064>
- Lowitja Institute. (2022). *Close the Gap – Transforming power: Voices for generational change, Close the Gap campaign report 2022*. The Close the Gap Campaign Steering Committee. <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/publications/close-gap-2022>
- Lumby, B., & Farrelly, T. (2009). *Family violence, help-seeking and the close-knit Aboriginal community: Lessons for mainstream service provision*. Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse. <https://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/resources/family-violence-help-seeking-and-the-close-knit-aboriginal-community-lessons-for-mainstream-service-provision/>
- Maiam nayri Wingara. (2018, June 20). *Indigenous data sovereignty communique*. Indigenous Data Sovereignty Summit 2018, Canberra, ACT. <https://www.maiamnayriwingara.org/>
- Mailhot Amborski, A., Bussi eres, E.-L., Vaillancourt-Morel, M.-P., & Joyal, C. C. (2021). Sexual violence against persons with disabilities: A meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 23(4), 1330–1343. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838021995975>
- Mannell, J., Amaama, S. A., Boodoosingh, R., Brown, L., Calderon, M., Cowley-Malcolm, E., Lowe, H., Motta, A., Shannon, G., Tanielu, H., & Vergara, C. C. (2021). Decolonising violence against women research: A study design for co-developing violence prevention interventions with communities in low and middle income countries (LMICs). *BMC Public Health*, 21(1), Article 1147. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-11172-2>
- Mansour, J. (2014). *Women defendants to AVOs: What is their experience of the justice system?* Women’s Legal Services NSW. <https://anrows.intersearch.com.au/anrowsjspui/bitstream/1/19602/1/womendefAVOsreport.pdf>
- Marchetti, E. (2014). Delivering justice in Indigenous sentencing courts: What this means for judicial officers, Elders, community representatives, and Indigenous court workers. *Law & Policy*, 36(4), 341–369. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lapo.12028>
- Markwick, A., Ansari, Z., Clinch, D., & McNeil, J. (2019). Experiences of racism among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults living in the Australian state of Victoria: A cross-sectional population-based study. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), Article 309. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-6614-7>
- Marmot, M., Friel, S., Bell, R., Houweling, T. A. J., & Taylor, S. (2008). *Closing the gap in a generation: Health equity through action on the social determinants of health*. World Health Organization. [http://www.who.int/social\\_determinants/thecommission/finalreport/en/](http://www.who.int/social_determinants/thecommission/finalreport/en/)
- McCarthy, K. J., Mehta, R., & Haberland, N. A. (2018). Gender, power, and violence: A systematic review of measures and their association with male perpetration of IPV. *PLoS ONE*, 13(11), Article e0207091. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0207091>
- McGlade, H. (2006). Aboriginal women, girls and sexual assault. *ACSSA Newsletter September*, 12, 6–13. <https://aifs.gov.au/resources/practice-guides/acssa-aware>
- McGregor, K. (2009). *National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey 2009: Project technical report*. Australian Institute of Criminology. [https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/CATVAW\\_ProjectTechnicalReport2009.pdf](https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/CATVAW_ProjectTechnicalReport2009.pdf)
- McQueen, K., Murphy-Oikonen, J., Miller, A., & Chambers, L. (2021). Sexual assault: Women’s voices on the health impact of not being believed by police. *BMC Women’s Health*. <https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-56310/v1>
- Mellor, D. (2003). Contemporary racism in Australia: The experiences of Aborigines. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(4), 474–486. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202250914>
- Memmott, P., Chambers, C., Go-Sam, C., & Thomson, L. (2006). *Good practice in Indigenous family violence prevention: Designing and evaluating successful programs* (Issues paper 11). Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse. <https://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/resources/good-practice-in-indigenous-family-violence-prevention-designing-and-evaluating-successful-programs/>

- Memmott, P., Stacy, R., Chambers, C., & Keys, C. (2001). *Violence in Indigenous communities: Full report*. Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department Crime Prevention Branch. [https://aodknowledgecentre.ecu.edu.au/key-resources/publications/5346/?title=Violence+in+Indigenous+communities++full+report&contentypeid=1&contentid=5346\\_1](https://aodknowledgecentre.ecu.edu.au/key-resources/publications/5346/?title=Violence+in+Indigenous+communities++full+report&contentypeid=1&contentid=5346_1)
- Menzies, K. (2019). Understanding the Australian Aboriginal experience of collective, historical and intergenerational trauma. *International Social Work*, 62(6), 1522–1534. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872819870585>
- Meyer, S., & Frost, A. (2019). *Domestic and family violence: A critical introduction to knowledge and practice*. Routledge.
