Submission to the Senate Finance and Public Administration Committee Inquiry into Domestic Violence and Gender Inequality

Australian Psychological Society

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The Australian Psychological Society (APS) welcomes the opportunity to make a submission to the Senate Finance and Public Administration References Committee Inquiry into Domestic violence and gender inequality.

The APS is well placed to contribute to this consultation by identifying psychological research and best practice as it relates to community attitudes towards gender and violence, and in the prevention of violence and protection of victims from harm. The APS has developed a number of resources on domestic violence and related issues which inform this submission https://www.psychology.org.au/community/public-interest/violence/. In October 2015, the APS bulletin InPsych featured a series of articles by psychologists on domestic violence http://www.psychology.org.au/inpsych/2015/#s2

The negative impact of violence on the health and wellbeing of individuals, groups and communities is of great concern to the APS. Psychologists often work as researchers and/or service providers with individuals and groups who experience or use violence, seeking to both prevent violent behaviour and address its impacts. Psychologists and psychological research have contributed much to the knowledge base in the particular area of domestic violence.

**Understanding and responding to domestic violence**

From a psychological perspective, the APS understands domestic violence as an ongoing pattern of violent, abusive and controlling behaviours by one family member toward another family member or members, with men more likely to be the perpetrators, while women and children are most commonly the victims. The most important features of domestic violence are:

- It typically happens when one intimate partner tries to dominate or control the other
- It is a repeated pattern of behaviour
- There are many manifestations of domestic violence, and it is certainly not only about physical violence
- The victim fears for their well-being, their life or their safety
- It has devastating effects on victims, who are mainly women and children.

While men may not be inherently more violent than women, and it cannot be assumed that women are always the victims and never use violence against men, there is clear evidence that women are more likely to be victimised by a current or former intimate partner than men, more likely to be hurt enough to need medical attention, much more likely to be killed, and that the perpetrators are overwhelmingly men.
The APS specifically emphasises the need for fundamental social change to remove the cultural supports of violence against women, and considers the following principles, as outlined by Gridley and Turner (2010), central to any response to domestic and family violence:

- **Community responsibility**: Addressing violence is not a private matter but a community responsibility. Approaches that see violence against women as an individual or a relationship problem will lead to practices that are victim-blaming and unsafe.

- **Prevention**: Addressing gender inequality and raising the status of women is essential. A systems-wide approach addressing the ‘cultural facilitators’ of violence against women is needed to ensure that legal, medical and social responses serve to expand the options available to women experiencing violence, and to limit the opportunities currently afforded to perpetrators to use violence with impunity.

- **Partnership**: Community-level partnerships between women and men committed to ending violence against women need to be based on the ‘depowerment’ principle where the dominant group makes the changes and the less powerful group benefits. This requires firm accountability mechanisms and ongoing vigilance by all parties. No To Violence Male Family Violence Prevention Association and the Victorian Women’s Trust’s Be the Hero program are Australian examples of such an approach.

- **Violence**: Domestic violence can be viewed as an extension of rigid gender roles that are socially constructed and involve the sets of traditions, habits and beliefs which permit some men to assume dominance and control over women, and thus, to assume the right to use violence as a means of exercising that control.

- **Power**: Domestic violence is about gender and power. The use of violence is an abuse of power combined with opportunity. In the light of the gender imbalance in rates and patterns of domestic violence reported locally and globally, we therefore need to ask how power is so unequally divided between men and women in almost all societies, and what facilitates the opportunities for and actively encourages the abuse of that power?

**Recommendations**

*It is imperative that the link between gender inequality and inequity and domestic violence be made explicit in all discussions about the causes and consequences of domestic violence.*

*Further research into the impact of gender inequities on mental health is required to fully understand the way in which inequality is involved in creating the social supports for family violence.*
Specifically, the APS recommends

- That governments, industry, schools and community organisations work collaboratively to raise awareness of the harmful impact of sexualisation of women and girls and develop appropriate policy and legislative responses to prevent this harm.

- That state and national education departments work together to ensure all schools provide appropriate media, sex and respectful relationship education, as well as having in place policies to promote e-safety.

- That initiatives be supported which focus on children’s abilities and send strong messages to focus on what young people think, do or care about, rather than what they look like. For example, in Victoria the ‘Kick like a Girl’ program for young girls to participate in Australian Rules football, and initiatives in schools that promote prosocial, age-appropriate engagement with media and social media.

