WHAT WORKS TO ADDRESS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND FAMILY VIOLENCE WITHIN FAITH SETTINGS:

AN EVIDENCE GUIDE
This evidence guide has been developed by researchers from the Melbourne School of Population and Global Health at the University of Melbourne, in partnership with the Multicultural Centre for Women’s Health, and was commissioned by the Multicultural Affairs and Social Cohesion Division of the Victorian Government’s Department of Premier and Cabinet. The guide forms part of an ongoing participatory research project, “Faith communities supporting healthy family relationships: A Participatory Action Research project”, and is intended to inform future policy and investment to best prevent and respond to violence against women and family violence in faith settings.

The guide is based on participatory consultations with faith groups and an in-depth review of international and Australian literature undertaken in 2018-2019, which explored the causes and reinforcing factors of family violence and violence against women in faith settings as well as what works to address these factors. The review also included an analysis of promising or emerging practices both locally and abroad that may effectively prevent and respond to family violence and violence against women in faith settings.

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Faith and faith-based communities play an integral role in many people’s lives. Faith leaders provide a source of social, moral and ethical guidance and support for their community members, and may provide invaluable support to women experiencing violence and their families. Faith settings are also an important environment where social networks and social norms are formed. Such networks and norms have the potential to protect against violence against women and family violence and foster relationships based on equality and respect. However, faith leaders and faith-based communities may also promote norms and relationships that drive or condone the use of violence. Faith settings are therefore an important context in which we can target activities to prevent violence against women and family violence.

More than half of Victoria’s population report an affiliation with a faith. Though the majority adhere to Christianity, Victoria has the highest proportion of adherents to religions other than Christianity in Australia (ABS, 2017). Victoria also has the highest proportion of residents born overseas of any Australian state; the Australian Bureau of Statistics notes that people born overseas are more likely to report practising a faith than the Australian-born population (ABS, 2017).

This evidence guide outlines the best evidence available regarding the causes and contributors to violence against women and family violence in faith settings and the role faith leaders and faith communities can play in responding to and preventing such violence. The guide also outlines areas where evidence in this area is lacking and where more research and exploration is necessary to know what works in different contexts. In the final section, we have produced principles and recommendations based on a synthesis of the available evidence, which can be used to guide future work to address violence against women and family violence in faith settings. To achieve transformative change through evidence-based action, faith-based leaders, organisations and communities need long-term commitment and support.
2. CAUSES AND DRIVERS OF VIOLENCE IN FAITH SETTINGS

We know that ending violence against women and family violence involves identifying and acting on the causes of violence as well as the factors that can contribute to the severity and frequency of violence. The evidence is clear that gender inequality is the key social context in which violence against women and family violence occurs (Our Watch, VicHealth and ANROWS et al, 2015). The key gendered drivers which underpin violence are:

1. **Condoning** of violence against women
2. **Men’s control** of decision-making and limits to women’s independence
3. **Stereotyped** constructions of masculinity and femininity
4. **Disrespect** towards women and male peer relations that emphasise aggression

(Our Watch et al, 2015, p.23)

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**The gendered drivers of violence against women**

- **Condoning of violence against women**
- **Rigid gender roles and stereotyped constructions of masculinity and femininity**
- **Men’s control of decision-making and limits to women’s independence in public life and relationships**
- **Male peer relations that emphasise aggression and disrespect towards women**

**Gender inequality in public and private life**

...and in the context of other forms of social inequality

**The structure, norms and practices of gender inequality, in the context of other social inequalities**

**Underpin and produce these specific drivers of violence against women**

**And support the normalisation, justification and tolerance of violence against women**

Source: Our Watch et al, 2015, p.24
Like other social environments, faith settings currently play a role in producing and reinforcing these gendered drivers of violence. Discussed in further detail below, the evidence demonstrates that the key factors which work to produce or reinforce the gendered drivers of violence in faith settings are:

- A historic failure of secular institutions to engage with faith leaders and communities about issues surrounding violence against women and family violence.
- Particular interpretations of faith teachings, scripture and language that condone violence against women and restrictively prescribe gender roles and identities.
- Structured gender inequality that is produced by gendered leadership hierarchies and patriarchal norms within faith traditions.
- Faith-based barriers to divorce or separation for women who are experiencing violence.
- A tendency for some faith-based communities to deny and silence discussions of violence.
- The complex interplay of religion, culture and experiences of migration, including persecution, racism and other forms of discrimination.

A FAILURE TO ENGAGE WITH FAITH LEADERS AND COMMUNITIES

Faith-based organisations and communities have an unrealised potential to further violence prevention and response initiatives and policies. In the past, faith-based organisations and leaders have tended to be treated by policymakers and secular institutions as ‘part of the problem’ rather than as part of the solution to violence against women and family violence (le Roux, 2015). Accordingly, secular institutions have generally failed to engage with and support faith leaders and communities. The lack of support provided to faith-based communities acts as a contributing factor to violence against women and family violence in faith settings, as faith-based communities have been under-resourced to prevent and respond to violence.

What is more, where faith communities have taken initiatives to address violence against women and family violence, they have lacked capacity, resources and funding to document and evaluate the measures taken. This has resulted in a limited evidence-base regarding ‘what works’ to prevent and respond to violence in faith settings.

Lack of engagement has also meant that secular services struggle to comprehend spiritual dimensions of violence and unintentionally fail to respond to specific experiences of violence in faith settings (AMWCHR, 2015; Band-Winterstein & Freund, 2018; Bent-Goodley & Fowler, 2006; Dehan & Levi, 2009; Hassouneh-Phillips, 2003; Knickmeyer et al. 2003; Vaughan et al. 2016). The violence sector needs to build relationships with faith communities to better meet the needs of women of faith.