- Minnican, C., & O'Toole, G. (2020). Exploring the incidence of culturally responsive communication in Australian healthcare: The first rapid review on this concept. *BMC Health Services Research*, 20(1), Article 20. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-019-4859-6>
- Morrison, P. K., Hawker, L., Cluss, P. A., Miller, E., Fleming, R., Bicehouse, T., George, D., Burke, J., Wright, K., & Chang, J. C. (2018). The challenges of working with men who perpetrate partner violence: Perspectives and observations of experts who work with batterer intervention programs. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(7–8), NP3524–NP3546. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518778258>
- Moura, T., Alayli, A., Ferreira, P., Mascarenhas, M., Gergorić, M., Ionescu, M., Longo, V. (2023). *BE KINDER: Unravelling paths to address gender stereotypes in education and early childhood*. KINDER. <https://kinder.ces.uc.pt/resources/be-kinder-unravelling-paths-to-address-gender-stereotypes-in-education-and-early-childhood/>
- Mulroney, J. (2003). *Australian statistics on domestic violence*. Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse. [https://codylwrites.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/2c1f2-statistics\\_final.pdf](https://codylwrites.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/2c1f2-statistics_final.pdf)
- Murnen, S. K. (2015). A social constructivist approach to understanding the relationship between masculinity and sexual aggression. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 16(4), 370–373. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039693>
- Murphy-Oikonen, J., Chambers, L., McQueen, K., Hiebert, A., & Miller, A. (2022). Sexual assault: Indigenous women's experiences of not being believed by the police. *Violence Against Women*, 28(5), 1237–1258. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012211013903>
- Nancarrow, H. (2006). In search of justice for domestic and family violence: Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australian women's perspectives. *Theoretical Criminology*, 10(1), 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480606059986>
- Nancarrow, H., Thomas, K., Ringland, V., & Modini, T. (2020). *Accurately identifying the "person most in need of protection" in domestic and family violence law* (Research report, 23/2020). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/accurately-identifying-the-person-most-in-need-of-protection-in-domestic-and-family-violence-law/>
- National Family and Domestic Violence Bench Book. (2023, June). *Emotional and psychological abuse*. National Family and Domestic Violence Bench Book. <https://dfvbenchbook.aija.org.au/understanding-domestic-and-family-violence/emotional-and-psychological-abuse/>
- National Indigenous Australians Agency. (n.d.). *Uluru Statement from the Heart*. Retrieved October 3, 2024, from <https://www.niaa.gov.au/uluru-statement-heart>
- Nayak, M. B., Byrne, C. A., Martin, M. K., & Abraham, A. G. (2003). Attitudes toward violence against women: A cross-nation study. *Sex Roles*, 49(7–8), 333–342. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025108103617>
- Neame, A., & Heenan, M. (2004). *Responding to sexual assault in rural communities* (Briefing report no. 3, June 2004). Australian Institute of Family Studies. [https://aifs.gov.au/sites/default/files/publication-documents/acssa\\_briefing3\\_0.pdf](https://aifs.gov.au/sites/default/files/publication-documents/acssa_briefing3_0.pdf)
- Newton, B. J. (2020). Aboriginal parents' experiences of having their children removed by statutory child protection services. *Child & Family Social Work*, 25(4), 814–822. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12759>
- Newton, B. J., Katz, I., Gray, P., Frost, S., Gelaw, Y., Hu, N., Lingam, R., & Stephensen, J. (2023). Restoration from out-of-home care for Aboriginal children: Evidence from the pathways of care longitudinal study and experiences of parents and children. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 149, Article 106058. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2023.106058>
- O'Donnell, M., Taplin, S., Marriott, R., Lima, F., & Stanley, F. J. (2019). Infant removals: The need to address the over-representation of Aboriginal infants and community concerns of another "stolen generation". *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 90, 88–98. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.01.017>
