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WORKING TOGETHER TO PREVENT FAMILY
AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE: MULTI SECTOR
ACTION PLANS AND CASE STUDIES

WORKING TOGETHER TO PREVENT FAMILY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN AUCKLAND: AN APPROACH

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Thanks to Jess Trask for her ground work

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Report Prepared for
AUCKLAND COUNCIL

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Executive summary

Purpose

This literature review is aimed at outlining where New Zealand sits on matters of family and sexual violence – both in terms of impacts and in terms of current policies and programmes – and what steps we might take to address these issues. We particularly pay attention to the role that local government bodies such as the Auckland Council can play in addressing violence.

We look at a number of key areas relating to sexual and family violence:

- Patterns, definitions, and impacts of family and sexual violence in New Zealand;
- Widely used frameworks for understanding and taking action against family and sexual violence;
- National and international case studies of successful violence intervention and prevention efforts;
- Characteristics of successful campaigns; and
- Steps that might be taken to address family and sexual violence.

Findings

Although there are significant issues around data collection, we know that family and sexual violence are at epidemic levels within New Zealand, affect a large number of New Zealanders, and are an enormous financial burden on the New Zealand economy.

Three widely-used frameworks for understanding and tackling family and sexual violence – the ecological model, “wicked problems”, and “collective impact” – all emphasise the need for cross-sector collaboration, multi-agency partnerships, and a focus on community- and societal-level risk factors, not just individual-level risks.

Recent efforts to address family and sexual violence in the State of Victoria, Australia, and Scotland both highlight the importance of collaboration, institutional commitment, evaluation, and a long-term focus in dealing with family and sexual violence.

Moving forward, Auckland needs:

- A shared understanding of the key issues at stake and the best ways to approach family and sexual violence prevention and intervention;
- Shared training to ensure effective cross-sector collaboration;
- A national framework or strategy to guide work in this area;
- Clear guidelines on the accountability of different organisations working towards violence prevention and intervention;
- A built-in system of evaluating the effectiveness of action in the family and sexual violence;
- A focus on using evidence to shape and rework policy; and
- An effort to deliver culturally-appropriate violence prevention and intervention services.

No one organisation or sector can combat family and sexual violence within the

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Auckland region alone, the literature suggests, however, that councils can act as a leader in this area, have an impact in supporting government, organisations and community groups to work together, and can demonstrate an institutional commitment to tackling these problems. The literature also suggests that councils can take a lead in the area by developing a multi sector action plan to support collaborative efforts to reduce family and sexual violence.

The literature suggests that to be effective a plan needs to:

- Address social and cultural norms,
- Target key educational, organisational and community settings;
- Target and engage specific groups;
- Address associated factors which can exacerbate or intensify violence against women.

Background

Purpose

This literature review is aimed at outlining where New Zealand sits on matters of family and sexual violence – both in terms of impacts and in terms of current policies and programmes – and what steps we might take as a nation to address these issues. We particularly pay attention to the role that local government bodies such as the Auckland Council can play in addressing violence.

We provide an overview of a number of key areas relating to sexual and family violence:

- Patterns, definitions, and impacts of family and sexual violence in New Zealand;
- Widely used frameworks for understanding and taking action against family and sexual violence;
- National and international case studies of successful violence intervention and prevention efforts;
- Characteristics of successful campaigns; and
- Steps that councils might take to address family and sexual violence.

Limitations

Note that this report does not focus on what works for Maori. The Ministry of Women's Affairs has undertaken research that looks specifically at primary prevention of violence and what works for Maori. This report is due to be completed at the end of June 2014. The report will be shared upon release.

Family and sexual violence in New Zealand

Family and sexual violence are significant issues within New Zealand. However, the scope of the problem is difficult to quantify, since incidents are rarely reported to police, and New Zealand – in spite of criticism from the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC) – has yet to adopt a set of definitive data measures with regard to domestic violence and child abuse. Based on what we do know, we can conclude that family and sexual violence are at epidemic levels within New Zealand, and that there is a need for a greater level of government commitment to addressing and preventing these crimes.

Currently, there is a lack of consistency in the collection of data on family and sexual violence in New Zealand. Data come from a mixture of administrative and service provider information, and this information is often collected in non-standardised ways by separate agencies. Furthermore, this information is often not centralised or freely

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available. In addition, incidents of family and sexual violence frequently go unreported, which can make these crimes appear less prevalent than they are. New Zealand Police estimate that only 18–20% of family violence is reported (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2013), and only 9% of sexual violence (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Backing up these estimates, Fanslow and Robinson (2010) found that only 12.8% of women they interviewed about sexual violence had spoken to the police about the violence they experienced (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010). However, it appears that there has recently been an increase in the reporting of family and domestic violence to authorities (Ministry of Social Development, 2011).

In spite of data collection issues, we know that family and sexual violence are major issues in New Zealand, and affect a significant number of New Zealanders. In spite of low rates of reporting, there were 87,622 family violence investigations by the New Zealand Police in 2012 alone, with 101,293 children connected to these investigations (NZFVC, 2013). Furthermore, Child, Youth and Family received 152,800 reports concerning violence towards children in 2011 and 2012. Of these, 61,074 were deemed to require further action, and a total of 21,525 resulted in a finding of abuse or neglect (NZFVC, 2013). During this same period, Women's Refuge received 85,794 crisis calls to its 0800 help line (NZFVC 2013). Survey- and interview-based studies have also revealed that a large proportion of New Zealanders experience sexual violence within their lifetimes, though most do not report these results to authorities. For example, a study by Fanslow and Robinson (2004) suggested that one in three New Zealand women will experience physical and sexual violence from an intimate partner, and the 2006 crime and safety survey found that 29% of women and 9% of men experience unwanted and distressing sexual violence within their lifetimes (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Because sexual and family violence are so widespread within New Zealand, in the language of public health they are said to be at epidemic levels.

This epidemic has major costs for individuals and for the nation as a whole. Family violence not only has the potential to negatively impact individuals' physical and emotional health, but it also has an enormous impact on the New Zealand economy. Sexual violence is on average New Zealand's most costly crime per incident, and is estimated to cost roughly \$1.2 billion annually (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Similarly, conservative calculations put the economic cost of family violence at around \$2 billion each year (Snively, 1996), which is around 1% of New Zealand's GDP. To put this in perspective, the cost to the nation in terms of loss of life and financial cost is equal to that of the Christchurch earthquakes every four years.

