Putting the prevention of violence against women into practice:

How to Change the story
Acknowledgements

The Handbook was written by Monique Keel (Our Watch), Jane Torney (Our Watch), Emma Fulu (The Equality Institute), Sarah McCook (The Equality Institute), Scott Holmes (Our Watch), Michelle Hunt (Our Watch), Yvonne Lay (Our Watch) and Cathy Warczak (Our Watch).

Our Watch would like to acknowledge the support of VicHealth in the funding and development of this Handbook, specifically the following: Liz Murphy (VicHealth), Renee Imbesi (VicHealth) and Dr Wei Leng Kwok (VicHealth).

Our Watch would also like to thank the following individuals who contributed to the development of this Handbook:

- Dr Mayet Costello (Australia’s National Research Organisation for Women’s Safety)
- Bonney Corbin (True Relationships and Reproductive Health)
- Jennifer Mullen (White Ribbon Australia)
- Craig Rigney (Kornar Winmil Yunti Aboriginal Corporation)
- Claire Tatyzo (YWCA Adelaide)
- Ellen Poyner (NAPCAN)
- Ani Lamont (The Equality Institute)
- Sarah Gosper (The Equality Institute)
- Kate Chapman (The Equality Institute)
- Nishigandha Boppana (The Equality Institute)

We would also like to thank the following Our Watch staff for their contribution: Dr Lara Fergus, Dr Emma Partridge, Loksee Leung, Sarah Kearney, Loren Days, Joanna Brislane and Patty Kinnersly. For design and illustration we thank Harmer Creative.

Building on a history of Australian women’s leadership in primary prevention

Good prevention strategies already exist across Australia and signs of progress are emerging. This Handbook builds on the valuable work by individuals and organisations in many sectors. Our Watch would like to acknowledge the numerous women and women’s organisations across Australia that pioneered the work in the prevention of violence against women, in particular our colleagues in the women’s health, gender equality, family violence and sexual assault sectors. We would also like to acknowledge the important leadership and work of women in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and culturally and linguistically diverse communities in working to end violence against women across Australia. Their collective leadership, commitment, efforts and advocacy – which are underpinned by a feminist, social justice and human rights approach – have put the primary prevention of violence against women at the forefront of the national agenda in ending violence against women. This has provided an important basis upon which this work can continue.
Section 2: What drives violence against women?
In this section you will find:

- information and examples on the impacts of gender norms and stereotypes on women and men, and how they play out across all levels of society and contribute to gender inequality

- an overview of:
  - the link between gender inequality and violence against women
  - key statistics relating to violence against women
  - gender inequality in contemporary Australia
  - how gender identity intersects with other forms of identity
  - the reinforcing factors of violence against women.

The evidence outlined in *Change the story* found that the most significant and consistent factors driving higher levels of violence against women are expressions of gender inequality (listed in the table below). As practitioners it is our role to take action on each of these factors. A range of other strategies, such as addressing harm from alcohol, can make a contribution and are very important but we must put gender equality at the heart of our solutions. In addition to identifying the drivers of violence, *Change the story* also identifies the essential actions that are required to prevent this violence. These actions are explored in detail in Section 6.

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Table 1: The drivers of violence against women and essential actions to prevent violence against women

In order to ensure their work is contributing to the collective national efforts to prevent violence against women, it is therefore essential that practitioners working in this area have a clear understanding of how gender impacts on societies’ values, structures and processes and in turn impacts women’s and girls’ social, cultural, economic, political and personal lives. This chapter explores ideas of gender and explains how gender inequality sets the scene for violence against women.

Exploring ideas of gender

Understanding the connection between these deeply entrenched patterns of gender inequality and violence against women is crucial to any work to prevent this violence.

This section of the Handbook provides some basic information about gender and gender inequality as a starting point. Practitioners are encouraged to take other opportunities to deepen their understanding of these issues in order to increase their capacity to discuss them with others. Some further resources to support this ongoing learning and reflection are listed at the end of this Section.
The difference between sex and gender

As a species with the potential to reproduce, the division of humans according to their reproductive roles – our sex as either male or female – has played a central role in the way we have understood ourselves throughout human history. Most people continue to identify themselves by this binary (male or female). However recent discoveries have indicated that there are significant anatomical and chromosomal variations across the population, and that sex is better understood a spectrum rather than a binary, explaining why not everyone feels they fit neatly into one of these two categories.