- Ogilvie, J., Thomsen, L., Barton, J., Harris, D. A., Rynne, J., & O'Leary, P. (2022). *Adverse childhood experiences among youth who offend: Examining exposure to domestic and family violence for male youth who perpetrate sexual harm and violence* (Research report, 13/2022). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/adverse-childhood-experiences-among-youth-who-offend-examining-exposure-to-domestic-and-family-violence-for-male-youth-who-perpetrate-sexual-harm-and-violence/>

- Olsen, A., & Lovett, R. (2016). *Existing knowledge, practice and responses to violence against women in Australian Indigenous communities: State of knowledge paper* (ANROWS Landscapes, 02/2016). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/existing-knowledge-practice-and-responses-to-violence-against-women-in-australian-indigenous-communities-state-of-knowledge-paper/>
- Orr, C., Fisher, C., Sims, S., Preen, D., Glauert, R., & O'Donnell, M. (2019). Hospitalisations for maternal assault are associated with increased risk of child protection involvement. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 95, Article 104014. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.05.007>
- Orr, C., Fisher, C. M., Preen, D. B., Glauert, R. A., & O'Donnell, M. (2020). Exposure to family and domestic violence is associated with increased childhood hospitalisations. *PLoS ONE*, 15(8), Article e0237251. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0237251>
- Orr, C., O'Donnell, M., Fisher, C., Bell, M., Glauert, R., & Preen, D. (2022). School readiness of children exposed to family and domestic violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(21–22), NP20428–NP20458. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626052111050099>
- Orr, C., Sims, S., Fisher, C., O'Donnell, M., Preen, D., Glauert, R., Milroy, H., & Garwood, S. (2022). *Investigating the mental health of children exposed to domestic and family violence through the use of linked police and health records* (Research report, 10/2022). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/investigating-the-mental-health-of-children-exposed-to-domestic-and-family-violence-through-the-use-of-linked-police-data-and-health-records/>
- Our Watch. (2015). *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*. Our Watch. <https://dvac.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Change-the-story-framework-prevent-violence-women-children-AA-new.pdf>
- Our Watch. (2018a). *Changing the Picture: Background paper: Understanding violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and their children*. Our Watch. <https://www.ourwatch.org.au/change-the-story/changing-the-picture>
- Our Watch. (2018b). *Changing the picture: A national resource to support the prevention of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and their children*. Our Watch. <https://www.ourwatch.org.au/resource/changing-the-picture>
- Our Watch. (2019). *Men in focus: Unpacking masculinities and engaging men in the prevention of violence against women*. Our Watch. <https://www.ourwatch.org.au/change-the-story/men-in-focus>
- Our Watch. (2021). *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women in Australia* (2nd ed.). Our Watch. <https://www.ourwatch.org.au/resource/change-the-story-a-shared-framework-for-the-primary-prevention-of-violence-against-women-in-australia>
- Our Watch. (2024). *What is “primary prevention” of violence against women?* Our Watch. <https://action.ourwatch.org.au/what-is-prevention/what-is-primary-prevention-of-violence-against-women/>
- Ozaki, R., & Otis, M. D. (2016). Gender equality, patriarchal cultural norms, and perpetration of intimate partner violence: Comparison of male university students in Asian and European cultural contexts. *Violence Against Women*, 23(9), 1076–1099. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216654575>
- Paradies, Y. (2016). Colonisation, racism and indigenous health. *Journal of Population Research*, 33(1), 83–96. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12546-016-9159-y>
- Paradies, Y., & Cunningham, J. (2009). Experiences of racism among urban Indigenous Australians: Findings from the DRUID study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(3), 548–573. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802065234>
- Paul, L. A., Zinzow, H. M., McCauley, J. L., Kilpatrick, D. G., & Resnick, H. S. (2014). Does encouragement by others increase rape reporting? Findings from a national sample of women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38(2), 222–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313501999>
- Pease, B. (2017). *Men as allies in preventing violence against women: Principles and practices for promoting accountability*. White Ribbon Australia. <https://xyonline.net/sites/xyonline.net/files/2019-11/Pease%2C%20Men%20as%20allies%20in%20preventing%20-%20Accountability%202017.pdf>