Although family and sexual violence are serious issues around the world, they are particularly serious within New Zealand. New Zealand's rates of violence against women and children are the highest in the OECD (UN Women NZ, 2011). This state of affairs has led the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to express its concerns about New Zealand's persistently high levels of violence against

The most recent national strategy aimed at tackling family and sexual violence, called *Te Rito*, was written in 2002 (Ministry of Social Development, 2002). *Te Rito* was developed with significant community consultation, and a number of community

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networks aimed at addressing sexual and family violence at a local level were named after this strategy (Te Rito Networks).

Primary prevention was one of the three priority areas for the Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence (TASV) in New Zealand between 2007 and 2009.^[1] The prevention of sexual violence is currently in the forefront of several government initiatives, with a Ministry of Social Development-led sector review underway and a Select Committee inquiry into funding for the specialist sexual violence response sector hearing oral submissions throughout 2014. Both of these areas of government inquiry feature a primary prevention stream. Additionally, sexual violence prevention has been identified as a priority area in the Cross-Government Injury Prevention Action Plan^[2]

Who is at risk of family or sexual violence?

Interpersonal violence knows no socioeconomic or ethnic boundaries, and is present across all parts of society. However, some groups – such as young women, Māori women, migrant women, and people with disabilities – are disproportionately impacted by family and sexual violence. The first report from the Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence (Ministry of Justice, 2009) revealed that young women and Māori women were twice as likely as others to experience sexual violence, and that Pacific young people are also disproportionately likely to experience unwanted sexual contact (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Furthermore, international research has suggested that 50–90% of disabled women have experienced violence (Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2012).

There is disagreement about the relationship that violence has with key markers such as poverty, low educational attainment, low socio-economic status, sole parenting, drug and alcohol dependence, and mental health concerns. Some researchers view these markers as causes of family and sexual violence, though others see these factors as co-existing with violence, or as consequences of the abuse itself.

While the victims are most often women and children, males tend to be the perpetrators of the most severe and lethal domestic violence (Ministry of Social Development, 2006). Recognising the gendered nature of violence and its disproportionate impact on certain groups is critical in all evidence-based work focussing on prevention and intervention in family and sexual violence.

Definitions and legislation

Definition of family violence

The terms “family violence” and “domestic violence” are used interchangeably in New Zealand. The most commonly used definition of family/domestic violence is taken from the original Te Rito strategy document (Ministry of Social Development, 2002):

^[1] Ministry of Justice (2009), *Te Toiora Mata Tauherenga – Report of the Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence*

^[2] Dickson, S. (2013). Background Information. *Request for Research Assistance*. ACC.

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Family violence covers a broad range of controlling behaviours, commonly of a physical, sexual, and/or psychological nature which typically involve fear, intimidation and emotional deprivation. It occurs within a variety of close interpersonal relationships, such as between partners, parents and children, siblings, and in other relationships. Common forms of violence in families/whanau include:

- Spouse/partner abuse (violence among adult partners);
- Child abuse/neglect (abuse/neglect of children by an adult);
- Elder abuse/neglect (abuse/neglect of older people aged approximately 65 years and over, by a person with whom they have a relationship of trust);
- Parental abuse (violence perpetrated by a child against their parent); and
- Sibling abuse (violence among siblings).

The Domestic Violence Act

The Domestic Violence Act of 1995 is the primary piece of New Zealand legislation pertaining to family violence. The Act makes it a criminal offence for anyone to commit physical, sexual, or psychological violence on someone with whom they have a domestic relationship. Domestic relationships are defined as relationships between spouses or partners, family members, people who ordinarily share a household and others who have a close personal relationship. Landlord-tenant and employer-employee relationships are excluded from this definition. The Act also makes provision for the issue of Protection Orders for people experiencing violence. A Protection Order is a court order that recognises someone as a victim of violence, and determines that his or her immediate safety is the concern of the Court. Despite the increased rates of reporting of violence to agencies, there has been a steadily decreasing number of Protection Orders granted, which is of concern due to the high number of women and children experiencing violence.

Definition of sexual violence

Sexual violence is defined by the Ministry of Justice (2004) as:

any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, sexual harassment, or act directed against a person's sexuality, using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting. This includes various forms and contexts of sexual violence such as rape (within a relationship and by strangers or acquaintances), sexual abuse of mentally or physically disabled people and sexual abuse of children.

As this literature review is focussed on both family and sexual violence, it's important to clarify that sexual violence and family violence have significant overlaps. Violence can be broadly classified as physical, sexual, and/or psychological, and any of these forms of violence can take place in a familial or domestic context. Evidence suggests that most sexual violence takes place within familial or domestic relationships: according to 2006 crime and safety survey, 73% of sexual assaults against women and 54% of those against

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men were perpetrated by a partner, ex-partner, or other family member (Mayhew & Reilly, 2009).
cases take place outside of traditional familial relationships.

How ever, th is a so n

Collaboration in violence prevention

The need for cross-sector collaboration

A landmark report on sexual violence by the World Health Organization (Krug et al., 2002) identified violence against women as a public health issue, and offered suggestions for national violence prevention strategies. Among other things, the report concluded that collaboration across all sectors is necessary for effectively preventing family and sexual violence. The same need for cross-sector collaboration was identified in Te Rito, New Zealand's Family Violence Prevention Strategy (Ministry of Social Development 2002):

Given the indicative level and nature of violence in New Zealand families/whānau and the breadth and complexity of the problem, an integrated, multi-faceted, whole-of-government and community approach to preventing the occurrence and reoccurrence of violence in families/whānau was required.

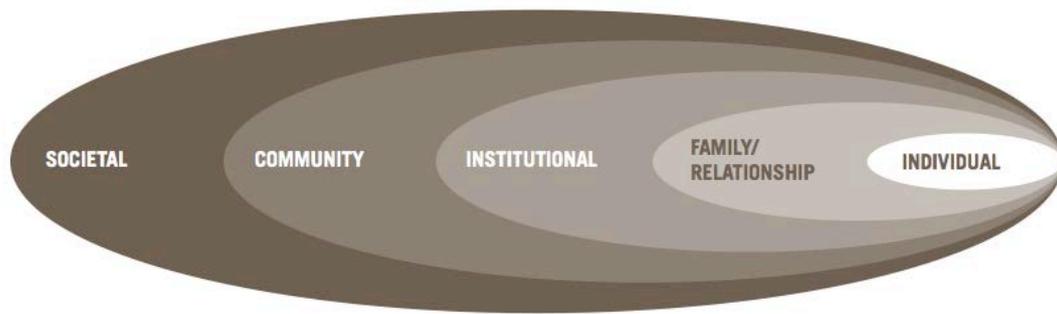
In the decade since the Te Rito strategy was released there has been increasing consensus among researchers and policy-makers that efforts to tackle family violence must involve effective cross-sector collaboration. This consensus is founded on a number of widely used frameworks for understanding family violence, including the ecological model, the concept of “wicked problems”, and “collective impact”. These frameworks all emphasise a need for collaboration and a vision of family violence that includes not only the individual, but also community- and societal-level factors.