While sex describes the biological features of humans, gender refers to the ways that sex categories are lived in practice and given meaning within society. In other words, gender is a social and cultural concept, involving sets of roles, activities and attributes that society considers appropriate for women and girls, and for men and boys, and defining what we consider to be ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’. This includes such diverse things as naming, clothing and occupations, along with behaviours associated with social relationships, intimate relationships, sexual attraction and sexual practices.

Gender is a central feature of the way that we understand human identities and relationships, and arrange human societies. Although understandings of gender and the meanings given to it have varied over time and across cultural groups, gender as a system that structures human society in some way has been universal.

Reflecting the common binary understanding of sex as male or female, gender has generally been understood as binary – ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ – although there have long been various cultures with less binary approaches to gender. In Australia, non-binary understandings of gender have recently gained increased attention. Distinctions are now increasingly made between gender identity (the way people feel or think of themselves in relation to gender) and gender expression (the way people outwardly express themselves, through appearance and clothing), while phrases such as ‘gender fluid’, ‘gender diverse’ and ‘gender non-conforming’ are increasingly used to describe diverse, non-binary understandings and expressions of gender.

Gender has functioned in most societies and cultures to define specific roles and behaviours for women and men, and to insist on the essential or natural basis of these ‘differences between the sexes’. For example in many societies women are more likely to be employed in caring roles such as teachers and nurses, while men are largely employed in technical, managerial and finance roles, such as engineers, CEOs and accountants. These roles are defined based on gender role stereotypes rather than on women’s or men’s physical or mental capacity to perform these jobs.

While there has been much research to investigate the impact of sex on a variety of human behaviours, such as mathematical ability or levels of aggression, such research is often criticised for neglecting the role of gender in the perceived differences between women and men. More recently, researchers have looked at how gender, rather than sex, impacts on these behaviours, for example, the role that the condoning of male violence plays on boys’ level of aggression or the role that teachers’ (explicit or implicit) reinforcement of gender stereotypes plays in encouraging girls’ and boys’ uptake of maths.
Understanding gender norms and stereotypes

The kinds of roles and behaviours ascribed to gender and the way these are put into practice in society can be described as gender norms, gender practices and gender structures.

- **Gender norms** – these are the most common, dominant and powerful ideas, values or beliefs about gender in a society or community. They comprise ideas about what is ‘normal’ in relation to gender, and beliefs about what people should do and how they should act, for example the belief that women should be the primary carers of children, and the expectation that ‘boys don’t cry’ are gender norms.

- **Gender practices** – these are the everyday practices associated with these norms, such as over-representation of women employed in the child-care sector and the tendency for parents to tell male children to ‘toughen up’.

- **Gender structures** – these are the laws and systems that organise and reinforce an unequal distribution of economic, social and political power, resources and opportunities between men and women. The low pay for female-dominated caring professions, such as childcare and aged care is one example of this, as is a school which has a football team for boys but not for girls.

As also outlined in Section 3 of this Handbook, gender norms, practices and structures occur at different levels of our lives – within our individual or personal sphere, as part of the various communities and organisations we are connected to, within institutions (such as workplaces or religions), and within our culture and society as a whole.

Gender also plays a significant role across each person’s lifespan, from birth to death. Gender impacts on girls and boys and women and men in numerous parts of their lives, from day-to-day decisions about clothing and appearance, to major life decisions about education, employment, relationships and parenting. At a broader level, gender also plays a significant role in the composition and running of our decision-making bodies, such as our parliaments, courts and company boards. It is only relatively recently that we have begun to widely critique the role gender plays in our lives and even more recently that we have begun to identify the many negative impacts of gender norms, practices and structures.

The following children’s books demonstrate how different gender norms for girls and boys are established and reinforced from a very early age. While the boys’ book is filled with ‘exciting drawings’ and highlighted stereotypical interests of boys such as outer space and sports, the book for girls promotes ‘beautiful drawings’ including stereotyped interests for girls such as fairy tales, dolls and houses. These limited gender stereotypes can box children into narrow definitions and limit their abilities to explore their personal interests and opportunities – both as children and as adults.

“This book is packed with even more exciting drawings to colour in. From pumpkins to piranhas, trophies to planets, mice to microbes—there’s something for every boy in this book. This is the perfect gift for any boy who likes to create his own brilliant masterpieces.”