- Pease, B. (2021). Gendering violence: Theorising the links between men, masculinities and violence. In M. Husso, S. Karkulehto, T. Saresma, A. Laitila, J. Eilola, & H. Siltala (Eds.), *Violence, Gender and Affect: Interpersonal, Institutional and Ideological Practices* (pp. 71–90). Palgrave MacMillan. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56930-3\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56930-3_4)
- Pease, B., & Flood, M. (2008). Rethinking the significance of attitudes in preventing men's violence against women. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 43(4), 547–561. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2008.tb00118.x>
- Peckover, S., & Everson, A. (2014). Putting men's abuse of women on the childcare agenda: An innovative specialist domestic abuse project. *Practice*, 26(3), 143–159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09503153.2014.914162>

- Peralta, R. L., & Tuttle, L. A. (2013). Male perpetrators of heterosexual-partner-violence: The role of threats to masculinity. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 21(3), 255–276. <https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.2103.255>
- Peters, M. A., & Mika, C. T. (2017). Aborigine, Indian, Indigenous or First Nations? *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 49(13), 1229–1234. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2017.1279879>
- Pöllänen, K., de Vries, H., Mathews, C., Schneider, F., & de Vries, P. J. (2021). Beliefs about sexual intimate partner violence perpetration among adolescents in South Africa. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(3–4), NP2056–2078NP. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518756114>
- Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2019). Technology-facilitated sexual violence victimization: Results from an online survey of Australian adults. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34(17), 3637–3665. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516672055>
- Prentice, K., Blair, B., & O'Mullan, C. (2016). Sexual and family violence: Overcoming barriers to service access for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander clients. *Australian Social Work*, 70(2), 241–252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2016.1187184>
- Price, J., Langton, M., & Cashman, J. (2016, November 17). *Ending the Violence in Indigenous Communities: Addresses to the National Press Club* [Centre for Independent Studies Occasional paper 152]. National Press Club, Canberra, ACT, Australia. <https://www.cis.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/op152.pdf>
- Quince, K. (2010). The bottom of the heap? Why Maori women are over-criminalised in New Zealand. *Te Tai Haruru Journal of Māori and Indigenous Issues*, 3, 99–128. <https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/law/our-research/research-groups/te-tai-haruru/tth-journal/past-volumes.html>
- Rawsthorne, M., Chivell, A., & Smith, A. (2010). *Aboriginal women against violence project: Evaluation report*. University of Sydney. <https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/6267>
- Reconciliation Australia. (2022). *Australian Reconciliation Barometer 2022: Full research report*. Reconciliation Australia. <https://www.reconciliation.org.au/publication/2022-australian-reconciliation-barometer/>
- Reconciliation Australia. (n.d.). *Demonstrating inclusive and respectful language*. Reconciliation Australia. Retrieved March 4, 2024, from <https://www.reconciliation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/inclusive-and-respectful-language.pdf>
- Reeves, E. (2020). Family violence, protection orders and systems abuse: Views of legal practitioners. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 32(1), 91–110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10345329.2019.1665816>
- Relationships Australia. (2021). *Safe from violence: A guide for women leaving or separating*. Commonwealth of Australia. <https://www.relationshipsvictoria.org.au/resources/booklets/safe-from-violence/>
- Renner, L. M., Whitney, S. D., & Vasquez, M. (2015). Individual and interpersonal risk factors for physical intimate partner violence perpetration by biological sex and ethnicity. *Violence and Victims*, 30(1), 97–119. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.VV-D-13-00123>