INTERPRETATION OF FAITH TEACHINGS, SCRIPTURE AND LANGUAGE

Sacred texts and teachings are important in almost all faith communities. The evidence suggests that particular interpretations of sacred texts and teachings can be used by faith leaders to condone violence against women (Band-Winterstein & Freund, 2018; Levitt & Ware, 2006b). Religious men have also been found to justify their violent behaviour by reference to religious teachings (Douki et al. 2003; El Matrah et al. 2011; Islam et al. 2018; le Roux, 2016; Wendt, 2008; Winkelmann, 2004). In a study with Jewish, Christian and Islamic leaders in Memphis, Levitt and Ware (2006b) found that some faith leaders cited scripture underpinning their belief in the doctrine of wifely submission. While this group of leaders suggested any inequalities arising from rigid gender roles would not lead to violence if men practised proper leadership, several did report their concern that members of their community could misinterpret or manipulate sacred texts to defend the use of violence (Levitt & Ware, 2006b). Other authors note that men may use their knowledge of sacred texts against women (Band-Winterstein & Freund, 2018; Fowler et al. 2016).

Interpretations of sacred texts that condone or support the use of violence against women may be internalised by women as well as men, which can have an impact on women’s risk of harm. Religious women who have experienced violence often evoke faith teachings to explain their experiences and their decision to remain in, or return to, an unsafe relationship with a violent partner (McMullin et al. 2012; Nason-Clark, 2009; Popescu et al., 2009; Winkelmann, 2004).

It must be noted that for many people of faith, it is important to separate religious teachings from patriarchal culture. Islamic feminism, for example, is based on the understanding that the sources of Islam are not inherently patriarchal, rather patriarchal interpretations arise out of historical social norms
of the time (Ayyub, 2000; Chaudhry & Ahmed, 2016; King, 2009). Interpretive approaches to scripture and teachings may allow faith-based communities to reject beliefs and norms which underpin gender inequality while preserving important religious teachings.

Indeed, while interpretations of religious texts can contribute to the drivers of violence, it is vital to recognise that women draw upon religious texts for support during and after experiences of violence. Across diverse faith communities, researchers have documented the ways that religious women who have experienced violence draw resilience from their faith and faith teachings (Bradley, 2010; El-Khoury et al., 2004; Ghafournia, 2017; Horne & Levitt, 2003; Ting & Panchanadeswaran, 2016; Vaughan et al. 2016; Wendt, 2008).

**STRUCTURED GENDER INEQUALITY**

Many religious institutions have played a role in producing and reinforcing social norms which contribute to gender inequality. Rigid expectations of the distinct roles of men and women are commonly prescribed by faith-based belief systems, texts and teachings. Gendered hierarchy within faith-based leadership structures has also been identified as contributing to or reinforcing gendered drivers of violence (le Roux, 2015; Levitt & Ware, 2006b). Some authors have raised concerns about the ability of religious institutions to play a role in transforming unequal gender relations while leadership structures continue to exclude women (Westenberg, 2017; Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016; Holmes, 2012a).

**BARRIERS TO DIVORCE IN FAITH SETTINGS**

Marriage is a sacred institution within most major faiths and requires a life-long commitment to God in addition to one’s spouse. There is considerable variation, however, across faith communities regarding attitudes to divorce. In some faiths, divorce is not prohibited; in others, divorce is strongly discouraged except in extremely limited circumstances, or not allowed at all.

Marriage breakdown is a highly stressful time for most people, but for religious women, feelings of guilt and shame that they have failed in their religious duties can be cause for particular distress (Beaulaurier et al. 2007; Wendt, 2008; Levitt & Ware 2006b; Knickmeyer et al., 2003). Women’s desire to avoid family shame can be a barrier to seeking help for the violence that they have experienced and also prevent them and their partners from seeking help for stigmatised contributing factors such as substance abuse, financial insecurity and mental illness (Ting & Panchanadeswaran, 2016; Our Watch et al., 2015). The available research emphasises the importance of interpretation of sacred texts and teachings to destigmatise divorce in circumstances of violence (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Popescu et al. 2009; Ringer & Belcher, 2007; Ting & Panchanadeswaran, 2016).

Findings from studies with particular faith communities show that perpetrators at times refuse to agree to a divorce as a means of perpetuating abuse. For example, following research with the Orthodox Jewish communities, Starr (2018) recommends that divorce (gett) refusal be recognised as spiritual abuse and a form of family violence. Indeed, gett refusal was recognised as a form of family violence by a Melbourne magistrate in a ground-breaking case in March 2015.

**A CULTURE OF DENIAL, SILENCE AND SILENCING**

Research indicates that faith leaders and faith-based communities have often sought to deny that violence against women and family violence occurs within their communities or fail to appreciate its severity (Brade & Bent-Goodley, 2009; le Roux, 2015; Nason-Clark et al., 2017; Horne & Levitt, 2014; le Roux, 2015; Sojourners & IMA World Health, 2014). The tendency to deny violence arises for various complex reasons. Some studies attribute denial and silencing to views of violence as a private rather than a public issue (Band-Winterstein & Freund, 2018; Ringel & Bina, 2007). An avoidance of discussions of violence in public may also be connected to fears of stigmatisation. This is a particularly relevant consideration in an Australian setting, where research has demonstrated that anti-Islamic and anti-Semitic sentiment, as well as racism, have led communities to avoid seeking help for fear of stigmatisation from secular services (Aly & Gaba, 2007; AMWCHR, 2015; Vaughan et al., 2016; Jewish Care Victoria, 2015).
THE INTERSECTION OF RELIGION, CULTURE AND THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRATION

Given a high number of migrants are members of faith communities, it is also important to consider the intersection of religion, culture and the experience of migration when analysing the contributing factors to violence against women in faith settings.

It is often difficult to separate faith from culture; studies across diverse settings have found that faith teachings can be intertwined with cultural scripts and stories (Eisenbruch 2018; Ringel & Bina, 2007; le Roux, 2015). For example, cultural conceptions of izzat or honour for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs from South Asia often intersect with their faith (King, 2009). The difficulty of separating cultural and religious norms reinforces the importance of tackling the drivers of violence in all contexts and settings. It is important to emphasise here that consideration of the intersection of religion and culture in responses to family violence and violence against women, should not be interpreted to mean that ‘culture’ is a relevant consideration for migrants only. Stopping violence against women and family violence requires widespread cultural change across Victorian society as a whole.

Researchers have raised particular concern regarding how violence in migrant communities is publicly framed. When violence is committed by white men, it is usually treated as a case of individual deviance, whereas “when violence occurs in immigrant communities, the violence is attributed to that community” (Thandi 2011, p. 186; Jiwani 2006; Volpp 2005). This fear of stigmatisation can lead faith communities to try to manage problems of violence within the community. In Australia, research has demonstrated that many migrant and refugee communities fear engagement with institutions such as the police and court system, due to past experiences of systemic discrimination or violence in their dealings with authorities (Vaughan et al. 2016), as do Indigenous Australian communities (Blagg et al. 2018).

