Speaking truth to power:
The role of survivors in driving policy change on gender-based violence

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Abstract

Gender-based violence is a prevalent and persistent problem worldwide, with significant social and economic impacts on individuals and communities. One development that has emerged to bring about change is the participation of survivors of gender-based violence in public policy reform. The victims' rights movement has a long, well-documented history; however, the rise in individual survivor advocates driving policy change is more recent. Consequently, the role and impact of such advocates are under-researched. This gap is significant because governments are increasingly working with survivors to shape policy, thus, their function and the best ways to engage them require greater understanding and analysis.

This thesis asks what the appropriate role of survivors is in the development of public policy and what the most effective institutional mechanisms for engaging them are. It adopts a feminist qualitative social science research approach to address this question by exploring individual, institutional and socio-political perspectives on survivors and public policy reform. The thesis consists of two case studies and a third narrative research study regarding survivors' perspectives, presented across three articles. The first case study (Chapter 4) examines the role of Rosie Batty, a former Australian of the Year and prominent survivor, in the reform of the family violence system, particularly in the state of Victoria. The second case study (Chapter 5) investigates the risks and challenges of governments engaging survivors in co-producing public value, drawing on an analysis of the first three years of the Victorian Government's Victim Survivors' Advisory Council. The final study (Chapter 6) integrates the findings from both case studies through the distinct lens of marginalised survivors and examines what they have found to be most effective in driving policy change.

The research findings provide evidence for the agency of survivors in generating community support for action on gender-based violence. However, the research also identifies the crucial role of survivors as 'outsiders' who challenge institutional complacency and motivate stakeholders around shared objectives. The overall findings reveal some essential pre-conditions for change, including the groundwork established by women's movements. They highlight the risks of reinforcing power imbalances and gendered norms when engaging survivors through state institutions. The thesis suggests that there should be explicit mechanisms for addressing role clarity and power imbalances when involving survivors in public policy development. The thesis contributes unique scholarly and practical insights on how survivors' voices and experiential knowledge—as a distinct way of knowing—can improve public policy.

Thesis including published works declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

This thesis includes one original paper published in a peer-reviewed journal and two papers submitted to publications. The core theme of the thesis is the role of survivors of gender-based violence in driving policy change. The ideas, development and writing up of all the papers in the thesis were the principal responsibility of myself, the student, working within the Monash Sustainable Development Institute under the supervision of Associate Professor Asher Flynn, Professor Jacqui True and Abby Wild.

The inclusion of co-authors reflects that the work came from an active collaboration between researchers and acknowledges input into team-based research. In the case of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 my contribution to the work involved the following:

Table 1. Published works included in this thesis

Thesis chapter	Publication title	Status[1]	Nature and % of student contribution	Co-author name(s), nature and % of co-author's contribution	Co-author(s), Monash student Y/N*
4	The Batty effect: Victim-survivors and domestic and family violence policy change	Published *Violence Against Women*, Q1	80%. Concept, coding, analysis, drafting	1) Jacqui True, concept, paper drafting 10% 2) Asher Flynn, paper drafting 5% 3) Abby Wild, paper drafting 5%	No No No
5.	Survivors and gender-based violence policy reform: Assessing the risks and the public value	Submitted Journal of *Gender-Based Violence*[2]	85%. Concept, coding, analysis, drafting	1) Asher Flynn, concept, paper drafting 5% 2) Jacqui True, concept, paper drafting 5% 3) Abby Wild, paper drafting 5%	No No No

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[1] Note: quartiles are from Scimago Journal & Country Rank.

[2] Note: the Journal of Gender-Based Violence is a new journal, established in 2017, and as such it is not currently ranked on Scimago. It is however listed on Clarivate as a Q3 journal in the categories of women's studies, criminology and penology.

| 6. | Survivor perspectives: What works for survivors of gender-based violence in public advocacy / activism | Submitted *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy,* Q2 | 90%. Concept, coding, analysis, drafting | 1) Asher Flynn, paper drafting 5% | No |
| | | | | 2) Abby Wild, paper drafting 5% | No |

I have not renumbered sections of submitted or published papers in order to generate a consistent presentation within the thesis.

Student name: Lisa Janelle Wheildon

Student signature: **Date:** 20/03/2022

I hereby certify that the above declaration correctly reflects the nature and extent of the student's and co-authors' contributions to this work. In instances where I am not the responsible author I have consulted with the responsible author to agree on the respective contributions of the authors.

Main Supervisor name: Dr Asher Flynn

Main Supervisor signature: **Date:** 20/03/2022

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In the first weeks of the PhD, people warned me that it would be a roller-coaster ride of highs and lows, but nobody could have predicted the constant bombardment of unprecedented issues that arose over the past four years, in large part due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This PhD quest has been a roller-coaster ride/battle royale! Thankfully, I had many people from many villages supporting me in developing this thesis/child. I shall attempt to acknowledge as many of them as I can here.

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge the assistance provided by Accredited Editor Julia Farrell (B.Arts, Dip Professional Writing and Editing, and IPEd accreditation), in the form of copyediting and formatting of this thesis, and graphic designer Andrea Stanning, who has helped with the design and presentation of the dissertation.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
ANZSOG	Australia and New Zealand School of Government
AOD	Alcohol and other drug
APSC	Australian Public Service Commission
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
DVA	Domestic violence and abuse
DV NSW	Domestic Violence New South Wales
DV Vic	Domestic Violence Victoria (now named Safe and Equal)
FSV	Family Safety Victoria
FVRIM	Family Violence Reform Implementation Monitor
GBV	Gender-based violence
GRIP	Graduate Research Industry Partnership
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex and other sexually or gender diverse. The + sign is generally used to represent genders and sexualities outside of the letters LGBTQI, including people who are questioning their gender or sexuality. Other variations of this acronym exist.
National Plan	*National plan to reduce violence against women and their children 2010–2022* and *National plan to end violence against women and children 2022-2032: Our commitment to ending all forms of gender-based violence.*

NCAS	National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
VAWG	Violence against women and girls
VicHealth	Victorian Health Promotion Foundation
VLE report	*Valuing the lived experience* report
VSAC	Victim Survivors' Advisory Council
WEAVERS	Women and their Children who have Experienced Abuse and Violence: Researchers and advisors project

Chapter 1: Introduction

'when women speak truly they speak subversively – they can't help it: if you're underneath, if you're kept down, you break out, you subvert. We are volcanoes. When we women offer our experience as our truth, as human truth, all the maps change. There are new mountains. That's what I want – to hear you erupting. You young Mount St. Helenses who don't know the power in you – I want to hear you.'

(Le Guin, 1989)

1.1 Research problem

Gender-based violence (GBV)[3] is one of Australia's most serious social problems. Its impact is felt across public systems, including healthcare, justice, education, employment and housing. GBV disproportionately affects women and girls, with estimates from Australia's Personal Safety Survey indicating that one in four women (23% or 2.2 million) has experienced at least one incident of violence by an intimate partner since the age of 15, compared to one in thirteen men (7.8% or 703,700) (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2017). In 2019–20 women were the victims in 36 of the 45 intimate partner homicides (80%) the occurred in Australia, and men were the victims in nine incidents (20%) (Serpell et al., 2022, p. 4). Intimate partner violence contributes more to the burden of disease (the impact of illness, disability and premature death) of adult women in their reproductive age (18–44 years) than any other risk factor (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS), 2018a). Around one-fifth of hospitalisations for assault injuries are due to partner violence (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), 2019, p. 28). Approximately one-third of civil cases finalised in magistrates' courts involve family or domestic violence protection orders (AIHW, 2019, p. 24). Domestic and family violence also have devastating impacts on children through exposure to violence and direct violence. These types of violence often co-occur with child abuse, including child sexual abuse (Campo, 2015). GBV is not only a criminal justice issue and a violation of human rights, but it also generates enormous economic costs for women, families and communities. In 2015-2016 intimate partner violence

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[3] Details regarding the terminology used throughout the thesis are provided on pages 28-29.

against women and children in Australia cost an estimated $22 billion (KPMG, 2016, p. 4).

GBV is also a persistent problem. At the time of writing, a successor plan to Australia's *National plan to reduce violence against women and their children 2010-2022* is in development. Yet, despite considerable efforts to reduce GBV over recent decades, national population surveys show that partner violence and sexual violence rates have remained relatively stable since 2005 (AIHW, 2019, p. 10). Indeed recent research reports reveal that GBV may be increasing. Since the advent of the global COVID-19 crisis, the severity of incidents of violence against women and girls in Australia has intensified (ANROWS, 2021; Flynn et al., 2021; Pfitzner et al., 2020), and in some cases, the number of incidents has increased, as Victoria Police data in Table 2 shows. A 2020 survey from the Australian Institute of Criminology found that among women who had experienced physical or sexual violence from their current or former cohabiting partner before February 2020, more than half said the violence had increased in frequency or severity in the last three months (ANROWS, 2021). The survey also found that for many women, violence had started for the first time in the three months before the survey (ANROWS, 2021).

Table 2. Victoria Police Family Violence Intervention Orders sought by police and Safety Notices issued by police

Family Violence Intervention Orders sought by police					
	2015–16	2016–17	2017–18	2018–19	2019–20
Recorded	11,407	12,072	11,882	13,536	14,555
Not recorded	66,580	64,404	64,211	69,115	73,659
Safety Notices issued by police					
	2015–16	2016–17	2017–18	2018–19	2019–20
Recorded	11,567	11,378	11,423	12,606	12,984
Not recorded	66,420	65,098	64,670	70,045	75,230

Note. Victoria Police can apply for a Family Violence Intervention Order for a person experiencing family violence. It can issue a Family Violence Safety Notice to immediately protect the affected family members before an intervention order can be heard in court. Data from the Crime Statistics Agency Victoria (2020).

A wicked policy problem

The drivers of GBV are complex, dynamic and interrelated. Historically, individual-level factors such as the psychology or mental health of perpetrators, life experiences (such as childhood exposure to violence), behaviours (such as alcohol and drug use) and personal experiences (such as divorce) were commonly identified as causes of GBV. Over time, as understanding of the factors increasing the probability of GBV has grown, the importance of

other factors such as social structures, norms and practices reinforced at the individual/relationship, community/organisational and societal levels has become more apparent. Similarly, over recent decades, we have learnt that experiences of GBV vary and tend to be more severe for those who experience other forms of structural discrimination and disadvantage, such as poverty, colonisation and ableism (Henry et al., 2020, 2021; Manjoo, 2011). Because the causes and consequences of types of GBV are multidimensional, the problem has broad impacts across a wide range of systems, including health and justice, employment, housing, homelessness, child development, and education, to name a few.

GBV is a complex and wicked public policy problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973) and is difficult to resolve. Wicked problems have been defined as having multiple causes and consequences, mostly negative if not addressed (Peters, 2017). They cut across multiple agencies of the state and require a multisectoral approach. They are problems that require policymakers to rethink traditional ways of working, recognise that there are no quick fixes, comprehend the big picture, and consider innovative, collaborative approaches (Australian Public Service Commission [APSC], 2018). One collaborative approach recently adopted to address GBV is the engagement of survivors in the co-production of reforms. Designed to improve response and support services for survivors and reduce GBV through primary prevention initiatives addressing the root causes of the problem, this development reflects similar initiatives involving 'system users', most commonly in public healthcare and education policy (Voorberg et al., 2015). The role of survivors in driving policy change on GBV is the focus of this doctoral thesis. Given the challenge of addressing wicked policy problems and bringing about social change, this research focuses on the power of drawing on lived experience as one potentially effective approach in a multidimensional strategy to reduce GBV.

The importance of survivors speaking out

> 'when women speak truly they speak subversively – they can't help it: if you're underneath, if you're kept down, you break out, you subvert. We are volcanoes. When we women offer our experience as our truth, as human truth, all the maps change. There are new mountains. That's what I want – to hear you erupting. You young Mount St. Helenses who don't know the power in you – I want to hear you.'
> (Le Guin, 1989)

The power of stories to cut through the clutter of our daily lives, engage people, create meaning, challenge apathy and generate momentum for change has been documented across disciplines (e.g., Degl et al., 2019; Kearney, 2002; Pluye & Hong, 2014; Wines & Hamilton, 2009). Kearney (2002) writes that 'Telling stories is as basic to human beings as

eating. More so, in fact, for while food makes us live, stories are what makes our lives worth living. They are what make our condition *human*' (p. 3). The importance of stories as testimony and a form of cathartic release for trauma sufferers is also well documented (e.g., Chare, 2012; Green et al., 2020; Henry, 2009, 2015; Kearney, 2007). The importance of victim testimony or narrative victimology has been highlighted as an essential addition or counterbalance to quantitative crime data and mass victimisation surveys (McGarry and Walklate, 2015; Pemberton et al., 2018). Narrative criminology considers how stories influence human actions and arrangements, including those that do harm (Fleetwood et al., 2019; Presser, 2009; Presser and Sandberg, 2019). Feminist historians and writers, including Le Guin (quoted above), have highlighted the radical, political nature of women speaking out (e.g., Beard, 2015, 2017). Recently the influence of survivors of GBV speaking publicly and sharing their experiences has been evident through movements and campaigns such as #metoo and #LetHerSpeak / #LetUsSpeak.[4] Stories have also been identified as central to the policy process (Crow & Jones, 2018), whereby 'policy actors wield narratives to help achieve their goals, communicate problems and solutions' (p. 218). Beyond creating momentum for change, the co-production of policies and services with system users has meant that individuals' lived experiences are increasingly informing the policy process, from problem definition and the wording of policy documents to media outreach, policy statements and policy evaluation (Crow & Jones, 2018).

However, while prioritising system users' voices seems intuitively to be a good thing, scholars have begun to question the risks of co-production, particularly for vulnerable groups. Public administration scholars have identified particular risks posed by co-production, including the loss of democracy because not all system users are heard, the reinforcement of power imbalances, and the rejection of responsibility by governments (Steen et al., 2018). Similarly, scholars from other disciplines have raised concerns regarding the limitations of storytelling and the current rationale that when victims speak truth to power, a new narrative is created and reform will follow (e.g., Million, 2013; Tumarkin, 2014). As Tumarkin (2014) writes, stories can make 'friction-laden-and-silence-laden spaces … feel smooth, elementary' (p. 3) and, by extension, wicked problems appear soluble. In addition, Beard (2015) suggests that the act of women speaking out as victims may not be such a contemporary, subversive act after all. She highlights that while women have been both excluded from and ridiculed for speaking publicly since antiquity, women

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[4] #LetHerSpeak / #LetUsSpeak is a campaign that was established in 2018 to campaign for the repeal of sexual assault victim gag laws in Australia. It was established by journalist and survivor Nina Funnell. The campaign has provided legal assistance to individual survivors, and secured over a dozen court orders. It has also led to law reform and produced four law changes in three jurisdictions – the Northern Territory, Tasmania and Victoria.

have always been allowed to speak as victims or martyrs (p. 811). Hamad (2019) argues that Indigenous women have never been seen to properly adhere to the 'white model of womanhood' and have thus only ever been permitted to speak as either victims or perpetrators (p. 121). In writing about the aftermath of her sexual assault, Brison (2002) observes that 'bearing witness' and 'living to tell… may, if taken too far, hinder recovery, by tethering the survivor to one rigid version of the past' (p. 103). Fassin and Rechtman (2009) reveal how trauma has become unassailable and, thus, how victims of trauma and their lived experiences can be very influential and difficult to challenge. These insights raise questions and highlight some of the risks associated with engaging GBV survivors in policy co-production.

Survivors of GBV are likely to be particularly vulnerable to these kinds of risks because they face considerable challenges arising from gendered stereotypes and social norms, including victim-blaming (Taylor, 2020) and the notion of ideal and non-ideal victims (Christie, 1986). It seems clear that engaging survivors of GBV in co-production efforts must therefore be carefully considered and approached. Chapter 2: delves into the risks and limitations of survivors speaking out in more detail.

The growing influence of survivors

Co-production of public policy with survivors of GBV is a new development. However, there is a long history of victims of crime campaigning for policy reform, particularly concerning criminal justice. The history of the victims' rights movement provides an insight into how victims of crime have grown in influence over time. It also underscores how victims continue to be used to promote agendas that are not always in their interests (Walklate, 2012).

The foundations of the movement can be traced to the 1940s and the post-war period, although it gathered size and momentum in the 1960s and 1970s. These developments were surprisingly widespread and stretched across developed nations (Hall, 2017). With the advent of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s, victims of crime became central to the development of public policy (e.g., Ginsberg, 2014; Hall, 2017; Rock, 2010; Walklate, 2007, 2016; Walklate et al., 2019). This period saw victims become consumers of the criminal justice system, rather than complainants, and the corresponding politicisation of victims:

> Eventually, in the 1980s, the victims' movement was discovered by the media and politicians, whereupon the issue of victims and victims' rights began to take on a very different political significance. What began as a grass roots movement became a government-subsidised function. (Garland, 2001, p. 159)

The power of victims' stories became something tangible that others, particularly in government, wanted to control and use for their own purposes.

Recently, we have seen a shift away from a focus on victims' rights groups towards high-profile individual victims or their loved ones driving change (Garland, 2001, p. 143; Walklate et al., 2019). This development is evident in the practice of naming laws after individuals, such as Megan's Law[5] in the US (Garland, 2001, p. 143; Ginsberg, 2014, p. 923; Walklate et al., 2019, p. 202) and Clare's Law[6] in England and Wales (Walklate, 2016, p. 12). It is also apparent in the awarding of honours to survivors, such as the Nobel Peace Prize to sexual violence advocate Nadia Murad (in 2018), and the Australian of the Year award to family violence advocate Rosie Batty (in 2015) and child sexual assault advocate Grace Tame (in 2021). This shift is the focus of this thesis and is further examined in section 2.3.1.

1.2 Research focus

Feminists and survivor advocates have long campaigned for adequate funding for GBV policies, programs and services to protect women and children's safety and wellbeing. Since the establishment of the domestic violence services or refuge movement in Victoria in the early 1970s, there has been public campaigning for women to be recognised as experts in their own lived experiences and to help shape and manage services and programs (Theobald, 2011). Progress on these issues has been slow, and any advances made have often been followed by substantial steps backward, particularly under conservative governments (Theobald, 2011, p. 4).

However, as Figure 1 indicates, through Google searches for the term domestic violence over ten years from 2010, GBV and specifically domestic violence has become more prominent in public discourse.

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[5] Megan's Law is named after Megan Nicole Kanka, who was murdered in 1994 by an offender previously convicted of a child sex offence. The law requires the public release of information regarding registered sex offenders (Legal Information Institute, 2010).
[6] Clare's Law is named after Clare Wood, who was murdered in 2009 by her boyfriend. The law provides people with potential access to a partner's criminal history (Dorset Police, 2022).

Figure 1. *Ten-year Google trends search for the term domestic violence in Australia (2010-2020)*
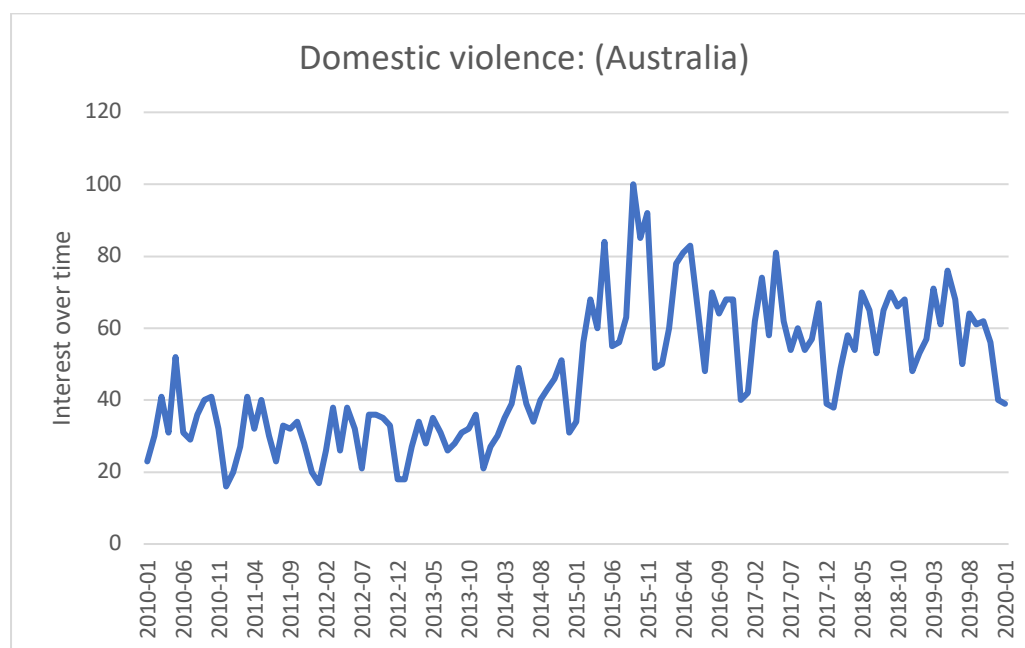
Note. Interest over time numbers represent search interest relative to the highest point on the chart for the given region, Australia, and time, 2010–2020. A value of 100 is the peak popularity for the term. A value of 50 means that the term is half as popular. A score of 0 means that there was not enough data for this term*.*

Additionally, Figure 2 depicting media coverage about primary prevention suggests that as the level of interest in the issue increased, the nature of the discourse changed. For example, issues of general awareness decreased as ways of reducing GBV, including school programs and gender equality, grew in profile.

Figure 2. *Primary prevention media trend analysis:* 1 January 2014 – 31 December 2016
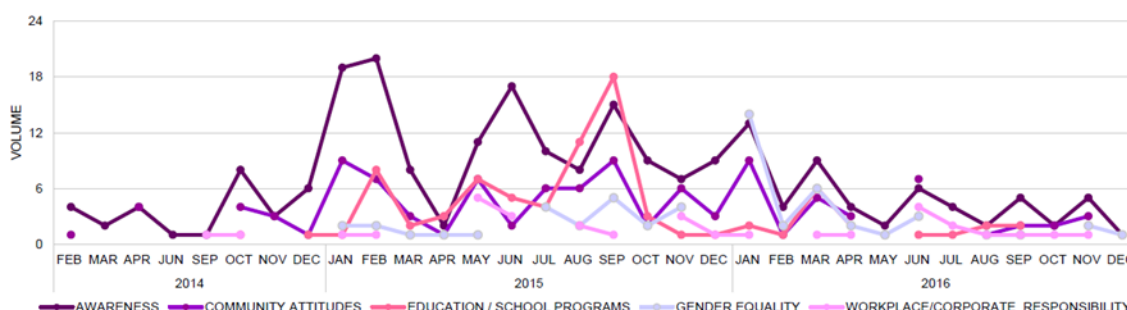
Note. Media Analysis Report January 2014 – December 2016 provided with permission from Isentia Insights and VicHealth (Isentia Insights, n.d.).

From 2014 there was community momentum for change, unlike anything many stalwarts of the GBV sector had seen before. While it would be unwise to attribute this shift to any one factor, it coincided with a period of extensive advocacy by family violence survivor Rosie Batty.

In early 2014, in a small coastal community outside Melbourne, 11-year-old Luke Batty was murdered by his father at cricket training (Florance & Chalkley-Rhoden, 2014). The following day, Luke's mother spoke to the media gathered in front of her house in a way that made people listen. She said, 'If anything comes out of this, I want it to be a lesson to everybody that family violence happens to everybody no matter how nice your house is, no matter how intelligent you are, it happens to anyone and everyone' (Metcalfe, 2014). Hawley et al. (2018) highlight how from that moment Batty began the task of reframing the issue of family violence as something that can happen to anyone and consequently as a national, public problem, not a private matter. Reframing family violence in this way also meant that it was a problem that could and should be solved.

Shortly after Luke's death, Batty met with the then leader of the Victorian Opposition Labor Party, Daniel Andrews, who subsequently made an election commitment to hold Australia's first royal commission into family violence if elected. In November 2014, the Andrews government was elected, and in early 2015, the Royal Commission into Family Violence commenced. Also in 2015, Batty was appointed Australian of the Year and she undertook a period of exhaustive advocacy across the nation, speaking at approximately 250 conferences and addressing more than 70,000 people (Hermant, 2016). In 2016, the Andrews government committed to completing all 227 recommendations of the Royal Commission, and Batty was appointed inaugural chair of the Victim Survivors' Advisory Council (VSAC),[7] which would ensure that the government's response to the recommendations met the needs of survivors (Premier of Victoria, 2016). The Victorian Government ultimately invested approximately AU$4 billion towards the reform of the family violence system, more than the total investment of Australia's national and other state and territory governments combined at the time (Fitz-Gibbon, 2021). The scale of Victoria's multi-level system reform, which is still underway at the time of writing, has been extraordinarily ambitious. It will take time before outcomes become apparent, particularly in the case of primary prevention initiatives like the Respectful Relationships program[8] introduced across all Victorian schools.

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[7] VSAC was established to give people with lived experience of family violence a voice and ensure they are consulted in the reform of Victoria's family violence system (State Government of Victoria, 2020).
[8] Respectful Relationships is a whole-of-school approach to promoting and modelling respect and equality. It teaches children how to build healthy relationships, resilience and confidence.

The term the 'Batty effect' has been used widely by Australian media, and subsequently by scholars, in response to the enormous impact Batty's personal story and public campaigning has had on policy and social change (Hawley et al., 2018; Payne, 2018; Perkins, 2016; Walklate et al., 2019; Wenderoth, 2017). How such unprecedented policy change came about in Victoria in such a short period and Batty's role in helping create the momentum for the reform of the family violence system and her work through VSAC in overseeing the rollout of the recommendations of the Royal Commission inspired this doctoral research. Specifically, this research seeks to understand what role Batty played in creating the conditions for change and what characteristics she possessed that helped her with the task. I was also interested in examining the public value delivered by initiatives such as VSAC and the risks and limitations encountered in the engagement of the members of VSAC in co-production efforts. Finally, I wanted to explore the experiences of a diverse range of often marginalised survivors of public advocacy/activism on GBV to identify what works and what does not work, and how to improve practice.

Why situate the research in Australia?

This thesis focuses on experiences of survivor advocacy on GBV in Australia. This focus was supported by the industry partnership with the Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG) and Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety Limited (ANROWS), which necessitated an applied focus in the Australian context to produce insights for practitioners and policymakers wanting to engage survivors of GBV in policy development.

Further, as Connell (2007) argues, social science has predominantly focused on a few major metropolitan centres in Europe and North America as if the lessons to be learnt from them were universal and as if the rest of the world does not produce knowledge and has nothing relevant to offer to help us understand society. She uses the terminology of 'metropole/periphery' instead of North/South or First World/Third World, to reflect 'the long-lasting pattern of inequality in power, wealth and cultural influence that grew historically out of European and North American imperialism' (p. 212). However, she also emphasises that 'The periphery includes desperately poor countries like Benin and astonishingly rich countries like Australia' (p. 212). Connell presents the sharing of knowledge from the periphery as a significant opportunity and builds a compelling case for 'Southern theory' as a valuable resource and source of knowledge. Carrington et al. (2016) similarly demonstrate the value of 'southern criminology'; a term they coined to describe bridging global divides and democratising epistemology by rectifying the power imbalances that privilege knowledge from the global North and recognising the effects of colonisation, enslavement and dispossession imposed on the global South by imperial powers.

The vast majority of the literature regarding survivors and policymaking is dominated by empirical evidence from the global North. While some scholars, including Walklate et al. (2019) and Hall (2017), have begun to address this gap, there has recently been a lot of work happening in the area of GBV advocacy in Australia that, while context-specific, may help identify concepts that are of broader relevance. For example, in Australia, some developments reflect the evolution of the victims' rights movement and the dominance of trauma narratives (Million, 2013; Walklate, 2016).

Co-production with survivors of GBV coalesced in Australia in 2016 with developments including the establishment of VSAC within the Victorian Government to provide ongoing advice on the reform of the family violence system. VSAC appears to be unique, and there has been interest in the model within Australia and internationally.[9] Also in 2016, Our Watch, Women's Health East and VicHealth developed Voices for Change, a media advocacy program for the prevention of violence against women (Women's Health East, Melbourne, 2016). The program has since trained advocates around Australia, including in Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart, Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide and Canberra. These advocates have been supported by organisations, such as Engender Equality in Tasmania and Embolden in Adelaide, to speak to the media and at events. However, it has been challenging to secure and maintain funding to adequately support this work, and some organisations such as Domestic Violence New South Wales (DV NSW) have ceased work in this area due to the lack of funding (DV NSW, n.d.).

In 2016, the University of Melbourne's Research Alliance to End Violence against women and their children established the Women and their children who have Experienced Abuse and Violence: Researchers and advisors (known as the WEAVERs) project. Its purpose is to ensure that the voices of women and children with lived experiences of family violence influence the research agenda. More recently, the University of Melbourne, supported by Domestic Violence Victoria (DV Vic), developed the Experts by Experience Framework (Lamb et al., 2020), which DV Vic is utilising to establish its Experts by Experience group. Survivor advocacy programs have also been run by frontline service providers and advocacy organisations, including Safe Steps, the Victorian state-wide response service for women, children and young people experiencing family violence; inTouch, the Multicultural Centre Against Family Violence; and Women with Disabilities Victoria. Drummond Street Services also trialled a program where people with lived experience of family violence from diverse communities were employed as recovery support

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[9] I have received interest in the VSAC model from the Queensland Government and Greater Manchester Combined Authority in the UK.

workers. This program included people from LGBTQI+ communities, culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities and people living with disability. Workers were tasked with helping those currently experiencing violence to navigate complex systems such as the courts, child protection, mental health, housing, alcohol and other drug (AOD) services, education and employment, and assisting with diverse needs. But again, it has been difficult for not-for-profit organisations to secure sustainable funding for these sorts of programs. Also prominent have been independent campaigns led by survivors. From the perspective of the survivors interviewed for Chapter 6/Study 3, collective action with clear shared objectives appears to have been particularly effective, such as #LetHerSpeak / #LetUsSpeak (Funnell, n.d.), established to abolish sexual assault victim gag laws in Australia. It is at least in part due to all of this GBV-related survivor activity that this thesis is focused on the Australian context, and Victoria in particular (there is more on this in section 3.3). There is also a lack of analysis of these initiatives, and while some evaluations have been undertaken (such as of the Voices for Change program), few are publicly available. DV NSW's report on the Voices for Change lived experience project is a notable exception (Backhouse et al., 2021).