“This book is packed with more beautiful drawings to colour in. With more intricate detail and fabulous double page spreads to colour, this is the perfect gift for any girl who loves to make things gorgeous. From dolls’ houses, flowers, cupcakes and quilts to exotic fruit, feathers and fairy tale carriages, there’s something for every girl in this book.”
Gender norms impact both women and men

Gender norms are not neutral. Rather, they are highly value-laden and assume the acceptance of a particular set of values. These norms play out in complex ways that are damaging to both men and women, and maintain gender inequality and disrespect for women. The labelling and confining of people into one of two groups of rigid, hierarchical and value-laden ‘acceptable’ norms can pressure people to hide or suppress parts of their diverse and complex personalities and interests to conform to narrow gender stereotypes and norms.

Gender norms are given particular value and meaning by their attachment as stereotypes to either men or women, which in turn gives men and women different social status. For example masculinity, which men are expected to demonstrate, is often assumed to be strong, tough, or assertive. On the other hand, femininity, which is expected of women, is seen as caring or sensitive. These attributes are generally seen as positives in men and women respectively. However, when they are applied in reverse, the same characteristics are often seen as inappropriate and undesirable, for example when women are described as tough, this is often an insult equated to being ‘bossy’ or ‘cold’, and when a man is seen as sensitive this is often assumed to indicate weakness.

Gender norms are also hierarchical, with the traits assumed to comprise masculinity generally given greater social status or value than those associated with femininity. This can be seen in the way many common descriptions of women are negative, such as that they are ‘emotional’. This is particularly the case when women are acting outside gender-stereotyped roles, such as when they are criticised for being ‘emotional’ or ‘sensitive’ in a male-dominated workplace. Similarly, because the attributes traditionally associated with women are both seen as inappropriate for men and socially devalued, men who perform supposedly ‘feminine’ roles, such as caring for young children, are often judged for not doing a ‘real man’s’ job. Although this norm is slowly changing, it remains powerful and has the effect of denying many men and their children opportunities for caring relationships and connections.

It is important to acknowledge that men also experience inequality because of gender norms and structures. While there have always been men who have explored varied ways of expressing their male identity, there have also always been particular expressions of masculinity that have been more dominant. The types of expectations created by dominant ideas about masculinity lead to a range of inequalities for men. These include higher rates of suicide, mental health issues, and death and injury from industrial accidents and other dangerous occupations.

Tony Porter, an educator in this field describes a conversation in a TED talk with a 12-year-old boy, which indicates how damaging gender norms and stereotypes can be.

“I asked him, I said, “How would you feel if, in front of all the players, your coach told you [that] you were playing like a girl?” Now I expected him to say something like, I’d be sad, I’d be mad, I’d be angry, or something like that. No, the boy said to me, “It would destroy me.” And I said to myself, “God, if it would destroy him to be called a girl, what are we then teaching him about girls?”

However, while gender norms and stereotypes affect both women and men, they are particularly harmful to women, because ‘feminine’ norms are ascribed lower social status than masculine ones. As such, gender norms are not just ‘different’. They arise from, and contribute to, a society characterised by an unequal distribution of power, resources and opportunities between women and men. At the deepest level it is this gender inequality that, in turn, drives high levels of violence against women.

While these kinds of gender norms and stereotypes are dominant and powerful, it is important to recognise that they are also being resisted and challenged in various ways. For example the idea that being ‘like a girl’ is undesirable is explicitly challenged in a video clip, always #like a girl designed to boost teenage girls’ confidence. There are now a number of clips in this series that are useful tools for prevention practitioners.

As this section has shown, gender inequality is not simply a case of individual men being unfair to women. We cannot achieve gender equality simply by asking men to act fairly towards women. Rather it requires a far more substantial reshaping of how gender functions within society, in many different ways, and at multiple levels. This is sometimes referred to as a ‘gender transformative’ approach, as discussed in Section 5.
Gender inequality in contemporary Australia

It is easy to assume that women in Australia have achieved a high level of equality with men, given the notable gains that have been made in the various aspects of gender equality in recent decades. However, despite significant advances, inequalities for women and girls persist across many areas of Australian life, gender norms and stereotypes remain powerful, and discrimination on the basis of sex and gender still occurs in many contexts.