The intersection between migration and faith-based communities is also relevant to risks associated with migration status. There is a large number of women in Victoria from various faith communities who have temporary status with restricted entitlements. Research has consistently confirmed that temporary or uncertain residency status increases the risk of family violence and acts as a significant barrier to help-seeking (Ghafournia, 2011; Segrave, 2017; Vaughan et al. 2016). Women with temporary status may be unable to access vital support services such as Centrelink and Medicare, and may therefore particularly depend on a supportive response from their faith community.
3. PREVENTING VIOLENCE FROM OCCURRING IN FAITH SETTINGS

ADDRESSING CAUSES AND CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Faith-based communities need to be supported to counter the drivers of violence which operate in faith settings to stop family violence and violence against women before it occurs. Though there is evidence about the causes and contributing factors of violence against women and family violence in faith settings, robust evidence regarding what works to prevent violence from occurring or re-occurring in faith settings is presently limited but evolving. The literature suggests that though faith leaders report interest in preventing violence in their communities (Choi et al. 2017; Jones & Fowler, 2009), faith leaders tend to be unsure how best to take action. A number of prevention resources have been developed to help support communities; however, the impact of such resources is yet to be evaluated (see Appendix 2).

Lessons learned from two important prevention interventions with faith leaders conducted in Victoria are described below.
Prevention Case Study 1: The Northern Interfaith Respectful Relationships Project

The Northern Interfaith Respectful Relationships Project (2008 – 2012) was designed to increase the evidence base for primary prevention of violence against women in the faith sector. The project was funded and supported by VicHealth, implemented in partnership with the Darebin City Council, and operated across Melbourne’s northern region.

The project aimed to increase the capacity of faith leaders, organisations and communities to undertake primary prevention work, and to promote non-violent and respectful ways for women and men to relate to each other within faith communities.

To meet these aims, the project developed a peer mentoring program (see also Holmes, 2011); produced a manual and toolkit (Holmes, 2012b); engaged with the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne to develop a primary prevention strategy; and disseminated a monthly newsletter to faith communities and leaders.

Evaluation of the program identified that:
• It is difficult to engage male faith leaders in capacity building for primary prevention
• Peer mentoring and dialogical approaches are highly valued by faith leaders
• Faith leaders are time-poor, reducing availability to participate in capacity building and networking initiatives
• Clear decision-making structures within faith communities facilitate the adoption of community-wide policies and strategies
• There is a tension between developing faith leaders’ capacity to undertake primary prevention work, and ensuring they can adequately respond to family violence. This suggests that effective primary prevention programs will also need to address appropriate and safe response
• There are also tensions between promoting male faith leaders as agents of change and challenging male domination of leadership roles
• Effectively discussing gender and developing strategies to challenge gender inequality is particularly difficult in an interfaith context.

Interfaith networks have long provided a mechanism for members of different communities to learn about each other’s beliefs and for action on shared social justice issues of concern. However, the Northern Interfaith Respectful Relationships evaluation highlighted the significant difficulties that arise when addressing gender issues in an interfaith context (noting that different faith traditions have engaged with mechanisms to promote the role, status and leadership of women in their communities to different degrees). The evaluation also highlighted the difficulties presented for interfaith work when different faith communities have different organisational and leadership structures, and different mechanisms to affect change.
Prevention Case Study 2: CHALLENGE Family violence – preventing violence against women at the local level

The CHALLENGE Family violence – preventing violence against women at the local level project was undertaken in the City of Casey, the City of Greater Dandenong and Cardinia Shire Council between 2013 and 2015. The project consisted of two parts:

1. The Male Leadership model which involved engaging male community members in training, education and peer conversations regarding equality, gender roles, masculinity and men’s roles in preventing violence (funded for three years); and

2. The Faith Resources model which involved 12 male and female faith leaders from different faiths who worked together to collaboratively develop a resource aimed at primary prevention of men’s violence against women (funded for two years).

As part of the Faith Resources model, an Interfaith Working Group was established and faith leaders were offered training regarding gender equity and violence against women, based on a dialogical approach. A Women’s Advisory Group embedded women’s expertise in the project and created a mechanism for accountability to women.

The resource development process facilitated the re-interpretation of scripture and faith-based teachings regarding gender roles and expectations. The resource itself includes a section regarding the different faiths’ perspectives on the importance of gender equity and challenging sexist teachings; ‘fact sheets’ debunking common myths about violence against women that may be relevant for faith-based communities; and guidance on promoting gender equality in faith-based communities through creating awareness, having discussions, engaging in local initiatives, taking action, building partnerships, and advocating for change (Sheridan, Castelino & Boulet, n.d.).

The evaluation of the Faith Resources model focussed on the impact of the process of developing the resource, rather than evaluating the use and impact of the resource itself. The evaluation found that:

• Most participants increased their understanding of the drivers of violence against women, including gender inequity;
• Most participants expressed a continued commitment to violence prevention efforts in the future, both within their communities and through new networks developed through the project;
• The Interfaith Working Group made plans to continue work together on violence prevention initiatives and an important relationship between faith-based communities and the Dandenong Interfaith Network was established; and
• The interfaith resource was successfully developed and disseminated through participants’ networks and events.

Sheridan, Castelino and Boulet (n.d.) made the following recommendations for future prevention work with faith-based communities, based on key learnings which arose throughout the evaluation:

• Prevention resources should be developed collaboratively through consultation with the communities for whom the resource is intended.
• Prevention resources should take an approach that is mindful of domains of privilege and oppression such as gender, race, sexuality, disability, religion and class, “in the hope of ensuring the resource does not further marginalise community groups” (p.41).
• Prevention resources should be translated into relevant languages and use relevant imagery/content.
• Projects working in an interfaith framework should be mindful not to privilege Christian communities.
• Mechanisms which facilitate accountability to women should be embedded in projects.
• Projects should be based on partnerships which involve collaboration with women as experts.
• People engaging in primary prevention initiatives should be equipped with adequate training and protocols to respond appropriately and safely to disclosures of violence and develop partnerships with the family violence sector to make referrals.
4. RESPONDING TO VIOLENCE IN FAITH SETTINGS

Faith leaders are often among the first individuals to whom women of faith disclose violence and seek help (Beaulaurier et al. 2007; Cox, 2015; Horne & Levitt, 2004; Westenberg, 2017). Faith leaders’ failure to respond adequately to disclosures of violence can encourage women to remain with violent partners despite risks to their safety (Ghafournia, 2017; Hosburgh, 2005; Knickmeyer et al., 2003; Kulwicki et al. 2010). It is therefore vital that faith leaders and community member’s responses are effective and ensure the safety of women and their families.