Why a feminist research ethic?

From the beginning of the PhD, I adopted a feminist research ethic (as outlined by Ackerly & True, 2020). This was partly due to gender being central to the underlying causes of GBV and thus key to the effectiveness of work addressing the issue. However, it was also because of a profound respect for the work of my feminist 'foremothers' and a commitment to undertaking research that would help bring about change. Consequently, rather than undertaking a traditional literature review and looking for 'gaps' in the literature, I looked across disciplines and literatures for insights. As Ackerly and True (2020) write:

> If the purpose of feminist research is to change the world, not just study it, we think that the approach of building connections (in order to take us to new insights) is a more appropriate metaphor for our work, than that of filling gaps. (p. 121)

I started the research by reading broadly regarding the theme of 'survivors speaking out', as Figure 3 outlines. I looked for valuable insights and connections across disciplines and literatures, including feminist institutionalism, criminology and victimology, behavioural science (particularly the literature on social norms), political science, public administration and international relations. This focus narrowed and shifted over time, with, for example, Indigenous literature regarding trauma and sexual violence becoming an area of focus when analysing the interview data from Chapter 6/Study 3. Nonetheless, there continued to be an eclectic range of literatures and theories informing the research, which is described in more

detail in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 provides an overview of how the feminist research ethic was applied across the three studies.

Figure 3. *Some of the disciplines and literatures explored and informing the interdisciplinary and theoretically eclectic approach to this research*

CRIMINOLOGY / VICTIMOLOGY:
victims' rights movement, ideal victim theory & the bereaved 'good mother' as 'victim-hero'

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION:
policy entrepreneur theory, public value and the limits of co-production

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY:
domestic violence services movement & submerged social networks

Victim-survivors speaking out

GENDER AND POLITICS:
feminist institutionalism

BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE:
social norms and victim-blaming

A note on terminology

Co-creation and co-production: As Voorberg et al. (2015) identify, these terms are not clearly defined and tend to be used interchangeably. The term co-production is used throughout this thesis for the sake of simplicity.

Domestic and family violence: The term 'domestic and family violence' (DFV) is used in Chapter 4/Study 1 as it focuses on the Victorian context, except in relation to specific statistics and documents. The broader term 'family violence' is employed because it is used in legislation and policy in Victoria, where the Batty effect and VSAC cases are set. Family violence is typically inclusive of violence perpetrated by family or community members and is used to capture the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in particular (Murray & Powell, 2011). It is coupled with the term domestic violence as, despite the inconsistent use of terminology across jurisdictions, domestic violence is the most commonly used term.

Family violence: The term family violence is used specifically in relation to legislation and policy in Victoria, where it is the most frequently used terminology. It is defined as 'any violent, threatening, coercive or controlling behaviour that occurs in current or past family, domestic or intimate relationships' (State Government of Victoria, 2021a).

Gender-based violence: UN Women defines GBV as 'harmful acts directed at an individual or a group of individuals based on their gender … rooted in gender inequality, the abuse of power and harmful norms' (UN Women Australia, 2020). GBV disproportionately affects women and girls, although men and boys can be targeted, for example, if they do not subscribe to gender norms and stereotypes. Family violence, domestic violence, sexual assault and street harassment are all forms of GBV. The term 'gender-based violence' (or GBV) is used throughout this thesis, except in relation to specific data sets, policies, strategies or contexts (such as Victoria where the term 'family violence' is the dominant terminology used), because it is the most inclusive and accurate way to describe the drivers and impacts of this violence.

Media: A relatively broad definition of media is used throughout the thesis, but it is focused on news media. This includes newspapers, radio, television, online and social media, but does not extend to advertising and entertainment.

Victim, survivor or victim-survivor: Views are divided and constantly shifting concerning the appropriate terminology to use regarding those with lived experience of GBV. In order to honour those who have survived and have the agency to share their stories, and to acknowledge the deep and lasting effects of GBV, I initially used the term victim-survivor in

Chapter 4/Study 1, except in relation to specific publications, theories, and so on. However, the term survivor is used throughout most of the rest of the thesis except in relation to specific theories or literatures, such as ideal victim theory and the history of the victims' rights movement. It is used because Chapter 6/Study 3 revealed that most research participants with lived experience of GBV preferred to be referred to as survivors rather than victims or victim-survivors. This was because there was a sense that they had once been victims, but that they had transitioned out of that stage. Many also shared the view that there is stigma or shame associated with being a victim. Chapter 4/Study 1 was written and submitted prior to conducting Chapter 6/Study 3 and therefore uses the terminology of victim-survivor.

Violence against women and girls: The terminology of 'violence against women and girls' (VAWG) is used quite widely and is, as True (2020, p. 3) writes, 'a catch all phrase'. It is generally used to refer to family violence and intimate partner violence, but can extend to violence at work, in public spaces and even state violence, such as deprivation of liberty.

1.3 Research aim, objectives and questions

This research aims to establish a conceptual and empirical knowledge base regarding the role of survivor advocates in the development of GBV policy and best practice mechanisms for engagement. The following objectives were established to achieve this aim:

> **Objective 1:** Examine the role Rosie Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria.

> **Objective 2:** Explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy.

> **Objective 3:** Define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement.

Each study included a series of research questions that addressed one or more of the objectives listed above. Table 3 provides an overview of the research questions related to each objective and the chapters and publications developed to deliver on the overall research aim.

Table 3. Research objectives, questions and outputs

Overarching research question: How can survivors of GBV optimally influence the development of public policy?			
Objectives	**Research questions**	**Subsidiary questions**	**Outputs**
1. Examine the role Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria.	1.1 What role did Batty play in family violence policy reforms in Victoria?	1.2 What personal attributes helped Batty fulfil this role? 1.3 What other factors contributed to driving change? 1.4 Did Batty open the door for other, more marginalised survivors to be heard?	Paper 1 Chapter 4
2. Explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy.	2.1 What are the risks and limitations for public value creation of survivors of GBV being engaged in the co-production of policy?	2.2 Do the benefits of engaging survivors in policy co-production outweigh the costs?	Paper 2 Chapter 5
3. Define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement.	3.1 What mechanisms have diverse, marginalised survivors found most effective and rewarding in influencing public policy reform (advocate or activist, inside or outside the state, etc.)?	3.2 What benefits have often marginalised survivors received from sharing their lived experiences and influencing policy? 3.3 What support has been most beneficial in helping marginalised survivors from diverse backgrounds, operate as advocates or activists?	Paper 3 Chapter 6

Research partnership

This doctoral research project was undertaken as part of a Graduate Research Industry Partnership (GRIP) program and designed in consultation with research partners (ANZSOG and ANROWS), the Victorian Government and the GBV sector to address the issue of how best to engage survivors in the development of policy. The research is intended to provide practical insights for practitioners and policymakers and to connect and build on existing literature and theory with new insights. The impetus for the thesis came from my experience of working in the Victorian Government for almost a decade and seeing just how slow and complex it is to implement policy change, and how many policies are never properly funded and how many are abandoned when a new government is elected. My experience of working with Batty and other survivor advocates at Our Watch, and the lack of research available about their role, also propelled me to undertake this PhD. I was particularly inspired by the change Batty managed to bring about over a relatively short period of time, and I wondered exactly how much of that change was due to her and what other factors played a role.

The first two and a half years of the project were supported by ANZSOG as part of its commitment to supporting outstanding public sector leadership through undertaking research that addresses contemporary issues in public sector management. From 1 July 2020, ANROWS became the industry partner and this PhD was funded through ANROWS's Research Fund to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children (Philanthropic – Luke Batty Legacy). ANROWS had identified the need for research regarding the role of survivors in reducing violence against women as a priority. I have provided the organisation with regular updates regarding my research progress and insights. Other organisations such as Family Safety Victoria, DV Vic, Engender Equality and Our Watch have also been sources of support and input regarding emerging issues relating to engagement with survivors, which is another reason for the Australian focus of the research.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

This thesis, which includes published works, is structured as follows. Chapter 1 (this chapter) provides an overview of the research problem, aim and objectives, including the research questions. Chapter 2 presents insights from across literatures on the focus areas of survivors speaking out and policy change. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research design and methodology, including a summary of the methods used for each study. Chapters 4 to 6 present research papers that have been accepted or submitted for publication in high-quality peer-review journals. Chapter 4/Study 1 is an in-depth analysis of

the case study of survivor advocate Batty, examining the personal attributes she possessed and other factors that helped bring about a period of unprecedented change in public discourse and policy regarding GBV (RQ1.1). Chapter 5/Study 2 examines the first three years of VSAC, with a particular focus on the risks and limitations of government co-producing public value with survivors (RQ2.1). Chapter 6/Study 3 addresses RQ3.1 by examining the perspectives of a diverse range of marginalised survivor advocates/activists to determine what works in influencing policy change. Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the contributions of this research to knowledge and practice and examines the limitations of the thesis and implications for future research.

Each chapter representing a research paper (Chapters 4 to 6) includes a brief introduction outlining the problem, method and principal findings and elaborating on how the results contribute to the overall thesis. Following the introduction is the submitted or accepted manuscript, inserted as a PDF. Each paper includes an introduction, literature review, methods, results and discussion, some of which is repeated from Chapters 2 and 3. Published papers are presented in their publication layout as required by Monash University's guidelines for a thesis including published works. An overview of the papers is provided in Table 4 below, including the chapter number, full paper title, journal name, discipline of quintile ranking (Scimago Journal & Country Rank and Clarivate) and current status.

Table 4. Overview of publications included in the thesis

Chapter	Paper title	Journal	Quintile/subjects	Status
Chapter 4	The Batty effect: Victim-survivors and domestic and family violence policy change	*Violence Against Women*	Q1: Social Sciences, Gender Studies, Law, Sociology and Political Science	Article first published online: August 25, 2021; Issue published: May 1, 2022
Chapter 5	Survivors and gender-based violence policy reform: Assessing the risks and the public value	*Journal of Gender-Based Violence*	Q3: Criminology and Penology, Women's Studies	Under review (submitted April 2022)

| Chapter 6 | Survivor perspectives: What works for survivors of gender-based violence in public advocacy/activism | *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* | Q2: Social Sciences, Law, Sociology and Political Science | Under review (submitted March 2022) |

Chapter 2: Insights from across literatures

'human experiences cannot be accurately understood by prioritizing any one single factor or constellation of factors; social categories/locations, such as "race"/ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality and ability, are socially constructed, and dynamic'

(Hankivsky et al., 2014, p. 2).

This thesis examines the question of how survivors of GBV can best inform the development of public policy to support survivors and prevent GBV. Chapter 1 discussed the growing influence of survivors, including that of survivors speaking out. This chapter explores critical insights from across literatures that support the research aim, objectives and questions and provide context to the thesis, beginning with a consideration of intersectionality and the complex nature of GBV and the evolution of policy responses to GBV, within the Australian context (section 2.1). The chapter then focuses on the role of survivors of GBV as policy change agents and entrepreneurs (section 2.2). This is followed by deliberation on the risks and limitations of engaging survivors in the co-production of public policy (section 2.3), including discussion of politicisation and the history of the victims' rights movement (section 2.3.1); the survivor voices we hear and those we do not, specifically in relation to ideal victim theory (section 2.3.2); inclusionary processes that exclude, and the limits of co-production (section 2.3.3); and finally, gender, power and the state, and the persistence of inequality (section 2.3.4).

The literature on GBV is extensive. This review represents a snapshot of the literature most relevant to the three studies included in this thesis; and, as outlined in Chapter 1 and section 1.3, my aim in reviewing the literature was to look for connections between theories to reveal new insights, rather than to look for gaps to fill.

2.1 Policy responses and challenges responding to GBV in Australia

Intersectionality and the complex nature of GBV

While the literature commonly identifies gender inequality as a key driver of GBV (Flood, 2019; Maynard & Winn, 1997; True, 2012, 2020), it is increasingly understood that gender intersects with other forms of difference such as race, religion, class, disability and sexual identity (Imkaan, 2019; Manjoo, 2011). These factors can shift over time and according to geographical location, including potentially even between urban and rural areas (Hogg & Carrington, 2003). As the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) states:

> The discrimination of women based on sex and gender is inextricably linked with other factors that affect women, such as race, ethnicity, religion or belief, health, status, age, class, caste and sexual orientation and gender identity. Discrimination on

the basis of sex or gender may affect women belonging to such groups to a different degree or in different ways to men. [Governments] must legally recognize such intersecting forms of discrimination and their compounded negative impact on the women concerned and prohibit them. (UN, 2010)

Forms of discrimination and disadvantage can increase the prevalence and severity of GBV. Accordingly, experiences of GBV are different for different people; the impacts of GBV are not consistent or even, and some people experience GBV as just one form of multiple forms of violence. For example, for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, violence can be compounded by a range of factors, such as colonisation, racism and disability. Around a quarter of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women report a disability, and this figure increases to 53.5% for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples aged 55 and over (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2021). Women with disability are nearly twice as likely as women without disability to experience violence by a cohabiting partner (ABS, 2021) yet less likely to report abuse for both personal and systemic reasons (Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability, 2019). In 2018–2019, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women had 29 times the rate of hospitalisation for non-fatal family violence assaults compared with non-Indigenous women (Productivity Commission, 2020). In another example, women from migrant and refugee backgrounds are less likely to report violence against them due to language barriers, cultural stigma, concerns about visa and residency status, and financial insecurity (Segrave et al., 2021). In these examples the contributing factors compound the impact of the violence experienced and also limit people's access to support.

This phenomenon, whereby intersections of power relations, social positions and experiences result in social inequities, is known as 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) and it means that gender is not always the most significant factor contributing to GBV in every context. As Behrendt (2000) indicates, it can be difficult to distinguish the contribution of gender from the contribution of colonisation as a driver of violence: 'Aboriginal women, who enjoyed power and respect within their traditional communities, fell to the lowest rung on the socio-economic ladder in colonial society because of the double taint of a subordinated race and a subordinated gender' (p. 364). As Hankivsky et al. (2014) write, it can be impossible to separate out these factors: 'human experiences cannot be accurately understood by prioritizing any one single factor or constellation of factors; social categories/locations, such as "race"/ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality and ability, are socially constructed, and dynamic' (p. 2). This highlights that an individual's identity is complex and should not be categorised according to one component of their lives. Nonetheless, gender inequality and the gendered drivers of violence, such as 'male-dominated power relations in

relationships and families' (Flood, 2019, p. 16), are always relevant to understanding and addressing GBV, though they should never be considered in isolation.

Evolution of GBV policy in Australia

GBV is a serious and prevalent human rights abuse. It has a profound and long-term toll on people's health and wellbeing, on families and communities, and on society as a whole. GBV is also a barrier to the achievement of gender equality. More recently it has come to be understood as a preventable problem and all nation-states are required under international human rights agreements to take positive steps to eliminate all forms of GBV (CEDAW, 2017; Majoo, 2011).

From the 1960s and 1970s, women's movements developed and feminists in the US, Great Britain and Australia lobbied governments to support the needs of victims through the establishment of women's refuges or shelters and sexual assault services. As Theobald et al. (2017) highlight, in Australia these services have always been overwhelmed and struggling for funding. There is a long history of advocacy on behalf of victims of GBV, but with some notable exceptions – including Phil Cleary, who has been a vocal advocate for his sister Vicki since her murder by her former partner in 1987 (Women's Coalition Against Family Violence, 1994) – survivor advocacy was less widespread until recently (Dyson, 2017, p. 19). However, importantly, as Theobald (2011) notes, 'It is clear that the lived experience of violence and abuse by men was a part of the experience of many women who became involved in the refuge movement at its beginnings' (p. 59).

While the crisis services feminists and women's movements raised funds for did help women and children to escape violence and undoubtedly saved many lives in doing so, the incidence of GBV did not diminish. Consequently, from the mid-1970s the movement shifted focus to engage government and, as Murray and Powell (2011) highlight, 'domestic violence was named and [was] beginning to be discussed and addressed by government' (p. 13). Weldon (2002) has shown that women's movements were a catalyst for government action in the eight nations that were most responsive to domestic violence over this period (p. 65). Australian feminists, including Jocelynne Scutt, Carol O'Donnell and Heather Saville, worked to change the narrative regarding GBV from one of private pathology to one of structural inequality (Murray & Powell, 2011, pp. 13–14). As Scutt (1983) writes:

> The women's refuge movement is a political movement standing against patriarchal attitudes and ideals that provide the foundation and cover for men who bash the women they marry … Its purpose is to alter power structures so that women are, and are recognized as being, politically, socially and economically equal with men. (pp. 261–262)

Feminists within the Federal Whitlam-led Labor government were successful in putting domestic violence on the political and public policy agenda, and in 1975 funding for a national women's refuge program was introduced (Theobald, 2011, p. 110). Nonetheless, Theobald (2011) highlights that the relationship between feminists and the state has long been fraught, and that feminists involved in the Victorian women's refuge movement approached their engagement with the state 'with considerable care, determination and fortitude' (p. 115). Reinelt (1995) observes similar tensions in the relationship between the feminist activists and the state in the US.

In the 1980s, engagement by feminists and the refuge movement with the state, in the form of policymakers and bureaucrats, increased with the establishment of several government taskforces and inquiries including the 1981 New South Wales Task Force on Domestic Violence and the Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force, which reported in 1988 (Murray & Powell, 2011, pp. 17–19). Theobald (2011) contends that by the late 1980s, 'the refuge movement's framing of domestic violence was virtually uncontested by government officials, professionals and the wider public and was eventually adopted at both state and national policy levels' (p. 132). Murray and Powell highlight that under the Hawke-Keating Labor governments (1983–1996), 'the federal arena hit its stride in relation to both the development and implementation of domestic violence public policy' (p. 21). Yet, still prevalence rates did not fall.

In the 1990s and 2000s, lobbying began for prevention strategies to stem the tide of women and children using services (Dyson, 2017). In Victoria, the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth), a statutory authority originally funded by hypothecated taxation raised via the *Tobacco Act 1987* (Vic) (Richardson, 2017), played a key role in this area in the early 2000s, driving research, practice and knowledge translation, and fostering collaboration across government departments, health and community sectors. Key reports included *The health costs of violence: Measuring the burden of disease caused by intimate partner violence* (VicHealth, 2004) and *Preventing violence before it occurs: A framework and background paper to guide the primary prevention of violence against women in Victoria* (VicHealth, 2007). VicHealth also undertook a community attitudes survey in Victoria in 2006, which was then replicated nationally in 2009 and was a precursor the National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS). The report on the Victorian study, *Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*, highlights the challenges of changing gendered social norms and stereotypes (VicHealth, 2006). These and other key pieces of work established the foundations for a wide range of prevention activities across Victoria and for state and local government investment and action.

At the national level, under Australia's first woman Prime Minister Julia Gillard, the *National plan to reduce violence against women and their children 2010–2022* (the National Plan) was endorsed by the Council of Australian Governments and released in February 2011 (COAG, 2011). The National Plan provided a compelling vision for reducing violence against women and was supported by federal, state and territory governments of all political persuasions. As the Minister for the Status of Women, Kate Ellis, stated at the launch:

> It is time for a combined, strategic and sustained effort to reduce the terrible prevalence of violence against women … it is time to end the *ad hoc* and generalised solutions – it is time for us to work together, to share our best practices and to make a real difference for Australian women … The National Plan brings governments of all persuasions together, in a combined effort to reduce this violence against women. (As cited in Murray & Powell, 2011, p. 31)

The National Plan referred to the creation of the National Centre of Excellence, which would 'bring together existing research, as well as undertake new research under an agreed national research agenda' (COAG, 2011, p. 33). In 2013, following a deal between the Victorian and Federal governments, the Centre of Excellence became Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) and the National Foundation for the Prevention of Violence Against Women and their Children (later renamed Our Watch). ANROWS was established 'to produce evidence to support the reduction of violence against women and their children' (ANROWS, n.d.). Our Watch was set up to 'raise awareness and engage the community to prevent violence against women and their children' (Human Rights Law Centre, 2013). Both organisations were designed to contribute to the delivery of the National Plan outcomes.

In 2015, Our Watch, VicHealth and ANROWS reviewed and updated the evidence and, following extensive national consultation with practitioners, researchers, policymakers and advocates, developed Australia's first national framework for preventing violence against women and their children, *Change the story* (Our Watch et al., 2015). *Change the story* provides a conceptual framework for primary prevention and has been widely adopted across Australia. It highlights the benefits of civil society advocacy as a proven and promising primary prevention technique:

> Civil society advocates are invaluable in highlighting the issue, developing a shared understanding of violence against women, and creating and implementing strategies to promote non-violence and gender equity in their own communities and local contexts. (p. 43)

Change the story was updated in 2021 to include an expanded evidence-based framework for Australia to continue to strengthen the shared national approach (Our Watch, 2021). Two particular aspects were expanded in the second edition. The first is a focus on men as the perpetrators of violence and the harmful forms of masculinity that are driving violence against women, as well as the need to engage with men as part of the solution and to talk to men and boys about how they can help prevent this violence. The second area consists of a more detailed intersectional approach that recognises racism, colonialism, homophobia and ableism and how they intersect to drive violence against women. The second edition also references the importance of advocacy, specifically the need to 'Support and resource women's collective advocacy and social movement activism to prevent violence and promote gender equality' (p. 64). It states that effective or promising practice includes: resourcing women's civil society organisations and networks to lead prevention advocacy, engagement and knowledge development; using an intersectional approach and promoting collaborative efforts across civil society organisations and networks; training and ongoing support to build advocates' capacity and confidence; engaging a diverse range of advocates who are respected within their communities; and facilitating opportunities for women to network and advocate collectively (p. 89). Interestingly, it does not mention advocacy by survivors despite Our Watch having several survivor 'ambassadors' (Our Watch, 2021) and having partnered in the development of the Voices for Change media advocacy program (Women's Health East, Melbourne, 2016). In contrast, the draft 2022-2032 National Plan (Department of Social Services, 2022) is dedicated to 'each and every victim and survivor of gender-based violence' (p. 2) and has a strong focus on the importance of engagement with survivors:

> To succeed we must listen, engage and be informed by diverse lived experiences. The voices and experiences of victim-survivors are essential to delivering trauma-informed services and solutions. We must recognise how race, age, disability, culture, gender, including gender identity, and sexuality amongst others forms of identity, impact on this lived experience. (p. 6)

2.2 The role of survivors of GBV in driving policy change: survivors as policy entrepreneurs?

How policy change happens has long been an area of focus within public policy research. One theory that is relevant to the role of passionate individuals and survivors of GBV is policy entrepreneur theory. Introduced through the public policy literature by Kingdon in 1984, policy entrepreneurs are described as 'advocates for proposals or for the prominence of an idea' (2003, p. 122). They play a key role in connecting 'solutions to problems, problems to political forces, and political forces to proposals' (p. 205). Kingdon identifies the

following three qualities that policy entrepreneurs require to succeed: some claim to a hearing (that is, expertise, an ability to speak for others, or an authoritative decision-making position); political connections or negotiating skills; and persistence (pp. 180–181). He also observes that policy entrepreneurs wait for windows of opportunity to open (pp. 179–183), when they can 'push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems' (p. 165). He concludes that policy entrepreneurs can hold a range of positions such as 'elected officials, career civil servants, lobbyists, academics or journalists' (p. 204) and can come from the private, public or third (that is, not-for-profit or non-government) sector (p. 122).

Since Kingdon's seminal work, interest in policy entrepreneur theory has grown, particularly as political science scholars have identified the important role entrepreneurs can play 'when new challenges appear so significant that established systems of managing them are judged inadequate' (Mintrom & Norman, 2009, p. 650). Hundreds of case studies have been written on policy entrepreneurs, including cases on Ken Livingstone and climate change (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017), William Hague and sexual violence (Davies & True, 2017), and Bob Klein and funding for stem cell research (Mintrom, 2015). The case of former mayor of London Livingstone and climate change action illustrates the important role policy entrepreneurs can play in reframing issues to make them relevant and actionable. Livingstone managed to frame cities, rather than nation-states, as central to responses to climate change:

> This framing is significant. Until this point, governments of nation-states were expected to take the lead on addressing climate change. By framing climate change as a fundamental issue facing urban populations, cities were able to assert themselves as key players (Betsill and Bulkeley, 2007). (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017, p. 1369)

The Hague case underscores how influential unlikely and non-stereotypical entrepreneurs can be. Former British foreign secretary William Hague, as a white, male Tory, was an unlikely advocate for women's peace and security: 'Hague was aware of the power of his gender and how his engagement with a "women's issue" challenged the stereotype that women's peace and security is a "soft" or non-security issue' (Davies & True, 2017, p. 717). Like the Livingstone case, the Klein case highlights how policy entrepreneurs can reframe issues. But in the Klein case it was a passionate individual, driven by personal circumstances (in this case, Klein's son suffered from autoimmune-mediated type 1 diabetes), who reframed and built stakeholder and community support for stem cell research, an issue that had previously been off limits or too controversial (Mintrom, 2020).

Similar characteristics and ways of operating have been identified across a diverse range of entrepreneurs, operating in a variety of policy settings, and some consensus has been reached about the various attributes likely to be possessed by successful policy entrepreneurs and the strategies they employ. In 2009, Mintrom and Norman identified four elements that all policy entrepreneurs exhibit to some degree: social acuity, defining problems, building teams, and leading by example (p. 651). More recently, Mintrom (2020) and others (Aviram et al., 2020; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2016) have further differentiated the personal attributes possessed by policy entrepreneurs from the strategies they commonly employ. In Chapter 4/Study 1, I test the relevance of the five attributes most recently identified by Mintrom in relation to survivor advocate Rosie Batty: ambition, social acuity, credibility, sociability, and tenacity (2020, pp. 8–10). I also explore which of the seven strategies identified (if any) have been utilised by Batty (Mintrom, 2020, pp. 12–20). These are: 1) thinking strategically, 2) framing problems, 3) building teams, 4) using and expanding networks, 5) working with advocacy coalitions, 6) leading by example, 7) scaling up advocacy efforts and supporting policy change. Understanding whether or not Batty and other survivors of GBV can be considered policy entrepreneurs can help us understand the role of survivors in policy change and what it takes to succeed in driving change.

2.3 The risks and limitations of engaging survivors in the co-production of public policy

Criminological, political science and feminist literatures are full of potential reasons why survivors do not succeed in bringing about policy change. Understanding these barriers can help us identify what needs to be done to ensure that survivors can optimally influence policy development.

2.3.1 Politicisation: the history of the victims' rights movement

The history of the victims' rights movement provides insights into how victims of crime have grown in influence over time, particularly in the development of criminal justice policy. It also illustrates how victims continue to be used by political actors, including the media, to promote agendas that are not always in victims' interests (Elias, 1993; Garland, 2001; Walklate, 2012).

As outlined in Chapter 1, victimologists trace the movement's origins to the 1940s and the post-war period (Hall, 2017, p. 16). The movement burgeoned in the 1960s and 1970s with the establishment of criminal victimisation surveys and victims of crime compensation, and the work of voluntary sector organisations, including victim support groups and services, such as shelters and refuges for battered women (Daly & Holder, 2019; Hall, 2017; Walklate, 2007; Williams, 2016). However, it was not until the advent of

neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s that victims became consumers of the justice system and central to the development of public policy (e.g., Ginsberg, 2014; Hall, 2017; Rock, 2010; Walklate, 2007, 2016; Walklate et al., 2019). This era also saw the increasing politicisation of victims (Garland, 2001; Miers, 1976), and these developments were remarkably widespread, with the 'rise of the victim' extending across developed nations (Hall, 2017).

This period also saw a shift away from a focus on victims' rights groups towards prominent individual victims or their loved ones driving policy and law reform. However, despite the prominence of these individual victims and their calls for increased rights, with a few notable exceptions scholars contend that victims' rights have not improved markedly (Flynn, 2016; Freiberg & Flynn, 2021; Garland, 2001; Iliadis & Flynn, 2018; Walklate, 2012). As Walklate (2012) and others highlight, the extent to which victims' rights can be improved is limited because victims are not the focus of adversarial legal systems. Instead, when offenders break laws, they break laws against the state or the crown, not against individual victims. Thus, victims are often left feeling unheard through justice processes. Moreover, public discourse regarding victims' rights often focuses on diminishing offenders' rights and using the power of victims' stories to build community support for 'tough on crime' agendas led by politicians and the media. Changes to bail laws in Victoria, for example, were made in response to public outcry over the rape and murder of Jill Meagher in 2012 by a man who was on bail at the time of the offence (Richards & Haglund, 2015, pp. ix–xi). Laws were thus changed to protect the community from crimes committed by people released on bail, despite data showing that most people on bail do not commit an offence (Allan et al., 2003; McGorrery & Bathy, 2017). This led to a record increase in the number of people imprisoned before trial and brought about what some called an 'incarceration crisis' (McMahon, 2019). Arguably, none of this is in the interests of most victims of crime, nor is it likely to be in the longer-term interests of the public given the costs involved.