Together, the gendered social norms, structures and practices described earlier in this Section restrict the ability of women and girls to participate fully and equally in society, limit their access to power and resources and prevent them from enjoying equal rights, opportunities and privileges with men. The impacts of inequality on Australian women over their lifetimes are wide reaching. Men on the other hand, tend to enjoy higher levels of privilege, demonstrated by their greater access to power and decision-making, economic and material resources, and opportunities for development and independence, in both public and private life.

Furthermore, many of the indicators for gender inequality suggest that Australia’s outcomes in this area have actually been declining over recent years rather than improving. For example in the annual World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap report (where countries are ranked according to their gender gap) Australia has dropped from 15th position in 2006 to 46th position in 2016.

Examples of gender inequality in Australia include:

- gender pay gap (difference between average levels of pay for men and women)
- representation in politics (proportions of men and women in all levels of government)
- representation in business (proportions of women employed at high levels of company management and in board positions)
- superannuation savings gap (difference between average superannuation savings of men and women)
- time spent caring for children and other people.

Despite significant advances, inequalities for women and girls persist across many areas of Australian life.
How gender intersects with other forms of identity

As noted throughout this Handbook and detailed in Section 5, gender forms just one part of our identity and how we experience the world. There are many other aspects that form who we are and this also influences and has an impact on our life experiences. We are all made up of varying and different attributes such as nationality, race, ability, age, class, gender identity, cultural background, sexuality and religious affiliation. Each of the components that make us who we are simultaneously affects and is affected by the others. For example, the gender pay gap (the difference between average levels of pay for men and women) of 16 percent (as of April 2017) is the national average. The pay gap for immigrant, refugee, women with a disability, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women is very likely to be much higher (based on international data).

Another example is that many Aboriginal women’s experience of violence is shaped and compounded by their experiences of discrimination and disadvantage, both as an Aboriginal person and as a woman. These intersections are what shape our experiences, and one cannot be isolated or separated from another.

It is important to identify the ways in which gender inequality intersects with other forms of inequality in order to understand the compounding disadvantage (individual, cultural, and structural) that many women experience, and to identify the reinforcing factors which create the social context in which different forms of violence and discrimination are condoned and allowed. For example we must be careful to specify that when an Aboriginal person experiences racism, violence or discrimination, it is not their Aboriginality that is the ‘problem’ or cause. Rather the ‘problem’ or cause, and thus the site for attention and focus, lies in the social norms, political, economic and/or legal structures and institutions that make Aboriginality a problem, each of which has a history rooted in colonisation and dispossession, and which continue to perpetuate racism and discrimination against Aboriginal people.

The relationship between gender inequality and violence against women

Violence plays a particular role within these gender norms, practices and structures. For example men are often perceived to be ‘naturally’ more violent and aggressive than women, with these traits often seen as a defining feature of masculinity and being a man. Because of this, men may feel the need to express aggression or use violence against other men and against women in order to feel like a ‘real man’ or ‘prove their masculinity’.

Further when violence against women does occur, it is often condoned or excused, particularly when it occurs within a relationship or family context. This condoning occurs at many levels, through norms, practices and structures. It may be condoned at a personal level by responses such as, ‘boys will be boys’ or ‘he just couldn’t control himself’ in which male violence or sexual aggression is viewed as normal or inevitable. At a practice level, police responses to violence may explicitly or implicitly blame female victims and minimise or excuse the violence of male perpetrators. At a structural level, men’s violence against women in a relationship or family context can attract lesser penalties within justice systems than violence towards strangers, such as men’s violence towards other men. In all these ways, violence functions to reinforce a system where women’s status as ‘weaker’ and men’s status as the ‘stronger and dominant’ sex is both assumed and reinforced.
Violence against women – key statistics

Data about women’s and men’s experiences of violence in Australia is drawn from a number of sources. The analysis of this data is complex and at times this complexity can lend itself to over simplification and distortion. Practitioners are encouraged to access reports and other resources from ANROWS for further information. As an introduction, the following data on men’s and women’s experiences of violence in Australia is taken from ANROWS Violence against women: Additional analysis of the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ Personal Safety Survey, 2012.

1 in 3 women has experienced physical violence by a partner, other known person or stranger.

1 in 2 men has experienced sexual violence by a partner, other known person or stranger.