- That young people are engaged in the development and delivery of efforts to prevent, minimise and challenge cultures of sexism and sexualisation, as well as in setting the agenda for this function and in all key decision-making processes.

The APS also recommends that policies that aim to reduce gender inequality and inequity in the following areas need to be a priority for all levels of government:

- Public education campaigns and working with the media to encourage respectful attitudes and valuing of women and girls

- Ensuring that gender inequality, inequity and sexualisation are foregrounded in any efforts aimed at increasing online literacy and safety among young people

- Increasing the pay and position gap in employment between men and women

- Policies which value and support the role of carers, such as paid parental leave and carers leave entitlements, flexible working conditions, accessible, affordable childcare, and an adequate single parent pension

- Working with industry and business to explore ways of increasing women’s superannuation and other mechanisms that enable them to retire with financial security and independence

- Public health initiatives that promote positive attitudes towards women and girls, access to health and mental health services and prevention of violence.
Responding to the terms of reference

a. the role of gender inequality in all spheres of life in contributing to the prevalence of domestic violence;

Domestic violence is a gendered crime, with most perpetrators being men, and most victims being women (and children). It is widely understood to be related to unequal power relations between men and women, and therefore is at higher rates in unequal societies (UNFPA, 2008; WHO, 2010, 2005).

Inequality (the unequal distribution of resources, power and opportunity) in society between men and women underpins violence-promoting attitudes and behaviours against women. Gender inequality is a social condition characterised by unequal value afforded to men and women and limiting social norms that prescribe the type of conduct, activities, roles, interests and contributions expected from men and women (Our Watch, 2015).

At this point it is important to distinguish between equality and equity. Even though equal treatment sounds acceptable and just, it becomes unfair when it assumes that we live in a society without the deep inequalities that are evident locally and globally. Equity and equitable treatment are more desirable goals as this concept considers group needs and merit as opposed to individual merit only (Prilleltensky, 2012). An example of policies that consider equity as opposed to equality are affirmative action policies that take into account both merit and need (as well as the benefits of diversity) in an attempt to level the playing fields and minimise continued inequalities in applications and appointment processes. Striving for equity means redistributing resources where and how they are needed. In the context of domestic violence, a focus on equity means expanding the options available to those experiencing violence, and limiting the choices and entitlements available to perpetrators of violence.

While Australia has made improvements around the position of women in society, in 2014 it was still ranked 24 out of 142 countries, behind New Zealand, the UK and the USA (World Economic Forum, 2014). Australia has large disparities between men and women in areas such as income (and the gap is widening, rather than narrowing); ownership of and access to assets, including superannuation; positions of leadership, status and authority, including in governments, companies and most other sectors and fields, including those that appear female-dominated in terms of numbers; recognition for contributions (as reflected in the gender disparity in national awards in all industries); and the undertaking of caring for children and others needing care (women undertake significantly more of these types of tasks, whichever way it is examined and regardless of time spent in paid employment). This situation underpins attitudes which generally attribute greater respect and
status to men and less to women, as well as gender stereotypes and more rigid gender roles.

Gender determines the differential power and control men and women have over the socioeconomic determinants of their mental health and lives, their social position, status and treatment in society and their susceptibility and exposure to specific mental health risks (WHO, 2016). Gender inequality therefore, is therefore a critical determinant of mental health and mental illness, with gender differences in the rates of common mental disorders - depression, anxiety and somatic complaints, in which women predominate (WHO, 2016). More broadly the psychological impacts of gender inequality, such as women’s level of self-confidence, ability to be independent financially and feel valued to the same degree as men, means that their gender has a disproportionate impact on the social determinant of health on women’s lives. The social conditions of domestic violence as a gendered crime are inextricably tied to gender inequality and the disproportionate psychological harm associated with it for women.

As the World Health Organisation has identified, the morbidity associated with mental illness has received substantially more attention (e.g., gender differences in mental health conditions) than the gender specific determinants and mechanisms (such as gender role stereotypes) that promote and protect mental health and foster resilience to stress and adversity. Intimate partner violence (IPV) has been linked with poor physical and mental health of women in the international and national literature across numerous studies (Dillon, Hussain, Loxton & Rahman, 2013).