Working towards cross-sector collaboration: the ecological model

The ecological model developed by the Krug et al. (2002) provides a useful framework for understanding the relationships between the different spheres in which family and sexual violence take place. A truly collaborative prevention strategy must engage with all of these levels in order to effect change.

The ecological model and family violence

The ecological model classifies risk factors according to whether they take place at a societal, community, institutional, family, or individual level. Traditionally, the bulk of activity and funding in the family violence sphere has been focussed at the individual and relationship levels in direct response to violence or threats of violence. However, a collaborative cross-sector approach to family violence prevention must also consider the broader societal, community, and institutional contexts in which violence takes place.



Source: World Report on Violence and Health, Krug et al 2002.

Figure 1: The Ecological Model, from Krug et al. (2002).

Individual

Individual factors include biological and personal history factors that increase a person's likelihood of experiencing family violence. Prevention strategies at this level are often designed to promote attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours that work towards preventing violence.

Family / Relationship

Close friends and familial relationships have a big impact on the likelihood that an individual will experience violence. For example, living alongside someone with a past history of violence increases a person's chance of experiencing family violence. Family or peer group norms about the acceptability of violence also affect the likelihood that an individual will experience violence.

Institutional

The cultures of institutions also have an enormous impact on patterns of family violence and prevention efforts. Positive institutional cultures that focus on the safety of victims and the accountability of perpetrators are vital for successful violence prevention.

Community

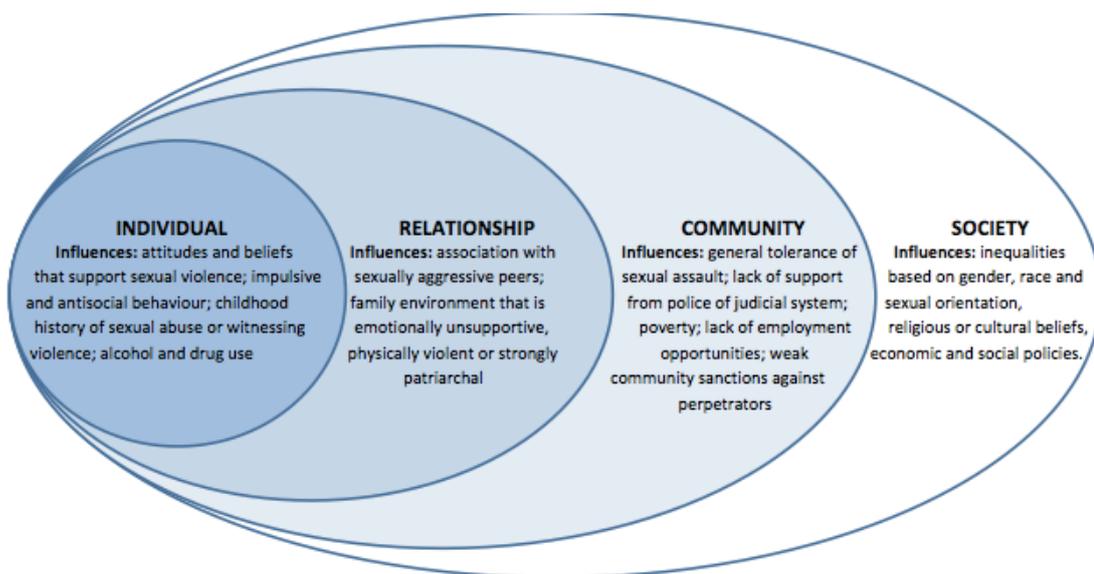
Community factors include schools, workplaces, and neighbourhoods in which social relationships occur. Researchers have found that opportunities for violence are greater in communities without good "glue" to hold them together. These neighbourhoods are characterised by high levels of mobility (people moving into and out of the neighbourhood frequently), high levels of density, diversity, and social isolation.

Societal

Societal factors such as social norms have a significant impact on the prevalence of family violence. For example, the acceptance of violence as a suitable way of resolving conflict, entrenched gender roles that privilege men over women, and the notion that children's welfare is less important than parents' rights all contribute to creating an environment of risk. Successful violence prevention efforts must directly address these societal factors.

The ecological model and sexual violence

“Te Ohaakii a Hine – National Network of Ending Sexual Violence Together” (TOAH-NNEST), which is involved with the Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, has adapted the ecological model for specifically looking at sexual violence. As for looking at patterns of family violence, the ecological model provides a useful framework for understanding the risk factors associated with sexual violence, as described in the figure below (TOAH-NNEST, 2013).



The Ecological Model: Risk Factors for Sexual Violence

Figure 2: The Ecological Model: Risk Factors for Sexual Violence, from TOAH-NNEST (2013).

Family and sexual violence as “wicked” or complex problems

Another framework that is widely used for understanding and responding to family and sexual violence is the notion of “wicked” or highly complex problems. Rittel and Webber (1973) introduced this landmark concept in an attempt to describe social issues that can’t be effectively addressed in a traditional, linear fashion. These problems are societal-level problems that defy (and are sometimes exacerbated by) logical or simplistic interventions, and are therefore highly resistant to resolution. Such problems include issues such as poverty, obesity, and violence. The hallmarks of these complex problems are:

- The nature and extent of the problem are difficult to define;
- They are multi-causal and have many interdependencies;
- Attempts to address them can result in unforeseen consequences;

Collaboration in violence prevention

- They are not stable, and are socially complex;
- They hardly ever sit conveniently within the responsibility of one organisation;
- Tackling them requires behavioural change; and
- They are often characterised by chronic policy failure.

The Australian Public Service has been working towards understanding intractable policy issues within the framework of problems such as these, and has been challenging policy-makers and politicians to move away from the notion that there can be any such thing as a “quick fix” for persisting social issues (Australian Public Services Commission, 2007). Family and sexual violence fit the definition and thus require policy-makers to recognise the inherent complexity of the issues at hand.

What works?

The following strategies have been identified as important for tackling problems such as these:

Working collaboratively

Since no one agency has the ability to solve the issue in isolation, collaboration in planning and practice is a key factor for success.