Elias (1993) highlights the role of the media, and what he wryly describes as media amnesia, in this reactionary and ineffective approach to policy development:

> The media have, with few exceptions, reproduced official, conservative law-and-order perspectives with little fundamental analysis of their success or failure (Böhm, 1986). The media have repeatedly covered and promoted wars against crime and drugs that inevitably fail but which the media periodically help resuscitate anew as if these wars had never before been fought— and lost. The media help abet criminal victimization by failing to hold policy makers responsible for strategies that predictably do not

work; indeed, they make the problem worse. The media's amnesia, unwitting or not, encourages people to support policies that promote their own victimization. (p. 7)

Arsenault and Castells (2008) illustrate that global media conglomerates, such as Rupert Murdoch's NewsCorp, possess and exert significant political influence through financial donations and editorial content: 'Centralized control means that Murdoch and his leadership staff can mobilize NewsCorp's vast stable of properties quickly and efficiently against perceived political foes' (p. 497). Law (2017) reveals that these foes may often be 'small p' political opponents, including teachers, education academics and young LGBTQI+ people. Through the extraordinary case study of *The Australian* newspaper's campaign against the Safe Schools program, Law demonstrates that the media, or at least dominant elements of it, often declare themselves neutral and driven by the facts but are not. The Safe Schools program was developed to help schools foster a safe environment that is supportive and inclusive of LGBTQI+ students. Law finds that driven by the desire to position itself as 'a right-wing activist institution' and thus regain relevance (p. 73), *The Australian* published almost 200 stories or over 90,000 words in one year about or mentioning Safe Schools (p. 40) and that this led to the Federal government ending funding for the program (p. 4).

Scholars have demonstrated the media's role in reflecting and reinforcing harmful social norms and stereotypes, such as victim-blaming and the ideal victim (Cross et al., 2019; Spalek, 2006), and rendering the predominantly male perpetrators of GBV largely invisible (Sutherland et al., 2016). Data indicates that the media is significantly male-dominated, particularly in its senior management (73%) and among the ranks of reporters (64%) (Byerly, 2011). Reporting is also male-dominated, with the Global Media Monitoring Project finding that women make up only 25% of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news (Macharia, 2020). However, the media industry is also rapidly transforming as people seek information and opinion from increasingly diverse sources, most notably social media. Recognising the rapid transformation underway and the media's influential role, policymakers and primary prevention experts have emphasised the potential positive influence the media can have on increasing public understanding of GBV (e.g. Department of Social Services, 2022; Our Watch, 2021; Sutherland et al., 2017).

An understanding of the history of the victims' rights movement highlights the risks of victims who are engaged in policy development being exploited, most notably through the politicisation and co-option.

2.3.2 Those we don't hear: ideal victim theory

Also critical is an awareness that while survivor narratives are a powerful means of building public support and momentum for change, not all survivors are allowed to be heard. Many

are even blamed for the violence they have experienced (Taylor, 2020). Christie (1986) developed ideal victim theory to explain the social process whereby some victims receive public compassion and attention while others do not. Ideal victim theory provides a helpful lens for considering how and why it is that some victims generate more compassion and are therefore more influential and able to inspire and participate in change than others.

According to Christie, 'ideal victims' are people, or a category of people, 'who – when hit by crime – most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim' (p. 18). Yet the 'ideal victim' is generally the least representative victim – the ideal victim is indeed an ideal rather than a reality in most cases. Christie observes that family violence victims have historically been automatically excluded from the status of 'ideal victim' because they are, or have been, in a relationship with the offender. Yet, as Australian data shows, women are most likely to experience physical assault in the home (ABS, 2017). They are also nearly three times more likely than men to experience physical violence from an intimate partner and eight times more likely to experience sexual violence from a partner than men (ABS, 2017). This data indicates that victims of family violence and GBV are rarely, if ever, ideal victims because the majority know the offender.

Christie suggests that this is not a coincidence and that victims of family violence are excluded from the category of the ideal victim, at least partly because, traditionally, this violence was largely invisible, literally hidden behind closed doors. However, he goes further, noting that 'I think the feminists have given the right answers' (p. 20) and attesting to the influence of gender relations in how we respond to victims of crime:

> Beaten wives are not such ideal victims because we – males – understand the phenomena so extraordinarily well, and because we can get our definition of the situation to be the valid one … When the man beat up his wife in my culture, and the police are called in, they called it, until recently, a case of 'husbråk.' That means noise in the house. Noise does not create good victims. Noise is something that needs to be muffled. (pp. 19–20)

Christie implicitly emphasises the power of the patriarchy and its role in shaping which victims we feel compassion for and which we do not. He concludes, 'Ideal victims do not necessarily have much to do with the prevalence of real victims. Most ideal victims are not most frequently represented as real victims' (p. 27).

This culture of silence and silencing reflected by Christie in response to GBV has arguably changed since the 1980s, at least in some communities. However, Australian data suggests that it may not have changed all that much. Data from the 2017 NCAS (Webster et al., 2018) indicates that the majority of people (70%) would act or would like to act (22%)

when witnessing abuse or disrespect towards women (p. 119). However, the data also reveals that only 69% think that they would have the support of all or most of their friends if they did act, and research suggests that this means approximately 31% may not take action after all (Darley & Latane, 1968; Webster et al., 2018, p. 119).

Christie identifies the following five attributes of the ideal victim: 1) the victim was weak, sick, old or very young; 2) the victim was carrying out a respectable project at the time of the crime; 3) the victim was where they could not possibly be blamed for being (such as in the street during daytime) at the time of the crime; 4) the offender was big and bad; and 5) the offender was unknown and in no personal relationship with the victim (p. 19). Christie concludes that even the ideal victim is in a subordinate position. He maintains that the ideal victim must be 'powerful enough to make your case known and successfully claim the status of an ideal victim … but she (he) must at the very same time be weak enough not to become a threat to other important interests' (p. 21).

Central to the notion of the 'ideal victim' is the idea that some victims are more or less blameworthy than others and that some 'non-ideal victims' are responsible for the crime or crimes they have experienced. Regarding victims of family violence, it seems that the default position has been to blame the victim, as demonstrated in socio-political rhetoric, which frequently demands 'Why didn't she leave?' (Duggan, 2018). This is commonly referred to as victim-blaming. Victim-blaming can be considered a gendered social norm, based on 'what we collectively believe ought to be done, what is socially approved or disapproved of' (Bicchieri, 2017, pp. 30–31), and which is deeply embedded in patriarchal societies, including Australian society.

More recently, Donovan and Barnes (2018) have expanded Christie's ideal victim attributes beyond age and gender to include 'not exhaustively, social class, "race" and ethnicity, sexuality, whether they are disabled and what their immigration status is' (p. 86). These authors highlight that 'dominant constructions of ideal victims and ideal offenders shape the extent to which those victimised by crime can articulate their experience and victim status, and whether their voice will be heard' (pp. 87–88). This means that the construction of the ideal victim prevents some victims from coming forward or even recognising that they are victims. Donovan and Barnes point to Burca's 2011 study with young Swedish male victims of crime, which finds that the young men balanced 'masculinity against victimhood' (p. 186). They underscore that 'an unintended consequence of the success of the feminist movement is that the public story of DVA [domestic violence and abuse] makes it difficult for other stories of DVA [i.e., those outside heteronormative relationships] to be told or heard' (p. 88). Ultimately, Donovan and Barnes conclude that

Christie's analysis of the ideal victim is itself associated with the construction of a stereotype that excludes LGBTQI+ individuals and thus makes it difficult for these individuals to 'make sense of situations in which they are victimised' (p. 97).

As Hill (2019) reminds us, victim-blaming is not new, and in the 1940s and 1950s, social workers believed that 'battered women actually looked for men who would abuse them' (p. 54). In Australia, the extent of victim-blaming is evident in results from the NCAS (ANROWS, 2018b). The 2017 survey of 17,500 Australians found that 30% of people believe that if a woman does not leave her abusive partner, she is 'partly responsible for the violence continuing' (p. 82), and 20% believe that domestic violence is a normal reaction to stress and that sometimes a woman can make a man so angry that he hits her without meaning to (p. 78). Due to victim-blaming, many survivors can struggle to be heard and believed, even by family and friends, let alone by police and others working within systems that inevitably reflect and reinforce the broader social norms (Henry et al., 2019). Some survivors even internalise victim-blaming and feel responsible for how they have been treated, which can prevent them from seeking help (Morgan et al., 2016). These issues are particularly relevant to this thesis and especially to Chapter 6/Study 3, which focuses on the lived experiences of survivor advocates from marginalised communities who are frequently challenged by the stereotype of the ideal victim and the social norm of victim-blaming. I now consider how processes purportedly designed to ensure that all voices are included can often exclude, and how this is particularly relevant to vulnerable groups such as non-ideal victims.

2.3.3 Inclusionary processes that exclude: the limits of co-production

Until recently, few disputed the benefits of including public service users' voices in the development of public policies and services. Indeed, many scholars have long advocated, and practitioners have worked hard, to achieve this (Alford, 2009; Boyle et al., 2010; Ostrom, 1990; Sandhu, 2017). However, in their systematic review of the literature on co-production, Voorberg et al. (2015) declare co-production to be a 'magic concept' (p. 1334), with no set definition, meaning that it can be used to signify or justify whatever people want. Bevir et al. (2019) call it an 'elite narrative', meaning that it presents the idealised view of political elites who are out of touch with the existing co-production practices and challenges of public servants working on the ground in local communities. Dudau et al. (2019) argue for 'constructive disenchantment' with co-production, stating that the 'co-' paradigm is seen as part of the solution to: 'illnesses that contemporary democracies and public sectors (and their organisations) must deal with: declining trust levels, citizens' concerns about whether public services represent "value for money", and public sector austerity' (p. 1579). In other words, co-production has been seen as a simple silver bullet solution to a raft of complex problems.

Steen et al. (2018) highlight the dark side of co-production and argue that the 'normative tendency towards optimism tends to mask a number of potential pitfalls', which scholars should address (p. 284). They identify seven potential 'evils' or risks and limitations of co-production: 1) the deliberate rejection of responsibility, 2) failing accountability, 3) rising transaction costs, 4) loss of democracy, 5) reinforced inequalities, 6) implicit demands, and 7) co-destruction of public value. Regarding the deliberate rejection of responsibility, Steen et al. argue that 'in a context of scarcity of financial resources in the public sector' (p. 285) due to neoliberalism, co-production is a way for governments to share their responsibilities with citizens, thus diminishing their responsibility. In other words, co-production can be 'a cover for minimising governments' responsibilities and accountability' (pp. 284–285) through a focus on individual responsibility. Steen et al. posit that the next potential risk, failing accountability, may unintentionally arise due to a lack of clear roles and responsibilities among actors involved in the process of co-production (p. 285). They also identify failing accountability as a cause of partnership fatigue and decreased engagement due to the blurring of responsibilities leading to difficulties in co-production relationships.

On the third risk, rising transaction costs, Steen et al. find that there are many hidden costs associated with engaging citizens in co-production efforts, including the need to train service users and delays in timelines due to difficulties reaching consensus (p. 286). They argue that this means that improvements to the quality of services must be significant to compensate for increased costs. Despite often being seen as 'a tool to reinvigorate democracy', co-production, Steen et al. maintain, can also lead to a loss of democracy (p. 286), the fourth risk. They contend that 'institutionalising' system users reduces the likelihood of them speaking out against governments (pp. 285–287); an issue of particular relevance in relation to the VSAC case study presented in Chapter 5/Study 2. Expanding on this, these authors point to Bovaird's (2007) argument that co-production can challenge 'the balance of representative democracy, participatory democracy, and professional expertise' (p. 856), meaning that it can be hard to get the balance right and ensure that all stakeholders participate equally. Cluley et al. (2021) reason similarly that public sector attempts at inclusivity, such as co-production, are often in practice exclusive, because 'the experiences of non-typical service users and other factors in the public value experience, such as lived experience, socioeconomic status, and environmental factors are largely ignored' (p. 2).

Regarding the fifth risk, reinforced inequalities, Steen et al. propose that while co-production is thought to even out power imbalances, in reality, unequal power positions pose barriers to collaboration, leading to 'wealthy and highly educated citizens … dominat[ing] such processes … because of their superior social and cultural capital' (p. 287). This means that stronger parties, such as ideal victims, may dominate co-production processes at the

exclusion of more vulnerable parties. Steen et al. suggest that the sixth risk, implicit demands, arises when the power imbalances in the co-production relationship lead parties with less power to feel a sense of indebtedness towards more powerful parties (p. 288–289). For example, service users working with government may be reluctant to publicly criticise government policies or services. On the seventh risk, co-destruction of public value, Steen et al. note that wicked problems do not have easy solutions, yet co-production (at least in isolation) is a simple solution and, thus, unlikely to work on its own. They also contend that co-destruction may go beyond 'mere missed opportunities' to include deliberate misuse or manipulation of user input, such as governments using service users to advance or promote political agendas that are not in the users' interests (pp. 289–290). This point inevitably reminds us of the history of the victims' rights movement (see section 2.3.1) and suggests that the risk of survivors of GBV being used through co-production processes to help achieve political goals is high.

A body of literature (Bevir et al., 2019; Cluley & Radnor, 2020; Dudau et al., 2019; Voorberg et al., 2015) is thus emerging that asserts that the risks and limitations associated with co-production can outweigh the public value delivered. According to this view, co-production is just as likely to result in the co-destruction of public value as it is in its co-creation (Echeverri & Skålén, 2011; Osborne et al., 2018; Plé & Cáceres, 2010). In response to this, Cluley et al. (2021) have suggested that the concept of public value itself needs to be reconsidered and that it may need to be expanded to include public dis/value.

The concept and measurement of public value has relevance to efforts to include GBV survivors in policymaking processes since such initiatives are expected to improve the inclusivity and effectiveness of government policies and programs. But until recently, there was no clear framework for defining and measuring the elements that constitute public value and therefore no way of systematically testing the theory. However, following a systematic review of the literature on public value measurement, Faulkner and Kaufman (2018) developed a proposed four-dimensional framework to address this gap by conceptualising the main dimensions of public value so that they can be assessed and measured. The four dimensions they identified are: 1) outcome achievement, 2) trust and legitimacy, 3) service delivery quality, and 4) efficiency. Outcome achievement reflects 'the extent to which a public body is improving publicly valued outcomes across a range of areas' such as social, economic, environmental and cultural outcomes (p. 77). In relation to GBV, a frequent outcome measure seems to be that GBV and gender inequality are no longer tolerated by the community. For example, in its ten-year plan *Ending Family Violence Victoria's Plan for Change* (State Government of Victoria, 2016), the government proposes that a target or measure in relation to this outcome would be: 'All Victorians will believe that family violence

and gender inequality are unacceptable, and will hold attitudes that support respectful relationships' (p. x).

Trust and legitimacy denote 'the extent to which an organisation and its activities are trusted and perceived to be legitimate by the public and key stakeholders' (Faulkner & Kaufman, 2018, p. 79). Faulkner and Kaufman identify that the fair and transparent delivery of services is key to trust, which links directly to the third dimension of public value measurement, service delivery quality. They state that central to service delivery quality is the 'extent to which services are experienced as being delivered in a high-quality manner that is considerate of users' needs' (p. 79). Thus, in the case of GBV, surveys of service users assessing levels of user satisfaction, and the accessibility and effectiveness of early intervention services such as Victoria's Orange Door service,[10] may be one way of measuring both trust and legitimacy and service delivery quality.

With regard to efficiency, the fourth dimension in Faulkner and Kaufman's framework, it is expected to be high when 'the benefits provided by an organisation are perceived to outweigh the costs of that organisation (Talbot and Wiggan 2010), and when "unnecessary" bureaucracy is avoided (see Meynhardt and Bartholomes 2011)' (p. 79). In relation to the Victorian Government's ten-year plan to end family violence (State Government of Victoria, 2016), while efficiency is not an explicitly stated outcome, it is implicit in many initiatives, including the establishment of a coordination agency to 'support more effective coordination and management of family violence, justice and social services across government', and support for departments and agencies to 'build data and analytics capability' and improve data sharing (pp. x–xi). Chapter 5/Study 2, tests the relevance of Steen et al.'s seven evils and the utility of Faulkner and Kaufman's framework for measuring public value in relation to VSAC, while also assessing the public value or dis/value created by the Council.

2.3.4 The persistence of inequality: gender, power and the state

Of particular relevance to this thesis is the body of literature highlighting the ways in which institutions, particularly public institutions, reflect and reinforce patriarchal power relations and gender inequality through formal and informal rules and norms (Chappell & Waylen, 2013; Krook & Mackay, 2011; Witz & Savage, 1991). Early feminist analyses of institutions viewed state institutions as 'inherently and uniformly patriarchal' (Krook & Mackay, 2011, p. 3). This was hardly surprising, for, as Crabb (2014) highlights, it was not until 1966 that married women were allowed to work in the Australian Public Service (APS) (pp. 85–107).

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[10] The Orange Door hubs and phone service provide services for adults, children and young people who are experiencing or have experienced family violence and families who need extra support with the care of children. The service brings together workers from a range of specialist family violence services, family services, Aboriginal services, and services for men who use violence (State Government of Victoria, n.d.-b).

Paid employment was designed for men, by men, at a time when men had a full-time wife cooking and cleaning and looking after them and the children. Recent data indicates that despite commitments to gender equality and women now making up 60.2% of the APS, women continue to be over-represented in junior roles and under-represented in senior roles (at 44.6% in Senior Executive Service Band 2 & 3) (Australian Public Service Commission, 2021). Evans et al. (2014) write that this 'exposes a fundamental disjuncture between the formally espoused values of the APS and its practices' (p. 502). It also reflects the challenges faced by attempts to incorporate a gender equality perspective in policies at all levels and at all stages, also known as gender mainstreaming (UN Women, 1995).

Once women started to enter the public sector workforce in the late 1960s and to build the 'bureaucratic machinery' to achieve their goals, their experiences of working with, or within, state institutions led to more nuanced understandings of institutional power dynamics (Sawer, 1990). In the 1990s, the emergence of the feminist bureaucrat or 'femocrat' (a term that originated in Australia with Eisenstein in 1991) was first documented. Australian feminist scholars (Chappell, 2002; Eisenstein, 1996; Franzway et al., 1989; Sawer, 1990) began to consider the complexity of the role of institutions in relation to gender. They identified the influence of gendered rules, norms and practices, and the ways in which actors can be constrained by institutions. Internationally, Reinelt (1995) characterises the state as 'a site of active contestation over the construction of gender inequalities and power' (p. 87), while Htun and Weldon (2017) describe the state as 'a cause of, and a remedy for, human suffering' (p. 158).

Over time, an international network of scholars focused on issues of gender, politics and institutions has developed under the umbrella term 'feminist institutionalism' (Krook & Mackay, 2011). Feminist institutionalism has grown out of other areas of study focused on institutions, notably historical institutionalism (Waylen, 2009). Lowndes (2020) explains, 'A focus on institutions enables gender scholars to study the ways in which gender gets inscribed into the very rules of political life' (p. 543). Scholars contributing to this body of scholarship initially focused primarily on what works to bring about institutional change toward greater gender equality. However, after more than two decades of gender mainstreaming efforts, some (including Mackay (2014), Miller (2009) and Thomson (2018)) began to focus on why these attempts have been ineffective and how institutions resist change and reproduce patriarchal power imbalances. Thomson (2018) contends that feminist institutionalism improves our knowledge of political institutions by contributing to a greater understanding of the informal politics that underlie and shape formal politics, change/'newness' within institutions, gender and power.

Feminist institutionalism and its understanding of institutional dynamics, gendered power and gender inequality provides a critical theoretical framework and analytical lens for understanding the potential risks and limitations of co-production, particularly between the state and survivors of GBV. In this section and the previous three sections, I have drawn from the relevant literature to outline some of the risks and limitations relating to survivors of GBV engaging in the co-production of policies and services with the state. In the next section I describe how all of these theories come together to frame this thesis.

2.4 Thesis theoretical framework

As outlined in Chapter 1, the growing influence and importance of individual survivors of crime speaking out and helping shape public policies and services is well accepted (Garland, 2001; Ginsberg, 2014; Walklate, 2016; Walklate et al., 2019). Likewise, much has been written about the role of passionate individual agents of change or policy entrepreneurs in bringing about policy reform, particularly concerning wicked policy problems (Anderson et al., 2020; Aviram et al., 20120; Kingdon, 2003; Mintrom, 2020; Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Narbutaite Aflaki et al., 2015). However, whether policy entrepreneur theory is relevant to survivors of GBV and others with limited social power remains to be seen. If policy entrepreneur theory is applicable, it may help us understand and better define the role of survivors in policy development.

There is also a growing body of research regarding the risks and limitations of co-production with system users (Bevir et al., 2019; Cluley & Radnor, 2020; Dudau et al., 2019; Voorberg et al., 2015). In addition, there is an established understanding of the consequences of the stereotype of the ideal victim and the social norm of victim-blaming, which prevent non-ideal victims from being heard, particularly victims of GBV and those from marginalised communities (Christie, 1986; Donovan & Barnes, 2018; Duggan, 2018; Taylor, 2020; Walklate et al., 2019). While understanding these challenges does not necessarily reduce or change them, barriers to engaging survivors are unlikely to be overcome until these challenges are understood.

Drawing from feminist institutionalist literature and scholars (including Chappell, 2002; Eisenstein, 1996; Franzway et al., 1989; Htun & Weldon, 2017; Krook & Mackay, 2011; Sawer, 1990) provides a framework for understanding the complex interplay between formal and informal gendered roles, norms and practices, and helps shed light on the constraints upon individual actors within institutions.

The theoretical framework presented in Figure 4 illustrates the key constructs and proposed relationships explored in this thesis.

Figure 4. Theoretical framework
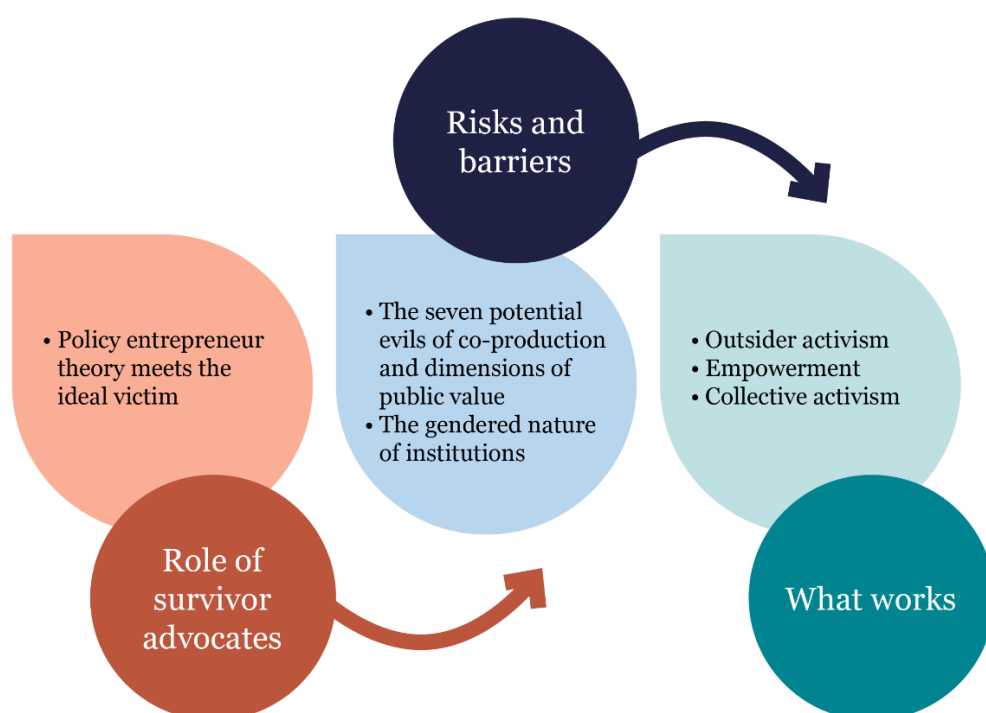
The first (orange) section, *Role of survivor advocates,* represents the application of policy entrepreneur and ideal victim theories in relation to the role of survivors of GBV in shaping public policy – that is, testing the relevance of policy entrepreneur theory in helping us understand the role of GBV survivors and testing the significance of ideal victim theory. The middle (blue) section, *Risks and barriers*, represents the exploration of barriers to survivors being heard and optimally shaping public policy, including the institutional processes and practices that reinforce and reproduce gender inequality, Steen et al.'s (2018) evils of co-production and Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) dimensions of public value. Finally, the third (green) section, *What works*, represents moving beyond the risks and limitations to prioritise survivors' perspectives on and lived experience of what works.

This figure informs and reflects the approaches and stages of research underpinning this thesis. In particular, it demonstrates the function and focus of each study: Chapter 4/Study 1 focuses on the role of survivor advocates through the Batty case study; Chapter 5/Study 2 examines the risks and limitations of co-producing public policy with GBV survivors through the VSAC study; and Chapter 6/Study 3 explores survivors' perspectives regarding what works in public advocacy/activism.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the literature pertaining to the central theories and constructs underpinning this thesis – the policy entrepreneur and ideal victim theories, the risks and limitations of co-production, and feminist institutionalism. Policy entrepreneur theory and its insights regarding the characteristics of change agents and their strategies presents a promising way of understanding the influence and role of individual GBV survivor advocates. However, it has not been tested in the context of those with limited social power, such as GBV survivors. Ideal victim theory and the growing body of literature regarding the limitations of co-production posit the numerous barriers to survivors effectively shaping public policy, particularly survivors from marginalised communities. Nonetheless, this literature does identify the key issues to be addressed in initiatives that engage survivors in public policy development. Finally, feminist institutionalism describes the institutional resistance and obstruction that can confront positive gendered change. It highlights how political institutions reinforce power imbalances, yet it also indicates that institutions are sites of contest and often inhabited by 'femocrats' (Eisenstein, 1996) and allies. The following chapter provides an overview of the research methodology adopted for this thesis, guided by the theoretical framework described above.

Chapter 3:
Research design

'The subject position middle-class white woman has been historically shaped, redefined and represented in Australian culture as the embodiment of true womanhood'

(Moreton-Robinson, 2000, p. xxiv).

A three-stage, three-study qualitative research design was adopted to address the research aim, objectives and questions guiding this thesis. The research design process was iterative and employed an emergent approach, with each stage informing and shaping the next. Consequently, the research design evolved as I reflected on the collected data, the literature I was reading, and changing circumstances. Extraordinary shifting circumstances included the COVID-19 pandemic and public discourse regarding GBV survivor advocates/activists, a remarkably dominant issue throughout 2021 and into 2022 in Australia.[11]

Figure 5 outlines the relationship between the three stages of the research, and how the findings from the individual-level Batty effect case helped highlight barriers to engaging diverse survivors and particularly 'non-ideal' victims, which were then examined in detail at the institutional level with the VSAC case. The findings from the Batty effect and VSAC cases were then tested in the third study in relation to survivors' perspectives on what works in bringing about policy change.

Figure 5 Overview of the three research stages

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[11] The prominence of the issue of survivors of GBV in public discourse in Australia in 2021 and into 2022 centred around several high-profile events, including the awarding of the 2021 Australian of the Year to child sexual abuse survivor Grace Tame and her demands for government action; revelations of the rape of a political staffer, Brittany Higgins, inside Australia's Parliament House and the subsequent apology by the Australian Prime Minister in parliament in early 2022; the sending of a dossier of historical rape allegations against Australia's then attorney-general to the Prime Minister in 2021; accusations of intimate partner violence against the then Education Minister by his former media advisor, Rachelle Miller; and an outpouring of reports of sexual assault from young women and girls across Australia in response to student Chanel Contos's Instagram poll regarding sexual assault.

This chapter outlines the research process in the three studies presented in this thesis, including the overall feminist research strategy adopted, the rationale for the case study approach, the justification for the Victorian research context (for the first two studies) and the details of each study, including the research objectives and questions that guided their scope. More detail on the methods is reported in Chapter 4 for Study 1 (the Batty effect case study), Chapter 5 for Study 2 (the VSAC case study) and Chapter 6 for Study 3 (survivors' perspectives). Table 5 provides an overview of the three studies, including the research questions addressed, the research design, measurement and analysis, and data source.

Table 5. Methods overview

Research question	Research method	Data analysis	Data source
Chapter 4/Study 1: The Batty effect case study			
What role did Rosie Batty play in family violence policy reforms in Victoria?	Empirical case study analysis of Rosie Batty and her role in bringing about the reform of the family violence system in Victoria.	Content analysis of interviews, government documents and media reports.	Interviews with Rosie Batty and eight policymakers. Government documents and media reports.
Chapter 5/Study 2: VSAC case study			
What are the risks and limitations for public value creation of survivors of GBV being engaged in the co-production of policy?	Empirical case study analysis of the first three years of the life of the Victorian Government's VSAC	Content analysis of interviews and government reports.	Interviews with Rosie Batty and eight policymakers. Government documents, particularly the *Valuing the lived experience* (VLE) report, which is based on 31 unstructured interviews with current and past VSAC members and members of the VSAC Secretariat, as well as Victorian Government and GBV sector stakeholders (Family

			Safety Victoria [FSV], 2019, p. 8).
Chapter 6/Study 3: Victim-survivors' perspectives			
What mechanisms have diverse, marginalised survivors found most effective and rewarding in influencing public policy reform (advocate or activist, inside or outside the state)?	Narrative research.	Content analysis of interviews.	Interviews with 11 survivors of GBV from marginalised communities.