There is now emerging evidence that endorsing traditional gender norms may encourage the perpetration of violence against women (Allen & Javdani, in press). Such attitudes underpin men’s and women’s perceptions of entitlement, worth and options and these perceptions in turn underpin violent and other behaviours by men towards women. Growing boys and girls, and then men and women, look around and see that the leaders, those who make more money, those who get to make large decisions, those who are paid more, those who are promoted more frequently and to higher levels, and those who do a significantly smaller amount of housework and caring for children and other family members are far more frequently men than women.

Not surprisingly, this gendered inequitable pattern of distribution of resources shapes understandings of people’s value and power, social and interpersonal attitudes, and ultimately behaviours. Cultures that demonstrate higher rates of violence against women are those that:

- excuse, promote or justify violence as a legitimate means of solving disputes
- normalise gender inequality, and
- adhere to rigid gender roles, stereotypes and expectations.
Another contributing factor to domestic violence is the broader acceptance of controlling and abusive behaviour from men within society. Men are rewarded in some work environments for being non-collaborative, and in sporting contexts for being aggressive and brutal. And a disproportionate sense of personal entitlement is characteristic of the partners of women who are victims of domestic violence.

**Recommendation:** It is imperative that the link between gender inequality and inequity and domestic violence be made explicit in all discussions about the causes and consequences of domestic violence.

**Recommendation:** Further research into the impact of gender inequities on mental health is required to fully understand the way in which inequality is involved in creating the social supports for family violence.

### b. the role of gender stereotypes in contributing to cultural conditions which support domestic violence, including, but not limited to, messages conveyed to children and young people in:

- **i.** the marketing of toys and other products,
- **ii.** education, and
- **iii.** entertainment.

As discussed above, addressing domestic violence involves addressing gender inequality and here a range of strategies is required to address gender equity, and gender stereotypes specifically, in both the media and in society more broadly. Psychologists and other mental health professionals have become increasingly concerned about the prevalence of sexualised material in all forms of media and marketing in Australia and its role in shaping social norms around gender. In particular, the increasing exposure of such material in online environments, including access to pornography, as well as through gaming and in young people’s depictions of themselves (through social media and sexting) is of growing concern.

### Sexualisation of women and girls

Viewing highly sexualised images of women, or violent material for example, has many risks for children’s psychological development and mental health, as well as disturbing general societal effects like an increase in sexism, increased rates of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and negative impacts on how men regard women (and indeed how women regard themselves).

The values implicit in sexualised images are that physical appearance and beauty are intrinsic to self esteem and social worth, and that sexual attractiveness is a part of childhood experience. According to the American Psychological Association task force on the sexualisation of girls (APA 2010), sexualisation occurs when:

- a person’s only ascribed value comes from his or her sexual appeal and behavior, to the exclusion of other characteristics;
• a person is held to a standard that equates physical attractiveness (narrowly defined) with being sexy;
• a person is sexually objectified, and rather than being seen as a person with the capacity for independent action and decision making, is made into a thing for others’ sexual use;
• sexuality is inappropriately and prematurely imposed upon a person such as a child.

All forms of media provide examples of sexualised images, mainly of girls and women. These images are not just restricted to advertising, but include most other forms of media – television, music, music lyrics, movies, sport, video games and the internet. Also of concern are products that sexualise girls (products that promote images of sexy, sexualised people to children include clothing, make-up, dolls) and the influences of girls’ interpersonal relationships with parents, teachers and peers, who can also support and promote sexualising messages.

Evidence on the sexualisation of children, particularly girls, suggests that sexualisation has negative consequences for girls and the rest of society. According to the APA report (2010), the cumulative exposure of children and young people to sexualised images and themes has negative effects in many areas. We refer the inquiry to the full report: www.apa.org/pi/wpo/sexualization.html.