Community-centricity

Communities are best placed to understand and respond to the needs of people experiencing wicked problems. While top-down co-ordination ensures that initiatives are adequately resourced and that information is shared between groups, it is critical that efforts to tackle wicked problems are localised in order to ensure that interventions reflect the values and beliefs of the community.

Flexibility and innovation

Governments tend to approach wicked problems and less complex issues in the same linear manner: they outline a clear set of outcomes, and offer government funding to those organisations that can best deliver these results. However, complex problems require a more flexible approach that fosters innovation (supported by rigorous, evaluative research). The standard outcomes-focussed model does not work for complex, persistent issues.

Long-term approach

Attempts by governments to tackle systemic problems have long been plagued by overly simplistic thinking and looking for “quick wins”. This is in part due to the frequent turnover in government in Western democracies: new governments may be unwilling to continue the policies established by their predecessors, and a government's focus on achieving measurable results within an election term can lead to very short-term thinking. However, wicked problems are not new issues, and successful efforts to tackle them must therefore be long-term.

Inter-agency working

In general, multiple agencies (both government- and community-based) are involved in responding to different aspects of these problems. However, the involvement of

multiple organisations can lead to fragmentation of services and the potential for people to fall through cracks between agencies. Effective approaches to complex problems therefore require agencies to ensure that they work together as an integrated whole. This approach goes beyond mere inter-agency collaboration, since it requires an even higher level of co-ordination and communication between agencies.

Developing a framework of accountability

Since these problems require more long-term approaches and a greater degree of inter-agency working than more straightforward issues, establishing a framework of accountability is also more challenging. Agencies involved must be aware that addressing these problems requires sustained investment over the long-term, and that results might be difficult to measure or might take a long time to be realised. Bearing these issues in mind, those agencies involved in addressing wicked problems must be clear about how they will measure outcomes and success, and how they will hold one another accountable in order to ensure sustained commitment.

Using a “collective impact” approach to address violence

These lessons about addressing complex problems resonate with a new approach known as “collective impact”, which recognises that in order to tackle complex, intractable problems we need to ensure that organisations and communities work collectively and collaboratively. We know that no agency can act in isolation to combat family and domestic violence. One reason for this is that prevention and intervention efforts are inextricably linked, and must therefore be co-ordinated.

Internationally and within New Zealand there is an increasing requirement for community organisations to demonstrate the impacts of their services in order to secure funding. Traditionally, agencies have been contracted to deliver a service or to run a campaign, and simply delivering the service or campaign was seen as enough to meet obligations and secure further funding. Only now are agencies increasingly being asked to answer the important questions: “What was the outcome of the programme or campaign?”; “How do we know it had the desired impact?”; and “Did anything change?” This new kind of assessment requires agencies to think in new ways about their programmes and projects and to develop immediate, intermediate, and long-term goals that they are able to measure their work against. As this approach becomes increasingly widespread it will help us develop a more nuanced understanding of what actions and activities are working well in tackling violence, and which actions aren't proving so effective. Asking these relevant questions is opening up a conversation about how effectively we are working towards prevention of and intervention in family and sexual violence.

The collective impact approach suggests the development of a shared agenda is one of the first crucial steps towards making an effective collaborative impact. This shared agenda allows for people to “get on the same page” in their understanding of the issue, and ensures that efforts to tackle the issue are co-ordinated and complementary. This

collective approach is crucial for effectively addressing family and sexual violence. Currently, our understandings and approaches are diverse, and range from gender-based to whānau-, child-, and culture-centered. These approaches often run counter to one another. In order to make a real impact, we need to recognise that we all want the same outcome, and that it is therefore counterproductive to pull in multiple (and often directly opposing) directions to get there.

Developing a Plan

Although Auckland is looking at the development of a regional plan, the actions outlined in the UN Handbook for National Action Plans on Violence against Women (2012) provide recommendations on how to develop a plan. In addition to acknowledging that violence against women is a violation of human rights, grounded in historically unequal power relations between men and women and discriminatory they recommend that the prevalence and impact of difference forms of violence are identified along with gaps for future work. Specifically the UN women recommend that plans:

1. Tailor strategies and actions with regards to the specific issues faced by different groups of women with the aim of equality of outcomes;
2. Outline a comprehensive, coherent and sustained programme of activity that includes,
 - Cross cutting actions to establish governance structures, participation of communities, strengthen laws and build the capacity of organisations and improve evidence
 - A coordinated strategy
 - The establishment of integrated services
 - A description of how the Plan will be implemented included the articulation of concrete goals, actions, timelines and implementing ethnicities, including links to gender equality machinery, policy and designated funding sources, and
 - Evaluation, monitoring and reporting.

The UN women also recommend that the key element of a primary prevention strategy should:

1. Address social and cultural norms, including awareness raising strategies and sensitisation of the media
2. Target key educational, organisational and community settings
3. Target and engage specific groups, such as men and boys, parents, children and young people
4. Address associated factors which can exacerbate or intensify violence against women.

Case studies

We begin by focussing on campaigns that have been carried out to tackle sexual and family violence in New Zealand, and the extent to which these have used effective cross-sector collaboration. One such campaign – which, ceased to function in 2011 – was “Amokura”, which was a community strategy developed by a consortium of iwi with the aim of preventing whānau violence in Tai Tokerau (Northland).

We then consider two highly successful international campaigns for tackling sexual and family violence, from the State of Victoria in Australia and Scotland. Both examples highlight the importance of multi-agency, cross-sector approaches that deal not only with individuals in crisis but also with societal-level risk factors.

Anti-violence campaigns in New Zealand

Current anti-violence programmes

Three recent national campaigns have been launched to tackle family and sexual violence in New Zealand. The nation-wide “It’s not OK” campaign was launched in 2007 as a flagship project of the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families. The primary focus of the campaign is to change the attitudes and behaviours of New Zealanders in relation to family violence. Thus, although the campaign is primarily targeted at the individual level, it also aims to reshape social norms around the acceptability of violence. The campaign is credited with contributing significantly to the increased reporting of violence to agencies like the New Zealand Police and social service agencies.

Two other ethnically-focussed national violence prevention campaigns are “Pasifika Proud” and “E Tu Whānau”. Both campaigns promote culturally-located messages about building strong, healthy families, whānau, and communities. Both campaigns are run by the Ministry of Social Development, and employ a number of tools to spread their messages within Pasifika and Māori communities, such as local media, brochures, DVD, cards, and posters. Again, although a key focus of these campaigns is addressing individual-level risk factors, they also make an effort to engage with broader factors relating to social norms and community cohesion.