- Reyes, H. L. M., Foshee, V. A., Chen, M. S., & Ennett, S. T. (2017). Patterns of dating violence victimization and perpetration among Latino youth. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 46(8), 1727–1742. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-016-0621-0>
- Riach, K., O'Hare, C., Dalton, B., & Wang, C. (2018). *The future face of poverty is female: Stories behind Australian women's superannuation poverty in retirement*. Australian Super & Monash University. <https://www.australiansuper.com/campaigns/future-face-of-poverty>
- Rickwood, D., Dudgeon, P., & Gridley, H. (2010). A history of psychology in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health. In N. Purdie, P. Dudgeon, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice* (1st ed.; pp. 13–24). Commonwealth of Australia. [https://research.acer.edu.au/indigenous\\_education/24/](https://research.acer.edu.au/indigenous_education/24/)
- Rigney, L.-I. (2001). A first perspective of Indigenous Australian participation in science: Framing Indigenous research towards Indigenous Australian intellectual sovereignty. *Kauria Higher Education Journal*, 7, 1–13. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:14707597>
- Rizzo, A. J., Banyard, V. L., & Edwards, K. M. (2021). Unpacking adolescent masculinity: Relations between boys' sexual harassment victimization, perpetration, and gender role beliefs. *Journal of Family Violence*, 36, 825–835. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00187-9>
- Sabol, B. M., Kernsmith, P. D., Hicks, M. R., & Smith-Darden, J. P. (2020). Attitudes about aggression and perpetration of adolescent dating aggression: A cross-lagged panel model. *Journal of Adolescence*, 83(1), 100–111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2020.07.005>
- Sardinha, L., & Catalán, H. E. N. (2018). Attitudes towards domestic violence in 49 low-and middle-income countries: A gendered analysis of prevalence and country-level correlates. *PLoS ONE*, 13(10), Article e0206101. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0206101>
- Sokoloff, N. J., & Dupont, I. (2005). Domestic violence at the intersections of race, class, and gender: Challenges and contributions to understanding violence against marginalized women in diverse communities. *Violence Against Women*, 11(1), 38–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801204271476>

- Song, Y., Zhang, J., & Zhang, X. (2020). Cultural or institutional? Contextual effects on domestic violence against women in rural China. *Journal of Family Violence, 36*, 643–655. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00198-6>
- Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland. (2015). *Not now, not ever: Putting an end to domestic and family violence in Queensland*. Queensland Government. <https://www.justice.qld.gov.au/initiatives/end-domestic-family-violence/about/not-now-not-ever-report>
- Spencer, C., Mallory, A. B., Cafferky, B. M., Kimmes, J. G., Beck, A. R., & Stith, S. M. (2019). Mental health factors and intimate partner violence perpetration and victimization: A meta-analysis. *Psychology of Violence, 9*(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000156>
- Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision. (2016). *Overcoming Indigenous disadvantage: Key indicators 2016*. Productivity Commission. <https://www.pc.gov.au/ongoing/overcoming-indigenous-disadvantage/2016>
- Steinmetz, K. (2020, February 20). She coined the term “intersectionality” over 30 years ago. Here’s what it means to her today. *Time*. <https://time.com/5786710/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality/>
- Stubbs, A., & Szoeki, C. (2022). The effect of intimate partner violence on the physical health and health-related behaviors of women: A systematic review of the literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 23*(4), 1157–1172. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020985541>
- Sullivan, C. T. (2018). Indigenous Australian women’s colonial sexual intimacies: Positioning Indigenous women’s agency. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 20*(4), 397–410. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2017.1349930>
- Taylor, E. A., Smith, A. B., Welch, N. M., & Hardin, R. (2018). “You should be flattered!”: Female sport management faculty experiences of sexual harassment and sexism. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal, 26*(1), 43–53. <https://doi.org/10.1123/wspaj.2017-0038>
- Taylor, N., & Putt, J. (2007). Adult sexual violence in Indigenous and culturally and linguistically diverse communities in Australia. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, 345*. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi345>