PROVISION OF SUPPORT TO WOMEN EXPERIENCING VIOLENCE

Review of the literature suggests the support that women receive from their faith leaders after disclosing violence varies significantly. Some women report feeling listened to, believed, and that their faith leader was able to provide appropriate support. However, many of the studies described unhelpful responses that could put women and families at risk of further violence. Survivors also reported feeling blamed and/or ostracised by both their communities and faith leaders following disclosures of violence (Band-Winderstein & Freund, 2018; Horsburgh, 2005; Knickmeyer et al., 2003; McMullin, 2018; Nason-Clark, 2009; Ringel & Bina, 2007; Ting & Panchanadeswaran, 2016; Wendt, 2008).

Research has found that some faith leaders wish to avoid intervention following disclosures of violence (Dyer 2010; Horne & Levitt, 2004), and may view conflict as a spiritual issue that can be addressed through religious practice (Ames et al. 2011; Choi & Cramer, 2016; Nason-Clark, 2004). Some faith leaders attempt to conduct counselling with couples experiencing conflict, rather than making appropriate external referrals (Choi, 2015; Horne & Levitt, 2004; Jones & Fowler, 2009). None of the studies reviewed found that faith leaders were aware that the most dangerous time for a woman and their families is following attempted separation unless the leader had received specific violence training.

Nevertheless, there is a long history of faith communities providing vital material assistance to families experiencing violence, such as temporary housing, social and spiritual support, health services, economic and material, counselling and case management. In Victoria, faith-based organisations providing crisis and case management services include the Australian Muslim Women’s Centre for Human Rights, Good Samaritan Inn, Good Shepherd, Jewish Care Victoria, McAuley Community Services, Salvation Army, Uniting Vic.Tas, and Vincent Care, amongst others. While some of these faith-based organisations retain strong links with the leadership of their respective faiths, others now have a secular orientation. Though the material support provided by these faith-based organisations is much needed, the faith-based backgrounds of many services may act as a help-seeking barrier for some women, including Indigenous women, non-Christian women, migrant and refugee women, and lesbian and transgender women (Horsley, 2015; Jewish Care Victoria 2015; Neave et al. 2016; Vaughan et al. 2016; Victorian Gay & Lesbian Rights Lobby 2015).

HOLDING MEN WHO USE VIOLENCE TO ACCOUNT AND SUPPORTING BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

Increased accountability for perpetrators and a focus on supporting behaviour change are key priorities to end violence against women and family violence. What we know about best practice for interventions and responses to perpetrators of family violence and violence against women remains limited but continues to develop. In recent years, faith-based organisations have implemented or supported programs which aim to stop men from using violence against women and promote healthy relationships. However, none of the Men’s Behaviour Change Programs currently running in Victoria specifically focus on holding religious men who use violence to account.

Many abused religious women report that they want the violence to stop, but do not want their marriage to end (Nason-Clark et al., 2003). Programs aimed at changing men’s violent behaviour may be all the more important in
faith-based communities which prioritise the preservation of marriage (Nason-Clark et al. 2003). There remains a significant gap in knowledge about how best to hold religious men who use violence accountable and intervene to change their behaviour.

BUILDING FAITH LEADERS’ CAPACITY TO EFFECTIVELY RESPOND

The literature consistently identified that faith leaders were simply not equipped to respond effectively to family violence and violence against women due to a lack of education, training and resources (Barnett, 2001; Brade & Bent-Goodley, 2009; Jones et al. 2005; le Roux, 2015; Levitt & Ware, 2006a; Tedder & Smith, 2018). In Australia and internationally, initiatives to promote faith leaders’ capacity to respond to family violence and violence against women have focused on:

- Building faith leaders’ understanding of the breadth of forms of violence;
- Training faith leaders to respond to disclosures of violence with a focus on women’s safety and that of their children;
- Increasing leaders’ knowledge of locally available family violence and violence against women services, and how to make ‘warm’ referrals to these services; and
- Supporting faith leaders to hold perpetrators to account for their behaviour (Bent-Goodley et al. 2012; Choi et al. 2017; Fowler et al. 2006; Horne and Levitt, 2003; Jones et al. 2005; McMullin et al. 2015).

Building relationships between secular institutions and faith leaders and communities has also been identified as key for reducing violence in faith settings (Nason-Clark et al., 2010 cited in McMullin et al. 2015). Religious expertise and violence expertise are both required to effectively respond to violence in faith-based communities (Nason-Clark & Holtmann, 2013).

Many interventions and resources have been developed, in Australia and internationally, which seek to build faith leaders’ knowledge and capacity to respond to violence. Interventions and resources include training programs and curricula, awareness-raising workshops, manuals, policies, guidelines, and ‘toolkits’. The interventions and resources we identified varied considerably as did the evidence which underpinned their development. The impact of the vast majority of interventions and resources has never been evaluated. Evidence regarding what works to build faith leaders’ capacity to respond effectively to family violence and violence against women is therefore lacking. All evaluated interventions we identified were developed in the United States and were (largely) with Christian faith leaders (Choi et al. 2017; Drumm et al. 2018; Jones & Fowler, 2009). Two of these programs are profiled as case examples below:
What works to address violence against women and family violence within faith settings

Response Case Study 1: Forsyth Faith Leader Training Program

The Forsyth Faith Leader Training Program was a pilot capacity building initiative, conducted in partnership by faith leaders, a local university, divinity school, women’s health, and family violence services in Forsyth County, North Carolina (Jones & Fowler, 2009; Fowler et al. 2006; Jones et al. 2005). Residents in Forsyth County are considerably more likely to belong to a church, mosque or synagogue, and attend religious services at least once a month, than is average in the US, but less likely to socialise outside their faith-based social circles – suggesting faith leaders and faith communities may be especially important pathways to support for women experiencing violence.