The World Health Organization (2010) has found that media campaigns – combined with other educational opportunities – can change knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs related to intimate partner and sexual violence. Although it is difficult to assess the extent to which a social climate that supports behavioural change has been created, service providers report considerable increases in help-seeking behaviour, with some seeing almost double the number of clients than they did prior to the Campaign. Moreover, social service providers, family violence networks and communities affirm that the Campaign is creating a more supportive environment for community action, that family violence is more personally relevant for people, there is more support for and better understanding of efforts to stop family violence, there is increased morale in and

collaboration between provider organisations, and communities are mobilising around the issue (Woodley & Metzger, 2010)

Culture and community in anti-violence campaigns: learning from Amokura

There is a growing body of literature by Māori researchers and practitioners suggesting that culturally- and ethnically-focussed approaches are effective for understanding and responding to family and sexual violence. These researchers and practitioners argue that our knowledge about family and sexual violence has been primarily informed by Western understandings of these issues, and in order to address violence within Māori communities we need to reconceptualise violence in a way that considers broader issues of importance for Māori. For example, we ought to consider: the impacts of colonisation on patterns of and ideas about violence; ideas about interconnectedness between individuals within whānau, hapu, and iwi; the differences between family and whānau and the implications of this distinction for addressing violence within Māori communities; and the impacts of violence – especially sexual violence – on whakapapa and mana (Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2012).

“Amokura” was a community strategy developed by a consortium of iwi from seven Te Tai Tokerau (Māori electorates), with a focus on preventing whānau violence in Tai Tokerau (Northland). Amokura was formed in 2004, and consisted of four project areas aimed at providing a whole-of-population approach to preventing and providing early intervention in family violence, in a manner consistent with the Mauri Ora framework. These four areas were research, education and promotion, professional development and training, and advocacy (Grennell & Cram 2008). Di Grennell, Amokura's Project Manager, noted that there has been limited work done in New Zealand focussing on “societal level risk and protective factors, or interventions”, as advised by the World Health Organization (Grennell, 2005), and saw Amokura as explicitly aimed at addressing this gap. Broadly, Amokura aimed to address family violence in Tai Tokerau in three stages:

1. Dispelling the illusion that violence is normal, acceptable or culturally valid;
2. Removing the opportunity for violence to take place; and
3. Teaching transformative practices for the liberation of whanau.

Amokura aimed to achieve these goals by acting as an advocate for a zero-tolerance approach to domestic violence, promoting high-quality services that were affordable and appropriate, providing accurate information, and respecting diversity and individuals' value.

In 2008 Amokura received an international human rights award from the Leitner Centre of Fordham Law School, New York. Despite showing promise, Amokura ceased to operate in 2011 due to funding re-appropriation towards front-line family violence services.

State-wide reforms in Victoria, Australia: a “systems” approach

Two recent international efforts to address family violence – which have both employed cross-sector and multi-agency approaches – are those run in the State of Victoria, Australia, and Scotland. Rotorua has also undertaken a multi sector action plan.

Victoria

In the early 2000s, the State of Victoria developed an integrated systems response to family violence, which involved multiple agencies, organisations, and departments from communities and government. Policy-makers realised that there was no cohesive family violence service system or unifying policy umbrella to guide planning, funding, intervention, and prevention in this area. Furthermore, they recognised that efforts to address family violence involved many providers operating autonomously, and that there was little shared understanding of how to create safety for victims or to hold perpetrators accountable.

Acknowledging these issues, the State enacted a series of reforms, which have won awards for innovation and their:

- Focus on putting women and children at the centre of the response using a gender-based structural inequality analysis;
- Achievement of system-wide integration, with a focus on risk management;
- Pioneering leadership, including clear, strong political will, consistent ministerial and executive leadership, and structured governance models, including state-wide and regional advisory committees and regional co-ordination positions.

A key point to take away from the Victorian reforms is that developing a systems approach pays off, though it is a slow process and requires a high level of dedication from individuals and organisations within both government and local communities. Despite a large amount of enthusiasm and commitment, State leaders have noted that it took two years of collaboration to develop a shared understanding of family violence. New Zealand should note that the process of “getting on the same page” is slow, and requires a high level of dedication from all key players involved in reforms; there is no “quick fix”, but the benefits of enacting a systems approach are enormous.

Another important aspect of Victoria's reforms was the establishment of an evaluation framework – Safety and Accountability in Families: Evidence and Research (SAFER) – which established funding from 2008–2012 for research projects investigating patterns of family violence and the impacts of the policy reforms within the State. The objective of SAFER was to gain an understanding of how the reforms impact the safety and wellbeing of family violence victims, and what standards are employed to hold perpetrators accountable. The programme involved State-wide and site-specific research under two main streams:

1. Exploration of the perspectives and experiences of women, children, and men

- involved in family violence; and
2. Identification of the governance, pathways, and collaborative processes in place to reduce the effects of family violence in Victoria, and an assessment of how they are working.

VicHealth has also conducted important research that has helped to shape Victoria's family violence reforms. In 2004, VicHealth released a report that revealed intimate partner violence is the leading cause of preventable death, disability, and illness in Victorian women aged 15–44 years (VicHealth, 2004). Following this, VicHealth produced a framework for local governments outlining how they might take action to prevent violence against women within their local areas (VicHealth, 2009). Maribyrnong City Council has served as an example for other local councils on how to implement the VicHealth framework: in 2008 Maribyrnong obtained funding from VicHealth to trial a three-year project titled “Respect and Equity: Preventing Violence Against Women”, and has recently released a report outlining their specific strategies and successes (Maribyrnong City Council, 2012). The Council described their approach as involving seven key strategies:

1. Developing a team – headed by a Respect and Equity Coordinator – within the Council of people with skills and knowledge in gender equality and family violence;
2. Sharing Maribyrnong's experience with other local councils in order to help tackle gender and violence issues across the State;
3. Raising the profile of primary prevention services both within the council and within the Maribyrnong community through events, media, and existing programmes;
4. Normalising workplace discussions about gender equity by inviting, initiating, and promoting conversations about the causes of violence against women;
5. Influencing and adapting council business in order to place primary prevention of violence against women and gender equity into mainstream Council operations;
6. Stimulating and nurturing leadership of individuals and organisations that have developed expertise about gender equity, while emphasising that there is no single expert or leader on these matters and everyone has something to contribute; and
7. Building relationships with local community organisations such as sporting groups, businesses, other Victorian councils, and members of the State government in order to share knowledge and collaborate on tackling gender equity and violence against women.