Harmful impacts of sexualisation include:
• cognitive effects - Exposure to an array of sexualising messages can lead girls to think of themselves in objectified terms (‘self-objectification’). This is a process in which girls learn to see and think of their bodies as objects of others’ desire, to be looked at and evaluated for its appearance. Self-objectification has been found to reduce young women’s ability to concentrate and focus their attention, thus leading to impaired performance on mental activities.
• depression, self-esteem and eating disorders - Research links sexualisation with three of the most common mental health problems of girls and women: eating disorders, low self-esteem, and depression or depressed mood. Vulnerable young people may be influenced by media representation of the narrow thin ideal to develop body image disturbances and eating disorders.
• sexual development - Sexualised images of children are not in keeping with the rights of children to develop as sexual beings within a developmentally appropriate timeframe. Adolescent girls who engage in self-objectification have been found to have diminished sexual health, including reduced sexual assertiveness and a decrease in protective behaviours. Frequent exposure to narrow ideals of attractiveness is associated with unrealistic and/or negative expectations concerning sexuality, and may lead to sexual problems in adulthood.
identity development; attitudes and beliefs - Sexualised advertising and marketing sends a message that what’s important is not what you think or do or care about, but what you look like. These messages impact on how children develop their understanding about their place in the world outside the immediate family. It also affects how girls conceptualise femininity and sexuality, where appearance and physical attractiveness is seen as central to women’s value, and can lead to the endorsement of narrow stereotypes of gender roles and of sexual stereotypes that depict women as sexual objects.

More general societal effects may include an increase in sexism, fewer girls pursuing careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, the idealisation of youth, increased rates of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and negative impacts on how men regard women, and on their ability to form and maintain intimate relationships with women. A related example is the common co-occurrence of aggression and sex in various media, where aggressive sexuality is presented as a sign of manliness, and women are often treated as property and/or as promiscuous. Research shows effects of viewing sexual aggression on men's attitudes, with increasing moral disengagement, and reduction of self-censure for their own acts of aggressive sexuality. Of particular concern to the APS has been the influence of pornography, violent video games and sexting in perpetrating gender stereotypes and influencing gender norms among young people.

The role of pornography in perpetrating and perpetuating gender inequality
Gender stereotypes, particularly exposure to sexualised and violent imagery are also increasingly perpetrated through online technologies. Psychologists have long recognised the role pornography has played in the sexualisation of women and girls and its potential harmful effects on children and young people. With the proliferation of the internet, and the increasingly violent nature of much pornographic content, serious concerns are now emerging within and beyond psychology about the impact on young people’s expectations of sex and sexuality, the role pornography plays in facilitating and normalising violence against women, and how it contributes more broadly to representations and normative understandings about sex, sexuality and gender in society.

Children are likely to be exposed to online technology from a very young age and increasingly have immediate and ongoing access to online environments. Among other content that is potentially harmful for children, pornography is readily available on the internet, with one source estimating that 12 per cent of all websites are pornography sites, and 25 per cent of all search engine requests are for pornography (English, 2005, cited in APA, 2010). Most boys aged from the age of 13 have seen pornography online, with access being accidental (often through search engines) and effortless (as well as anonymous). According to some sources, the average first age of exposure to pornography is 11 years, with 100% of 15 year old males and 80% of 15 year old females reporting that they have been exposed to
violent, degrading online pornography, usually before they have had a sexual experience themselves (Horvath et al, 2014). Internet pornography is a disturbing introduction into human sexuality. At the same time that pornography has become more mainstream, it has also become more aggressive. A recent content analysis of the most popular porn found that 88% of scenes included acts of physical aggression and 48% of the scenes contained verbal aggression (Horvath et al, 2014).

There is also a growing awareness in many schools of the ways in which the pervasiveness and influence of explicit sexual imagery can undermine students’ healthy development. Much of what young people are learning from pornography is problematic in that pornography conveys complex messages about gender, power, sexual health, bodies, pleasure, consent, performance, sexuality and sex, yet many young people often do not have the critical frameworks required to deconstruct and understand these messages.

The APS has also expressed concern that in reality, much pornographic content depicts unsafe sexual acts that are harmful for sexual health, and frequently overlook crucial notions of mutual pleasure (or female pleasure), respect and negotiating consent. Research on pornography imagery indicates that women more often than men are portrayed in a sexual manner (e.g., dressed in revealing clothing, with bodily postures or facial expressions that imply sexual readiness) and are objectified (e.g., used as a decorative object, or as body parts rather than a whole person).

**Video games and violence**
Exposure to violence and sexualisation also occurs via video games, which are accessible, affordable and anonymous for children and young people. They are played on computers, consoles and mobile phones or tablets by an ever-increasing number of people for longer periods of time (Arriago et al., 2013).