The program developed a training curricula that aimed to a) help faith leaders respond to family violence in ways that focused on women’s safety and holding perpetrators to account while respecting the beliefs of victims and faith communities; and b) build strong links and trust between secular services, advocates and faith leaders. The training was co-facilitated by a family violence worker and two faith leaders. All participants were required to agree to a ‘Covenant of Performance’, committing them to prioritise victim safety and always working with family violence services in developing any new initiatives in their communities. A follow up ‘booster’ session was held some months after the original training, and participants were connected in an ongoing manner through a newsletter, website and annual meeting.

Evaluation of this program found that the training resulted in substantial improvements in faith leaders’ knowledge about and attitudes toward family violence, and changes in leaders’ likelihood to refer to services.

Key lessons documented from evaluation of this program included:
• Recruitment of participants is challenging. Faith leaders are busy, often over-committed, and may not recognise family violence as a priority. Over-stretched leaders of smaller faith communities are particularly time constrained
• Engaging with leaders at higher levels of hierarchical faith organisations, who could then promote the program to other clergy, increases participation. It is harder to reach faith communities without denominational affiliation or hierarchical organisation
• An organising group or committee made up of highly committed individuals, crossing religious/secular boundaries, builds bridges between sectors and ensures curricula is sensitive to faith communities’ beliefs and based on the expertise of the family violence and violence against women sectors
• Language such as ‘domestic violence’ and ‘training’ was off-putting to potential participants, and it was more successful to frame the intervention around ‘family strengthening’
• Hearing survivor testimony is highly impactful, increasing faith leaders’ willingness to become more informed about family violence
• Faith leaders value forums for discussion of issues around faith and family violence, before moving on to the difficulties involved in communicating with victims and perpetrators
• Faith leaders require additional support and reinforcement as they try to put into practice what they have learned, and highly valued the ‘booster’ sessions. Ongoing supportive discussion groups would be a valuable addition to the original design
• Having a faith leader and lay leader from each congregation trained together ensures they can support each other following the training
• A Covenant of Performance is an important mechanism for ensuring that any future activities are evidence-based and prioritise victim safety
• Partnering with a local university enabled an evaluation of sufficient depth to allow the program to improve and grow.
Response Case Study 2: Korean Clergy for Healthy Families

Research has shown that Korean-American women experiencing violence turn to their faith leaders for assistance (Moon, 2005), but that often the response they receive is inappropriate and ineffective (Choi, 2015a, 2015b). In response, Choi and colleagues developed and evaluated an online intervention to support Korean-American clergy address family violence in their communities. It is also one of the few evaluated examples of online training for faith leaders. The online approach was chosen because of convenience, reach, cost effectiveness and anonymity (Choi et al. 2017).

The curriculum built on existing materials for faith leaders and incorporated a discussion of the influence of Korean cultural values. The aim was to increase the capacity of clergy to appropriately and effectively “prevent and intervene in intimate partner violence in their congregations” (Choi et al. 2017), though the outline of the three modules developed suggests a primary focus on response. In addition to the three online training modules, the program website included a newsfeed and links to news and information on intimate partner violence; a discussion board where participants could share information and support; and links to resources such as safety plans, fact sheets etc.

The program was evaluated by randomizing participants to an intervention group or control group, and found that the intervention group had significantly improved knowledge of family violence resources and improved attitudes about family violence, but that there was no difference between the two groups’ confidence to support someone who has disclosed violence or to take prevention and intervention measures.

Participant recommendations for future iterations of the program, based on the initial pilot, included:

• providing case examples of appropriate clergy responses to disclosure of family violence and of providing ongoing support to victims;
• addressing the impact of migration on family relations, and particularly the impact of changing gender roles on men, noting that men may use the ‘traditional patriarchal’ values within the Korean-American church to reassert themselves in the family in unhelpful ways;
• ensuring that the website contained a comprehensive and up-to-date list of local services, including services available for victims whose residency status is uncertain;
• allowing participants to determine the timing of when they access the three modules so that this can be scheduled around busy workloads; and
• not all faith leaders will be comfortable interacting in an online environment or using social media, therefore it is vital to consult with the intended audience about how they engage with online material before designing an intervention.

Online interventions can provide anonymity unavailable in face to face approaches, and results of this program are promising in relation to awareness raising, knowledge and attitudes. However the findings highlight the challenges of building practical skills through an online intervention (Choi et al. 2018b), or in supporting the dialogical interaction found to be so valuable in other evaluations of interventions to build faith leader capacity (Holmes, 2012a; Jones & Fowler, 2009).
RESPONSE-FOCUSED INTERVENTIONS AND RESOURCES

A large number of other interventions and resources that aim to build faith leader capacity to respond to intimate partner violence are available, with some also covering responses to other forms of violence against women and family violence. Links to organisational websites, as well as some of the many specific resources we identified are included in appendices 1 and 3. While the effectiveness of these interventions and resources has not been evaluated, it is important to note that many were developed based on the extensive experience of violence response practitioners, and input from faith leaders with a deep commitment to supporting women and their communities.

Except for a few interfaith resources, a major limitation of this collection of materials is that they are all designed for use with Christian (mostly Catholic or Protestant), Muslim or Jewish leaders. This may reflect differences in methods used to disseminate materials or our difficulties in accessing materials published in languages other than English.
5. **Gaps in the Evidence**

The current evidence-base regarding what works to prevent and respond to family violence and violence against women in faith settings is limited, as is evidence about the most effective strategies for building faith leader capacity. The lack of clear evidence is in part due to lack of funding for long-term evaluation and reporting on outcomes. In some instances, initiatives have been undertaken to address violence within faith-based communities but these have gone unpublished, unevaluated, or have not been disseminated due to lack of funding and resources (le Roux, 2015).