A note on COVID-19

The pandemic impacted this research in various ways, but ultimately, it had the most significant impact on Chapter 6/Study 3, which I had planned to be an international comparative case study analysis of mechanisms for engaging survivors, from the perspective of survivors. I intended to conduct interviews in May 2021, but given the waves of COVID-19 sweeping the world and widespread lockdowns, I decided to focus on the perspectives of survivors in Australia. There were many different forms of advocacy and activism underway in Australia, so this change in plans was not of significant detriment to the project. However, given the pandemic, I was concerned that it might be difficult to secure research participants, even within Australia. I was particularly worried that potential research participants' mental health and well-being may have been adversely affected by multiple, long lockdowns and that they may feel fragile and re-traumatised by the lack of control they could exercise over their own lives due to COVID-19. I was also concerned that doing interviews online may compromise some of the intimacy afforded by face-to-face interviews and I was worried that some survivors may not feel confident using Zoom or other online video platforms. Lastly, I was concerned about the toll on my own mental health of being isolated at home and interviewing survivors about potentially distressing issues. Fortunately, I found most people I approached for interview to be very happy to be involved in the research and confident with the technology. The only exception were some Aboriginal women I approached for interview. Many were very busy dealing with issues in their communities and at least one, I believe, may not have been comfortable with speaking to me online. For my part, overall I found the interviews to have a positive focus. Research participants enjoyed sharing their successes, and there was a sense that they found some

comfort in sharing some of the challenges they had experienced. Given that I was not asking research participants about their lived experiences of GBV but rather about their experiences of advocacy/activism, the interviews generally had a very constructive focus, which also reduced the toll on my mental wellbeing of undertaking the research.

3.1 Applying a feminist research ethic

As previously mentioned, underpinning the design of this research was a feminist research ethic. Feminist research is diverse but fundamentally focused on gender and power, how power works and how abuses of power can be stemmed. Doing feminist research also requires self-reflection regarding one's own power and position throughout the research process, and this is reflected in this chapter. A feminist research approach was appropriate for this research for several reasons, including that it is research driven by a commitment to change. As such, such research is always inescapably political.

What is more, as a feminist researcher, with a belief that research should be seeking to make the world a better, more equitable place, particularly for the most vulnerable and marginalised, I constantly challenged myself throughout the research process to listen for the silences, for those people who are not heard and those who exist outside the margins. I also consistently questioned my own position as a white, middle class, heterosexual cis-gender woman, and reflected on the fact that there are many other ways of knowing and understanding the world than mine. This was perhaps the biggest challenge in this project and some of the questions I constantly asked myself were: 'Who/what am I not hearing?'; 'Will this help those who most need to be heard?'; 'Who else can I learn from on this?'; 'Who might have a different view on this?'; and 'Am I avoiding something here because it makes me feel uncomfortable?'.

Feminist researchers' focus on power requires that we remain mindful of our positional power, our choices as researchers, and our relationships with research participants and other researchers. Ackerly and True (2020) identify four key elements of a feminist research ethic: attentiveness to epistemology, boundaries, relationships and the researcher's positionality or 'situatedness' (p. 20). Throughout the process of developing and undertaking this research, these elements have been paramount.

Regarding epistemology, survivors' voices and experiential understandings have been foregrounded across all three studies as an empirical focal point. This is about recognising the validity of survivors' analyses of their own lived experience. Batty and other survivors have been quoted extensively and, as outlined below, they have had the opportunity to provide input throughout the research process, so that the process of knowledge creation has been iterative and shared. This approach was critical, as survivors

of GBV are often silenced, belittled and made to doubt their own judgement through coercive controlling behaviours by perpetrators (Stark, 2007). Thus, survivors were given as much control as possible throughout the research process. This included providing all survivor participants, but one,[12] with transcripts of their interviews and ensuring they had adequate time to review their transcript and make changes. This was particularly important to those from non-English-speaking backgrounds, who found it useful to be able to clarify points. In some cases, I arranged follow-up conversations to allow participants to elaborate on details. The survivor participants were also provided with final drafts of my papers prior to submission to journals, so that they could review and approve content that was relevant to them in light of the overall context of the paper. Furthermore, given that some survivor participants had informed me that they have autism, dyslexia or other conditions that make absorbing a lot of written information difficult, I provided information to people in different formats (for example, in large colourful fonts in an email) and I offered to discuss details if required.

Many of the survivor research participants, including Batty, were pleased to be involved in the research because they felt that there was not enough evidence about the role of survivors and how best to engage them. Many also felt that it is important to identify mechanisms that ensure that diverse and 'non-ideal victim' (Christie, 1986, pp. 22–25) voices were heard. In this way, engagement with Batty and other survivors on these issues also helped shape the research objectives.

Boundaries have also been a constant issue for reflection, including boundaries regarding who was interviewed and who was not. Other questions included: what right do I have to undertake this research? And as one research participant suggested, should I be compelled to disclose whether or not I am a survivor? Even the process of analysing and theming or categorising interview data raised questions around boundaries. For example, given that the focus of the third study was on survivors from marginalised communities and those who often are not heard, determining the best way to analyse the data posed a challenge. Was it appropriate to look for the most frequently raised themes? Or was it more relevant to look for the outlier comments, which perhaps reflected the views of the most marginalised?

Relationships were also important. I found that where I had existing relationships with survivors through previous work, levels of trust were generally high. It took time to build relationships of trust with other survivors. Some participants were understandably nervous

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[12] One participant specifically asked not to be sent the transcript of their interview because they were happy with what they had said being used in the research.

about the process. I contacted several Aboriginal women for an interview, and many did not respond. Some at first reacted positively, but later declined to participate. One Aboriginal research participant expressed concern about their experience being compartmentalised in 'white containers'. This echoes Moreton-Robinson's (2000) argument that: 'The subject position middle-class white woman has been historically shaped, redefined and represented in Australian culture as the embodiment of true womanhood' (p. xxiv). The subject position Moreton-Robinson describes has also traditionally dominated and defined feminist scholarship. It is the subject position I mostly share, except arguably the middle-class element.

In this thesis, I was determined to represent the voices and perspectives of a range of survivors of GBV, particularly those from marginalised communities including Indigenous women, women with disability, migrant women and LGBTQI+ people. This was with a view to identifying the best mechanisms for engaging diverse survivors, and thereby representing the breadth of lived experiences of GBV, in the development of public policy. How best to do this and how to do this without constraining survivors' varied lived experiences within what Moreton-Robinson called the omnipresent norm of whiteness (p. xix), or middle-class-ness, cisgender-ness and able-body-ness, was the most significant challenge I encountered throughout the PhD. For example, when analysing the interview data for Chapter 6/Study 3, I was confounded by the challenge of coding and identifying themes within NVivo without placing the perspectives of women of colour within white containers or frameworks. At times I thought it might be better if I did not try to do this at all rather than risk doing it poorly, but Aboriginal scholars and an Aboriginal research participant convinced me that I should try. Although they insisted that I engage with Indigenous scholarship, for as Fee states:

> Without a conversation with living First Nations people about what they think and feel about their writing, their culture and their lives, the likelihood that we will have produced bad interpretations arises, as we make ourselves the experts, and them into mute subjects of expertise (As cited in Leane, 2016).

I found the initial experience of theming the data from the interviews with marginalised survivors in NVivo quite literally like putting marginalised voices into privileged, white theoretical containers/codes. Hence, I later recoded the data looking both for themes that did not fit the existing codes (which had been developed based on the interview questions and the literature) and outlier comments or themes. This allowed me to construct codes from the bottom up and top down.

Another issue I became aware of was that survivors' narratives about their own lived experiences occasionally seemed to evolve through their involvement in the study. For

example, some of the survivors interviewed appeared to reflect the findings from the Batty effect article, which I had sent to them, in their interviews. This compelled reflection on the shared process of and responsibility for sense-making.

It is also worth noting that, prior to undertaking the PhD, I spent almost three years (from 2013 to 2016) helping to establish Our Watch, Australia's national foundation for the primary prevention of violence against women and children. During that time, I worked with Batty, who was an Our Watch ambassador, and with other survivor advocates, including some that I interviewed for Chapter 6/Study 3. I also worked closely with others working in the area of GBV, including public servants, ministers, ministerial advisors, not-for-profit organisations, academics, activists (from Get Up and Fair Agenda, for example), media, and frontline crisis support services (such as Safe Steps, DV Connect and 1800 Respect). Through this work, I formed relationships and experienced first-hand the work of the GBV sector broadly. This allowed me to approach this research in a way that was directly relevant to survivor advocates such as Batty, policy actors and others. Fundamentally, my experience at Our Watch allowed me to develop a commitment to respecting and acknowledging the history and achievements of the decades of campaigning work undertaken by feminist activists and survivors, and it highlighted the importance of developing knowledge together and sharing it broadly.

Finally, my situatedness as a researcher was cause for constant introspection. Questions arose such as: Is this my story to tell? Am I representing what this person was saying in the most accurate way possible, and am I doing justice to their lived experience? Or am I trying to wrap their lived experience up into a neat package? And, ultimately, will this research make a difference? Throughout the research process, I was committed to continually learning from others and challenging myself: particularly to read, listen to and engage in conversations with women of colour from diverse backgrounds, and not turn away from the anger of those such as Ruby Hamad (2019) and Mona Eltahawy (Eltahawy & El Rashidi, 2016) towards white feminism, but instead to turn towards and hear that anger. I sought to build networks with a wide range of people working in the area of GBV, including public servants, activists, journalists and trauma counsellors, to support them and keep abreast of challenges and developments. And I established relationships with a broad range of survivors, including survivors of institutional child sex abuse and workplace sexual harassment. This assisted with ensuring the depth and quality of the research, and that it aligned with a feminist research approach.

3.2 The case study approach

> 'The power of the case study to convey vividly the dimensions of a social phenomenon or individual life is power that feminist researchers want to utilize.' (Reinharz, 1992, p. 174)

Reinharz (1992) contends that case study research is a tool of feminist research and that 'feminist interest in case studies stems from the desire to document aspects of women's lives and achievements' (p. 171). She adds that 'case studies are essential for putting women on the map of social life' (p. 174). In addition to producing and testing theory, Reinharz identifies three purposes for feminist case studies: to analyse changes in a phenomenon over time, to analyse the significance of a phenomenon for the future, and to analyse the parts of a phenomenon (1992). Yin (2014) writes that a case study approach can help explain how and why an event occurred within its contemporary social context. Ackerly and True (2020) identify one function of case studies as being to 'study phenomena that do not happen often by studying very closely the occasions when they do, or in the case of averted accidents, nearly do' (p. 123). Similarly, Creswell and Poth (2018) define intrinsic case studies as a type of case study that presents 'an unusual or unique situation' (p. 99). All of these rationales for adopting a case study approach in some way underpinned the decision to include two case studies in the research design of this thesis.

The rationale for adopting a case study methodology to examine the role Batty played in bringing about the reform of the family violence system in Victoria was to convey and analyse the dimensions or parts of the extraordinary phenomenon that was the Batty effect. It was about exploring the contribution of the parts, including Batty's characteristics and aspects of the broader contemporary social context, in order to closely observe the role survivors can play in policy change. It was also an opportunity to build on Walklate et al.'s (2019) work on narrative victimology and the Batty effect by speaking to Batty herself and policy actors and taking an in-depth look at her influence on policy reform.

The plan to undertake an in-depth case study analysis of VSAC emerged during the process of interviewing research participants for the Batty case. As Ackerly and True (2020, p. 144) observe regarding qualitative research, often the case chooses you; the VSAC case certainly chose me. In interviewing Batty and policy actors, I found that there was a lot of concern, and in some cases, distress, about VSAC. Policy actors who were directly involved in the Council at the time of the interviews were refreshingly honest in admitting that they had made many mistakes in establishing VSAC and had got more wrong than they got right. Batty and several policy actors were keen to ensure that others would learn from their mistakes. I was also provided with an unreleased report, *Valuing the lived experience*

(henceforth the VLE report) (Family Safety Victoria, 2019), which examines the first three years of VSAC by drawing on insights from 31 unstructured interviews with current and former members of the Council and the VSAC Secretariat, as well as other stakeholders associated with the Council. Therefore, it was decided that the opportunity to 'pose provocative questions' (Reinharz, 1992, p. 167) through an in-depth intrinsic case study analysis of VSAC as a unique mechanism for engaging GBV survivors within the highest levels of the Victorian Government was ideal for this thesis.

3.3 Context for the study: Victorian family violence system

The first two studies in this thesis, on the Batty effect and VSAC, are situated in the Australian state of Victoria. The primary rationale for this focus was the unprecedented investment in and scale of the reform of Victoria's family violence system occurring at the time of this research being undertaken. The Victorian Government's investment in family violence was, according to the government, more than the total investment made by every other Australian state and territory government and the Australian Federal government combined at the time (Australian Associated Press, 2017). Furthermore, the Victorian State Government committed to centring the voices and lived experience of survivors in policy development and service delivery (State Government of Victoria, 2021b). The government's concerted efforts to reform the entire family violence system, from primary prevention to policing and crisis support, and to embed the lived experiences of survivors in the reform process, are of interest and relevance to scholars and practitioners working in the field of GBV across Australia and worldwide. As Fitz-Gibbon et al. (2020) write, 'The Victorian family violence reforms are world-leading and transformational' (p. 4). Additionally, Victoria is also the state where Luke Batty was murdered; and while the Batty effect had ripple impacts on public discourse and policy across Australia, Batty's influence was arguably concentrated in Victoria, particularly as she was appointed to Chair VSAC.

3.4 Overview of research methods

Objective 1: Examine the role Rosie Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria

Study 1: Batty effect case study

The Batty effect case study (Chapter 4/Study 1) was designed to address Objective 1 through examining the role Batty played in bringing about the reform of the family violence system in Victoria. This was achieved by analysing an in-depth interview of approximately 90 minutes with Batty and semi-structured interviews of approximately 50 minutes each with eight primarily senior policy actors from a range of family violence sector and government policy organisations. Media coverage and government artefacts, such as press releases and speeches, were also analysed. Ethics approval was obtained on 26 February 2019 (Project ID: 17865) from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee. Data collection commenced in April 2019 and was completed in August 2019.

Policy actors from a range of family violence sector and government agencies were sourced using my networks and a snowball sampling approach, whereby people who were approached for interview or interviewed were asked to recommend others whose experience would be relevant to the study. Given the potential political sensitivity of the subject matter covered in the interviews and to ensure that they could speak as freely as possible in the interviews, policy actors spoke on the condition of their anonymity. To maintain their anonymity, participants in Chapter 4/Study 1 were assigned nongendered pseudonyms (e.g., P1, P2). Participants were asked about the influence they had seen Batty have in relation to their work and family violence reform in Victoria, whether victim-survivor voices are important, and whether and how their voices are or can be embedded in family violence reform (see Interview Guide in Appendix 1: Studies 1 & 3 Supplementary Material). With ethical approval and Batty's permission, she is identified in the research, in large part due to the high-profile nature of her advocacy. In the interview with Batty, the discussion centred on the influence she had seen herself have on others and why she thought she had been so influential. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and uploaded to NVivo to facilitate thematic analysis. Inductive coding was used to identify themes emerging from the data, and once it was clear that there were strong themes emerging that aligned with the literature, especially the ideal victim and policy entrepreneur theories, the data and codes were reviewed, reorganised and expanded (see Batty effect study codes in Appendix 1: Studies 1 & 3 Supplementary Material).

Objective 2: Explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy

Study 2: VSAC case study

To address Objective 2, Chapter 5/Study 2 aimed to identify the risks and limitations for public value creation of survivors of GBV being engaged in the co-production of policy. Chapter 5/Study 2 involved the analysis of interview data collected during Study 1 and the thematic analysis of five government reports, including four from the Family Violence Reform Implementation Monitor (FVRIM, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021) and the VLE report on the first three years of VSAC (FSV, 2019). The VLE report was commissioned by Family Safety Victoria (FSV) and is not publicly available but was provided to me with permission to use it in this study. The VLE report provides insights based on 31 unstructured interviews with people 'in and around VSAC' including current and former VSAC members, public servants and family violence sector stakeholders (FSV, 2019, p. 8). All research participants are named in the VLE report but quotes or comments are anonymous and are identified as being from a 'VSAC member' or 'person from Government', for example. As outlined above, the policy actor participants in Chapter 5/Study 2 are assigned nongendered pseudonyms (e.g., P1, P2) and Batty is again identified in the research.

An inductive thematic analysis of interview data and data from the government reports was undertaken in NVivo. This analysis provided the opportunity to compare and corroborate interview data against official narratives regarding the aims, processes, challenges and lessons learned in relation to VSAC. To achieve this, the data was analysed using the seven potential evils of co-production identified by Steen et al. (2018) and Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) proposed dimensions of public value measurement: (1) outcome achievement, (2) trust and legitimacy, (3) service delivery and quality, and (4) efficiency. Throughout the analysis attention was also paid to gendered norms, stereotypes, processes, practices and power dynamics. See Appendix 2 for a breakdown of the codes.

Objective 3: Define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement

Study 3: In-depth interviews with victim-survivor advocates

In line with Objective 3, the aims of Chapter 6/Study 3 were twofold: 1) to identify mechanisms and supports that GBV survivors from a range of marginalised communities have found effective and rewarding in their endeavours to drive change and public policy reform; and 2) to triangulate the findings of Studies 1 and 2 through the lived experiences and perspectives of survivors.

I undertook a thematic analysis of 11 explorative, in-depth interviews conducted with survivor advocates/activists to achieve this objective. Research participants were sourced through my networks and with the assistance of domestic violence organisations DV Vic (now Safe and Equal) and Engender Equality (based in Tasmania). To ensure a geographic spread of survivors across Australia, I sought support from other domestic violence organisations, including DV NSW. However, I found that at the time, DV Vic and Engender Equality were the only organisations that had funding for workers to support survivor advocacy programs. As a result, most of those I interviewed lived in Victoria or Tasmania.

Deciding which survivors to recruit for this study took time and much discussion with my supervision team. I deliberately sought diverse research participants from often marginalised communities, most of whom face multiple forms of structural discrimination and disadvantage, such as poverty, colonisation and ableism. I selected participants who had told their stories before and had support networks in place. I also chose participants who had undertaken a range of advocacy/activism activities, including current and past members of VSAC and people involved in independent and community-led campaigns such as #LetHerSpeak / #LetUsSpeak. Many of the participants had been involved in other activist action around various human rights issues, including disability, transgenderism and incarceration. This diversity was essential to elevate the voices of those who are rarely heard and ensure that I heard from those who are most representative of the majority of GBV survivors.

Ethics approval provided for Chapter 4/Study 1 (Project ID: 17865) was amended for Chapter 6/Study 3 and assessed and approved by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee on 31 May 2021. Data collection commenced in June 2021 and was completed in November. With ethical approval and participants' permission, all participants in Chapter 6/Study 3 are identified. This decision was made in large part to ensure that survivor voices were heard and due to the identifiable nature of their advocacy/activism. One participant, Nina, requested to be identified only by their first name. Table 6 lists all the

research participants, their backgrounds, preferred terminology and advocacy/activism experience.

Table 6 Research participants

Name	Background	Preferred terminology	Advocacy/activist experience (at time of interview)
Aleana Robins	'I am a trans woman who runs a website designed to combat the lies and misinformation about being transgender and gender dysphoria. I am also a two-time published author [Robins, 2016].' Aleana experienced family violence as a child and domestic violence as an adult. She has autism and dyslexia.	'I'm always concerned about having people see me as a victim. I'm not a victim, I'm a **survivor**.'	* Voices for Change graduate * Engender Equality Advocates for Change advocate * Transgender advocate
Ash Vishwanath	'I'm an immigrant woman of colour, and I speak Tamil primarily, and English is a second language for me. I have been living in Australia for the past five years now, and my experience of family violence has led me down this career path.'	'I am a **survivor advocate**'.	* Current VSAC member * Member of the Noor Family Violence Survivor-Advocates advisory group at inTouch Multicultural Centre against Family Violence (inTouch, n.d.) * Survivor advocate advisor at DV Vic (now Safe and Equal) at time of interview

Deborah Thomson	'I've written two books about my lived experience [Thomson, 2018, 2021] ... I was a victim myself for 25 years… I was born with a genetic disability, but then due to certain incidents I have an acquired brain injury. two aneurisms which resulted from abuse in the past.'	'I guess I prefer **survivor** … enough people realise that if you are a survivor, you were a victim'	* Voices for Change graduate * Engender Equality Advocates for Change advocate * Campaigned (successfully) for legislation against non-fatal strangulation in Tasmania
Fiona Hamilton	'I am a Trawlwulwuy woman, which is a Tasmanian Aboriginal woman from the northeast clans of Tasmania on Tebrakunna country. At the moment, I live in Tasmania and I live in homelands. I am a victim-survivor advocate of family violence. I've also previously worked in the field of family violence. I am also a female Aboriginal heritage officer ... And I'm also an artist.'	'The ability to kind of make decisions for yourself, and even how you describe your own condition, is very important ... So, I don't see always the same connect between those words of "victim-survivor advocate". … I don't know I'm necessarily comfortable with that term, but I use it for want of anything better. … And I think **what I'd really like to see is for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women to be**	* Advocate for inclusive domestic violence services for women with disability ('Domestic Violence Services Are Failing Women with Disabilities', 2021)

		able to start to use language to describe our condition and our experience. '	
Luisa Fernanda Mejia	'I was born in Colombia and moved to Australia seven years ago, and I've been living in Hobart for the last three years. … I'm a victim-survivor of family violence.'	'I wouldn't refer to myself as **victim-survivor** before, but after realising how dangerous it was the situation I was in, I think that's the most appropriate thing … it recognises the danger of family violence, but also our fight to be safe.'	* Voices for Change graduate * Engender Equality Advocates for Change advocate (Engender Equality, 2022)
Lula Dembele	'I am a survivor advocate who shares my experience of childhood sexual abuse, childhood domestic violence and domestic violence and abuse I experienced in early and adult relationships to create systemic change.'	'So for myself, in thinking about my role where I would use words like I'm an agitator. The language – I'm a disrupter. I'm probably not an advocate in many ways, I'm actually an **activist**.'	* Founded Accountability Matters Project * Bravehearts child protection, Ambassador (Bravehearts, 2022) * Voices for Change graduate * Member of WEAVERS, University of Melbourne * Member of National Plan Advisory Group * Co-founder of the Independent Collective of Survivors
Mahalia Handley	'I am Maori/Irish and an international curve model	'I use **activist**, because I feel like what I'm doing is	* Ambassador for the #LetHerSpeak campaign

	representing diversity and body positivity.' Mahalia has lived experience of domestic violence.	physical approaches in many ways … activism requires somebody to be physically doing something.'	* Human rights activist
Nicole Lee	'I'm a survivor of domestic and family violence that also involved sexual violence, [and] a woman living with disability.'	'I don't really use the term "survivor advocate" so much anymore. I just say I'm an **activist**. I feel that encompasses more of what I do. Advocacy seems too gentle and soft, and I like "activist".'	* Past VSAC member * #LetHerSpeak campaign participant * Disability activist
Nina	'I am a proud and unapologetic criminalised woman … I aim to improve the understanding of family violence in women's lives who have been criminalised.'	'I do have lived experience in a number of different areas. So, I would just like to have **lived experience**, I don't like the term "victim". **Survivor** is fine but I don't like the term "victim". It makes me feel less than.'	* Current VSAC member * Member of the Safe and Equal Expert Advisory Panel (Safe and Equal, 2022) * The Women's Leadership Group, Women Transforming Justice Project, Fitzroy Legal Service Inc (RMIT Centre for Innovative Justice, 2019)
Russell Vickery	'I am a gay man. I have lived through family violence with an intimate partner.'	'I'm a **survivor**, that's the reality. I was a victim of somebody else at one point in time, but I don't	* Current VSAC member * Cabaret performer/advocate * Voices for Change graduate

		feel like a victim now at all.'	
Tarang Chawla	'I like to say brother of Nikita Chawla first and foremost, because any – whether it's Our Watch Ambassador or any campaigns I've won or things like that – they're all secondary to me.'	'Initially [I preferred] the mantle of victim-survivor because I was one of the inaugural Victim Survivors' Advisory Council [members] in Victoria … Nowadays, and for a while, I've preferred **activist**.'	* Founder Not One More Niki * Past VSAC member * Our Watch Ambassador * Senior Policy Advisor, Family Safety Victoria * Commissioner, Victorian Multicultural Commission

The interview questions covered participants' backgrounds, preferred terminology, views regarding the role of survivors, and experiences of barriers and opportunities in advocacy/activist work (see Interview Guide in Appendix 1: Studies 1 & 3 Supplementary Material). All interviews were analysed and coded in NVivo, initially using a deductive coding approach, based on the interview questions. Inductive coding was then used to identify emergent and divergent themes (see survivors' perspectives codes in Appendix 1: Studies 1 & 3 Supplementary Material). This was undertaken to attempt to avoid flattening out or neatening the experiences of the research participants. It is important to note that Chapter 6 only uses a fraction of the interview data captured in Study 3, and additional data will be used in future publications.

3.5 Conclusion

By adopting a three-stage approach to the research design, the analyses undertaken for this thesis contribute a depth and breadth of understanding regarding the role of survivors of GBV in driving public policy change and optimal mechanisms for their engagement. Case studies of policy change agents or policy entrepreneurs have long been used to identify the role of passionate individuals in driving policy change. However, the emergence of survivors of GBV as agents for policy change is recent and the Batty effect case study is the first to consider a survivor advocate as a policy entrepreneur. This approach significantly advances our understanding regarding the influence of survivor advocates, particularly as outside

actors who challenge institutional protectiveness, and highlights the convergence of individual, institutional, social and historical factors that contribute to social change.

The next three chapters provide additional detail on each study's research design, analysis techniques, and hypotheses/research questions and findings. Chapter 4 presents the detailed methods, findings and implications of the Batty effect case study. Chapter 5 reports on the findings of the VSAC case study, including the importance of considering public dis/value in evaluating co-production initiatives. Chapter 6 explores the lived experiences and perspectives of survivors from marginalised communities in relation to influencing change, with a particular focus on what works given the risks and limitations revealed in the previous two studies.

Chapter 4: Published Work 1 – The Batty Effect: Victim-survivors and Domestic and Family Violence Policy Change

'Because I experienced one of the worst public tragedies anyone had or could envisage, that public acknowledgement catapulted me into a victim advocacy that I think is different to a lot of other victims. By being given the Australian of the Year, [it] gave me a national platform that who else [had]? No one else [no other victim-survivor] has been able to appreciate and have,'

Rosie Batty. (As cited in Wheildon, 2022)

In 2015, the year after her son Luke was murdered by his father, Rosie Batty was appointed Australian of the Year and spoke at approximately 250 events to more than 70,000 people (Hermant, 2016). Between 2014 and 2016, a total of 95,261 media reports mentioned Batty and analysis of those reports revealed significant shifts in the nature of the reporting over time, including increases in coverage regarding where survivors could go for help; featuring government ministers quoted alongside Batty; and about government action, funding and policies on family violence (Isentia Insights, n.d., pp. 4–5). These shifts in media reporting reflect a change in the public discourse and policymakers' prioritisation of the issue of GBV. Australian media referred to this as the Batty effect (Payne, 2018; Perkins, 2016; Wenderoth, 2017). In 2015, the Victorian Government established the Royal Commission into Family Violence 'after a number of family violence-related deaths in Victoria – most notably the death of Luke Batty' (State Government of Victoria, n.d.-a), which led to an unprecedented AU$3 billion commitment to reform the family violence system in Victoria (Tuohy, 2021).

This chapter presents the first paper written for publication as part of this thesis, which draws on a case study of the Batty effect. It addresses the first objective of this thesis, which is to: examine the role Rosie Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria. It also explores four key research questions: 1) What role did Batty play in family violence policy reforms in Victoria? 2) What personal attributes helped Batty fulfil this role? 3) What other factors contributed to driving change? and 4) Did Batty open the door for other, more marginalised survivors to be heard?

As described in Chapter 3, an in-depth interview with Batty and eight interviews with policymakers involved in Victoria's family violence system reform inform this study. A thematic analysis of the interview data was undertaken by applying a theoretical framework that brings together the policy entrepreneur and ideal victim theories. With reference to the common attributes and strategies of policy entrepreneurs, the findings presented in this chapter provide insights regarding the characteristics that made Batty such a powerful change agent.

The results from the analysis of the interview data indicated that Batty possessed remarkable personal characteristics that made her an influential policy entrepreneur. Some of the most notable characteristics were Batty's ability to put herself in other people's shoes and understand their objectives, and her capacity to build networks of people with the expertise needed to make change happen. However, the data also revealed additional attributes and contextual factors that were key to Batty's success, including her outsider status, the window of opportunity opened through the change of government in 2014 and the decades of work undertaken by women's movements.

The findings from the Batty effect case study also provided several insights regarding the challenges facing survivor advocates, including the power of the stereotype of the ideal victim and the social norm of victim-blaming. These insights confirmed the findings of research conducted by Walklate et al. (2019) into why some survivors are not heard and the risks this poses to policymakers who are only hearing from ideal, non-representative survivors. However, the study extended the work of Christie (1986), Walklate et al. (2019) and others to provide empirical insights revealing the pressure Batty felt to be compliant and to avoid upsetting or becoming a threat to powerful interests. These challenges and limitations helped inform, and are further explored and expanded upon in, Chapter 5/Study 2. Chapter 6/Study 3 examines the experiences of marginalised survivors in overcoming some of these barriers.

The insights offered by the Batty effect case study help us understand the role of survivor advocates more broadly and reveal the power of lived experience, as well as its limitations. The study is also significant because policy entrepreneur theory has most often been applied to those with substantial social power rather than to GBV survivors. Additionally, the study brings the attributes of the policy entrepreneur together with the characteristics of the ideal victim for the first time.

The following section presents the first paper in this thesis, which was first published online in *Violence Against Women* in August 2021.

Paper 1: The Batty Effect: Victim-survivors and Domestic and Family Violence Policy Change

[See PDF on the following page]

The Batty Effect: Victim-Survivors and Domestic and Family Violence Policy Change

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Abstract
This article explores the influence of victim-survivors as change agents through the examination of the case of domestic and family violence advocate Rosie Batty. Utilizing public policy and criminological theories, and drawing from interviews with Batty and policy actors, the article examines the "Batty effect" and the convergence of factors that helped drive significant social and policy reforms in Australia. The article considers how Batty reflects characteristics of the policy entrepreneur and ideal victim, and how the sociopolitical context at the time provided the conditions for change. We conclude by exploring the implications for victim-survivor led policy change.