Children are particularly susceptible as gaming is very appealing and is often sanctioned by parents as a safe activity. Violence and sexualisation are often presented together in video gaming. Many games contain extreme violence and players often engage in gaming for many hours at a time, maximising their exposure. Content that involves sexualisation of women and often violence against women has led to the “R” classification of some games, however even games not classified as R still often involve sexualised images of the women and girls portrayed in less explicit ways.

**Sexting**
In addition, the APS has raised concerns related to the possible harmful impacts of sexting (the taking and sending of sexually explicit images). While sexting is distinctly different to pornography (and can be a healthy form of sexual exploration
and communication where it is consensual), there is increasing pressure on young people (particularly young women) to take and send sexually explicit images, with potential for intentional harm by others including cyber bullying, harassment, sexual abuse and pornographic use of the images. Schools are increasingly required to respond to incidents relating to explicit sexual imagery, including ‘sexting’ incidents, involving the circulation of sexual imagery of students. This increase in incidence reflects a shift both in the place of new technologies and the role of explicit sexual imagery in many young people’s lives.

The APS has recommended a range of cyber-safety strategies that aim to give children, along with their parents/carers and teachers, safe and responsible ways of using and accessing content online, like teaching children what to do if they come across inappropriate content, teaching them to question information sources and content (e.g., providing children with the knowledge to critique pornography and to understand that the imagery has been constructed for a commercial purpose; ask them what messages they think the images send to young people about relationship expectations), learning how to install and use filters, talking to children about where they go online, and discussing the type of sites that are appropriate for their age and those that are not, and encouraging children to enjoy a range of activities (both online and offline) to promote a range of influences in their lives.

**Education**

The APS supports the recent Australian Government policy commitment to provide respectful relationship education in all schools. Engaging children and young people in quality, relationally-based sex education is a protective factor against sexual exploitation and being a victim of abuse, and key to healthy and respectful sexual expectations and practices (Pratt, 2015). School based strategies are recommended to deliver such education, which must go beyond the mechanistic approach (reproduction, sexual diseases) to talk about expectations, norms and equipping them to be critical of the overly sexualised images and scripts they are exposed to. There is also a need for education in schools for boys and girls about the warning signs of abusive and controlling behaviour (beyond education on healthy relationships). Consequences for antisocial behaviour such as bullying must be readily available and enforced.

**Recommendation:** That governments, industry, schools and community organisations work collaboratively to raise awareness of the harmful impact of sexualisation of women and girls and develop appropriate policy and legislative responses to prevent this harm.

**Recommendation:** That state and national education departments work together to ensure all schools provide appropriate media, sex and respectful relationship education, as well as having in place policies to promote e-safety.
Recommendation: That initiatives be supported which focus on children’s abilities and send strong messages to focus on what young people think, do or care about, rather than what they look like. For example, in Victoria the ‘Kick like a Girl’ program for young girls to participate in Australian Rules football, and initiatives in schools that promote prosocial, age-appropriate engagement with media and social media.

Recommendation: That young people are engaged in the development and delivery of efforts to prevent, minimise and challenge cultures of sexism and sexualisation, as well as in setting the agenda for this function and in all key decision-making processes.

c. the role of government initiatives at every level in addressing the underlying causes of domestic violence, including the commitments under, or related to, the National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children

International research indicates that countries with relatively greater equality between men and women also have relatively lower rates of violence against women (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2002). Thus, the central and foundational focus of preventing domestic violence should be on increasing equality between men and women. From these changed material and cultural circumstances, attitudes and behaviours can be expected to change. In addition, foci of prevention should also be on changing attitudes that attribute more respect and status to men than to women and that therefore promote the cultural and relationship climate that men have the right to assert their wishes over women and to use various forms of control and potentially violence to do so. Given how widespread this form of violence is, and how embedded and supported it is, fundamental change needs to occur in both the social and material conditions and the related issue of whose needs and wishes are regarded as important and what is regarded as acceptable behaviour of men towards women.