Key gaps in the evidence that require further attention have been identified as follows:

- The current research regarding causes of and contributors to violence in faith settings has largely focussed on Abrahamic faith communities (Christian, Muslim and Jewish). Further research regarding causes and contributing factors in non-Abrahamic, and in Orthodox and Restorationist Christian, communities is necessary.
- More evidence is needed regarding what works to hold religious men to account and change their behaviour to stop violence from occurring and reoccurring. It is unclear whether existing men's behaviour change programs are accessed by religious men, and whether these programs work to change their behaviour. The prevalence and impact of family violence perpetrated by faith leaders are also unknown.
- More evidence is needed to determine how faith leaders and faith communities can best act to prevent and respond to violence against women and family violence that is perpetrated by people other than intimate partners (such as non-partner sexual violence, or violence that might be enacted by a parent, sibling or another family member).
- Robust evidence about effective approaches to training and capacity building regarding violence prevention in faith communities is limited, for all faith communities.
- There is very little evidence about what might influence sustained change. We found no long-term evaluations of primary, secondary or tertiary prevention programs in faith settings, and no evaluations of the impact of prevention resources. There is also a lack of effective tools for measuring short-term and, in particular, long-term change in faith settings.
- Given inconsistent findings in the literature, more evidence is needed about the efficacy of inter-faith violence prevention projects, with greater analysis of the circumstances in which they may be effective (Holmes, 2012a; Sheridan et al., n.d.).
- We know very little about what types of prevention and response initiatives are appropriate where a faith-based community rejects gender equality. We also know very little about what types of violence prevention and response initiatives are appropriate in faith-based communities where separation or divorce is not an option.
- More evidence is needed regarding whether (and if so how) gendered hierarchies within faith leadership structures can be reconciled with the promotion of gender equality which underpins violence prevention initiatives.
- Although there is evidence which suggests that hierarchal organisation within faith-based organisations can facilitate organised and coordinated initiatives to prevent violence (Holmes, 2012a), we do not know how to best make change within heterogeneous, decentralised faith-based communities.
- More evidence is needed regarding spiritual abuse and how faith leaders and their communities can best prevent and respond to it. We also need to collect more evidence regarding how secular service providers can best address faith-based community members’ diverse needs, including how secular services can best respond to or prevent spiritual abuse.
6. **PRINCIPLES AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

These principles and recommendations were drafted to inform the second phase of the current Participatory Action Project, but also to guide future activity undertaken by others interested in supporting faith communities and faith leaders to effectively prevent and respond to family violence and violence against women.

**Principle 1. Prioritise safety**

Faith leaders and faith communities may prioritise a range of factors – such as the sacredness of marriage, the reputation of the family or community, or particular interpretations of sacred texts – ahead of the safety of those experiencing family violence or violence against women. Efforts to prevent or respond to family violence and/or violence against women will be ineffective, and potentially harmful, if the safety of women and children is not the priority at all times. Different interventions have developed strategies to communicate and ensure this priority, such as public commitments to safety made by faith leaders (e.g. Pledges or Covenants of Performance).

**Recommendation 1:** Faith leaders be supported to make a public commitment to prioritising women’s and children’s safety.

Faith leaders cannot and should not be expected to meet the complex needs of victims of family violence and violence against women. Referral pathways need to be developed for faith leaders to refer women who are experiencing violence to specialist services. Faith leaders need access to up-to-date written materials about local services, in multiple languages where appropriate, and the ability to provide this information to women safely and discreetly.

**Recommendation 2.2:** Establish referral pathways and ensure faith leaders have access to current information materials about local services.

When violence-orientated programs and interventions are conducted within faith communities, there is an increased likelihood that those involved will receive disclosures of family violence or recognise signs of family violence among community members. As such, faith leaders need to be trained to respond to disclosures safely and appropriately, even when undertaking interventions that are concerned with violence prevention.

**Recommendation 2.3:** Ensure interventions that aim to prevent violence against women and family violence also build the capacity of faith leaders to safely and appropriately respond to women experiencing violence.

**Principle 2. Strengthen relationships between secular organisations and faith leaders**

Building relationships between violence experts/organisations and faith leaders is a vital plank of efforts to prevent and respond to violence against women and family violence in faith settings. ‘Building bridges’ involves establishing personal and institutional relationships, based on trust, to ensure women’s safety. Efforts to build relationships must be sustained over time.

**Recommendation 2.1:** Establish mechanisms for regular contact and relationship building between faith leaders and local specialist violence services.

**Principle 3. Co-design and co-deliver initiatives**

All evidence from evaluated initiatives to address violence against women and family violence in faith settings suggests that interventions and programs should be jointly designed by faith leaders, communities, and sectoral experts. Working towards collaborative co-design and delivery processes will take capacity-building (e.g. the development of negotiation skills, listening skills, trust-building, respect etc.). Involving faith leaders and community in design and delivery ensures resources are appropriate and relevant to local faith contexts and that communities are engaged.
Recommendation 3.1: Ensure violence interventions in faith settings include strategies to build the capacity of faith leaders, communities and sectoral experts in co-design and co-delivery.

In many faith communities, leadership roles have been dominated by men. This can reinforce notions of rigid gender roles and gender inequality. In the design and delivery of interventions and responses to violence against women and family violence, there is an opportunity to model men and women working respectfully and as equals in delivery of content.

Recommendation 3.2: Interventions – such as training, public statements and sermons – to address violence against women and family violence in faith communities should be jointly delivered by men and women, modelling respectful collaboration and equal contribution.

Principle 4. Understand the central role of gender inequality

We know that gender inequality plays a central role in driving violence against women and family violence. There is considerable evidence that some faith leaders and communities may reinforce expressions of gender inequality, such as men’s control of decision-making or rigid gender roles and identities. Therefore, it is particularly important that prevention and response efforts in faith communities centre on the perspectives of women from the community, and recognise and build on women’s leadership. This may involve establishing women’s groups, creating opportunities for women to hold formal leadership roles, ensuring the opportunity for women to contribute to the design and delivery of interventions, and proactively seeking women’s feedback on proposals and programs.

Recommendation 4.1: Build on women’s existing leadership in faith communities and foster new opportunities for women to play a leadership role in their community’s response to violence against women.

With progressive change, comes a risk of resistance or even backlash. We know that resistance can intensify when social structures or deeply held values are challenged. Efforts towards gender equality and changes in gender norms can invoke strong responses in both men and women, regardless of their membership of a faith group. However, negative feelings about gender equality initiatives may be increased in faith communities where unequal gender roles are justified by convictions about scripture. Resistance is, therefore, to be expected and can be countered by planning and developing strategies concerning, for example, framing or participation (VicHealth, 2018, p.5).