The influence of the victims' rights movement and collective action has been a key topic in criminology since the late 1960s following the establishment of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board in the United Kingdom (Walklate, 2007) and the emergence of victim support groups in the United States, at least partly in response

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to the liberal Warren Court's introduction of rights for defendants (Abrahamson, 1985; Dubber, 2002; Monroe, 2020; Rentschler, 2011). Twenty years ago, Garland (2001) cautioned that the renewed prominence of victims has been seized upon to support political and commercial agendas, claiming, "if victims were once the forgotten, hidden casualties of criminal behavior, they have now returned with a vengeance, brought back into full public view by politicians and media executives who routinely exploit the victim's experience for their own purposes" (p. 143). Walklate (2012) has called this a "rebalancing" agenda, arguing that it has emerged due to "a deeply-embedded conceptual failure," wherein "despite both political and campaign voices that suggest otherwise, victims of crime do not have a general legal claim to rights except in very particular circumstances" (p. 115). The rise of powerful individual advocates, particularly those with lived experience of gender-based violence, however, is more recent (Walklate et al., 2019) and not as well understood.

Victim-survivor advocate,[1] Rosie Batty, was thrust into the public spotlight in February 2014, when her 11-year-old son Luke was murdered by his father, Greg Anderson, at cricket training in the small township of Tyabb, southeast of Melbourne (Florance & Chalkley-Rhoden, 2014). She has been recognized as a driving force for domestic and family violence[2] (DFV) policy reform (Walklate et al., 2019, p. 203), shifting social and political landscapes across Australia to raise awareness of the failure of governments and government agencies to address this serious social, legal, economic, and public health issue. As a result, a growth in interest in understanding, addressing, and preventing DFV, was increasingly projected into public discourse. Indeed, as Figure 1 indicates, an increase in website searches for the term domestic violence peaked in 2015, at the time Batty was named Australian of the Year,[3] and emerged as an influential spokesperson for DFV survivors.

By 2016, a remarkable shift had taken place in Australia and, as Hawley et al. (2018) noted, the news media started to reframe DFV from being a private matter to "a national problem." Over time, Batty highlighted that gender equality was essential to the prevention of DFV and this was consequently reflected in public discourse (pp. 2305–2306). This shift occurred alongside a change in how Batty was presented in the media, from being quoted with police spokespeople, to predominantly being quoted with politicians (Hawley et al., 2018, p. 2313).

In May 2014 when announcing that if elected, a Labor government would hold a royal commission into family violence, Victorian Opposition Leader Daniel Andrews said he would never forget meeting Batty, describing her as "the face of courage in this country" (Andrews, 2014). Labor was elected in November 2014. As promised, the Royal Commission took place and provided its final report to the government in March 2016. Several weaknesses in the existing family violence system, which Batty had raised through her advocacy, were directly addressed in the Royal Commission's recommendations. This included a recommendation that the Victorian Government and agencies ensure victim-survivor voices help shape policy and service delivery (State of Victoria, 2016). This recommendation led to the creation of the Victorian Government's Victim Survivors' Advisory Council in March 2016 (Premier of Victoria, 2016).[4] Batty was appointed Chair of the Council, a role she
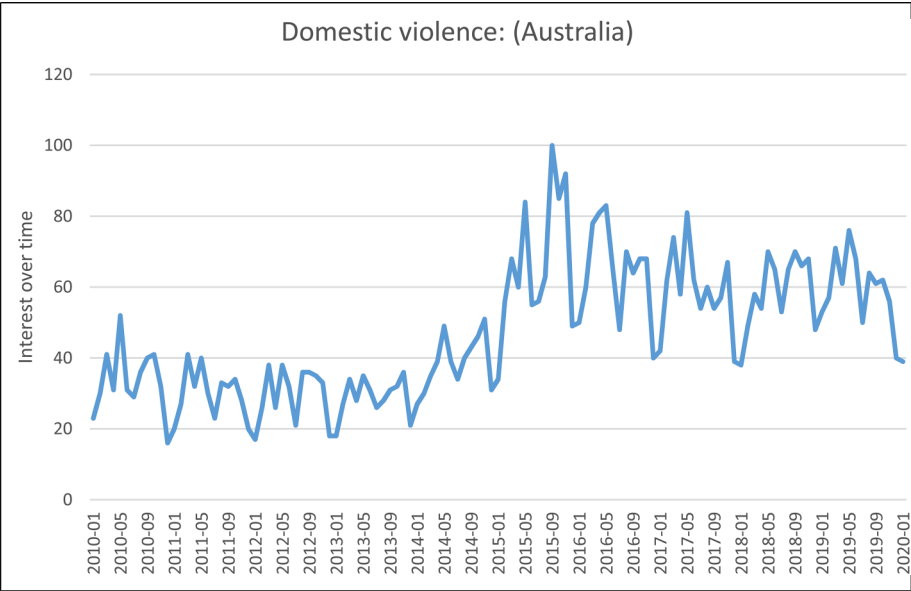
Figure 1. Ten-year Google trends search for the term domestic violence in Australia (2010–2020). *Note.* Interest over time numbers represent search interest relative to the highest point on the chart for the given region, Australia, and time, 2010–2020. A value of 100 is the peak popularity for the term. A value of 50 means that the term is half as popular. A score of 0 means that there was not enough data for this term.

served in from 2016 until mid-2019. The government ultimately committed to delivering all 227 recommendations (State Government of Victoria, n.d.) and this resulted in a record investment of more than $2.7 billion in family violence prevention and support services for victim-survivors (State of Victoria, 2019, p. 4).

In this article, we explore the role Batty played in bringing about this period of unprecedented change in relation to DFV in Australia. In particular, we examine the personal characteristics that helped make her so influential in transforming DFV policy. We do so through an analysis of policy entrepreneurship and ideal victim theory. Criminologists have long considered why some victims attract public attention and compassion more than others. Walklate et al. (2019) have indeed examined how Rosie and Luke Batty's status as what Christie called "ideal victims" (1986) helped their story gain traction and influence. In the public policy context, researchers have also explored how passionate, often unlikely individuals become "policy entrepreneurs," who set new agendas that bring about policy change (Anderson et al., 2020; Aviram et al., 2019; Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Narbutaité Aflaki et al., 2015). This article brings together theories of policy entrepreneurship and the ideal victim in a framework to highlight the dynamics of DFV policy change. In particular, we apply this theoretical framework to consider themes emerging from a series of interviews

with policy actors and Batty herself, to examine what the news media labelled the "Batty effect" (see, e.g., Payne, 2018; Perkins, 2016; Wenderoth, 2017), which saw significant legal and social DFV reform across Australia.

While this article focuses on DFV policy reform in Australia, the study has broader relevance, particularly in light of developments in relation to victim-survivors influencing policy and gendered violence law reform in other countries. For example, Pakistani activist, Malala Yousafzai, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2014 after being shot by the Taliban and taking to the world stage to campaign for education for girls (Yousafzai & Lamb, 2015). In England and Wales, Clare's Law, a DFV disclosure scheme named after Clare Wood, a woman murdered by her ex-boyfriend who had a history of violence against women, was introduced in 2014 in response to a campaign led by Wood's father (Fitz-Gibbon & Walklate, 2017). In the United States, actor Jennifer Lawrence advocated for the criminalization of image-based sexual abuse, when private, nude photographs of her and other female celebrities were stolen and distributed online: "It is not a scandal. It is a sex crime" (Kashner, 2014). While Lawrence was not the only advocate for action, she was the most prominent, and by 2017, 38 states and Washington, DC had criminalized image-based sexual abuse, with federal criminal legislation also introduced in Congress (Franks, 2017, p. 1251; see also, Flynn & Henry, 2019; Henry et al., 2020). As American writer Solnit (2017) stated, there seems to have been a shift towards victim-survivor informed change:

> I have been waiting all my life for what 2014 has brought. It was a year of feminist insurrection against male violence: a year of mounting refusal to be silent, refusal to let our lives and torments be erased or dismissed. (p. 69)

The article begins by presenting a brief outline of the study methodology, before discussing the theoretical framework used to analyze the interviews, which was developed only after clear themes began to emerge highlighting the relevance of elements of policy entrepreneur and ideal victim theories. The article then applies this framework to identify the characteristics of most relevance to the Batty case and the factors which made Batty so influential, most notably, her outsider status and ability to understand the concerns and motivations of others, including policy advisors, politicians, representatives of the DFV sector, and the general community. We also consider some of the challenges arising from the engagement of victim-survivors in policy reform, including ensuring diverse, representative victim-survivor voices are heard. We then discuss sociopolitical factors, not entirely explained within existing theory, which helped shape the environment for change in Australia. In particular, we examine the role of social movements and the decades of work of those in the women's movement to effect change. Finally, we discuss the implications arising from the Batty case and what it suggests about how policy change happens and what this example may mean for the participation of victim-survivors in policy agenda-setting, development and implementation processes.

Method

This article is informed by an in-depth interview of ~90 min with Rosie Batty and semistructured interviews of ~50 min in duration with eight policy actors. Undertaken between April and August 2019, the interviews were conducted face to face in Melbourne, Victoria, by the lead author. Participants, apart from Batty, were interviewed on the condition of anonymity. To help preserve their anonymity they have been assigned nongendered pseudonyms (e.g., P1, P2). All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and uploaded to NVivo to facilitate thematic analysis. The interview data are supplemented by analyses of media and government reports and other documents.

The policy actors interviewed represented a range of DFV nongovernment sector and government backgrounds, and were selected using the lead author's networks and a snowball sampling approach.[5] Most had worked closely with Batty in relation to specific projects and all had had the opportunity to directly witness her influence. Participants were asked about: the influence they had seen Batty have in relation to their work and family violence policy in Victoria; why victim-survivor voices are important; and challenges or limitations associated with embedding victim-survivor input into the policy development process. The interview with Batty centered on the influence she had seen herself have on others and why she thought she had been so influential.

Throughout the research process, the authors have reflected on the four elements of a feminist research ethic (as outlined in Ackerly & True, 2020), including the power of epistemology, boundaries, relationships, and the authors' own "situatedness" (p. 20). We hope these considerations are reflected throughout the article. In relation to episte- mology, the authors committed to the importance of experiential knowledge and to the knowledge of victim-survivors as a distinct and powerful way of knowing. This corre- sponds with feminist theory which is "based on the premise that the experience of all human beings is valid and must not be excluded from our understandings" (Spender, 1985, pp. 5–6), and is particularly relevant in relation to DFV, given abusers com- monly use silencing and degradation as forms of coercive control (Stark, 2007). Batty's voice is therefore given prominence through extensive quotations, and we engage with her narrative as an empirical focal point, recognizing the value of her own analysis of her lived experience. Batty was an active participant throughout the research process, providing the lead author with input and ongoing support, and in turn, she was provided with regular updates.

The authors recognize that in choosing to foreground one victim-survivor in this article, we are excluding others. However, we believe there is value in interrogating this one, perhaps exceptional case, to examine the power dynamics at play and to con- sider the voices we are not hearing. The authors also acknowledge our own privilege resulting from our sociopolitical location, particularly in being able to access and inter- view senior policy actors. We also acknowledge that the lead author's relationship with Batty, established over several years, provided a foundation of understanding and trust for this research, which is rare.

Policy Entrepreneur Theory Meets the Ideal Victim

Policy entrepreneur theory focuses on the role of individuals in driving significant shifts in policy change. First introduced through public policy literature in 1984 by Kingdon (2003), policy entrepreneurs are described as "advocates for proposals or for the prominence of an idea" (p. 122), who play a connective role in "coupling solutions to problems, problems to political forces, and political forces to proposals" (p. 205). Kingdon identified three requirements for policy entrepreneurs to succeed: some claim to a hearing, political connections or negotiating skills, and persistence (pp. 180–181). Kingdon also observed that policy entrepreneurs "lie in wait" for windows of opportunity to open when they can "push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems" (pp. 165–195). He found that policy entrepreneurs can hold a range of positions such as "elected officials, career civil servants, lobbyists, academics or journalists" (p. 204) and can come from private, public, or third (i.e., not-for-profit or nongovernment) sectors (p. 122).

Scholars have drawn upon Kingdon's early contribution to policy entrepreneur theory to identify the critical role entrepreneurs can play in relation to complex or wicked problems like DFV. As Mintrom and Norman (2009) observe, this occurs "when new challenges appear so significant that established systems of managing them are judged inadequate" (p. 650). Hundreds of case studies of policy entrepreneurs have now been written about figures such as Ken Livingstone and his role in climate change reform (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017); William Hague and sexual violence reform (Davies & True, 2017); and Bob Klein and funding for stem cell research (Mintrom, 2015). The Klein case clearly portrays how a passionate individual, driven by personal circumstances (in this case, his son suffered autoimmune-mediated diabetes), can reframe and build stakeholder and community support around an issue that had previously been off limits (Mintrom, 2020).

Significant similarities have been found across a diverse range of entrepreneurs and some consensus has been reached about the various attributes they are likely to possess. Recently, Mintrom (2020) and others (Aviram et al., 2019; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2016) have distinguished the personal attributes possessed by policy entrepreneurs from the strategies they employ. The five attributes refined by Mintrom (2020, pp. 8–10) include: (1) ambition, (2) social acuity, (3) credibility, (4) sociability, and (5) tenacity. Mintrom (2020, pp. 12–20) further identified seven strategies relevant to entrepreneur theory: (i) thinking strategically, (ii) framing problems, (iii) building teams, (iv) using and expanding networks, (v) working with advocacy coalitions, (vi) leading by example, and (vii) scaling-up advocacy efforts and supporting policy change. While policy entrepreneur theory focuses on the characteristics and strategies of individuals who successfully change policy, it is vital here to also look at ideal victim theory, which traces how social responses to victims of crime depend in part upon the characteristics of the victim and the offender.

Ideal victim theory provides a useful lens for considering how some victims capture community attention and generate support more so than other equally deserving victims. Christie first identified the theory in 1986, defining the "ideal victim" as a

person, or category of people, "who—when hit by crime—most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim" (p. 18). Yet, Christie noted, the "ideal victim" is also generally the least representative form of victim—it is in itself an ideal. He found, "Ideal victims do not necessarily have much to do with the prevalence of real victims. Most ideal victims are not most frequently represented as real victims" (p. 27).

Central to the notion of the ideal victim is the belief that some victims are more or less blameworthy than others, and that "nonideal victims" are in some way responsible for the crimes they have experienced. Christie observed that DFV victims have historically been excluded from the status of "ideal victim." He suggested this was at least partly because DFV was largely invisible and literally hidden behind closed doors. However, Christie (1986, pp. 19–20) went further, highlighting the influence of gender relations in how we respond to victims of crime: "Beaten wives are not such ideal victims because we—males—understand the phenomena so extraordinarily well, and because we can get our definition of the situation to be the valid one." Christie implicitly emphasized the power of the patriarchy and its role in shaping which victims we feel compassion for and which we do not.

Walklate et al. (2019) applied ideal victim theory to the Batty case and established that Luke and Rosie Batty possessed most of the five attributes of Christie's ideal victim, including that: the victim is weak, sick, old, or very young; the victim was carrying out a respectable project; the victim was where they could not possibly be blamed for being (e.g., in the street during daytime); the offender was big and bad; and the offender was not in a (current) personal relationship with the victim (Christie, 1986, p. 19). Walklate et al. argued that this helped their experience generate empathy and attention in a way that few others do, and that this was precisely because they were not representative of the majority of victims. They stated, "While the Victorian Royal Commission (2015) revealed high incidences of family violence in diverse communities, it is the stories of those like Rosie Batty that are most clearly heard and that present an opportunity for change" (Walklate et al., 2019, p. 207).

Perhaps because they stem from different disciplinary traditions, ideal victim and policy entrepreneur theories have not previously been brought together, nor applied to victim-survivor advocates. Yet, the prominence of high-profile victim-survivors of gender-based violence on the international stage in recent years calls for the development of theory that accounts for their roles both as policy advocates and victims of crime. There are, however, tensions in the literatures, which raise questions about who can effect policy change, and there may be good reasons why victim-survivors have not previously been considered policy entrepreneurs. For example, the first quality that Kingdon (2003, p. 180) identified as being essential to policy entrepreneur success was to have some claim to a hearing, such as expertise, an ability to speak for others, or an authoritative decision-making position. As Christie highlighted in relation to the ideal victim, they are not generally among the most privileged and powerful members of society, thus perhaps their "claim" to a hearing is less likely. Perhaps then, through her advocacy, Batty was arguably supporting the agenda of more powerful actors in some way. This is a question we consider throughout this article.

Results

Personal Attributes

Our analysis of the interviews revealed strong similarities between the personal characteristics the policy actors and Batty ascribed as central to her influence as an advocate for change, and the attributes of the policy entrepreneur (Mintrom, 2020) and the ideal victim (Christie, 1986). However, there were additional characteristics and contextual factors that emerged as key to Batty's influential standing. Most notably, this included her outsider status and the decades of work undertaken by the women's movement to provide the foundations for change. Other factors included the importance of the window of opportunity created by a change of government, and the commitment of the Victorian Premier and the Labor Party to the issue of DFV.

In relation to the first of the five attributes of the policy entrepreneur, (1) *ambition*, Mintrom (2020, pp. 8–9) observed that "Ambition for a particular cause supplies the 'why' that explains everything else policy entrepreneurs do." While Batty was not driven by ambition as it is commonly understood (i.e., by a desire for promotion and success), she was certainly motivated by a very powerful vision for a better future (Collins, 2001; Quinn, 2000). Batty was driven by the desire to make something out of the tragedy she had experienced so that others would not go through the same or similar ordeals. As she said at the 2014 coroner's inquest into Luke's death, "I never want anyone to be sitting where I'm sitting and to have lost their son, because I can never get him [Luke] back" (ABC News, 2015).

The second attribute of the policy entrepreneur, (2) *social acuity*, was highly evident in the interview with Batty, not primarily in *what* she said, but in *how* she said it. Batty's ability to understand others and to put herself in their shoes was notable. Batty would frequently speak from the perspective of government or the DFV sector, as well as from the perspectives of other members of the Victim Survivors' Advisory Council. This demonstrated both a strong ability to understand what others were thinking and what their concerns or motivations were, as well as a capability to construct an argument or position that would speak directly to the target audience, which helped Batty secure the support of key stakeholders. Batty attributed this strength to her background:

> I have been a single mum. I have been on Centrelink [unemployment] benefits. I've come to Australia [from England] and struggled to settle in. I have had failed relationships. … And then, I've a professional background, then I've struggled to get work. … Those broad experiences mean you can relate to people.

Further to being able to understand how others think about problems, the third attribute of the policy entrepreneur, (3) *credibility,* was also identified as one of Batty's great strengths by several policy actors. As P8 explained, part of Batty's power lay in her compelling narrative and ability to speak from the heart:

> She and I did lots of public speaking together. … And I thought, I wonder what she could say? You know these are the converted, everybody's heard her speak, there's nothing

new. And she had the room on its feet. … Everyone was in tears. She was extraordinarily powerful. So, I often saw her speak, she would have all these notes and then they would be completely thrown away. She would speak from the heart and she would have people in the palm of her hand.

Mintrom (2020, p. 9) identified credibility as being key to policy entrepreneurs being able to enlist others to a cause.

Mintrom (2020, p. 9) differentiated social acuity from the fourth attribute, (4) *sociability*, highlighting that sociability is more than identifying points of common interest; it is about "engaging with others in ways that make those others feel appreciated." Reflecting this, P8 described Batty's sociability in the following way: "I don't think we ever saw a person who saw this as [a] one woman show … she was always wanting it to link back to those who could make a difference." Batty similarly spoke of the importance of constantly expanding her networks and of building advocacy coalitions as a method to effect change: "I extended my networks through personal recommendation and felt 'safe' that I'd got the right people with the right professional knowledge advising me and who I could reach out to."

The final attribute identified by Mintrom (2020) and others (Duckworth, 2016; Quinn & Quinn, 2009) as being common to policy entrepreneurs is (5) *tenacity* and "the willingness to keep working towards a bigger goal, even when that goal seems nowhere in sight" (Mintrom, 2020, pp. 9–10). Batty revealed that this outlook had been essential for her to keep moving forward as an advocate. As she observed, "If you don't realize that change takes decades, you become hostile. You become disillusioned. You become frustrated and you think no one's listening and the Government don't do anything." Despite the trauma she had experienced as a result of Luke's death, Batty felt she always had a clear sense of the bigger picture and the fact that it is important to acknowledge each small step towards the end goal.

Strategies

While the interviews revealed a high degree of consonance between Batty's personal attributes and those that characterize the policy entrepreneur, it was less straightforward to map the strategies she employed onto those policy entrepreneurs appear to use most frequently (Mintrom, 2020). This reflects Mintrom's (2020, p. 13) finding that policy entrepreneurs employ these strategies to varying degrees, depending on the political context. However, there was evidence that some of the strategies could be applied to Batty's advocacy approach. For example, (i) *thinking strategically*: Batty sought support from individual experts and organizations, including a research, strategy, and communications company, to assist in developing fundraising and advocacy campaigns for the Luke Batty Foundation.[6] This involved bringing together experts from a range of primary prevention, frontline service delivery, legal, women's health, and research/academic organizations to identify areas of focus for Batty's advocacy. In our interview, Batty emphasized that she always had a clear

sense of purpose and that she felt this helped her make an impact: "It was always about educating and raising awareness." In this way, Batty managed to focus on clear goals, a key element of strategic thinking.

In relation to (ii) *framing the problem*, it was evident from Batty's first statement to the media that she had a framework for understanding DFV. The morning after Luke was killed, she addressed a group of journalists outside her home stating: "If anything comes out of this, I want it to be a lesson to everybody that family violence happens to everybody no matter how nice your house is, no matter how intelligent you are, it happens to anyone and everyone" (Metcalfe, 2014). In our interview, Batty explained how she felt she had developed this understanding: "I've done a diploma in community welfare. So, from that diploma I learnt about, you know, the theory behind family violence." This understanding helped Batty define the issue as an issue of relevance for others and, over time, as a problem that could be solved.

(iii) *Building teams*, (iv) *using and expanding networks, and* (v) *working with advocacy coalitions* emerged from the interviews as some of Batty's greatest advocacy strengths. She herself reflected on having established a strong network of experts around Australia:

> That's my approach ... build up a network of people who are highly regarded. That if [the then CEO of Domestic Violence Victoria] says, "[Project Consultant at Stopping Family Violence and Member of the Board] is fantastic!" Then I go, "You know what? I need to know [them]." If [Project Consultant at Stopping Family Violence and Member of the Board] says, "You know [researcher on men, masculinities and violence prevention] is fantastic" then ... So, if anyone comes to me, I say you need to speak to [Project Consultant at Stopping Family Violence and Member of the Board] or you need to speak with [researcher on men, masculinities and violence prevention]. There are a whole stack of other great people, but I only recommend certain people. ... So, I have always been one of those people that doesn't try to be the expert. That actually tries to introduce or connect [people].

Further, Batty did not only enlist the support of individuals, she also worked with advocacy organizations and networks such as Our Watch, Australia's national organization for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children. As Mintrom (2020), Petridou (2014), and others have observed, policy entrepreneurs are not solo operators pursuing change on their own. A considerable part of their influence comes from their ability to build, motivate, and maintain networks of people with the knowledge and capabilities required to achieve success.

Sometimes when policy actors do not take action, policy entrepreneurs will step in and (vi) *lead by example* (Mintrom, 2020, p. 19). This is what Batty did in establishing the Luke Batty Foundation. Through the Foundation, Batty raised funds for work she felt was important but overlooked by others, particularly by government. For example, Batty helped secure philanthropic funds and worked with Our Watch to develop resources to support the roll out of Respectful Relationships curriculum to schools (Pro Bono Australia, 2016).[7] As she explained:

I'm really thrilled with Respectful Relationships going into about 1,000 state schools in Victoria. That potentially has the capacity to significantly shift and change attitudes which is what we're trying to do to reduce and stop family violence. So [I'm] particularly proud of that.

The introduction of this program into schools was seen as controversial by some media commentators and politicians, but Batty's passion and vocal advocacy for it made it difficult for governments to avoid at least considering introducing it (Watson, 2015).

There is less clear evidence of Batty employing the policy entrepreneur strategies of (vii) *scaling-up advocacy efforts and supporting policy change*. Certainly there is evidence that she saw value in piloting and supporting initiatives, such as the Respectful Relationships program, that could then be implemented more broadly. She was also engaged in policy development through the Victim Survivors' Advisory Council for three years. However, it may be too early to assess just how active Batty has been in the use of some of these strategies, as at the time of writing, her advocacy work continues. In addition, as Batty indicated in her interview with us, the work of driving and supporting policy change is not always clear cut and it has often taken time for her to learn of changes she has inspired:

It's hard sometimes, when you've spoken to key powerful people who are highly influential [to know] where that goes. But they will often credit you back and say, as an example, I spoke at the Financial Counselling Australia conference about three years ago. … At that conference you have all the energy providers, you have all financial counsellors, you have a whole stack of people working with those in hardship, those in vulnerable positions and the realization from all of those players in that room meant they all went back and said we have to change the way that we look at and respond to this issue.

The Importance of Being an Outsider

One of the strongest themes related to Batty's influence to have emerged from the interviews was the importance of her outsider status and the fact she was not from the DFV sector or government. Several policy actors commented that outsider status and an "outsider's" ability to cut through what was described as "institutional protectiveness" was the greatest strength of victim-survivor advocates generally.

Two policy actors spoke in detail about witnessing the power of the vivid, lived experiences of victim-survivors in breaking down barriers and ideological differences between individuals or institutions with opposing views during hearings held by the Family Violence Royal Commission. As P3 explained:

We would set up a panel deliberately with people who had different views. Sometimes we saw that opposition fall away a bit [after victim-survivors had spoken] when they were all commonly, frankly, in a bit of shock about what they had just seen and less defensive. So that moment of thinking, "Right. Ok. We need to do something about that." And look, I've seen that happen subsequently as well in other jobs that I've done, and I've seen that moment when the case study or that personal account crashes through the ideology or

the institutional protectiveness in a way that's very powerful. People did sometimes talk for days [about what victim-survivors had said] and what was interesting was that the personal. … There's something about the way we recall things, that a person's narrative, where that person has been living, breathing and speaking in front of you, people would retain the detail of that.

Reinforcing this observation about the power of lived experiences in making an indelible, galvanizing impression, Batty recognized that the horrific nature of Luke's death was part of the reason why she was able to have such influence:

Because I experienced one of the worst public tragedies anyone had or could envisage, that public acknowledgement catapulted me into a victim advocacy that I think is different to a lot of other victims. By being given the Australian of the Year, [it] gave me a national platform that who else [had]? No one else [no other victim-survivor] has been able to appreciate and have.

In the interview, Batty also reflected on the power of being an outsider, saying: "I find being an outsider and not having my foot in [either camp] and keeping, I guess, not too entrenched in each, I feel like I have an appreciation [of both], because I'm outside." In this observation, she raises the issue of divisions between the Victorian Government and the DFV sector, and this is something that was mentioned repeatedly in the interviews, particularly in relation to the role of victim-survivor advocates. P3, for example, observed that during the Royal Commission, there were sometimes gaps between the views of those within the government and those in the sector, and the lived experiences and views of victim-survivors:

Often what the women told us was a bit different from what the services were telling us. And so, what they told us about how they felt about the perpetrator and what they wanted to happen to him, was often quite different from the institutional positions and I think you've got to be very, very careful about speaking for victims and not actually listening to what they want.

At the time the interviews were undertaken, there were obvious tensions between the government and the DFV sector in relation to the Victim Survivors' Advisory Council and its position "inside" the government. One sector representative said they had been applying for funding from the government to establish a similar group for years. They expressed concern that the government did not have the expertise to manage the Council:

You want to approach this in an ethical way that doesn't retraumatize people, doesn't exploit them. … You know they might be experts in their own experience but not necessarily the system. … And so, I was told I was patronizing, that women were much more robust in being able to speak for themselves. (P8)

There were concerns identified by some in the government about the sector being paternalistic and underestimating the capabilities of victim-survivors: "People make

this assumption like we have got to protect and my experience is that they will know what they [victim-survivors] need and they are the best judge of when things are too much" (P6). Some within the government also said they felt that the victim-survivors themselves preferred to be within government and that "it's really important that victim-survivors have an unimpeded line to government" (P2). In relation to the Advisory Council and its position inside the government, Batty expressed a nuanced view:

> The Government has absolutely embraced those with lived experience being around the table and included in … contributing to policy change. That was part of a recommendation of the Royal Commission. They've really committed to that. I did feel it met resistance from the sector and I do feel it still does. … They are used to advocating and speaking for [victim-survivors] and I think that this transition as we move forward requires change from every-body and I do think that some of their concerns are reasonable to consider for sure.

Batty also suggested that old tensions may be diminishing with many working in the Victorian Government having worked in the DFV sector and vice versa:

> I think that the distrust between the sector, possibly, and government, is historic, and worthy of great respect. But all of the bureaucrats are from the sector and have the exper-tise, so I see how … governments, maybe not all, [are] changing and adapting.

Reinelt's (1995) study of the Texas battered women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s helps shed some light on the long history of this dissonance within and between government and sector. As she explains, "The state is neither a neutral arbiter of gender nor simply a reproducer of existing gender inequalities. It is a site of active contestation over the construction of gender inequalities and power" (p. 87). In the Victorian context, Batty helped overcome ideological divisions and stasis by seemingly uniting stakeholders with an urgency and shared commitment to change.

Batty and other victim-survivor advocates, such as those who spoke at the Royal Commission, helped deliver a powerful, pressing, and inescapable message: You have failed us and you must listen. Batty's outsider status, together with her compelling and confronting lived experience, demanded that people listen, and her story has been etched into people's memories.