Her home  His place of entertainment  Both women and men are 3x more likely to be physically assaulted by a man. (when compared to assaults by women.)

The most common place for most violence to occur.

Since the age of 15:

1 in 4 women has experienced violence by an intimate partner they may or may not have been living with.

1 in 6 women has experienced violence by a partner they were living with.

1 in 9 women has experienced violence by a boyfriend, girlfriend or date.
The impact of violence against women

Violence against women and their children takes a profound and long-term toll on women and children’s health and wellbeing, on families and communities, and on society as a whole.

The Our Watch facts and figures page lists some of the many impacts of violence against women, including:

- domestic or family violence against women is the single largest driver of homelessness for women, a common factor in child protection notifications, and results in a police call-out on average once every two minutes across the country.
- the combined health, administration and social welfare costs of violence against women have been estimated to be $21.7 billion a year, with projections suggesting that if no further action is taken to prevent violence against women, costs will accumulate to $323.4 billion over a thirty year period from 2014-15 to 2044-45.
- children and young people are also affected by violence against women. Exposure to violence against their mothers or other caregivers causes profound harm to children, with potential impacts on attitudes to relationships and violence, as well as behavioural, cognitive and emotional functioning, social development, and, through a process of ‘negative chain effects’, education and later employment prospects.

Research shows that violence against women is a leading contributor to poor health outcomes for women and girls in Australia. In 2016, ANROWS published A preventable burden: Measuring and addressing the prevalence and health impacts of intimate partner violence in Australian women key findings and future directions.

Violence against women contributes an estimated 5.1 percent to the disease burden in Australian women aged 18-44 years and 2.2 percent of the burden in women of all ages. For women aged 18-44, intimate partner violence contributes more to women’s ill health than well known risk factors like tobacco use, high cholesterol or use of illicit drugs. It has serious impacts on women’s health and contributes to a range of negative health outcomes including poor mental health, problems during pregnancy and birth, alcohol and illicit drug use, suicide, injuries and homicide. Given this, actions to prevent violence against women will have a significant impact on women’s health.

Women’s experience of violence from men happens in the broader context of gender inequality and is compounded by that inequality. For example, because of the general discrimination against women that continues to occur in workplaces, women who require time off work because of their experience of violence will potentially experience further discriminatory impacts, such as the loss of an opportunity for promotion or being given fewer shifts. The different forms of discrimination and disadvantage that women experience also need to be considered simultaneously. This will support practitioners to apply an approach that is inclusive of all women’s experiences and which challenges the various components of the social context that allows violence and discrimination against women. Section 5 provides more information on taking a gender transformative approach and considering intersectionality at the forefront of all prevention work.
Reinforcing factors of violence against women

*Change the story* also acknowledges that, in addition to the gendered drivers of violence against women, other factors, such as childhood exposure to violence, harmful use of alcohol and other forms of inequality and discrimination, do play a role.

*Change the story* identifies five reinforcing factors that contribute to the problem:

- condoning of violence in general
- experience of, and exposure to, violence
- weakening of pro-social behaviour, especially harmful use of alcohol
- socio-economic inequality and discrimination
- backlash factors (increases in violence when male dominance, power or status is challenged).

The gendered analysis of violence is a direct challenge to the idea that our society is currently fair to all and we have achieved gender equality.

Backlash

The gendered analysis of violence is a direct challenge to the idea that our society is currently fair to all and we have achieved gender equality. As a result, there can be negative responses, or ‘backlash’, by some, often from men but also from women, to this gendered analysis of violence against women (see Section 8 for more information on preparing for and responding to backlash). This backlash is likely to include beliefs that men are as likely to be victims of family violence as women, or that women are as much perpetrators of family violence as men are.

However, while these can increase the likelihood, frequency or severity of violence, they come into play in association with gender unequal norms, structures and practices, rather than as factors driving violence by themselves. All of these reinforcing factors have negative impacts on individuals and society, and addressing these issues is important and valuable work. However, addressing them on their own, without considering gender and the gendered drivers of violence, will not lead to significant reduction in the rates of violence against women.
**Alcohol as a reinforcing factor of violence against women**

As noted in the introduction to this Handbook, the harmful use of alcohol is a contributor to violence against women. Alcohol is a feature in a disproportionate number of police call-outs to family violence and is correlated with a higher number of, and more severe, incidents of violence against women.