Recommendation 4.2: Support women and faith communities to plan for and produce strategies that mitigate resistance and backlash which arises in response to gender equality initiatives and women’s leadership.

Principle 5. Recognise intersectionality

What is intersectionality?

Intersectionality is the understanding that inequalities are not the product of any single factor; rather inequalities are the result of intersecting factors, such as gender, race, sexuality or class. Intersectional perspectives also consider the effects of social circumstances, such as migration or colonialism.

Many faith communities in Victoria are highly diverse, with members from a range of ethnicities, language groups, socioeconomic backgrounds, and migration pathways. Members of faith communities bring different experiences, knowledge and attitudes related to gender equality and violence to the community. Efforts to prevent and respond to violence against women and family violence must take an intersectional approach and recognise how gender inequality intersects with other inequalities – such as those that may arise because of racism, poverty, past exposure to trauma,
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precarious immigration status, and discrimination based on religion – to shape people’s experiences. Faith leaders also need skills for working cross-culturally and in a trauma-informed way with diverse communities.

**Recommendation 5.1: Capacity building efforts should take an intersectional approach, and aim to build skills for cross-cultural and trauma-informed communication.**

Many communities support faith leaders to migrate to Australia, often for temporary periods, on a Religious Worker Visa. Some newly arrived faith leaders pursue the opportunity to permanently resettle in Australia, but in other communities there is frequent rotation of ordained leaders. Newly arrived faith leaders may have limited understanding of Australian law concerning family violence and violence against women, or of local expectations about gender equality and the position of women.

**Recommendation 5.2: Provide training, resources and ongoing support to newly arrived faith leaders to increase their understanding of Australian law and local expectations**

**Principle 6. Different delivery mechanisms in different contexts**

There is evidence that there are benefits and limitations associated with different methods for delivering programs in faith settings. Peer mentoring and or dialogical approaches (approaches that involve in-person conversations), with regular ‘refresher’ activities, have been found to be most effective in producing change in faith leader’s attitudes and behaviours relating to violence against women and family violence. Online approaches appear to be a valuable addition, particularly for providing information and increasing knowledge. Online approaches may engage busy faith leaders, who would be unavailable to attend face to face training or workshops, but at this stage, there is insufficient evidence that they can change behaviours on their own.

**Recommendation 6.2: Face to face, peer mentoring and conversational approaches should be used in interventions aiming to change attitudes and behaviours.**

**Recommendation 6.3: Build evidence about the effectiveness of online approaches in changing behaviours as well as attitudes concerning violence against women and family violence.**

Effective and promising interventions have commonly devoted significant time and resources to workshopping and piloting training materials, particularly in relation to language (translation into different languages, identifying words that will resonate with faith leaders and identifying what choice of words may lead to resistance).

**Recommendation 6.4: Ensure time (and budget) is allocated to the drafting, piloting and workshopping of training materials and resources with representatives of intended audiences.**

**Principle 7. Engage senior leadership early and sustain engagement**

In faith communities where there are clear governance structures and hierarchical organisation, all evidence suggests that engaging senior leadership early in the planning of an intervention to address violence against women and family violence will enhance recruitment of participants, investment of organisational resources, community-wide awareness of the intervention, and reduce potential resistance.

**Recommendation 7.1: Allocate sufficient time and resources to develop support from senior leadership early in the planning of interventions and sustain engagement with leadership through the life of the program.**
While recommendation 7.1 is feasible for faith communities where there are clear decision-making channels, there is little evidence about effective approaches to engaging faith leaders and creating change in faith communities that are decentralised and do not have clear leadership hierarchies. Further research is needed as to the most effective approaches to leadership engagement in faith communities with diverse organisational structures.

Recommendation 7.2: Liaise with umbrella groups or representative bodies from non-hierarchical faith communities as to the most appropriate and sustainable approach to engaging their leadership.

Principle 8. Strengthen the evidence-base

Review of the current state of knowledge about (a) causes of and contributing factors to violence against women and family violence in faith settings, and (b) building the capacity of faith leaders to appropriately and effectively act to prevent and respond, suggests a number of substantial evidence gaps.

There is considerable evidence about the causes of and contributing factors to violence against women and family violence in (most) Christian, Muslim and Jewish faith settings; however, we need to learn more about the causes and contributing factors in other faith communities. Further research is needed with a particular focus on increasing understanding of how these contributing factors intersect with diverse cultures and experiences of migration.

Recommendation 8.1: Support research that can build understanding of causes and contributing factors to violence against women and family violence in Buddhist, Sikh, Hindu and other non-Abrahamic faith communities, as well as in Orthodox and Restorationist Christian communities.

There are major evidence gaps as to ‘what works’ in building the capacity of faith leaders to contribute to primary prevention and respond safely, effectively and appropriately to violence against women and family violence. This partly reflects the limited resources that have been made available to the faith sector for engaging and evaluating initiatives that seek to prevent and respond to violence against women and family violence. There is an urgent need to generate data based on the evaluation of short, medium and longer-term impacts of capacity-building efforts. In particular, there is a need to develop strategies for collecting data about changes in individual behaviours, community practices and institutional structures, rather than focusing only on short term change in knowledge, attitudes and intentions. Where possible, tools should align with Counting on Change: A guide to prevention monitoring (Our Watch, 2017), to measure contribution towards prevention and response.

Recommendation 8.2: Support faith communities to develop tools and frameworks for measuring short, medium and long-term impacts of efforts to build faith leader and faith community capacity.

At present, there is little evidence about effective approaches to engaging men of faith who use violence. While some of the key organisations working with men who use violence are faith-based organisations (e.g. Uniting Care Kildonan), it is unclear if ‘mainstream' men’s behaviour change programs or holistic perpetrator programs, as currently delivered in Victoria, are effective for religious men.