- Tekkas Kerman, K., & Betrus, P. (2020). Violence against women in Turkey: A social ecological framework of determinants and prevention strategies. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 21*(3), 510–526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838018781104>
- The Men’s Project, & Flood, M. (2018). *The Man Box: A study on being a young man in Australia*. Jesuit Social Services. <https://jss.org.au/news-and-media/our-stories/the-man-box-a-study-on-being-a-young-man-in-australia/>
- Tomsa, R., Gutu, S., Cojocaru, D., Gutiérrez-Bermejo, B., Flores, N., & Jenaro, C. (2021). Prevalence of sexual abuse in adults with intellectual disability: Systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 18*(4), Article 1980. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18041980>
- Tomsen, S., & Gadd, D. (2019). Beyond honour and achieved hegemony: Violence and the everyday masculinities of young men. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy, 8*(2), 17–30. <https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v8i2.1117>
- TransHub. (2021a). *Language*. ACON. <https://www.transhub.org.au/language>
- TransHub. (2021b). *Trans Mob*. ACON. <https://www.transhub.org.au/trans-mob>
- United Nations. (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. UN. <https://social.desa.un.org/issues/indigenous-peoples/united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples>
- United Nations Human Rights Committee. (1984). *CCPR General Comment No. 12: Article 1 (Right to Self-determination)*, The Right to Self-determination of Peoples. UN. <https://www.refworld.org/legal/general/hrc/1984/en/11735>
- Victims of Crime Commissioner. (2023). *Submission to Scoping the development of specialised and trauma-informed legal services for victims and survivors of sexual assault – Discussion paper*. Australian Government. [https://consultations.ag.gov.au/crime/sexual-assault/consultation/view\\_respondent?uuld=1055067688](https://consultations.ag.gov.au/crime/sexual-assault/consultation/view_respondent?uuld=1055067688)
- Victorian Indigenous Family Violence Task Force. (2003). *Victorian Indigenous Family Violence Task Force: Final report*. Department for Victorian Communities – Aboriginal Affairs Victoria. [https://www.vgls.vic.gov.au/client/en\\_AU/vgls/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD\\_ILS\\$002f0\\$002fSD\\_ILS:427130/ada?qu=Family+violence.&d=ent%3A%2F%2FSD\\_ILS%2F0%2FSD\\_ILS%3A427130%7EILS%7E53&ps=300&h=8](https://www.vgls.vic.gov.au/client/en_AU/vgls/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ILS$002f0$002fSD_ILS:427130/ada?qu=Family+violence.&d=ent%3A%2F%2FSD_ILS%2F0%2FSD_ILS%3A427130%7EILS%7E53&ps=300&h=8)
- Victorian Law Reform Commission. (2021, July 14). *Stalking: Consultation paper*. Victorian Law Reform Commission. <https://www.lawreform.vic.gov.au/publication/stalking-2/5-criminal-law-responses-to-stalking>
- Walter, M. (2016). Data politics and Indigenous representation in Australian statistics. In T. Kukutai & J. Taylor (Eds.), *Indigenous data sovereignty* (pp. 79–97). ANU Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22459/CAEPR38.11.2016.05>

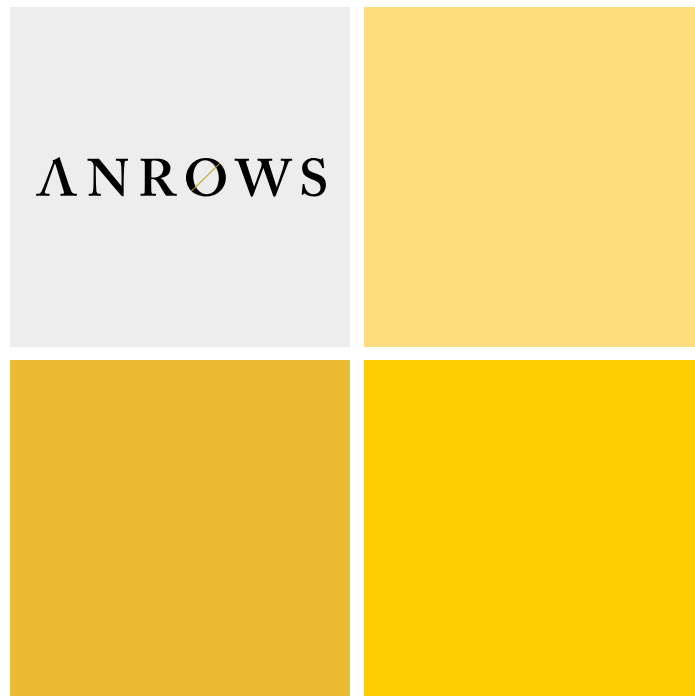
- Walter, M., & Carroll, S. R. (2020). *Indigenous data sovereignty, governance and the link to Indigenous policy*. In M. Walter, T. Kukutai, S. R. Carroll, & D. Rodriguez-Lonebear (Eds.), *Indigenous data sovereignty and policy* (pp. 1–20). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/oa-edit/10.4324/9780429273957-1/indigenous-data-sovereignty-governance-link-indigenous-policy-maggie-walter-stephanie-russo-carroll>
- Watson, I. (2009). Aboriginality and the violence of colonialism. *Borderlands E-journal*, 8(1), 1–8. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2476792>
- Webster, K. (2016). *A preventable burden: Measuring and addressing the prevalence and health impacts of intimate partner violence in Australian women: Key findings and future directions* (ANROWS Compass, 07/2016). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/a-preventable-burden-measuring-and-addressing-the-prevalence-and-health-impacts-of-intimate-partner-violence-in-australian-women-key-findings-and-future-directions/>
- Webster, K., Diemer, K., Honey, N., Mannix, S., Mickle, J., Morgan, J., Parkes, A., Politoff, V., Powell, A., Stubbs, J., & Ward, A. (2018). *Australians' attitudes to violence against women and gender equality. Findings from the 2017 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS)* (Research report, 03/2018). ANROWS. <https://www.anrows.org.au/publication/australians-attitudes-to-violence-against-women-and-gender-equality-findings-from-the-2017-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey-ncas/>