In 2012, Victoria put together a multisector action plan, Victoria's Action Plan to Address Violence Against Women and Children: Everyone has a responsibility to act. The plan is designed to leverage partnerships with organisations and communities to:

- Prevent family violence from occurring
- Intervene earlier to identify and support women and children who are at risk of violence
- Respond to violence by holding perpetrators to account, ensure connected services are available, and provide deterrents to stop re-offending.

The lessons from the Victoria experience of the Right to Respect initiative have been distilled in the Partners for Prevention Report (Dyson, 2012). She found that a whole of government policy on stopping gender based violence before it starts requires a change in community norms and attitudes and the building of competency of agencies, institutions' and individuals to understand the root causes of violence against women, their role in sustaining it and their contribution to its elimination.

Insights Dyson (2012) identified for non-governmental organisations or individuals initiating similar programmes include:

1. Work needs to target whole communities and broad social norms as well as individual. To maximise effectiveness work need to materialise across a range of settings – schools, sporting arenas, workplaces and other institutions, the health and welfare sectors, local communities and in the media – in a coordinated and strategic way.
2. Prevention strategies must be evidence based and evidence-building. This includes drawing from the evidence to identify and address the underlying causes of violence and assessing efficacy, including monitoring and evaluation.
3. Identify and address underlying causes, using for example, an ecological model to understand the complex and intersecting factors that contribute to violence.
4. Ensure the response system is effective.
5. Stable leadership, amongst a small group of people with stable leadership and understanding of the issues, the context and the field.
6. An authorising environment that have the credibility to demonstrate the scope and impact of the problem.
7. Sharing information and engaging and educating the public.

Scotland: a partnership approach to tackling violence against women

In 2009 the Scottish Government published a document entitled, "Safer Lives: Changed Lives: A Shared Approach to Tackling Violence Against Women in Scotland". This document provided a definition, guiding principles, and a suggested focus for work addressing violence against women nationally, within local governments, and within communities. A decade of work preceded the publication of this document: in 1998, the Scottish Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) published guidelines for local authorities on tackling violence against women, and emphasised the importance of a multi-agency approach. Many publications have since been released that support and extend on the proposals made in Safer Lives.

A key element of the Scottish model is its use of a partnership approach for tackling violence against women. Under this partnership model, multi-agency partnerships (MAPs) work towards violence prevention and intervention at a local level, across four key areas (the "four Ps"): prevention, protection, provision, and participation. MAPS bring together services in a local area that have an interest in or responsibility for dealing with some aspect of violence against women. At a broader level, both national

and local governments are jointly signed up to the principles and actions described in Safer Lives, which signals that tackling violence against women is a priority at both levels of government.

Because the Scottish approach requires that local and national governments and MAPs work together towards the same vision, considerable work has gone into ensuring that guiding documents are clear and that the work of MAPs aligns with the national government's strategic direction. These documents are not prescriptive, and MAPs are therefore able to tailor their approaches based on the needs of their local areas. However, these national documents clearly set broad principles that MAPs should work towards, and provide recommendations for MAPs on how they might go about working towards violence prevention and intervention. Ensuring that MAPs work consistently towards the national vision for addressing violence requires:

- An agreed definition of violence against women;
- Clear terms of reference for MAPs and for individual agencies that make up these partnerships;
- Clear remits for partners, singly and jointly, as MAPs;
- Shared understanding and vision across the four Ps;
- Agreed action plans that address the four Ps;
- Sharing information between MAPs; and
- Consistent policies nation-wide (The Scottish Government and COSLA, 2009).

The MAPs are required to set up monitoring and evaluation frameworks for their local inter-agency activities. These measures must establish a baseline so that each MAP can assess the effectiveness of its work, and determine whether there are remaining gaps or deficiencies. While it is relatively early days for the MAPs in Scotland and no formal evaluation has yet been done, the high levels of local and central government commitment to the issue of violence against women is heartening, and exemplifies best practice in achieving evidence-based, outcome-focussed progress on this complex issue.

The Rotorua Safe Families Action Plan

The Rotorua Safe Families Action Plan created a framework for coordinated community response from a wide range of stakeholders including Central and local government, Non-government service providers and community representatives. It was not fully implemented nor evaluated.

The plan has four work streams:

- Workstream A: Community Awareness Raising - Generating a public commitment to creating safe families/whanau in Rotorua.
- Workstream S: Improving Support Services for Victims and Perpetrators - Improving service options for individuals and families/whanau affected by family violence, including individuals who want to change their own damaging behaviour within families/whanau; and improving connections and collaboration between services.

Case studies

- Workstream I: Improving Intervention Options by Statutory Agencies - Improving statutory service responses and interventions for individuals and families/whanau who are acting violently.
- Workstream N: Supporting Community-Led Neighbourhood Initiatives – - Supporting local communities to develop and lead initiatives that respond to local needs.

A leadership Group, comprised of the leaders of each workstream, was established to maintain an overview of progress across all workstream. Progress in each workstream was to be reported to all interested stakeholders and members of the community at regular Community Forums, which was also designed to create opportunities for ongoing community discussion and input. A Strategic Relationship Broker was seen as able to provide support across the workstreams, assist the development of connections between stakeholders, and establish connections between the Safe Families Action Plan and other strategic directions within the Rotorua community.

The Plan identifies:

- Leadership
- Focus of attention
- Likely stakeholders
- Resources required
- Outcomes
- References to other plans, strategies and research

Neither the plan nor its impact has been evaluated.

Preventing violence and sexual violence

What are the hallmarks of successful violence prevention efforts?

Comprehensive literature reviews and meta-analyses

There have been a number of comprehensive literature reviews and publications documenting prevention strategies and actions. It is noted that although rigorous evaluations on the efficacy of strategies and initiatives are largely lacking, many innovative interventions are underway. These are based on a well-developed understanding of risk and protective factors of violence.

The determinants identified in the literature suggest three broad themes for action:

- promoting equal and respectful relationships between men and women
- promoting non-violent social norms and reducing the effects of prior exposure to violence (especially on children)
- improving access to resources and systems of support.

Although we are able to identify some key aspects of successful intervention and prevention efforts in family and sexual violence, more research is needed to finalise this picture. Table 1 – taken from a 2010 WHO report on preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women – outlines which strategies for tackling violence have been shown to work, which have proved ineffective or have had mixed results, and which strategies are currently under-researched. In order to ensure that our policies around violence in New Zealand are effective, we should ensure that we keep up-to-date with research on overseas programmes, and continue to carefully evaluate our own efforts.