Recommendation 8.3: Support organisations leading perpetrator programs to work in partnership with faith communities and faith leaders to conduct targeted research to identify the most appropriate strategies for engaging, and changing the behaviour of, religious men who use violence.
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• AMWCHR. (2015). Submission to the Royal Commission into Family Violence. Submission 728 by the Australian Muslim Women’s Centre for Human Rights
• Aune, K. and Barnes, R. (2018). In Churches Too: Church responses to domestic abuse – a case study of Cumbria. Coventry University and University of Leicester.
• Chaudhry, A. and Ahmed, R. (2016). Islamic perspective on engaging men and boys to end violence in the family. Gannanoque, Canadian Council of Muslim Women
• Compassion Capital Fund (nd). Identifying and Promoting Promising Practices. Washington, Compassion Capital Fund
• Drumm, R., Thayer, J., Cooper, L., Mayer, S., Foster, T., Gadd, H. and Brayak, K. (2018). Clergy training for effective response to intimate


Hage, S. (2000). The role of counseling psychology in preventing male violence against female intimates. The Counseling Psychologist. 28:797-828


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- Multicultural Centre for Women's Health. (nd). Intersectionality Matters: A guide to engaging immigrant and refugee communities to prevent violence against women. Melbourne, MCWH
- Sheridan, K., Castelino, T., Boulet, J. (n.d.) CHALLENGE Family violence – preventing violence against women at the local level, Borderlands Cooperative
- VicHealth (2018). (En)countering resistance: Strategies to respond to resistance to gender equality initiatives. Melbourne, VicHealth
APPENDIX 1: KEY ORGANISATIONS FOCUSING ON THE ROLE OF FAITH LEADERS IN THE PREVENTION OF AND RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

Faith Trust Institute:  [www.faithtrustinstitute.org](http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org)

The Faith Trust Institute was founded in 1977 and is a US-based, multifaith initiative working to end sexual and domestic violence. Many other US-based initiatives are based on training organisations and individuals have received through the Faith Trust Institute. The website houses a large collection of resources and materials that could be used in training, including resources specifically developed for working with Christian, Jewish and Muslim women experiencing violence. It also contains resources relevant to clergy sexual abuse, though there is less consideration of responses to clergy as perpetrators of family violence. Links to webinars and some training materials. No information about how materials are used, or evaluation of their impact.

HEART Women and Girls:  [www.heartwomenandgirls.org](http://www.heartwomenandgirls.org)

A US-based organisation aiming to promote sexual health education and prevent sexual violence in Muslim communities. Their website contains resources specific to sexual violence, including fact sheets, videos, tools for communities, and training materials service providers in effectively working with Muslim women who have experienced sexual violence (including addressing gendered Islamophobia). One of the few organisations to have a number of resources focused on non-partner sexual violence. No information about how materials are used, or evaluation of their impact.

Peaceful Families Project:  [www.peacefulfamilies.org](http://www.peacefulfamilies.org)

A US based national organisation that focuses on prevention of and response to domestic violence in Muslim families of diverse backgrounds. The Peaceful Families Project was founded in 2000 as the Muslim program of the Faith Trust Institute, but is now an independent organisation conducting advocacy and running trainings, with some training materials available on their website. They run national Imam training, based on the training package Garments for One Another: Ending domestic violence in Muslim families which is available for purchase on their website. No information about how materials are used, or evaluation of their impact.

The RAVE (Religion and Violence E-learning) project:  [www.theraveproject.org](http://www.theraveproject.org)

Focused on Christian faith communities, and based on the long-standing research program of Canadian academic Nancy Nason-Clark, Baptist pastor and researcher Stephen McMullin and colleagues, this website is an e-learning resource for faith leaders and congregations, focused on dissemination of materials and resources. These resources include downloadable examples of sermons on family violence, selected scripture verses, fact sheets, and modules designed to raise clergy awareness. While the website’s materials are based on research, no evidence is presented for they are used and the impact of their dissemination has not been evaluated.
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Restored: www.restoredrelationships.org

An international Christian alliance specifically working to end violence against women through churches and faith settings. The website provides links to a range of resources, such as ‘church packs’ (including fact sheets, posters, awareness raising material), resources for men's groups, tools for church self-assessment, and example declarations by leaders. Materials are available from a range of settings around the world, and in different languages, however there is no information about how materials have been used or on the impact of their dissemination.

Safe Havens Interfaith Partnership: www.interfaithpartners.org

A US-based, interfaith partnership against domestic violence. The partnership's website has links to printed resources, webinars, and fact sheets. The materials focus on the Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities, and include example sermons and statements. No information about how materials are used, or evaluation of their impact.

SAFER: www.saferresource.org.au

SAFER is an Australian online tool designed by Common Grace as a resource for Christian leaders and communities to better respond to victims of family violence. It includes pages outlining why domestic violence is a faith issue; on gender inequality and the Church; on recognising violence and responding appropriately; on holding perpetrators to account; and links to a range of Bible studies, liturgical resources, sermon outlines. As a wholly online resource, it is difficult to know how materials are used and there has been no evaluation of their impact.

Note that many other faith-based organisations address violence against women as a major part of their work (including, for example, Jewish Women International) and many other organisations working to address violence against women and family violence include engagement with faith communities as part of their work (including, for example, White Ribbon).
APPENDIX 2: LINKS TO PREVENTION-FOCUSED MANUALS, PRACTICE GUIDELINES AND TRAINING RESOURCES FOR FAITH LEADERS

* Indicates materials developed in the Australian context

* Anglican Diocese of Melbourne (nd). Anglicans helping to prevent violence against women. This website, has links to a number of prevention focused materials. Available at


(This resource is designed to be used with Christian and Muslim faith leaders)

(This resource is designed to be used with Christian and Muslim faith leaders)
APPENDIX 3: LINKS TO RESPONSE-FOCUSED MANUALS, PRACTICE GUIDELINES AND TRAINING RESOURCES FOR FAITH LEADERS

* Indicates materials developed in the Australian context


Canadian Council of Muslim Women (2016). Engaging men and boys to end violence in the family toolkit. Gananoque, Canadian Council of Muslim Women. Available at http://ccmw.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ga-ccmw-white-ribbon-toolkit.pdf (This resource aims to build the capacity of male leaders, including faith leaders)


(Only available online as an attachment to the JTAFV submission to the Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence: http://www.rcfv.com.au/getattachment/0BE1B867-BA54-4C21-A193-55385C093CAD/Jewish-Taskforce-Against-Family-Violence)


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