Ideal Victim Status

Despite being unfamiliar with the term and the theory, in the interview Batty acknowl-edged her ideal victim status as having helped her story become influential: "The very fact that I am not that stereotypical victim is the reason I had any cut through, because otherwise people are already tuned out." Previously, in her witness statement to the Royal Commission, Batty acknowledged that the reason she had been able to speak to so many people about her story and have them listen was because she is white, middle class, well educated, and articulate (Witness Statement of Rosie Batty, 2015).

From the interviews, it was clear the policy actors were also aware that Batty's ideal victim status gave her an influence most victim-survivors of DFV do not have. Some

clearly felt that the benefits of this, such as communicating that DFV can happen to anyone and building community support for action, outweighed the potential risks of Batty's lack of representativeness and of other voices remaining unheard (see also Walklate et al., 2019). As P2 reflected:

> We were incredibly aware that, and in fact Rosie was, in a lot of ways, incredibly helpful because, she was white and not from a low socio economic background and very articulate. There are a lot of women who experience family violence. It's kind of like the unseen family violence, right? It's happening to all those poor people but not to me. So, I think that's actually a helpful rebalancing of the narrative.

Other policy actors expressed concern that genuine engagement with diverse victim-survivor advocates seemed too hard within government, particularly given overly bureaucratic processes and ambitious timelines for the implementation of the Royal Commission's recommendations. Further to this, some felt that if victim-survivor advocates did not support the dominant narrative regarding the gendered drivers of DFV and, for example, preferred to underscore the impacts of colonization, it seemed unlikely many in the government, the sector, or the broader women's movement would amplify their message. Ultimately, some policy actors expressed concern that the Royal Commission recommendation that victim-survivor voices be centered had not been adequately addressed and that engaging victim-survivors had become a box-ticking exercise, and one that only applied to "certain" victims, leaving others, such as women from more marginalized backgrounds, unaccounted for.

The Power of the Social Norm of Victim Blaming

Intertwined with the concept of the ideal victim is the social norm of blaming the victim. The issue of victim blaming was a strong undercurrent in many of our interviews with policy actors and was seen as a barrier to the voices of diverse victim-survivors being heard. Policy actors who had been involved in the Royal Commission discussed being very careful in selecting victim-survivors to present at the hearings, as they wanted to ensure they chose people who would provoke compassion and would not be blamed for what had happened to them (i.e., Christie's ideal victims):

> We picked incredibly carefully. I can't pretend this was some sort of randomized selection. There were people whose trauma made them less easy to empathize with, or to identify with, who we didn't select. … We definitely tried to pick around both ethnic, cultural diversity, ability. … We had a woman with a significant disability. So we had a mix in that sense, social class, all those kind of mixes we had. But they were all people that it was impossible to not have your heart break over. And I think … did we contemplate putting someone who had significant drug addiction? Yes we did, and we decided against it. It was a cynical exercise, but for good outcomes at that point. We knew we would have lost some people. This was about saying women who experience family violence come in all shapes and colors. But looking back, I would have loved to have been able to be braver, but I think we had a really limited window, and so we had to grab it. (P3)

Compliance

In addition to the five attributes of the ideal victim, Christie (1986, p. 21) identified a sixth "condition" for being an ideal victim: "that you are powerful enough to make your case known and successfully claim the status of ideal victim. … But she (he) must at the very same time be weak enough not to become a threat to other important interests". While Batty's recognition of her social power as an ideal victim was a dominant theme to emerge in her interview, she also described how she felt that she did not want to jeopardize the opportunities that came her way. She recounted feeling particularly concerned when other victim-survivor advocates were not as careful as her in this regard:

> It's being again mindful of your messaging, what you say, how you convey it, how you strategically. … Not everyone can do that, and we were all one step away from perhaps saying something we didn't realize or something like that. So, it's really difficult.

This burden is likely to have been exacerbated by the political pressure increasingly surrounding Batty. Several policy actors commented on the importance of ministers knowing Batty would support them publicly. One participant provided an example of this in relation to a call they received from a Minister: "He wouldn't sign it [a brief] off until, he said to me, 'I need to know that Rosie is on-board so, can you see what she thinks? It's down to these two options, can you see what she thinks?'" (P6).

Another participant, P8, highlighted that for politicians "not to align themselves with her, was risky." Batty had won the sympathy of the Australian public and it was in politicians' interests to associate themselves with her or risk losing support. But there was also a cost associated with this quid-pro-quo deal for Batty and she felt this acutely. She had to be careful and remain subordinate or public sympathy (and political support) would quickly disappear:

> I hope that my language, whether it's in the context of government, whether it's in the context of the police, whether it's in the context of family violence sector, … I try to be respectful, sometimes I've been blunt, particularly about the Federal Government, and then I do feel a bit, "Oh shit!"

Historical and Social Movement Context

Other themes to emerge from the interviews as having helped "fuel" the Batty effect included the change of government, which opened a window of opportunity for change, and the determination of the Premier, Daniel Andrews, to do something, particularly after meeting with Batty, which P8 described as "a watershed moment or a tipping point." Several interviews provided a clear sense that the Andrews' government saw DFV as the issue that would provide the opportunity to undertake the business of government differently, and that Batty provided the community support and momentum for this change. As P2 explained, "A lot needed to change and there was not really a wrap-around service that was able to be offered. So … one of the intentions was to redesign how social services are delivered to provide greater connectivity."

An understanding of history, and particularly political history, is important here. DFV had been identified as a priority for the Australian Labor Party (ALP) since the election of the federal Hawke Government in 1983 (Theobald et al., 2017). The momentum for change generated in response to Luke's death helped buoy the Victorian Government's existing reform agenda. As extracts from the ALP's election commitments document *Platform 2014* (Victorian Labor, 2014) indicate, the party was positioning the issue of DFV as a catalyst for addressing failures in government systems, most notably, silos between agencies, and for doing government differently:

> Victims and women at risk deserve a comprehensive, sustained and cross-sectional Government commitment to tackling and preventing this crime. … Preventing and responding to family violence requires a concerted and collaborative whole-system response. This should involve police, courts, Government and community-based agencies working together to provide the best response to those affected by family violence. (pp. 62–63)

Platform 2014 also prioritized victims and their families more broadly, stating that Labor would "Ensure that the views and rights of victims of crimes are heard and acted upon throughout Government" (p. 65). This focus can be seen to reflect a similar prioritizing of victims' rights by New Labor in the United Kingdom (Walklate, 2012), and helps situate the Batty effect within the evolving history of the victims' rights movement. It also helps us understand why Batty was such a powerful and increasingly political figure.

One particularly rich theme to emerge from the interviews is that of the history and work of the women's movement and particularly the domestic violence services movement in Victoria (Theobald, 2011). Though Batty's personal characteristics and experiences enabled her to be a uniquely effective policy entrepreneur and ideal victim, she herself emphasized the important but often undervalued contribution made by the women's movement:

> I think it's a real shame that the historic advocacy and campaigning, you know, and the work that has gone on since the women's movement began is not always appreciated because change is glacially slow. It has only been in recent times where government and anyone wants to listen about family violence so all of that work that went on who talks about that? Who celebrates that? Who actually understands and knows about that?

One policy actor emphasized the significance of the work of the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) and specifically the framework *Preventing violence before it occurs: A framework and background paper to guide the primary prevention of violence against women in Victoria* (Victorian Health Promotion Fund, 2007) as an example of the important foundations established by this movement. The framework outlined the gendered drivers of violence against women and identified actions to address those determinants. As P4 said, "The way VicHealth put primary prevention on the agenda, and made it strategic, made it about evidence and gave it a sense of … I think people [and] the system shifted to think there was actually hope, that prevention could

happen." This work meant that there was an existing framework for understanding DFV, at least within pockets of the Victorian Government and the DFV and public health sectors, and that there was a workforce ready to make the most of the opportunities presented by the new government and Batty.

Discussion

Policy entrepreneur and ideal victim theory suggest the key elements that need to be present for an individual victim-survivor advocate to have a major influence on policy change. Of relevance to this article, they reveal to a considerable degree how and why Batty came to drive substantial policy reform in Victoria. It was precisely Batty's outsider status, combined with the power and urgency of her lived experience, which enabled her to overcome institutional divisions and ideological differences to build networks encompassing the expertise and institutional know-how required to achieve substantial DFV policy change.

Political scientists have noted the power of policy entrepreneurs who are positioned outside the regular policymaking context. McCaffrey and Salerno (2011) argued that those who sit outside government can be better positioned to shape government agendas than those inside. Roberts and King (1991), in their study of the activity structure and function of entrepreneurs in the policy process, have argued that policy entrepreneurs are, by definition, outside actors (p. 152). Davies and True (2017), in their examination of the case of former British foreign secretary William Hague as an unlikely advocate for the prevention of sexual violence in conflict, found that the positioning of norm entrepreneurs "outside of conventional power" and networks, often enables them to "connect existing interests and resources with a moral prerogative, establish strong organizational platforms, and leverage networks" (p. 705). However, Mintrom (2020) has pointed out that "the attempts of 'outsiders' to make change often come to nothing," because of their lack of understanding of "intricacies of the political systems through which change actually happens" (pp. 26–27). Perhaps there are limits to the level, or complexity, of change entrepreneurs can achieve depending on their understanding of the policy process? This may help explain some of the frustration Batty experienced during her time chairing the Victim Survivors' Advisory Council. As she stated:

> Just because you've got lived experience of whatever it may be does not necessarily mean that you are an expert in all areas of the problem. And that's where I've tried to really understand well what I'm an expert in. I can say I'm an expert on how I felt. [On] exactly what happened. But I don't know how to fix the system. That takes a whole stack of expertise. I'm a voice that I feel can remind people of the reality of what they're dealing with. … But am I the person saying this is how the policy should be? You've got to respect the part that you can play.

Most of the policy actors we spoke to expressed the view that the role of victim-survivors was not clearly defined and, as a result, sometimes extended too far into

areas where there were already experts with the knowledge and skills required to make effective change. P4 described how there was a period when there was too much emphasis on codesigning everything with victim-survivors:

> [The] Government just needed to make decisions, change the legislation, fix the service system. You don't have to co-design it, just do it. It's the Government's responsibility and I think we got caught up, everything needed to be part of that [co-design] and then I think they [the Victim Survivor's Advisory Council] got caught in that picture as well.

Batty's status as an ideal victim also emerged from the study as a key factor underpinning her influence and particularly the fact that she largely escaped victim blaming. There were only two attributes of Christie's (1986) ideal victim that Batty did not entirely meet: she was not weak (although, her son Luke, given his age and vulnerability, would fit this definition) and she knew the offender. Knowing the offender is the attribute which automatically excludes most victims of DFV from ideal-victim status. As Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016) data show, women are more likely than men to experience violence by a partner and are most likely to experience physical assault in their home. However, in Batty's case, she and the offender were not currently in a relationship and had been separated for many years. The sociopolitical refrain of "Why didn't she leave?" commonly directed at victims of DFV (Duggan, 2018, p. 7) was not relevant in Batty's case as she could not be blamed for not having left. In this sense, the community could feel compassion for Batty and listened to her, unlike the majority of victims of DFV.

As Walklate et al. (2019) have highlighted, the fact that ideal victims are heard but are not representative of most victims, especially nonideal, more representative victims, poses a problem for policy actors who aim to develop policies that are responsive to all victims. Additionally, the assumption by many of the policy actors we interviewed, that Batty would open the door for other, more diverse voices to be heard, is questionable. If we listen closely for the silences and those who are not heard in the Batty case, as feminist researchers suggest we should (Ackerly & True, 2020, p. 27), we find that little has changed for nonideal victims. For example, Hill (2019) revealed that at the very time Batty was named Australian of the Year, and the media was desperate to pursue stories regarding DFV, some victim-survivors were still not heard by police or the judiciary, let alone by society broadly. Hill shone a light on the case of Tamica Mullaley, an Aboriginal woman—who most Australians have never heard of—arrested for assaulting a police officer immediately after she was violently beaten by her partner, who later that night sexually assaulted and murdered her ten-month-old son while she was in hospital with life-threatening injuries (Hill, 2019, pp. 305–316). Indeed, it seems reasonable to conclude that not only are some victim-survivor voices ignored, they are also blamed for the violence and silenced. As feminist intersectional theory (e.g., Crenshaw, 1992) has shown, those marginalized by multiple structures of oppression and who are frequently most in need of support, face considerable challenges in having their voices and stories heard, let alone driving or influencing change.

Despite explaining some of the key elements underpinning the Batty effect, neither policy entrepreneur nor ideal victim theory entirely illuminate all of the background structural enablers for policy change in this situation. Most notably, the role of social movements, the women's movement and the decades of work by feminist activists, which provided strong foundations for this change in Australia, and, in many ways, "set the scene" for Batty. In fact, it is clear that Batty would never have been able to help initiate the change she did without this history. Furthermore, it is in understanding something of the history of the domestic violence services movement in Victoria that we can also understand why it was a victim-survivor advocate that came to play such a critical role at that particular moment in history.

In the mid-1970s, services for victim-survivors were often delivered by not-for-profit feminist organizations, which endeavored (not always successfully) to provide victim-survivors with a voice and input into how services were managed. However, governments quickly became involved through funding agreements and the collectivist foundations of the shelter movement were overtaken by "managerialist and economic rationalist ideologies that privilege efficiency and effectiveness" (Theobald, 2011, p. 33). More recently, and still under the guise of increased efficiencies, governments have started to contract companies to deliver DFV services. Thereby, governments and the DFV sector have become increasingly removed from the victim-survivors they support and serve. In this context, we conclude that it took a victim-survivor advocate to highlight the failures of the system and create the momentum needed to bring about change. Batty, with her ideal victim status and attributes of the policy entrepreneur, was essential to the change that occurred. The scale and speed of the change would have been highly unlikely to occur without her. Indeed, around the world, it is now possible to see that victim-survivor advocates are increasingly performing what has become an essential role, given the retreat of governments from service delivery in neo-liberal societies.

Conclusion and Implications

The Batty case studied here underscores the importance of governments and DFV services remaining connected, and listening and responding to victim-survivors. How that might best be achieved is an issue for further investigation. However, given the importance of Rosie Batty's outsider status, positioning victim-survivors inside government or the sector may have the adverse effect of diminishing their independence and influence. It might be possible, however, to put specific mechanisms in place to mitigate this impact and enable victim-survivors' autonomy. Moreover, it is important that the voices of diverse victims, and not merely those who fit the criteria of the ideal or acceptable victim, are amplified by governments, DFV sector organizations, and the media. Another way of addressing this issue may be moving away from individual victim-survivor stories altogether to focus on collective action and challenging the societal systems and structures that enable violence and victimization. Further, as Taylor (2020, p. 141) and others have stressed, there is a need for more research with women from diverse community and cultural backgrounds, as there are likely to be significant cross-cultural differences in how diverse communities respond to DFV.

Given the subordinate nature of the ideal victim and victimhood generally, it is important that victim-survivors are able to transition out of their victimhood. Training and other development opportunities may aid this progression. Such an approach may allow for greater clarity of purpose in engaging with victim-survivors and defining their distinct roles. Victim-survivors are experts in their own lived experiences and, while they are likely to have valuable insights to contribute to the development of policies and services, as Batty commented, one form of knowledge should be not privileged above another. Governments must invest in developing specialist DFV policy development, research, and evaluation expertise, particularly within organizations at arm's length from government such as VicHealth, rather than relying on individual victim-survivors to formulate policy.

Ultimately, the "Batty effect" highlights that while policy and social change can frequently appear to be sudden or spontaneous, "like mushrooms appearing after rain" (Solnit, 2016, p. xii), it is often the less visible, long-term, and overlooked work of social movements, like the women's movement, that provide the foundations for change.

Authors' Note

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Notes

1. Views are divided and constantly shifting concerning the appropriate terminology to use regarding those with lived experience of DFV. In order to honor those who have survived and have the agency to share their stories, and to acknowledge the deep and lasting effects of DFV, we use the term victim-survivor in this article, except in relation to specific publications, theories, and so on.

2.   The term "domestic and family violence" (DFV) is used throughout this article, except in rela-
     tion to specific statistics and documents. Despite the inconsistent use of terminology across
     jurisdictions, domestic violence is the most commonly used term. The broader term "family vio-
     lence" is included because it is used in legislation and policy in Victoria, where the case is set.
3.   The Australian of the Year is an award given to an Australian citizen annually by the
     National Australia Day Council.
4.   The Victim Survivors' Advisory Council was established by the Victorian Government in
     July 2016 to give those with lived experience of family violence a voice and ensure they
     were consulted in the family violence reform program.
5.   A snowballing approach to the recruitment of policy actors was used, where people
     approached or interviewed were asked to recommend others whose experience would be
     relevant to the study.
6.   The Luke Batty Foundation was established to raise community awareness, shift entrenched
     attitudes, and campaign for policy change across business and government, to address DFV.
7.   Respectful Relationships is an Australian developed school program designed to prevent
     gender-based violence by encouraging equality and respect. It started in secondary schools
     and has been extended in some jurisdictions to early childhood and primary schools.

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Chapter 5: Published Work 2 – Survivors and gender-based violence policy reform: Assessing the risks and the public value

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'Every one of us in this group wants to hold our own and be treated as equals, and ... there is a perception you should be subordinate,'

Rosie Batty.

Until recently, the co-production of public policies and services with system users has been viewed by scholars and practitioners alike as an intrinsically positive proposition and even as a potential solution to wicked problems, such as GBV. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, an emerging body of literature has begun to shed light on the risks and limitations of co-production, particularly co-production between government and system users from marginalised and vulnerable communities. The findings of this literature were echoed in some of the findings presented in the previous chapter in the Batty effect case study. This chapter/Study 2 takes an in-depth look at these barriers and their impact on survivors and the delivery of public value.

This chapter presents the second paper for publication as part of this thesis, which uses VSAC as a case study. It addresses the second research objective: to explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy. It responds to two key research questions: 1) What are the risks and limitations for public value creation of survivors of GBV being engaged in the co-production of policy? and 2) Do the benefits of engaging survivors in policy co-production outweigh the costs?

As outlined in Chapter 3, this study utilised interview data from Chapter 4/Study 1, together with data from the VLE report (FSV, 2019), which is based on 31 unstructured interviews with people involved in VSAC and four reports from the Family Violence Reform Implementation Monitor (FVRIM, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021). The study applied Steen et al.'s (2018) seven evils or risks of co-production and Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) proposed dimensions of public value measurement to the data to consider the risks and limitations for public value creation of co-production with GBV survivors. Throughout the study I was also mindful of gendered norms, stereotypes, processes, practices and power dynamics.

The results of the data analysis confirmed the relevance of the 'evils' identified by Steen et al. to the GBV survivors on VSAC. However, the analysis indicated that the risks and limitations were intensified by the grief and trauma experienced by Council members. Equally, in a dangerous cycle, the survivors' grief and trauma were exacerbated by the risks and limitations. A key finding was the wide-ranging, detrimental effects of the lack of clarity regarding VSAC's role and the role of its survivor members. This issue was found to have a major impact on the distress and trauma experienced by the survivor members of the Council during its establishment. Ultimately, this lack of role clarity undermined the ability to measure the public value delivered, in line with Faulkner and Kaufman's framework. The priority placed on VSAC as a single institutional mechanism for engaging survivors also had the effect of excluding the voices of other survivors. The small group of survivors on VSAC

could not represent the breadth of lived experiences of GBV, and this too significantly compromised the creation of public value.

Similarly, the government's focus on this one group of survivors appeared to have the effect of omitting other forms of expertise from the policy domain. Implicit in some of the interviews with policymakers was the sense that this omission may not have been entirely accidental. In a world where science and expert knowledge appear to be increasingly contested, lived experience is perhaps harder to challenge. Political elites may have felt they could do without other forms of expertise.

The findings from the VSAC case study also provided valuable insights regarding the potential harms caused when survivors speak truth to power but those with power do not listen. These insights underscore the importance of explicitly addressing power imbalances when working with survivors and vulnerable public service users. Sadly, the study concluded that, at least in the first three years of VSAC's operation, the costs of the government's engagement with survivors of GBV in co-producing public policies and services outweighed the benefits and the public value created. Hence, this research advances the discussion regarding what Steen et al. (2018) call 'the dark side' of co-production to the point of concluding that the state as a site of gendered power is unlikely to provide a safe space for vulnerable population groups to be heard.

The following section presents the second paper in this thesis, which is currently under peer review by the *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*.

Paper 2: Survivors and gender-based violence policy reform: Assessing the risks and the public value

[See PDF on the following page]

Survivors and gender-based violence policy reform: Assessing the risks and the public value

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Abstract:

Governments worldwide are increasingly engaging end-users to reform public policies and service delivery. Survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) are one such group expected to improve policy outcomes. But is the inclusion and participation of GBV survivors in policy reform, often referred to as 'co-production', a more effective way of delivering public value or does it carry unanticipated risks? This paper investigates this question through a qualitative case study of the Victorian Government's Victim Survivors' Advisory Council (VSAC), which was established to centre survivors' voices in reforming the state's family violence system. Specifically, it analyses interviews with survivors, policy actors and government reports regarding VSAC. The paper argues that under the guise of co-production, the state may assert control over service users and cause harm to vulnerable groups. The single case study's findings on how co-production efforts can reinforce power imbalances and gender inequality have implications for other cases. Through a gendered analysis, it provides valuable insights regarding the importance of explicitly addressing power imbalances to better realise public value.

Key messages:

1. Co-production with state agencies presents specific risks for survivors of gender-based violence that warrant attention and these risks may outweigh the public value benefits.
2. The state as a site of gendered power struggles to provide a safe space for vulnerable groups to be heard.
3. The potential harms caused when survivors speak truth to power, but those in positions of institutional power do not listen or respond to these truths are great.

Key words/short phrases:

victim-survivors, policy, co-production, gender-based violence, public value

Word count:

6,964

Among recent policy interventions to address gender-based violence (GBV) globally, have been measures to engage survivors of GBV in the co-production of reforms designed to improve response, support and violence prevention initiatives. This development reflects similar co-production approaches in public health care and education (Voorberg et al, 2015). Co-production refers to the active involvement of end-users in the production process (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2000; Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Voorberg et al, 2015), and the term is often used interchangeably with the term co-creation (Cluley and Radnor, 2020; Gebauer et al, 2010). For clarity, the term co-production is used in this paper.

Much has been written about the importance of co-producing government policies and services with people who have lived experience of them to ensure service users' needs are better met (Boyle et al, 2010; Sandhu, 2017) and in some cases, for therapeutic benefits (Roper et al, 2018). However, there is little consistency in the way co-production is defined and a lack of empirical evidence regarding the outcomes of co-production (Loeffler and Bovaird, 2016; Voorberg et al, 2015). The little research available focuses mainly on influential factors (Voorberg et al, 2015).

While the benefits of survivors sharing their lived experiences regarding what works and what does not work effectively seem clear (Author's own, 2021), some public administration and policy scholars argue that co-production does not necessarily improve public value (Dudau et al, 2019; Steen et al, 2018; Voorberg et al, 2015). This is particularly so where power imbalances exist between service users and the state, and where supposedly inclusive processes may, in practice, exclude (Cluley and Radnor, 2020; Crompton, 2019; Steen et al, 2018). Recognising this risk, Cluley et al (2020) have proposed expanding the public value lexicon to include 'dis/value'. This risk seems particularly pertinent to the engagement of survivors in the co-production of public value, given they are often marginalised by their lived experience (for example, by the social norm of victim-blaming) and intersecting factors, such as poverty and colonisation.

This paper critically examines the risks and limitations of delivering public value via co-production processes through an in-depth study of the Victorian Government's Victim Survivors' Advisory Council (VSAC). This co-production initiative was established in mid-2016 under the leadership of Fiona Richardson, Australia's first Minister for Prevention of Family Violence.[1] Minister Richardson also led the development of Victoria's first gender-equality strategy and was herself a survivor of violence (ABC, 2017). The catalyst for VSAC was the 2016 Royal Commission into Family Violence, and the Commission's recommendation that the government develop mechanisms to ensure that survivors voices are heard and shape policy development and service delivery (State Government of Victoria, 2016). The establishment of a group of survivors of family violence as ongoing advisors to government, was the first of its kind in Australia, and as such, has attracted national and international interest. Rosie Batty, a prominent survivor advocate and 2015 Australian of the Year (National Australia Day Council, 2015), was appointed to be the inaugural Chair from 2016-2019 (Premier of Victoria, 2016).

Focusing on the first three years of VSAC's operation, this paper examines the relevance of the risks and dangers of co-production as identified by Steen et al (2018). It also identifies potential benefits linked to the dimensions of public value proposed by Faulkner and Kaufman (2018). The discussion is informed by a thematic analysis of eight semi-structured interviews with GBV policy actors, an in-depth interview with its Chair and five government reports. One of these reports, *Valuing the Lived Experience* (hereafter 'VLE report'), examines the establishment of VSAC (FSV, 2019). It is informed by 31 interviews with stakeholders either involved in or with an interest in the foundation of VSAC, including current and past survivor members and the Secretariat that provided support to the Council. While recognising the establishment of VSAC was an important sign of the government's commitment to centring the voices of lived experience, the paper argues that existing power imbalances and gender inequalities were reinforced by this institutional mechanism, leading to tensions within its operations and a failure to achieve the anticipated public value.

This paper begins by synthesising the literature on the potential risks of co-production and the beneficial dimensions of public value. It then discusses the gendered nature of institutions and role of formal and informal institutional rules in reflecting and reinforcing patriarchal power relations, drawing on Christie's (1986) ideal victim. Next, it outlines the methodology, before presenting the findings. Ultimately, we argue that co-production presents specific risks for GBV survivors that warrant attention and that these risks within state agencies may outweigh the public value benefits. We conclude by reflecting on the state as a site of gendered power that struggles to provide a safe space for vulnerable groups to be heard.

The risks and limitations of co-production

In their systematic review of the literature regarding co-production, Voorberg et al (2015) declare it a 'magic concept', with no set definition, meaning it can be used to signify or justify whatever people may want. Bevir et al (2019) call it an 'elite narrative', out of touch with the realities of public servants working on the ground with communities. Dudau et al (2019) subsequently call for 'constructive disenchantment' with co-production, arguing that the 'co-' paradigm is seen as part of the solution to a range of citizen concerns about public sector organisations, including declining trust in government, questions of value for money and concurrently, public sector austerity.

Steen et al (2018) argue that co-production may be used by governments as a way of diminishing or relinquishing their responsibilities, particularly in the context of neoliberalism and small government. They identify this 'deliberate rejection of responsibility' as the first of seven 'evils' or risks of co-production. Steen et al propose that the second risk, 'failing accountability', arises due to a lack of clear roles and responsibilities among actors involved in the process of co-production. They also identify failing accountability as a cause of partnership fatigue and decreased engagement. Concerning the third risk, 'rising transaction costs', Steen et al find that while there are many obvious costs associated with co-production, such as paying for meeting facilities and parking, there can also be hidden costs such as the need to train service users. Despite often being seen as way of improving

democracy, Steen et al maintain that co-production can also lead to a 'loss of democracy', the fourth risk, through institutionalising system users and thereby reducing the likelihood of them speaking out against government. Expanding on this, they point to Bovaird's (2007) observation that co-production can challenge the balance between representative democracy, participatory democracy and professional expertise. Cluley et al (2020) reason similarly that public sector attempts at inclusivity, such as co-production, are often in practice exclusive, because the experiences of non-typical service users and issues such as socio-economic status and lived experience are overlooked.

Regarding the fifth risk, 'reinforced inequalities', Steen et al propose that while co-production is thought to even out power imbalances, in reality, unequal power positions pose barriers to collaboration, leading to more privileged service users dominating co-production efforts due to their 'superior social and cultural capital' (287). Steen et al suggest that the sixth risk, 'implicit demands', arises when there are power imbalances in co-production relationships, leading parties with less power to feel a sense of indebtedness towards more powerful parties. On the seventh risk, 'co-destruction of public value', Steen et al state that wicked problems do not have easy solutions, yet co-production (at least in isolation) is a simple solution. They contend that co-destruction may go beyond missed opportunities to deliberate misuse of user input. Thus, a body of literature is emerging to suggest the risks associated with co-production can outweigh the public value delivered.

Assessing public value

Like most concepts in social science, public value is contested. It has been described as a catch all phrase in need of further development 'for it to be embedded as a stable construct' (O'Flynn 2021: 867). It has also been a remarkably appealing and durable concept especially for public managers. Moore (1995), considered the originator of the approach, was motivated by the observation that while the value created by private managers is clear (that is, profits), the value created by public managers is less so. Thus, he developed public value theory to help public managers articulate the value created through government legislation, policies and services (Kelly et al, 2002). Until recently, there was no

clear framework for defining and measuring the elements that constitute public value and thereby no way of systematically testing the theory. Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) four-dimensional framework was developed to address this gap and conceptualises the aspects of public value so that they can be assessed and measured. The concept and measurement of public value has relevance to efforts to include service users in policy-making processes, since they are expected to improve the effectiveness and outcomes of government policies and services. Applying the framework for measuring public value may help us to assess institutional mechanisms for involving survivors in the co-production of policy reforms.