TABLE 5

Primary prevention strategies for intimate partner violence and sexual violence for which some evidence is available

STRATEGY	INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL VIOLENCE
DURING INFANCY, CHILDHOOD AND EARLY ADOLESCENCE		
Interventions for children and adolescents subjected to child maltreatment and/or exposed to intimate partner violence	□	?
School-based training to help children recognize and avoid potentially sexually abusive situations	?	□
DURING ADOLESCENCE AND EARLY ADULTHOOD		
School-based programmes to prevent dating violence	■	NA
Sexual violence prevention programmes for school and college populations	NA	?
Rape-awareness and knowledge programmes for school and college populations	NA	X
Education (as opposed to skills training) on self-defence strategies for school and college populations	NA	X
Confrontational rape prevention programmes	NA	XX
DURING ADULTHOOD		
Empowerment and participatory approaches for addressing gender inequality: Microfinance and gender-equality training	□	?
Empowerment and participatory approaches for addressing gender inequality: Communication and relationship skills training (e.g. Stepping Stones)	□	?
Home-visitation programmes with an intimate partner violence component	?	?
ALL LIFE STAGES		
Reduce access to and harmful use of alcohol	□	?
Change social and cultural gender norms through the use of social norms theory	?	□
Change social and cultural gender norms through media awareness campaigns	□	?
Change social and cultural gender norms through working with men and boys	□	?

- **Effective:** strategies which include one or more programmes demonstrated to be effective; effective refers to being supported by multiple well-designed studies showing prevention of perpetration and/or experiencing of intimate partner and/or sexual violence;
- **Emerging evidence of effectiveness:** strategies which include one or more programmes for which evidence of effectiveness is emerging; emerging evidence refers to being supported by one well-designed study showing prevention of perpetration and/or experiencing of intimate partner and/or sexual violence or studies showing positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and beliefs related to intimate partner violence and/or sexual violence;
- ? **Effectiveness unclear:** strategies which include one or more programmes of unclear effectiveness due to insufficient or mixed evidence;
- X **Emerging evidence of ineffectiveness:** strategies which include one or more programmes for which evidence of ineffectiveness is emerging; emerging evidence refers to being supported by one well-designed study showing lack of prevention of perpetration and/or experiencing of intimate partner and/or sexual violence or studies showing an absence of changes in knowledge, attitudes and beliefs related to intimate partner violence and/or sexual violence;
- X **Ineffective:** strategies which include one or more programmes shown to be ineffective; ineffective refers to being supported by multiple well-designed studies showing lack of prevention of perpetration and/or experiencing of intimate partner and/or sexual violence;
- XX **Probably harmful:** strategies which include at least one well-designed study showing an increase in perpetration and/or experiencing of intimate partner and/or sexual violence or negative changes in knowledge, attitudes and beliefs related to intimate partner and/or sexual violence;
- NA Not applicable.

Table 1: World Health Organization table describing evidence for the effectiveness of different strategies aimed at preventing intimate partner and sexual violence (WHO, 2010).

Recognising the overlap with intervention

The hallmarks of successful prevention work are multi-faceted and inextricably linked to effective intervention. We know that few people simply “become” abusive in isolation; there is almost always an inter-generational pattern of violence. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the line between prevention and early intervention is often blurred.

Because of the significant overlap between primary prevention and early intervention, prevention efforts also need to look at the efficacy and capacity of the service provision sector.

Effective prevention of violence must also be grounded in a system that responds swiftly and effectively to those experiencing violence. We must have confidence that those who need crisis services are ensured prompt, high-quality support. Unfortunately, the service delivery sector in New Zealand is currently highly fragmented, and it is often unable to respond effectively to the high demand for services from victims of violence. It is imperative for social and ethical reasons that every victim who seeks help receives all the support that they need, and there can be no room for them to slip between the cracks. Furthermore, we know that one of the best methods for preventing inter-generational violence is to not only respond effectively to those seeking help, but to also reach out to their children. This is a particularly important point to note for planning large-scale social marketing campaigns.

Recommendations from the Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence

The Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence was established in 2007 for a two-year period to provide leadership in the area of sexual violence, coordinate efforts between agencies, and advise the New Zealand government on future actions that ought to be taken to effectively prevent and respond to sexual violence. In 2009 the Taskforce published a report, in which it called on the government to enact the following recommendations:

- Offer sustainable funding for specialist sexual violence primary prevention programmes;
- Ensure that Te Ohaakii a Hine – National Network for Ending Sexual Violence Together (TOAH-NNEST) is resourced to continue its work with government, and among other things ensure that TOAH-NNEST has the opportunity to inform the national Sexual Violence Prevention Plan;
- Complete the Sexual Violence Prevention Plan and circulate the Plan for public consultation; and
- Ensure that work on child sexual abuse and adult rape is undertaken as part of the work of the “It’s not OK” campaign.

The Taskforce has been disbanded.

Other important hallmarks of effective intervention and prevention

A shared understanding and common goals driven from a national level:

Lessons from overseas indicate that time must be taken to ensure that the many different agencies involved in family and sexual violence develop a shared understanding of the key issues at stake and the best ways to approach prevention and intervention. For example, it is important for all organisations working on family violence in New Zealand to recognise that the largest portion of family violence cases are intimate partner violence, and that patterns of abuse are highly gendered. The New Zealand government has yet to undertake a comprehensive evidence-based analysis of family and sexual violence, and has yet to establish a clear framework for a national cross-sector, inter-agency strategy for dealing with violence. In order to affect real change these steps must be taken.

Shared training

Once a shared understanding of the issues and strategies has been established, shared training across agencies involved in family and sexual violence reinforces a strong “knowledge base” for prevention and intervention efforts. Shared training also builds relationships and trust across agencies and sectors involved in this work. There is currently no standardised training for practitioners involved in sexual and family violence prevention and intervention; rather, training is usually ad-hoc and locally-organised. If we hope to make real progress towards combatting sexual violence we must ensure that agencies involved in intervention and prevention receive the same standardised training.

A national framework or strategy to guide work

International cases of successful integrated, multi-agency work on family and sexual violence have been supported by national policies to guide action at a state, regional, and community level. As the ecological model suggests, effective prevention requires action at institutional and societal levels, not just at the level of the individual. In order to ensure the success of institutional and societal interventions, we need to provide national guidelines to ensure the consistency of front-line service delivery and violence prevention campaigns. New Zealand currently has no national strategy or framework to guide work in the prevention and intervention of family and sexual violence.

Strong leadership

Strong leadership is crucial for building a shared understanding of family and sexual violence and for ensuring that effective intervention occurs. Leadership is required at all levels, from political leadership at a national level to leadership by those within institutions and organisations who are part of the solution. The evidence is clear that national leadership provides an important mandate for state, regional, and local communities to break down some of the highly fragmented environments in which practitioners operate to increase collaborative practice.