- Webster, K., & Flood, M. (2015). *Framework foundations 1: A review of the evidence on correlates of violence against women and what works to prevent it. Companion document to Our Watch, Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, & VicHealth, Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*. Our Watch. [https://anrows.intersearch.com.au/anrowsjspui/bitstream/1/20356/1/Webster\\_20Flood\\_2C\\_20Change-the-story-framework-foundations-1\\_202015.pdf](https://anrows.intersearch.com.au/anrowsjspui/bitstream/1/20356/1/Webster_20Flood_2C_20Change-the-story-framework-foundations-1_202015.pdf)
- Weldon, C., & Kerr, A. (2020). Escaping family violence: How the justice system is failing Aboriginal women. *Precedent*, 159, 16–21. <https://search.informit.org/documentSummary;dn=344244162621697;res=IELAPA>
- Wendt, S., & Baker, J. (2013). Aboriginal women's perceptions and experiences of a family violence transitional accommodation service. *Australian Social Work*, 66(4), 511–527. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2012.754915>
- Whellum, P., Nettelbeck, A., & Reilly, A. (2019). Cultural accommodation and the policing of Aboriginal communities: A case study of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 53(1), 65–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0004865819866245>
- White, J. W., & Geffner, R. (2022). Fundamentals of understanding interpersonal violence and abuse. In R. Geffner, J. W. White, L. K. Hamberger, A. Rosenbaum, V. Vaughan-Eden, & V. I. Vieth (Eds.), *Handbook of interpersonal violence and abuse across the lifespan* (pp. 3–26). Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89999-2\\_303](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89999-2_303)
- Widders, R. (2003). Domestic violence, sexual assault and the health of Aboriginal people. *Developing Practice: The Child, Youth and Family Work Journal*, 6, 40–45. <https://search.informit.org/doi/epdf/10.3316/informit.889313858958873>
- Williams, L. M. (2003). Understanding child abuse and violence against women: A life course perspective. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18(4), 441–451. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260502250842>
- Willie, T. C., Khondkaryan, E., Callands, T., & Kershaw, T. (2018). "Think like a man": How sexual cultural scripting and masculinity influence changes in men's use of intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 61(1–2), 240–250. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12224>
- Willis, M. (2011). Non-disclosure of violence in Australian Indigenous communities. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 405. <https://doi.org/10.52922/ti276840>
- Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>
- Workplace Gender Equality Agency. (2022). *Australia's gender equality scorecard: Key results from the Workplace Gender Equality Agency's 2020–21 employer census*. Australian Government. <https://www.wgea.gov.au/publications/australias-gender-equality-scorecard>
- World Health Organization. (2021). *Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018: Global, regional and national prevalence estimates for intimate partner violence against women and global and regional prevalence estimates for non-partner sexual violence against women*. WHO. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240022256>
- Wundersitz, J. (2010). *Indigenous perpetrators of violence: Prevalence and risk factors for offending* (Research and public policy series no. 105). Australian Institute of Criminology. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/rpp/rpp105>
- Yeo, H., Choi, Y. J., Son, E., Cho, H., Yun, S. H., & Lee, J. O. (2021). Childhood community risk factors on intimate partner violence perpetration and victimization among college students. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(21–22), P20361–NP20385. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605211050097>
- Zubrick, S. R., Lawrence, D. M., Silburn, S. R., Blair, E., Milroy, H., Wilkes, T., Eades, S., D'Antoine, H., Read, A., Ishiguchi, P., & Doyle, S. (2004). *The Western Australian Aboriginal Child Health Survey: The health of Aboriginal children and young people* (Vol. 1). Telethon Institute for Child Health Research. <https://www.telethonkids.org.au/our-research/Indigenous-health/waachs/>







# ATTITUDES MATTER:



## NCAS

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

**Findings for Aboriginal and  
Torres Strait Islander respondents**