Gender and power

Of particular relevance to this study is how state institutions reinforce and reproduce patriarchal power relations and gender inequality through both formal and informal institutional rules (Witz and Savage, 1991). Early feminist analyses of gender and institutions saw state institutions as 'inherently and uniformly patriarchal' (Krook and Mackay, 2011). This was hardly surprising for, as Crabb (2014) and others have highlighted, in Australia it was not until 1966 that married women were allowed to work in the Commonwealth public service. However, once women started to enter the workforce and began to develop the 'bureaucratic machinery' to achieve their goals, their experiences of working with, or within, state institutions led to a more nuanced understanding of power dynamics (Sawer, 1990). In the 1990s, the emergence of the feminist bureaucrat or 'femocrat' was first documented (Eisenstein, 1991). Feminist scholars, including Eisenstien (1996), Franzway et al (1989), Sawer (1990) and Chappell (2002), began to consider the complexity of the role of Australian institutions regarding gender. With regard to the US, Reinelt described the state as 'a site of active contestation over the construction of gender inequalities and power' (1995: 87), while Htun and Weldon conceptualised it as both 'a cause of, and a remedy for, human suffering' (2017: 158). Feminist institutionalism as a body of scholarship has focused on what works to bring about institutional change toward greater gender equality. More recently scholars such as Mackay (2014), Miller (2009) and Thomson (2018)

have begun to consider why more than two decades of gender mainstreaming efforts have been ineffective, and how institutions resist change and reproduce patriarchal power imbalances.

Feminist institutionalism offers a useful framework for understanding institutional dynamics, gendered power, and gender inequality, that is critical to understanding the potential risks of co-production, particularly between the state and survivors of GBV. Thomson (2018) argues that feminist institutionalism improves knowledge of political institutions in four ways by contributing a greater understanding of: gender, the informal politics that underlie and shape formal politics, change/'newness' within institutions, and power. Examples of informal, gendered social norms that are likely to be reinforced within institutions, and that are of particular relevance to survivors of GBV, are the practice 'victim blaming' (Taylor, 2020) and the stereotype of the 'ideal victim' (Christie 1986). Both of these norms help to explain the process whereby some victims of crime are blamed for the violence they have experienced and silenced, while others attract public compassion, support and attention. Christie argues that survivors of 'family-violence' are generally excluded from ideal victim status and that this is not a coincidence, as it reflects the role of patriarchal systems and power imbalances. These issues are particularly relevant in framing this study.

Methodology

This paper is based on a secondary data analysis of eight semi-structured interviews (of approximately 50-minutes each) with senior policy actors, as well as an in-depth 90-minute interview with survivor advocate and VSAC Chair, Rosie Batty. Policy actors were sourced through GBV sector networks and a snowball recruitment approach, where those interviewed recommended others they felt had relevant knowledge to contribute to the research. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in Melbourne in 2019, before the COVID-19 pandemic. The interviews focused on Batty's influence in reforming the family violence system in Australia, and the role of VSAC and the co-production of reforms with survivors emerged as a significant theme. Policy actors participated on the condition of anonymity and to protect their identity are referred to by non-gendered identifiers (i.e., P1, P2). Batty is identified in

the research due to the recognisable nature of her story and the profile of her role as VSAC Chair. She consented to the use of her name against her data.

The interview data is supplemented by the primary data analysis of five government reports, including the VLE report on the establishment of VSAC, which is based on 31 interviews with current and former VSAC members, public servants and GBV sector representatives (FSV, 2019). Research for the VLE report was commissioned by Family Safety Victoria (FSV) and FSV provided the authors with permission to use it in this research. The final VLE report was produced by FSV, and as such, it provides useful insights into the way those within the government viewed VSAC's establishment.

The other four reports informing this study are from the Family Violence Reform Implementation Monitor (FVRIM) (2018, 2019, 2020, 2021), which was established to hold the Victorian Government and its agencies to account for implementing the reform of the family violence system. These reports provided an important means of comparing and corroborating narratives from the other data sources, and thus triangulate the findings.

An inductive, thematic analysis of interviews and government reports was undertaken with the assistance of data analysis software, NVivo. Data was analysed against the seven potential risks and limitations of co-production identified by Steen et al (2018) – (1) *the deliberate rejection of responsibility*, (2) *failing accountability*, (3) *rising transaction costs*, (4) *loss of democracy*, (5) *reinforced inequalities*, (6) *implicit demands*, and (7) *co-destruction of public value* – and Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) proposed dimensions of public value measurement: (i) *outcome achievement*, (ii) *trust and legitimacy*, (iii) *service delivery and quality* and (iv) *efficiency*. Throughout the analysis of the text data, attention was paid to gendered norms, stereotypes, processes, practices and power dynamics.

Findings

Survivor advocates involved in VSAC have played a critical role. There is no doubt VSAC has raised awareness within the Victorian Government of problems in responses to GBV. However, policy actor

research participants were frank in their assessment that there was more the government got wrong in the establishment of VSAC than it got right, and that they and others needed to learn from those mistakes.

Lack of role clarity

A dominant finding from the interviews with policy actors was the lack of clarity regarding VSAC's role and the role of its survivor members. This was a significant concern and source of tension for that subgroup of research participants. The VLE report makes clear that one of VSAC's growing pains was 'its ever-expanding role', which included: behaviour change; improved policy and project outcomes; leading through systems thinking and human-centred design; building better relationships across the system; reminding and motivating a workforce to stay focused on why it exists; independent public and media advocacy; finding a better way to speak about family violence; breaking through assumptions about victims; and showing the value of lived experience (FSV, 2019: 5).

The policy actors interviewed held vastly divergent views about VSAC's role. P5 said VSAC's role was high-level and strategic: 'getting into the detail is problematic … And it's not their job; it's our job'. P6, on the other hand, argued that VSAC's role should *not* be high level and that when 'it's about the bigger sort of policy and design and things, I think that's challenging'. P2 and P6 identified VSAC's most successful work as being more detailed; for example, working with architects on the design of The Orange Door hubs and providing advice about engaging with other survivors. The Orange Door service provides support to adults, children and young people experiencing, or who have experienced, family violence, and families who need help with the care of children. The service brings together workers from specialist family violence services, family services, Aboriginal services and services for men who use violence (State Government of Victoria, n.d.). P2 also felt VSAC had a crucial role in driving internal cultural change: 'as a motivation to keep working, as a reminder of why it is so important, as a reminder of why we actually do this'. Contrastingly, P1 believed that VSAC's role was more about raising external, community awareness of the nature of family violence through sharing lived experiences. With yet another opposing view, P7 felt VSAC members should not share their lived

experiences, but focus on 'feeding back to government things that were working and things that weren't'.

Attempting to explain this confusion around role, the VLE report revealed that the recruitment of survivors for VSAC was rushed due to ambitious timelines set by government; meaning some members were unclear about the role of the Council and their role on it. This was also evident in our interview with Batty, who claimed, 'What I would say now is if only we knew what we now know we could have set it up differently, structured it differently, trained people beforehand, but it was all like BANG!'.

This lack of clarity did not appear to have been addressed over the three-year period we examined and was not helped by the lack of any induction or training. This meant that not only did members have different ideas about their roles and that of VSAC, but they did not understand the operating environment they were working within. Demonstrating this, P3 recounted witnessing members being asked to provide feedback on the floorplan for The Orange Door hubs without being provided with any context: 'You can see them getting really anxious because there is no model going with it and I said, "how can they provide feedback when they don't even know what's supposed to happen in there?"' P3 also noted that views can easily be dismissed when there is no clarity regarding what members can and cannot influence; including explanations of policy-making and legislative processes. In exploring this issue, P1 suggested that the question be turned around. Instead of asking what the role of VSAC is, the government needed to ask, 'What is … needed to do to support, enable, empower, ensure that women and children and all victims have a voice?' Ultimately however, this lack of role clarity and the wide range of roles VSAC took on, made it challenging to identify responsibilities, assign accountability, and measure the extent to which VSAC delivered outcomes and public value. Not being able to identify the impact they were having also made VSAC members feel frustrated and disempowered.

Entwined with the issue of the lack of role clarity and responsibility was the diminishment of government responsibility. As P1 said, '[The] government just needed to make decisions, change the

legislation, fix the service system. You don't have to co-design it, just do it. It's the government's responsibility'. Although, P1 felt this avoidance of responsibility was an unintended consequence of a commitment to co-production rather than a deliberate rejection of responsibility: 'It came from a really important place around the government wanting to try and do this differently. ... And so, part of that was making sure we were much more consultative'.

Trauma

Another key theme was the distress and trauma experienced by the survivors on VSAC and the Secretariat team supporting them. Policy actors involved in establishing VSAC were unprepared for the trauma the survivors continued to experience, as P5 reflected:

> 'Think about survivors and the amount of trauma, their experience, having to think about their experience that they've had and then translate that into making things better … There's just an incredibly significant traumatisation exposure there that we all underestimated.'

The VLE report also acknowledged that those in government were unprepared for the emotions expressed by VSAC members, viewing this as a risk:

> 'There was a sense that the real emotions that emerged during VSAC sessions were risky, and in the context of Government where there is an emphasis on risk management, this was felt acutely. Some would see people in Government' panic' when members experienced upset as a result of sharing their stories or hearing the stories of others.' (FSV, 2019: 29)

> Policy actors reported many reasons why VSAC members experienced trauma, including the constant disclosures of GBV and backlash (such as online trolling) they received from the public: 'There are a number of other people on the council that have had to deal with that as well. … So that's a further price that we didn't think about' (P5). However, an unattributed comment in the VLE report concedes that much of this distress was related to internal power dynamics:

> 'You can see the expression of helplessness and sense of being controlled that plays out and people having power over others and dominating voices in the conversations. There's also

people who express being totally unheard, being controlled, not being allowed to be in control of their own lives.' (FSV, 2019: 26)

These dynamics appear to have played out both within VSAC and between VSAC members, the Secretariat and other public servants. Batty expressed concern that VSAC members were always one step away from saying something they would regret: 'Every one of us in this group wants to hold our own and be treated as equals, and … there is a perception you should be subordinate'.

Trauma often seemed to be triggered or exacerbated through the reinforcement of inequalities and power imbalances within the government. Batty explained that for GBV survivors, feelings of powerlessness are all too familiar and can trigger memories of abuse: 'That sense of powerlessness or being shut down or not having your voice heard can really trigger people'. A tangible example of how power imbalances were reinforced was the first meeting of VSAC. This came up in several interviews, and the VLE report contains a section titled 'Surviving the first meeting', which notes that the meeting was called with 24 hours' notice. The report states that elements including the layout of the room and the way people introduced themselves reinforced 'the hierarchical behaviours of Government; [which was unfortunate] particularly in a context which was seeking to reframe this balance of power … and establish a genuine partnership' (FSV, 2019: 25).

This example also reveals the implicit demand that VSAC members meet government requirements. The short notice provided implies that the lives and commitments of the survivors are less important than the government's requirements. A survivor quoted in the VLE report explained that they were determined to get on to VSAC because they were aware how difficult it would be for other women like them to participate:

> 'I had a current lived experience that is very common for victims of family violence, being a single mum with little kids and having to work. … The structure of VSAC meant that most mothers who had fled family violence with young kids and who had to work weren't able to be present because they couldn't take half a day off work once a month. So, even though I was so tired I was determined to bring my voice to the table no matter what.' (FSV, 2019: 22)

We found VSAC members also faced less obvious pressures, which led to distress, such as a sense that those who were more compliant and less outspoken—the ideal victims—were offered more opportunities than less compliant/non-ideal victims, for example paid public speaking events. The issue is explained in the VLE report as follows:

> 'Due to members being suited for specific activities (i.e. LGBTIQ, CALD, seniors community events; or topic events – courts, police etc), at different times some members had greater opportunity to participate and engage in activities than others. Because of this, the division of opportunities amongst members at times had the appearance of being unfair, however the Secretariat strove to provide equal opportunities for all.' (FSV, 2019: 24)

This issue was understandably distressing for VSAC members, for not only did it make some survivors feel they were being excluded for not being ideal victims, but the money earned through additional opportunities was critical, particularly for those who were unemployed or underemployed. FSV was obliged to use a standard government model of paying half or full day sitting fees once a month to Council members. This is a model that was developed for traditional government boards and expert advisory groups, where people attend meetings in a professional capacity. It is not designed for people who attend meetings in a personal capacity or for people with caring responsibilities, who are often in part-time work, namely women.

Given the rushed recruitment process, some survivors were quite early in their 'journey' and thus still grieving and readily triggered by discussions. As the VLE report stated: 'The recruitment process left people wondering if an ethical or trauma-informed approach had been given to all members, and if there was a unanimous understanding of the required stage of the recovery journey of the people being recruited' (FSV, 2019: 24). Although it appears trauma support was not in place for the first VSAC meeting, access to a specialised GBV service was eventually provided, but few survivors accessed the service, with some reporting that they needed more personalised support (FSV, 2019: 29).

The VLE report illustrates that members of the VSAC Secretariat were not only impacted by witnessing the trauma of survivors, but that they were also asked to provide informal debriefing to VSAC members, despite none of the Secretariat members being professional counsellors or psychologists (FSV, 2019: 29). Unsurprisingly, the Secretariat expressed the need for access to support services themselves: 'We talk so much about not re–traumatising the victim survivors, but there is a slow drip, drip, drip onto a few of us' (FSV, 2019: 29).

The Secretariat also appears to have spent time battling internal bureaucracy for adequate support, including allowances and reimbursements, for VSAC members. The VLE report states, 'Secretariat staff persisted, despite the strict Government processes, to ensure that any supports which enabled full participation were provided and paid for' (FSV, 2019: 2). None of this work was foreseen, nor was it included in the high-level position descriptions included in the VLE report.

P3 felt that the reinforcement of inequalities and power imbalances experienced by VSAC members was not an accident and that it resulted from the government wanting power *over* the survivors: 'With the profile with the reform [of Victoria's family violence system], there was a level of anxiety'. P4 similarly explained government was simply not accustomed to sharing power: 'Working well with people with lived experience means, sharing power or even relinquishing power, certainly sharing power in a way that government and government bodies … aren't accustomed to doing'. Ultimately, it appears inevitable that the trauma and distress caused to VSAC members and those supporting them by these power imbalances, and gendered social norms and stereotypes led to delays and rising transaction costs, and finally, compromised VSAC's efficiency.

Excluding other voices

The exclusion of other survivors' voices, apart from those on VSAC, was a key theme to emerge in the study. Several policy actors identified limitations in developing policy in response to individual lived experiences alone. As P8 said, policy actors have 'always got to be careful with individual accounts that you don't then create policy around one story'. In the VLE report, there is an acknowledgment that VSAC does not speak on behalf of all survivors; however, it says they can make visible 'not just

[their] personal pain, but the collective pain.' (FSV, 2019: 29). In the 2018 FVRIM report, it was recognised that VSAC was not a representative body and that other mechanisms were required to ensure more representative input:

> 'VSAC is a small group ... it cannot be representative of the breadth of experience of victim survivors. While it includes representatives from a variety of age groups, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, it is not representative of all victim survivors' experiences or views and thus additional approaches and mechanisms for receiving feedback from victim survivors need to be embedded.' (FVRIM, 2019: 36)

It is apparent from the 2020 FVRIM report that a lack of progress in the development of additional mechanisms for engaging survivors continued to be a concern (FVRIM, 2021: 107). Similarly, the Auditor-General's review of The Orange Door found that detailed information about client experiences had not yet been collected (Victorian Auditor–General's Office, 2020). Although this work was impacted by COVID-19, the lack of service user input in the first years of The Orange Door indicates a lack of engagement and responsiveness that is likely to have affected the quality of service delivery, a key dimension of public value and its measurement.

This exclusion of survivors' lived experiences, beyond the 13 or so members of VSAC, reflects the loss of democracy identified by Steen et al as a risk of co-production, and, as the criticism levelled at The Orange Door service reflects, has ramifications for the delivery of effective services and the creation of public value.

Discussion: The risks of government and survivors co-producing public value

The wide-ranging effects of the lack of clarity regarding VSAC's role as a new institution intended to facilitate the engagement of survivors in the development of more responsive and appropriate policies and services is the most important finding to emerge from our study. This issue is inextricable from the distress and trauma experienced by VSAC members and those around them during the institution's establishment. Many survivors did not understand their role, nor the operating environment they

were working within. This lack of role clarity also reflected several of Steel et al's (2018) risks of co-production including the rejection of government responsibility and accountability, rising transaction costs and even, it could be argued, co-destruction through a lack of efficiency and missed opportunities. All of the other risks identified by Steen et al are also evident in the VSAC case study, including: loss of democracy though the exclusion of the breadth of survivor experiences; reinforced inequalities through bureaucratic processes and the reinforcement of gendered stereotypes, such as the ideal victim; and implicit demands, which placed the needs of government above the needs of survivors. While the VLE report attributes these issues to the pace and urgency of reform, we believe the findings analysed in the light of Steen et al's seven risks of co-production highlight more profound and intractable issues. These findings are of relevance to other marginalised public service users. Some issues, like remuneration, may have been resolved if there had been more time for planning. However, many other issues would not. We also maintain that beyond the risks of co-production highlighted by Steen et al (2018), consideration of power and the ways institutions reinforce and reproduce patriarchal power imbalances and gender inequality needs consideration in future co-production efforts.

The findings of this study also underscore the complexities and limitations of attempts to assess public value in relation to the dimensions proposed by Faulkner and Kaufman (2018). While it is reasonable to assume that VSAC helped increase trust in the government from stakeholders and citizens, it is difficult to find publicly available indicators of trust in government and to link such indicators directly to any one initiative is fraught. Further, while service delivery quality should have improved with the input of VSAC members on initiatives directly supporting survivors, the FVRIM and Auditor General's reports indicate that data regarding service delivery was patchy or non-existent so could not be assessed. It is even harder to evaluate VSAC's performance on outcome achievement and efficiency. This again reflects the lack of clarity regarding VSAC's role, which makes it challenging to identify what sort of outcome measures might be appropriate to analyse. However, if we consider that ensuring 'the government's response to the recommendations of the Royal Commission into

Family Violence meets the expectations of people with lived experience' (State Government of Victoria, 2020) was a key role of VSAC, then the VLE report indicates success in this area was limited given that VSAC only directly influenced the implementation of five of 227 recommendations (FSV, 2019: 19). This limited influence was perhaps because, as P2 stated: 'We [VSAC] haven't had as much buy-in from the other departments [apart from justice]'. However, if we consider the Royal Commission's recommendation, which led to the establishment of VSAC, as a public value outcome measure: that, 'The Victorian Government and agencies that respond to family violence identify and develop safe and constructive ways to ensure that the voices of victims are heard and inform policy development and service delivery' (State of Victoria, 2016); then VSAC cannot be seen to have achieved this outcome particularly with regard to safety.

Faulkner and Kaufman (2018) conclude that measuring efficiency has not been well defined in the public value literature. If we weigh up the findings of this study, it is impossible to overlook the costs or public dis/value of the harms experienced by VSAC members in any assessment of the public value created. As such, Faulkner and Kaufman's framework is limited in its practical application to a complex and evolving public policy area. Our analysis of VSAC as an institution intended to enhance public value through the inclusion of service users in policy co-production provides support for the call from Cluley et al (2020) to reposition public value 'as a changeable and heterogenous assemblage' that accounts for experiences of dis/value.

This study tests the relevance of Steen et al's (2018) seven 'evils' of co-production with the single VSAC case study. The case confirms the theory's expectation that there are significant risks and potential harms for survivors and other marginalised service-users who engage in co-production with state institutions. By further drawing on Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) framework for measuring public value, the study extends existing theory. It shows that if the risks to vulnerable service users are not addressed, then creation of public value will be compromised. Rather than improving policy and services that deliver public value, poorly planned co-production efforts may engender public dis/value.

The VSAC case study also provides valuable insights regarding the potential harms caused when survivors speak truth to power, but those in positions of institutional power do not listen or respond to these truths. These empirical insights while drawn from one case, underscore the importance of explicitly addressing power imbalances, especially with regard to gendered inequality and experiences, in any public policy effort to engage with vulnerable public service users.

Conclusion

To speak truth to those in power and relive one's trauma but see no apparent improvement or benefit undermines what Million (2013) calls 'our contemporary logic', that change follows when survivors speak their truth. Million also highlights that evaluating power must go hand in hand with speaking truth and sharing trauma. The VSAC case underscores the dangers of not addressing power imbalances and gender inequality, which cause harm to those involved (particularly the most marginalised) and compromise the overall effectiveness of co-production efforts and the public value delivered.

As feminist scholars have emphasised, the state is a contested site of power. When civil society groups, such as survivors, challenge the state by making claims on it with regard to universal rights and practical needs, state institutions may co-opt actors and attempt to universalise some claims (e.g. those of ideal survivors), while undermining others (e.g. non-ideal survivors), in order to maximise legitimacy and control. Ultimately, this case study highlights that the state as a site of gendered power struggles to provide a safe space for vulnerable population groups to be heard. If governments are serious about engaging with marginalised groups, including survivors, they must be prepared to relinquish power and provide them with the support needed to maintain independent, autonomous input.

Endnotes

1. Family violence is the dominant terminology used in Victoria in legislation and policy. It includes any violent, threatening, coercive or controlling behaviour in current or past family, domestic or intimate relationships.

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Chapter 6:
Published Work 3 – Survivor perspectives: What works for survivors of gender-based violence in public advocacy/activism

'I feel like I go there [to VSAC] and it's like I'm screaming underwater or I'm running into a brick wall. Because the change that I would like to see, it's just not possible,'

Nina.

While Chapter 4/Study 1 and Chapter 5/Study 2 of this thesis confirm the many risks and challenges arising from survivors of GBV speaking out and being heard, this chapter/Study 3 presents the perspectives of marginalised survivors regarding what works in public advocacy and activism. Informed by the results of the first two studies, this third study triangulates the research design, and prioritises the views and understandings of survivors based on their own lived experiences of advocacy/activism.

This chapter presents the third and final paper written for publication as part of this thesis, and employs a narrative research method. It addresses the third research objective: to define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement. It also investigates three key research questions: 1) What mechanisms have diverse, marginalised survivors found most effective and rewarding in influencing public policy reform (advocate or activist, inside or outside the state, etc.)? 2) What benefits have often marginalised survivors received from sharing their lived experiences and influencing policy? and 3) What support has been most beneficial in helping marginalised survivors from diverse backgrounds, operate as advocates or activists?

As outlined in Chapter 3, 11 marginalised survivors were interviewed for this study and a deductive coding method was initially applied to the interview data, based on the research questions regarding barriers and opportunities. Later, an inductive approach was used to identify emergent and divergent themes, and to ensure that the results did not overlook disparate perspectives. Although the interviews were wide-ranging, the analysis focused specifically on what worked, and on survivors' victories and successes. The findings are framed in light of the history of the victims' rights movement, the voices we do not hear and ideal victim theory, as well as the power and limits of stories.

The results from the analysis identified three main elements that are important for positive experiences and successful outcomes for survivor advocacy/activism: activism over advocacy, empowerment and training, and collective action. These elements were found to be key to overcoming the barriers identified in the earlier studies. For example, collective activism can help defuse the power of gendered social norms and stereotypes, notably the ideal victim; foster peer support; and allow diverse, 'non-ideal' voices to be heard. Empowerment and training are particularly important to help survivors with their advocacy and activism, and ultimately to help them transition out of their victim status. Additionally, survivors can avoid the limits of stories and the trauma of sharing the details of their lived experiences of violence by focusing on the change that is required to improve services and prevent GBV.

An important insight captured from this study was that part of the reason marginalised survivors find it so hard to be heard is that the changes they and their communities need and want to see will not be made possible through minor reforms. The data revealed that while non-marginalised survivors or ideal victims are currently reasonably well served by systems and services such as police, these services and systems consistently fail marginalised, non-ideal victims. The research participants felt that this is not something policymakers seem to want to hear.

The findings presented in Chapter 6 make several contributions to knowledge and practice. A key finding is that survivors can challenge stereotypes and social norms to make change happen. With the right trauma-informed support they can avoid re-traumatisation, and act as powerful change agents. This study also provides a unique theoretical contribution, in prioritising survivors' own voices and analysis of their lived experiences of advocacy/activism. From a practical perspective, continuing and expanding the Voices for Change media advocacy program (developed by Women's Health East, Our Watch and VicHealth) to incorporate guidance on advocacy and activism represents a low-cost but effective intervention. Funding for a support workforce for state- and territory-based networks of survivors, based within specialist GBV services like DV NSW and Engender Equality in Tasmania, would also be reasonably low cost and would reap significant dividends for policymakers in government and the not-for-profit sector.

The paper included in this chapter is currently under review at the *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*.

Paper 3: Survivor perspectives: What works for survivors of gender-based violence in public advocacy/activism

[See PDF on the following page]

Survivor perspectives: What works for survivors of gender-based violence in driving policy change?

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Abstract

Worldwide, survivors of gender-based violence demand a say and are increasingly being heard in the development of public policies and services. However, the continuing influence of the ingrained ideal victim stereotype restricts who is being heard and places survivors at risk of being exploited to generate community support for political agendas. The stereotype reinforces power asymmetries, privileges the voices of ideal/non-representative victims, and leads to reforms that are not always in survivors' interests. This paper examines these risks by presenting the lived experiences and perspectives of 11 survivor advocates/activists from a range of communities, which often experience multiple forms of structural disadvantage based on indigeneity, race, class, ability, sexuality and gender. The paper seeks to identify what works for these survivors in driving policy change and what supports are needed to help survivors be heard. We find significant benefits in collective activism outside the state, and through empowerment and training.

Keywords

Introduction

The causes and consequences of gender-based violence (GBV)[1] are complex, dynamic, and interrelated, with significant implications across many public systems. Despite considerable efforts, GBV prevalence data worldwide has remained essentially unchanged over the past decade (WHO 2021), highlighting that this is a wicked policy problem. Wicked problems are defined as having multiple possible causes, dynamics that are not linear, and negative consequences for society if not addressed (Peters 2017). They are problems that require policymakers to rethink traditional ways of working, recognise there are no quick fixes, consider the bigger picture and apply innovative, collaborative approaches (APSC 2018). One collaborative approach recently adopted to address GBV is survivors' engagement in the co-production of public service reforms, reflecting similar initiatives involving 'system users' in public health care and education policy (Voorberg et al. 2015). Recent examples in Australia include the establishment of the Victorian Governments' Victim Survivors' Advisory Council (VSAC) to provide ongoing advice on the reform of the family violence system (State Government of Victoria 2020), and the survivor group established by The University of Melbourne's Research Alliance to End Violence against women and their children, to ensure the voices of those with lived experience of family violence could influence its research agenda (Smiddy 2021).

Criminologists have mapped the evolving role of victims of crime in relation to public policy and the victims' rights movement, particularly the politicisation of victims (Author 2021; Garland 2001; Hall 2017; Walklate 2007;). However, the discipline has focused less on what works for victims in public advocacy/activism. As Ronel and Elisha (2011) note in their work on "positive criminology", the field has been preoccupied with how people, institutions, and

states are 'wrong', 'bad' and 'deviant'. Criminology has similarly focused on how victims of crime are used, disempowered and traumatised. Less attention has been given to how victims are supported, empowered and healed. Some criminologists have started to explore what victims want concerning justice and perpetrator accountability (see, for example, Herman 2005; McGlynn et al. 2012), and how victims' recovery might be aided through sharing their stories (Chare 2012; Green et al. 2020; Henry 2009, 2015). Others have examined the growing influence of ideal victims of crime, particularly in building community support and establishing the conditions for policy change (e.g. Hawley et al. 2018; Walklate et al. 2019; Author 2021).

Nonetheless, most of the literature regarding victims and policymaking focuses on the dangers of victims being used to harness public support for punitive political objectives, rather than genuine policy change designed to keep people safe and save lives. Additionally, despite much work involving survivors in policymaking in Australia and other nations in the global South, criminology is dominated by empirical evidence from the global North (with notable exceptions e.g. Carrington et al. 2021; Walklate et al. 2019). While Australian research is context-specific, it can provide new concepts to be tested in other contexts. This study focuses on the perspectives of survivors involved in public advocacy/activism in the Australian context, and concepts identified here may have broader relevance.

The paper explores the advocacy and activism experiences of 11 survivors, who have been involved in various initiatives, with a particular focus on what works and what sorts of supports assist them in this work. We are not seeking to evaluate the success of the initiatives survivors have been involved in, but rather to explores survivors' experiences of different types of advocacy/activism. We also explore terminology.

The paper begins by providing a snapshot overview of literature regarding the victims' rights movement, the side-lining of non-ideal victims, the importance of survivors being heard and

the limits of storytelling. We then describe the study methodology, which prioritises the voices and knowledge of survivors from marginalised communities including, culturally and linguistically diverse, Indigenous, disability and LGBTQI+. Following this, the findings and discussion section is presented, focusing on three key themes: the benefits of activism and driving change from outside; the importance of empowerment and the value of training; and the power of collective action.

The analysis reveals that collective activism, independent of the state, empowers and rewards marginalised survivors. It provides the opportunity to challenge power imbalances and gendered stereotypes, including that of the ideal victim. We argue that for governments to generate public value through engaging survivors, power imbalances must be explicitly counteracted, and survivors' personal development and autonomy should be supported. The paper concludes by identifying the need for further research to understand how the ideal victim stereotype can be challenged through collective action, and what can be learnt from Indigenous philosophy and polities.

Theoretical framing

The politicisation of victims of crime: The history of the victims' rights movement
Research regarding victim advocacy frequently highlights how victims are exploited by powerful forces, including politicians and the media (Garland 2001; Hall 2017; Walklate 2007). The history of the victims' rights movement provides an insight into how victims of crime have grown in influence over time, particularly in the development of criminal justice policy; but it also illustrates how victims continue to be used by political actors to promote agendas that are not always in victims' interests (Walklate 2012; Author 2021).

Victimologists trace the origins of the victims' rights movement to the 1940s and the post-war period (Hall, 2017: 16), and note that it fully emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Daly and Holder

2019; Hall 2017; Walklate 2007). Scholars argue that with the advent of neo-liberalism in the 1980s and 1990s, victims became central to public policy development, shifting from being complainants to consumers of the justice system (Ginsberg 2014; Hall 2017; Rock 2010; Walklate et al. 2019; Walklate 2007, 2016). This era saw the increasing politicisation of victims (Garland 2001; Miers 1976), and these developments were widespread, with the 'rise of the victim' extending across most developed nations (Hall 2017).