The APS welcomes the Our Watch (2015) Change the Story: A Shared Framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia and the VicHealth Framework for the Primary Prevention of Violence against Women as strong conceptual and practical foundations for the primary prevention of men’s violence against women. These Frameworks recognises that prevention of violence against women is best guided by three interrelated foci: promoting equal relationships between women and men; promoting non-violent social norms and reducing the effects of prior exposure to violence (especially on children); and improving access to resources and systems of support. Strengthening these frameworks through a human rights and social determinants of health approach will ensure that structural and cultural factors that underpin and reinforce gender-based attitudes and behaviours are also addressed.
While the APS is not currently in a position to comment on the effectiveness or otherwise of the *National Action Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children*, we acknowledge the significance of the plan to embed violence against women as a national priority and attempt to implement the plan as a nationally consistent and strategic approach.

The APS commends the work of the Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence, in recognising that prevention strategies should aim to dismantle harmful attitudes towards women, promote gender equality and encourage respectful relationships. The Victorian Government’s forthcoming gender equality strategy is a critical platform for progressing this work, and the next step is to set out a long-term, comprehensive and coordinated approach to promoting gender equality across all walks of life.

The Royal Commission has commended workplace-based prevention programs, like Women’s Health Victoria’s *Take a Stand against Domestic Violence: it’s everyone’s business*. This program uses the workplace as a setting to change attitudes and cultures that support violence against women, and gives people the knowledge and skills to speak up against domestic violence’. These programs should be evaluated and expanded where they are found to be effective.

Some prevention programs are very promising (e.g., bystander intervention, Respectful Relationships Education In Schools, work with male advocates/champions from local communities to challenge sexism and help create gender equality in settings such as sports clubs and workplaces). A UK initiative by Thames Valley Police using animation to explain the meaning of sexual consent is a promising and creative example that has received widespread coverage on the internet: [http://www.thamesvalley.police.uk/crime-prevention/keeping-safe/consent-is-everything.htm](http://www.thamesvalley.police.uk/crime-prevention/keeping-safe/consent-is-everything.htm)

In the long-term, there needs to be a focus on challenging the aspects of hyper-masculine cultures that lead to violence against women and children. We need genuine gender equality demonstrated across society – particularly in business, politics, and not-for-profit organisations. This will require changes to childcare arrangements and cultural assumptions so that women and men share this role more equally. Multiple levels of intervention are needed not only to address the known antecedents of violence, but also to disrupt the social-cultural norms and hierarchies that provide the fertile ground for violence to persist. Allen and Javdani (in press) argue that in response to the ‘web of violence’ we need a ‘web of solutions’ that attend to the complexities defining violence, the context within which violence occurs. Furthermore, they contend that we need multiple levels of analysis of our understanding of violence that integrate not only individual and situational factors, but the sociocultural factors and inequities that shape the ultimate context which enables violence to occur. The overall task is to narrow the gender/power
gaps at global, community and interpersonal levels that facilitate violence against women and children (Gridley & Turner, 2010).

**Recommendation:** The APS recommends that policies that aim to reduce gender inequality in the following areas need to be a priority for all levels of government:

- Public education campaigns and working with the media to encourage respectful attitudes and valuing of women and girls
- Ensuring that gender inequality, inequity and sexualisation are foregrounded in any efforts aimed at increasing online literacy and safety among young people
- Increasing the pay and position gap in employment between men and women
- Policies which value and support the role of carers, such as paid parental leave and carers leave entitlements, flexible working conditions, accessible, affordable childcare, and an adequate single parent pension
- Working with industry and business to explore ways of increasing women’s superannuation and other mechanisms that enable them to retire with financial security and independence
- Public health initiatives that promote positive attitudes towards women and girls, access to health and mental health services and prevention of violence.

**About the Australian Psychological Society**

The APS is the premier professional association for psychologists in Australia, representing more than 22,000 members. Psychology is a discipline that systematically addresses the many facets of human experience and functioning at individual, family and societal levels. Psychology covers many highly specialised areas, but all psychologists share foundational training in human development and the constructs of healthy functioning. A key goal of the APS is to actively contribute psychological knowledge for the promotion and enhancement of community wellbeing.

This submission has been developed by the APS Psychology in the Public Interest section, which is dedicated to the application and communication of psychological knowledge to enhance community wellbeing and promote equitable and just treatment of all segments of society.

Psychologists have been substantially involved in collaborative, multi-disciplinary work on social issues internationally and nationally for decades. They bring their psychological skills and knowledge to enhance understandings of the individual, family and systemic issues that contribute to social problems, and to find better ways of addressing such problems.
References


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