However, alcohol does not itself cause violence against women; not all people who drink are violent, and many people who do not drink are violent. While alcohol can increase the frequency or severity of violence, on its own it does not explain the gendered dynamics of violence against women. Rather than looking at alcohol as a factor in isolation, we need to understand it in relation to social norms and practices that condone or support violence against women, in particular those relating to masculinity and men’s peer group behaviour.

For example, work to reduce the harmful use of alcohol across our society needs to consider the gendered nature of alcohol use and abuse. Alcohol does play a significant role in some domestic, family and sexual violence cases, but not all violence against women involves alcohol, nor does alcohol consumption (even when it is excessive) always result in violence. Put simply, whether a man drinks or not tells us nothing about his likelihood of condoning or perpetrating violence against women. What does predict such support for violence consistently and more than any other factor is whether or not he agrees with sexist, patriarchal and/or sexually hostile attitudes. If he drinks and holds those attitudes, the problem is obviously magnified.

Reducing harmful alcohol use may have some impact on lessening the severity or frequency of violence against women, but if the underlying conditions that drive violence against women remain unaddressed, violence will continue to occur. Section 6 of this Handbook has more information about actions to address the drivers of violence against women and the supporting actions to address the reinforcing factors.

_Speaking publically about preventing men’s violence against women: Curly questions and language considerations_ provides some responses to questions about the reinforcing factors of violence against women, particularly questions about harmful alcohol use and childhood experiences of violence.

More information about violence against women and alcohol can be accessed on the [Our Watch](#) website.
Resources

Books


Websites


World Wide Women [https://worldwidewomen.co/](https://worldwidewomen.co/) A global resource centre for women.

The Everyday Sexism Project [http://everydaysexism.com/](http://everydaysexism.com/) Exists to catalogue instances of sexism experienced in a day to day basis.

Destroy the Joint [https://www.facebook.com/DestroyTheJoint](https://www.facebook.com/DestroyTheJoint) A FaceBook site established to promote gender equality and civil discourse. Destroy the Joint also keeps a tally of women murdered in Australia.

Videos
Our Watch, *Let's Change the Story*, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fLUVWZvVZXw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fLUVWZvVZXw)

VicHealth, *Attitudes to gender equality and violence against women*, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E7RGjk69T4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E7RGjk69T4), Findings from the National Community Attitudes Survey 2013

Tony Porter’s *A call to men* video looks at masculinity [http://www.ted.com/talks/tony_porter_a_call_to_men](http://www.ted.com/talks/tony_porter_a_call_to_men)

The Always *#like a girl* video looks at stereotyping of girls. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XijQBJWYDTs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XijQBJWYDTs)
Appendix 5: Alternative text for figures
Section 2

Key statistics of violence against women.

- 1 in 3 women and 1 in 2 men have experienced physical violence by a partner, other known person or stranger.
- 1 in 5 women and 1 in 22 men have experienced sexual violence by a partner, other known person or stranger.
- The most common places for most violence to occur are her home or his place of entertainment.
- Both women and men are three times more likely to be physically assaulted by a man (when compared to assaults by women).
- Since the age of 15, 1 in 4 women have experienced violence by an intimate partner they may or may not have been living with. 1 in 6 women have experienced violence by a partner they were living with. 1 in 9 women have experienced violence by a boyfriend, girlfriend or date.
Endnotes


29 Always, #Likeagirl, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjJQBjWYDTs


60 Our Watch, #NoExcuse4Violence, https://www.ourwatch.org.au/NoExcuse4Violence


62 Aboriginal Family Violence Prevention and Legal Service Victoria, *16 actions you can take to stand firm against family violence*, http://www.fvpls.org/images/files/FVPLS%202016%20Days%20of%20Activism%20Flyer%202016.pdf


68 Women on Boards, https://www.womenonboards.net/en-AU/Home


70 Our Watch, *Let's Change the Story*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fLUVWzvVZXw

71 Verizon, *Inspire Her Mind*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZ6XQfthvGY

72 Always, *Like a girl*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XiiQBtWYDTs

73 CARE International, *Dear Dad*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g0K_sxk8phY


76 GoldieBlox, *Princess Machine*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IIGyVa5XfTw


80 Amy Poehler’s Smart Girls, https://amysmartgirls.com/
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