Accountability

Given that family and sexual violence are complex, “wicked” problems, successful intervention depends on collaborative work involving multiple organisations and sectors. However, collaborative ways of working also require clear guidelines of accountability to ensure that all parties involved are doing their part to tackle the problem at hand. This accountability must be present at individual, organisational, and strategy levels, and relies on the development of clear assessment tools.

Evaluation

Building evaluative research into local- and national-level work is a key aspect of any successful campaign against family and sexual violence. In order to effect change in this area we need to be able to judge whether current policies and practices are working, so that we can learn from past mistakes and successes. Such evaluation is only possible if we have rigorous research to draw on.

Evidence-based policy

The best work done in the family and sexual violence sector is based on evidence about what works well. To this end, this literature review has aimed to highlight the necessity of using research as a foundation for developing successful violence prevention strategies. Unfortunately, research in this area is relatively young, which means that the evidence base about what works conclusively in violence prevention lacks depth.

Culturally relevant intervention and prevention

A significant body of literature documents the need for culturally-appropriate work in the prevention and intervention of family and sexual violence. Too often, violence prevention efforts assume mainstream, Pākeha values and are consequently less applicable to other cultural groups in New Zealand. Māori researchers and practitioners have persuasively argued that European-centric approaches to violence have failed Māori to date. These researchers and practitioners have instead begun to forge a new body of literature that locates the elimination of whānau violence within Te ao Maori.

A role for Councils

No one organisation or sector can combat family and sexual violence within the Auckland region alone, the literature suggests, however, that councils can act as a leader in this area, have an impact in supporting government, organisations and community groups to work together, and can demonstrate an institutional commitment to tackling these problems. Auckland Council, therefore, could usefully take a lead in this area, facilitating and coordinating the multi sector action plan, acting as a broker, bringing government agencies, the NGO sector and community groups together and providing support so that a plan to address family and sexual violence can be developed and implemented.

Preventing violence and sexual violence

The plan needs to recognise the value and contribution of the different community groups, sectors and agencies. Auckland Council, for example, is in a unique role and can further support a plan by:

- Providing information for Local Boards about family and sexual violence, and informing them of local family violence initiatives that are shown to be effective within their local communities;
- Advocating to central Government for a national strategy to address family and sexual violence and for sustainable funding for agencies providing services to people living with violence;
- Addressing gaps in information, such as a service map of agencies working towards violence prevention and intervention within Auckland to identify gaps and strengths.

Summary

Although there are significant issues around data collection, we know that family and sexual violence are at epidemic levels within New Zealand, affect a large number of New Zealanders, and are an enormous financial burden on the New Zealand economy.

Three widely-used frameworks for understanding and tackling family and sexual violence – the ecological model, “wicked” or complex problems, and “collective impact” – all emphasise the need for cross-sector collaboration, multi-agency partnerships, and a focus on community- and societal-level risk factors, not just individual-level risks.

Recent efforts to address family and sexual violence in the State of Victoria, Australia, and Scotland both highlight the importance of collaboration, institutional commitment, evaluation, and a long-term focus in dealing with family and sexual violence.

The literature suggests that an effective multi sector action plan should:

- Address social and cultural norms, including awareness raising strategies and sensitisation of the media;
- Target key educational, organisational and community settings;
- Target and engage specific groups, such as men and boys, parents, children and young people;
- Address associated factors which can exacerbate or intensify violence against women.

Moving forward, the literature suggests that Auckland needs:

- A shared understanding of the key issues at stake and the best ways to approach family and sexual violence prevention and intervention;
- Shared training to ensure effective cross-sector collaboration;
- A framework or strategy to guide work in this area;
- Clear guidelines on the accountability of different organisations working towards violence prevention and intervention;
- A built-in system of evaluating the effectiveness of action in the family and sexual violence;
- A focus on using evidence to shape and rework policy; and
- An effort to deliver culturally-appropriate violence prevention and intervention services
- Support collaborative efforts that address community and societal level risk factors in addition to individual level risks.

The literature also suggests that councils can take a lead in the area by supporting collaborative efforts to reduce family and sexual violence. The development of a multi sector action plan can help support these collaborative efforts.

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Appendix 1: Example of workstream in Rotorua Action Plan	
Workstream A: Community Awareness Raising	
<i>Interim Leadership</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rotorua District Council • Lakes District Health Board (Communications Team) • Ministry of Social Development (Communications Team) • Ahu Whakatika – Challenge Violence Trust • Te Puni Kokiri
<i>Focus of attention</i>	<p>Generating a public commitment to creating safe families/whanau in Rotorua.</p> <p>Examples of Action:</p> <p>a) Providing local support for the national ‘It’s Not OK’ campaign, for example through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness raising about local services. • Rotorua community articulates and promotes a statement of community values (for example ‘physical, verbal or sexual violence is not tolerated by the Rotorua community’). • Creating opportunities for well-known local people to profile campaign messages. • Considering opportunities for Rotorua District council to profile campaign messages (for example printed on rubbish bags, displayed on RDC vehicles, displaying posters at events) • Working with Environment Bay of Plenty to display campaign messages on buses. <p>b) Holding Mayoral forums with an invitation to members of public to attend; hosted in a range of venue including marae.</p> <p>c) Provision of Family Violence training for local media representatives, to support well-informed media messages about family violence, and to foster media support for local awareness raising initiatives.</p> <p>d) Provision of Family Violence training for members of the Safe Families Stakeholder Group.</p> <p>e) Supporting local service providers to integrate promotion of ‘It’s Not OK’ messages into their planning.</p> <p>f) Ensuring that messages include some specifically targeted towards keeping children safe</p> <p>g) Development of networks and community participation.</p>
<i>Likely stakeholders</i>	<p>Central Government Agencies</p> <p>Territorial Local Authorities (Rotorua District Council and Environment Bay of Plenty)</p> <p>Health, education and social service agencies</p>
<i>Resources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central Government Agencies • Ahu Whakatika – Challenge Violence Trust has a one year contract to focus on this area through the Homesafe Programme Re-engineering the Homesafe Programme to integrate with the Safe Families Action Plan

References

<i>Outcomes</i>	The Workstream Group will identify and develop a range of initiatives within this workstream, including expected outcomes for each initiative.
<i>Reference to</i>	Potential links with Iwi Crime Prevention Strategy Analysis of Data for Safe Families Planning, K. Cookson-Ua, 12 December 2007