More recently, we have seen a shift from victims' rights groups to prominent, individual victims or their loved ones, driving policy and law reform (Garland 2001; Walklate et al. 2019; Author 2021). Despite the prominence of individual victims and their calls for increased rights, with a few notable exceptions, scholars contend victims' rights have not improved markedly, primarily because they are not the focus of adversarial legal systems (Author 2016; Author 2021; Garland 2001; Author 2018; Walklate 2012). Further, public discourse regarding victims' rights often focuses on diminishing offenders' rights and using the power of victims' stories to build community support for 'tough on crime' political agendas[2]. Understanding the history of the victims' rights movement highlights the risks of victims being 'used' in policy development, which is ultimately a threat to the creation of public value.

The voices we don't hear: Ideal victim theory

While victim narratives are a powerful means of building public support for change, not all victims are heard. Many are even blamed for the violence they have experienced (Taylor 2020). As Walklate et al. (2019) emphasise, this is problematic, particularly when it comes to shaping public policy. Christie (1986) developed the ideal victim theory to explain the social process whereby some victims of crime attract public compassion and attention while others do not. One of the attributes of the ideal victim is that "the offender was unknown and in no personal relationship to her" (Christie, 1986: 19). This means that victims of GBV are rarely if ever, ideal victims; as Australian data shows, women are most likely to experience physical assault

in the home, and one in three women (31.1%) has experienced physical and/or sexual violence perpetrated by a man they know (ABS 2017).

Christie argues that the exclusion of victims of "family-violence" from the ideal victim stereotype was not a coincidence, and he attributes this to the role of patriarchal systems:

> When the man beat up his wife in my culture, and the police are called in, they called it, until recently, a case of "husbråk." That means noise in the house. Noise does not create good victims. Noise is something that needs to be muffled (Christie 1986: 20).

Christie also highlights that being an ideal victim is "a subordinated, weak position", where victims "must be strong enough to be listened to, or dare to talk. But … at the very same time, be weak enough not to become a threat to other important interests" (Christie 1986: 21-27). More recently, scholars including Donovan and Barnes have expanded and updated Christie's attributes to include factors such as "social class, 'race' and ethnicity, sexuality, whether they are disabled and what their immigration status is" (Donovan and Barnes 2018: 86). These issues are particularly relevant to this study given the continued influence of the stereotype and the dominance of ideal victims in public policy reform (Walklate et al. 2019; Author 2021).

The importance of survivors being heard and limits of storytelling

The power of stories to generate momentum for change has been well documented (e.g. Degl et al. 2019; Pluye and Hong 2014; Wines and Hamilton 2009). So too has their importance as a cathartic release and means of reclaiming agency (e.g. Green et al. 2020; Kearney 2007). Feminist writers, including Le Guin (1989), have long highlighted the importance of women being heard and the fundamentally political nature of women speaking out. Stories have also been identified as central to the policy process, whereby "policy actors wield narratives to help achieve their goals" (Crow and Jones 2018: 218).

Beyond creating momentum for change, the advent of the co-production of public policies with system users has meant individual's narratives about their lived experiences of systems are increasingly informing the whole policy process (Crow and Jones 2018). While this seems to be a positive development, public administration scholars have identified risks and limitations with co-production, particularly for vulnerable groups (Steen et al. 2018), such as reinforcing power imbalances, loss of democracy due to a lack of representativeness and rejection of responsibility by governments.

To relive one's trauma and speak truth to those in power, but see no apparent improvement or benefit, undermines what Million calls, "our contemporary logic"; that change follows when victims speak their truth (Million 2013: 2). Writing on violence against Indigenous women and all women, Million highlights that critiquing and addressing power relations must go hand-in-hand with sharing trauma and speaking truth; otherwise, trauma remains a personal, rather than a systemic problem. Similarly, in describing their experiences campaigning for the rights of disabled children and young people, Runswick-Cole and Ryan claim, "telling stories is not enough to bring about change. We need to be clear about the change we want and how we are going to achieve it" (Runswick-Cole and Ryan 2019: 1131). Beard cautions that although historically women have not been allowed to speak publicly, women *have* been permitted to speak as "victims and as martyrs" (Beard 2015: 809-812). Hamad posits that for Indigenous women who "did not fit the white model of womanhood", their representation has been restricted to either victims or perpetrators (Hamad 2019: 121). The history of silencing women, the victims' rights movement, and the ideal victim's stereotype bring to light risks pertinent to survivors of GBV, particularly marginalised survivors. Engaging survivors of GBV in policy change must therefore be carefully considered. This paper focuses on what has worked for survivors confronted by these barriers.

Methodology

This paper presents findings from a thematic analysis of 11 explorative, in-depth interviews conducted with survivor advocates/activists via online video conferencing between June and November 2021. Participants were sourced through the lead author's networks and with the assistance of Domestic Violence Victoria (now Safe and Equal) and Engender Equality (Tasmania). We deliberately sought diverse participants, from marginalised communities, most of whom face multiple forms of structural discrimination and disadvantage, such as poverty, colonisation and ableism. We selected participants who had undertaken a range of government advocacy/activism activities, and people involved in independent campaigns. We sought this diversity to ensure that we heard from those who are most representative of the majority of those who experience GBV and to promote the voices of those who are frequently not heard.

The interviews covered participants' backgrounds, preferred terminology, views regarding the role of survivors, and experiences of barriers and opportunities in advocacy/activist work. All participants consented to being identified and named in the research. One participant, Nina, requested to be identified only by their first name. Brief profiles of each survivor, including their backgrounds, preferred terminology and advocacy/activist experience, are included in Table 1.

Ethics approval was provided from XXX University's Human Ethics Advisory Committee (Project ID: 17865). Participants were provided with transcripts of the interviews (except one who specifically requested a transcript not be provided), and in some cases, participants provided feedback on the transcripts, including additional exposition. All participants were encouraged to give feedback on content specifically related to them in this paper.

The interviews were analysed and coded in NVivo, initially using a deductive coding approach based on the interview questions. Inductive coding was then used to identify emergent and

divergent themes. This was done to avoid flattening out or neatening the experiences of participants or what survivor, Fiona, called "genericising the black experience".

Table 1: Research participants

Name	Background	Preferred terminology	Advocacy/Activist experience (at time of interview)
Nicole Lee	"I'm a survivor of domestic and family violence that also involved sexual violence, a woman living with disability."	"I don't really use the term 'survivor advocate' so much anymore. I just say I'm an **activist**. I feel that encompasses more of what I do. Advocacy seems too gentle and soft, and I like 'activist'."	*Past VSAC member *#LetHerSpeak/#LetUsSpeak campaign participant *Disability activist.
Russell Vickery	"I am a gay man. I have lived through family violence with an intimate partner."	"I'm a **survivor**, that's the reality. I was a victim of somebody else at one point in time, but I don't feel like a victim now at all."	*Current VSAC member *Cabaret performer/advocate *Voices for Change graduate.
Lula Dembele	"I am a survivor advocate who shares my experience of childhood sexual abuse, childhood domestic violence and domestic violence and abuse I experienced in early and adult relationships to create systemic change."	"So, for myself, in thinking about my role where I would use words like I'm an agitator. The language – I'm a disrupter. I'm probably not an advocate in many ways, I'm actually an **activist**."	*Founded Accountability Matters Project *Bravehearts' child protection, Ambassador * Voices for Change graduate. * Member of WEAVERS, University of Melbourne * Member of National Plan Advisory Group *Co-Founder of the Independent Collective of Survivors.
Nina	"I am a proud and unapologetic criminalised woman… I aim to improve the understanding of family violence in women's lives who have been criminalised."	"I do have lived experience in a number of different areas. So, I would just like to have **lived experience**, I don't like the term 'victim'. **Survivor** is fine but I don't like the term	*Current VSAC member *Member of the Safe and Equal Expert Advisory Panel. *Women Transforming Justice Project, Fitzroy Legal Service Inc.

		'victim'. It makes me feel less than."	
Ash Vishwanath	"I'm an immigrant woman of colour, and I speak Tamil primarily, and English is a second language for me. I have been living in Australia for the past five years now, and my experience of family violence has led me down this career path."	"I am a **survivor advocate**".	*Current VSAC member *Member of the Noor Family Violence Survivor-Advocates advisory group at InTouch Multicultural Centre against Family Violence. *Survivor advocate advisor at DV Vic (now Safe and Equal).
Luisa Fernanda Mejia	"I was born in Colombia and moved to Australia 7 years ago, and I've been living in Hobart for the last three years. … I'm a victim survivor of family violence."	"I wouldn't refer to myself as **victim survivor** before, but after realising how dangerous it was the situation I was in, I think that's the most appropriate thing … it recognises the danger of family violence, but also our fight to be safe."	*Voices for Change graduate *Engender Equality Advocates for Change advocate.
Deborah Thomson	"I've written two books about my lived experience (Thomson 2018, 2021)... I was a victim myself for 25 years… I was born with a genetic disability, but then due to certain incidents I have an acquired brain injury two aneurisms which resulted from abuse in the past."	"I guess I prefer **survivor** … enough of people realise that survivor, you were a victim, but now…"	*Voices for Change graduate *Engender Equality Advocates for Change advocate *Campaigned (successfully) for legislation against non-fatal strangulation in Tasmania.
Aleana Robins	"I am a trans woman who runs a website designed to combat the lies and misinformation about being transgender and gender dysphoria. I am also a two-time published author (Robins 2016)." Aleana	"I'm always concerned about having people see me as a victim. I'm not a victim, I'm a **survivor**."	*Voices for Change graduate *Engender Equality Advocates for Change advocate *Transgender advocate.

	experienced family violence as a child and domestic violence as an adult. She also has autism and dyslexia.		
Fiona Hamilton	"I am a Trawlwulwuy woman, which is a Tasmanian Aboriginal woman from the northeast clans of Tasmania on Tebrakunna country. At the moment, I live in Tasmania and I live in homelands. I am a victim survivor advocate of family violence. I've also previously worked in the field of family violence. I am also a female Aboriginal heritage officer... And I'm also an artist."	"The ability to kind of make decisions for yourself, and even how you describe your own condition, is very important ... So, I don't see always the same connect between those words of 'victim survivor advocate'. … I don't know I'm necessarily comfortable with that term, but I use it for want of anything better. . And I think **what I'd really like to see is for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women to be able to start to use language to describe our condition and our experience**. "	*Advocate for inclusive domestic violence services for women with disability.
Tarang Chawla	"I like to say brother of Nikita Chawla first and foremost, because any – whether it's Our Watch Ambassador or any campaigns I've won or things like that – they're all secondary to me."	"Initially [I preferred] the mantle of victim survivor because I was one of the inaugural Victim Survivors' Advisory Council in Victoria, … Nowadays, and for a while, I've preferred **activist**."	*Founder Not One More Niki *Past VSAC member. *Our Watch Ambassador *Senior Policy Advisor, Family Safety Victoria *Commissioner, Victorian Multicultural Commission.
Mahalia Handley	"I am Maori/Irish and an international curve model representing diversity and body positivity." Mahalia has lived experience of domestic violence.	"I use **activist**, because I feel like what I'm doing is physical approaches in many ways … activism requires somebody to be physically doing something."	*Ambassador for the #LetHerSpeak/#LetUsSpeak campaign *Human rights activist.

As Table 1 indicates, most research participants preferred to be identified as survivors rather than victims. There was a sense that they had once been victims, but had transitioned away from that. There was also a view that there is stigma associated with being a victim. As Nina said, "I don't like the term 'victim'. It makes me feel less than, and targeted and victimised, and I think it just creates a bit of a power imbalance". Thus, the term survivor is used throughout the paper, except concerning specific theories and bodies of knowledge, such as the ideal victim or the victims' rights movement.

What works for survivors of gender-based violence in advocacy/activism?

The interview data suggest three main elements are important to positive experiences of survivor advocacy/activism: activism over advocacy, empowerment and training, and collective action.

Activism outside over advocacy inside

How (and where) they could bring about change and make the most significant impact was important for participants. Several spoke of trade-offs concerning working as an advocate 'inside' the state and having a direct role in policy development, but having to mute criticism and remain compliant (i.e. be an ideal victim). This contrasted with being an activist 'outside' the state and campaigning for policy change, where they had agency but were excluded from formal policymaking processes. While those interviewed identified the risk of not being heard (and even being silenced) whether working inside or outside the state, most had decided they could make the most significant impact acting outside. Although, this was not a straightforward decision and there was respect for the role others chose to play as inside advocates. Lula, who had previously worked inside government, expressed the dilemma this way:

> When I talk to other women and other victims who want to do this [advocacy/activism]
>
> and be heard – I'm very clear to say that there's lots of ways to do this work and every

one of them is valid. So, you can work within the institution and make change from within. You have to know that's slow, it's incremental and you'll be compromised. … Then you can be outside and throw shit at the institutions and criticise them all you like and you got to know they're not going to like you. They're not going to welcome you in, you're not going to be praised. Attempts to silence you might be much more overt and direct as opposed to "here's a carrot, we'll give you this pretty, shiny object and then we just expect you to behave this way".

The preference for being an activist was strongest amongst those who had experience working within government. As Nicole, a former VSAC member explained, she decided to leave VSAC when her term was up and become an activist: "I kind of was on my path there, and I just thought, "Oh God, I can't do this". It was too constraining. No, I can make more influence from the outside than I can from the inside." In contrast, Nicole spoke about her work with the #LetHerSpeak/#LetUsSpeak independent campaign as being a positive and rewarding experience:

The let us speak campaign has by far been the toughest yet most rewarding thing I've ever done. Nina [Funnell] knows how to work with survivors in ways I've not seen anyone else do, so she made VSAC look like child's play.

Russell, who was a member of VSAC at the time of being interviewed, said VSAC should never have been inside Government:

VSAC should be a group that sits outside Government that aren't controlled by Government. They tell us that they don't control us, but they do. Government would be very afraid of this group of people all out there and what damage to their reputations we could make. We have a level of independence, but not the level of independence that I think VSAC needs to function at its very best.

However, Russell acknowledged that while being on VSAC, he has the attention of those with the power to bring about change:

> I understand my limitations within this role, and I will endeavour to be an influencer from inside because I think that's important, and I have the ears of the people that I need to have the ears of. It becomes their choice what they do with that.

Tarang, a past VSAC member, said he felt he had more influence acting outside of government:

> Outside of government, and whether this relates to the [VSAC] model or it's just speaking as an activist or victim/survivor advocate, whatever, there's a lot of power that comes from speaking outside of government. One can be critical of things in a way that I believe actually effects change. For instance, if a government minister says something in parliament that's inappropriate, if you're a member of VSAC, you second guess whether you're going to comment on that and how to comment. When you're not a member of VSAC, you say whatever you want. You say it in the words that you would use, that this is inappropriate, or that needs to be better, or whatever the example may be, you have carte blanche to say whatever you need to say to get the point across. … That started to feel like it was weighing on me when I was on VSAC, particularly towards the end. That there was this kind of "We don't want them to say things that are going to rock the boat" or "We don't want them to be too political", but it's strange because the issue itself was politicised.

Nina, a current VSAC member, vividly expressed her frustration at the challenges of trying to bring about change from within government:

> I feel like I go there [to VSAC] and it's like I'm screaming underwater or I'm running into a brick wall. Because the change that I would like to see, it's just not possible. Everything needs to be abolished and we need to start again, which I know is really,

really difficult, and sometimes, reform needs to take place for the abolition to take place. But it's so slow! … I think within government, it's just too rigid.

Lula spoke about state institutions as sites of control, unaccustomed to relinquishing or sharing power:

> They're patriarchal institutions that don't work on self-reflection, they work on always seeming like they're in control and to admit wrong or to admit you haven't done something perfectly is to be seen as weak, and that, from that perspective, is damage to their reputation. In patriarchal systems, reputation is king, so I don't think they [survivors] will ever be heard by those institutions in the way that we would want it to be.

Nicole said she found government to be a site of conflict and contest, just as Htun and Weldon describe the state as "a cause of, and a remedy for, human suffering" (Htun and Weldon 2017: 158):

> There are people [in government] that think, "just stay in your box over there. Just tell us what we need when we need it. Stay in your lane, we'll stay in our lane." But then there are genuine people in there that feel – that want to do that sort of work [empowering survivors]. That want to build people up. That want to progress them out of that space [of victimhood]. So, it's that mix. But then there is that tension around, "stay in your lane. Let us control the narrative.

Tarang felt that the Government was overwhelmed by the extent of change members of VSAC wanted and that over time, it tried to contain them:

> VSAC was incredible in the beginning, but over time, what government noticed is that survivors have been through a lot and they have kind of like a fire within them and a

belief that I'm going to change the system because I don't want other people to suffer the way that I did or my family did or my children did etcetera.

Nina pointed out that marginalised survivors have different issues and objectives as advocates/activists to more privileged survivors. She felt they are far more likely to demand more radical, systemic change and therefore to come into conflict with the state:

For some VSAC members, the only really critical stuff that they would like to change is the police response and the court response. But generally speaking, them being able to access services or having supports or getting what they needed at the time and being somewhat financially housed and financially able [is not an issue]. There's not as many complexities as there are for other marginalised communities.

Most research participants echoed this viewpoint, noting that the system most fails those from marginalised communities and that this failure necessitates activism over advocacy.

Empowerment and training

The strongest theme to emerge from the research vis-à-vis what works for survivor advocates/activists was the importance of empowerment and the value of training, particularly the benefits of the Voices for Change program (Women's Health East, Melbourne 2016). Aleana, like several participants, found the opportunity to practice sharing her experience in a way that avoids or minimises re-traumatisation, most useful:

Working on your story was the most – that was the best assistance I had. I mean, I've been speaking for five years about it, so I take so much that I can out of all the wonderful sources that I get, and it's allowed me to tell my story in a little bit of a different way.

Deborah found the media training and guidance on dealing with backlash particularly helpful:

Media training was really important: not to name names, the fear of defamation, and just speaking in ways that keep you safe when you're speaking to an audience. And

also, just to temper possible arguments from the audience. They might turn around and say, "Oh, what a load of rubbish" or "You hate men" or "You don't know what you're talking about." … That's where the training comes in.

From her perspective as a survivor and advocate advisor, Ash also emphasised the need for survivors to be provided with support to deal with backlash and added that they need assistance to respond to disclosures from others:

> They also deal with a lot of disclosures because they're victim survivors themselves, so to be able to respond to that effectively. Also, thinking about trolling, social media abuse, the backlash that they receive, something to respond to that and to think about selfcare and [a] trauma informed approach of talking to people, or not talking back to people.

Voices for Change encourages participants to avoid simply recounting their 'story' and experiences of GBV. Instead, it advises that survivors utilise elements of their lived experience to illustrate the changes needed to improve services and address the drivers of GBV. Luisa found this component reassuring:

> The main feature that I liked about the program was that they explain how family violence or abuse is systematic and how it made me feel a little bit like not only supported, but also validated. … It wasn't just me being silly and stupid and allowing that to happen, but that's something that it doesn't matter who you are or how well educated you are or how independent you think you are: it can happen to anyone.

Luisa also found the opportunity to share aspects of her lived experience for the first time in a safe environment, a valuable experience:

> I actually made some very good connections and I shared experiences with them that I hadn't shared with anyone else, even in my own language. So it was very interesting

and it was very good to be able to share those experience and see the similarities, but at the same time, seeing how different it is when you come from another country.

Ultimately, Nicole highlighted the importance of survivors developing new skills so they can transition out of being a victim, "Because you can't do that forever. You just honestly can't. And making it so it's okay for people who have done that stuff there to let go of that, because there's progression onto other things."

Collective activism

Another theme raised was the importance of support, particularly peer support, and the rewards of collective activism. Deborah described campaigning as a group to have a standalone offence of non-fatal strangulation introduced in Tasmania as "my greatest achievement that I'm so proud of". She found the expertise and support provided by Engender Equality beneficial and emphasised the benefits of, and need for, continuing support:

> You just can't go out and advocate without the support of professionals. … The advocacy training, because I started networking and I had connections with people, that really counted … And you need that sort of backing to really push your agenda. And I was just lucky to have met these women in various other advocacy speaking events. … And there was sort a groundswell then. I mean, this has taken years, but just in the last six months it really gathered momentum, because I had help.

Participants emphasised the importance of having support networks in activism work. For those who were current or past VSAC members, the support of other members was repeatedly identified as the most positive aspect. Russell reflected that despite feeling unheard and unsupported by those within Government, he felt very much heard and supported by other survivors:

It's really amazing that I sit in amongst a group of 16 people, 15 of whom are women, all who are victim survivors of violence in some form or another. I find it really interesting that services have issues [with providing support to male victims], but when I sit in amongst that group of women, none of them have any issue with the experience that I have, and none of them don't support me. … Services put up barriers, but victim survivors just get together. … We realise that it doesn't matter whether it's an LGBTIQ family violence relationship or family of origin violent relationship or a relationship that is between a heterosexual woman and a heterosexual man … it's like perpetrators have a manual and they all use the same tactics, and the experience from experiencing that tactic is the same. … All these people around this table have a commonality, and we respect each other's experience, and because we respect each other's experience, we become this united front.

In this reflection, Russell suggests that collective activism can help avoid reinforcing harmful gendered stereotypes and social norms, such as the ideal victim.

Like Russell, Lula highlighted how important it is for survivors to be listened to and to find people listening for, or affirming, commonalities, rather than othering: "The most important thing, … the solidarity. It's just someone else – when you say something they don't step backwards from the table and be like "oh no, that wasn't me". They stay with you."

Through listening to the perspectives of marginalised GBV survivors, we have found that collective activism and empowerment are key. Collective activism, independent of the state, provides vital peer support and helps defuse the power of gendered social norms and stereotypes, allowing diverse voices to be heard. This finding supports and extends the results of studies in other areas of public activism which have suggested that collective activism and actively challenging stereotypes, can enable a shift in power imbalances and allow more voices

to be heard (Maher et al. 2020; Runswick-Cole and Ryan 2019; Wright 2016). This approach also gives survivors control of their stories, which is important for survivors of GBV (O'Neill 2018).

Empowerment and training are essential to equip survivors for advocacy and activism and help them transition out of victimhood. As others have observed, we found there is empowerment in survivors having their experiences recognised and validated by supportive peers (e.g. O'Neill 2018). As O'Neill writes, regarding survivors of sexual violence sharing their stories on the digital platform Reddit, there is the opportunity to construct a collective counter-narrative of GBV that justice systems cannot provide (O'Neill 2018: 54). Extending this, we found that survivors can avoid the limits of stories and the trauma of sharing the details on their lived experiences of violence by focusing on the change required to improve services and prevent GBV.

However, this study does present insights and raise questions for further exploration. Although collective activism can help ensure more diverse and representative survivors are heard, there is still a risk that high profile, more ideal victims, will overshadow marginalised survivors. For example, child sexual abuse advocate Grace Tame was assisted by and featured in the #LetHerSpeak/#LetUsSpeak campaign, but when she became Australian of the Year, her prominent public profile risked eclipsing the profiles of other survivors, through no fault of her own. As the campaign's founder, Nina Funnell, said, "We shouldn't erase from that story the significance of people … whose cases were also part of this journey" (cited in Lansdown 2021). We suggest that further research is required to precisely understand how the ideal victim stereotype might most effectively be weakened or eliminated through collective action.

Another area for future research is impelled by Fiona's insights regarding working with Aboriginal women with experience of domestic violence in the Northern Territory:

I remember just thinking to myself, with everything that I've experienced, surely, I have something to offer [these women], right? But also, with everything that I've experienced, those women in Tennant Creek seem to be doing it pretty hardcore in terms of domestic violence … and surely, they have got something to teach me as well about cultural recovery, and spiritual recovery, and about kind of, I really hate the word 'resilience', because it's not the right word, about continuance, how you continue. … I think what it did was allow me to sort of reflect on my own sort of condition without having to avoid it. It was amazing.

Fiona's experience reflects Million's thinking on how Indigenous survivors might escape what she describes as "the place where Indigenous women are posed as the abject victimized subjects of our present neoliberal states" (Million 2013: 177). What Million concludes is that "it is in the practice of Indigenous philosophy and its differently performed polities that we produce and find self-determination performing into strength those practices that do vex and move nation-states in these new times" (Million 2013: 180). White scholars may find solutions to GBV in Indigenous ways of knowing and being.

Conclusion

For survivors of GBV and particularly those from marginalised communities, the challenges to being heard and effecting change are significant. The changes survivors experiencing multiple forms of structural discrimination and disadvantage want and need are substantial, and inevitably require the state to redirect or cede power to make them happen. They necessitate a radical questioning and overhaul of systems, especially justice systems. Thus, we argue barriers to state entities listening and acting are great, but ultimately rates of GBV are unlikely to change without a serious commitment to and reimagining of significant change.

Notes

1. UN Women defines gender-based violence as "harmful acts directed at an individual or a group of individuals based on their gender." (2020). Experiences of GBV vary and are frequently more severe for those experiencing other forms of structural discrimination and disadvantage.

2. See for example, changes to bail laws in Victoria in response to the rape and murder of Jill Meagher in 2012 by a man on bail (Richards and Haglund 2015: ix–xi). Despite data showing that most people on bail do not commit an offence (Allan et al. 2003; McGorrery and Bathy 2017), these laws led to a record increase in people imprisoned before trial.

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Chapter 7:
Synthesis and
Conclusions

'People need space within the
societies in which they live to
be able to express their identity
and difference. It is when this
"difference" is silenced that tension,
antagonism and conflict begin.'

(Behrendt, 2003, p. 77).

This chapter concludes the thesis by providing an integrated discussion of the key findings and how they contribute to theory and practice. Specifically, section 7.1 summarises the key findings in response to the objectives presented in the introductory and research design chapters (Chapters 1 and 3). Section 7.2 articulates the thesis's contribution to knowledge, and section 7.3 provides insights for practitioners and policymakers. Section 7.4 outlines the limitations of the research and opportunities for future research. The chapter concludes with section 7.5, which reiterates the central findings articulated throughout the thesis.

GBV is a widespread problem and there is arguably consensus among scholars and practitioners that reducing GBV, like other wicked policy problems, requires new ways of working and collaborative approaches, including input from those with lived experience. Centring survivors' voices in demands for action on GBV and in the development of public policy is an approach that is being widely employed to improve policies and services and stem the tide of GBV. As Australia's draft National Plan states:

> Victim-survivors must be at the heart of solutions. Victim-survivors have specific and contextual expertise that comes from lived experience of abuse and violence. Victim-survivors have intimate first-hand knowledge of services, systems, and structures that are intended to support them. They know the weaknesses and strengths of interventions in practice. (Department of Social Services, 2022, p. 25)

International examples of the prioritisation of survivors' voices include the appointment of a Domestic Abuse Commissioner in England and Wales (in 2019) as 'an independent voice that speaks on behalf of victims and survivors … to raise public awareness and hold both agencies and government to account in tackling domestic abuse' (2022). In the US, the National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence (established in 1994) has utilised high-profile survivor advocates such as Ana Estevez (Lopez, 2020) and Kathy Sherlock (Kessel & Park, 2018) in its 2022 campaign to renew the Violence Against Women Act.

However, what the role of survivors is or should be and what mechanisms are needed to optimise engagement with them in shaping public policy has been unclear. To maximise survivors' input, it is vital that we understand their role and how best to engage them. Specifically, we must engage survivors in ways that avoid reinforcing power imbalances, gendered stereotypes and social norms, and thus deliver real public value and do not cause further harm. Addressing these risks can improve survivors' engagement in

developing policies and services, thereby enhancing the effectiveness of policies and services, minimising the effects of GBV, and ultimately reducing it.

Guided by one overarching research question and a feminist research ethic, this thesis has investigated the role of survivors of GBV in shaping public policy and the optimal mechanisms for engaging them. This exploration was underpinned by interdisciplinary theories, including ideal victim, policy entrepreneur, public value and feminist institutionalist theories, and an understanding of the history of the victims' rights movement. Three primary objectives guided the research: 1) to examine the role Rosie Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria; 2) to explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy; and 3) to define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement.

In addressing these objectives, it was apparent that the relationship between social change and policy change is profoundly intertwined and that the two are potentially indistinguishable. Social change and community support for action can provide governments with an opportunity to pursue desired agendas or can compel governments to address issues that would not otherwise be high on the political agenda. As the history of the victims' rights movement indicates, governments will often try to build community support for issues such as GBV so that they can pursue political agendas. While survivors of GBV have played a crucial role in creating the momentum for policy change by generating community support and social change, the direct engagement of survivors in policy development is more recent. The highly political nature of issues of policy development and particularly of gendered policy change underscore the inherent complexity of the role of GBV survivors, such as Batty. Survivors can move from playing one of these roles to the other, or they can occupy both simultaneously – informing and increasing public discourse, generating community support and momentum for change *and* taking a seat at the table to shape public policy. Indeed, this was a key issue raised by survivors in Chapter 6/Study 3. The contribution Batty made in helping to create the conditions for unprecedented social and policy change (particularly in Victoria), and the role she played in direct, active policy reform, predominantly as the Chair of VSAC, highlights this overlap in the roles survivors of GBV can play. However, the Batty effect case study (Chapter 4/Study 1) also illustrates how fraught it can be to fulfil both of these roles.

7.1   Summary of key findings

Under the overarching research question – *How can survivors of GBV optimally influence the development of public policy?* – three objectives have guided this research. This section summarises how each of those objectives has been answered and Figure 6 shows the integration of the theoretical underpinnings, objectives, research questions and critical insights across the three articles (Chapters 4 to 6).

Objective 1: Examine the role Rosie Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria.

Research question 1.1: What role did Batty play in family violence policy reforms in Victoria?

The first study (Chapter 4/Study 1) uncovered an extraordinary convergence of personal, social, political and historical factors that led to the so-called Batty effect. However, despite a multitude of contributing factors, the study found that Batty played a key role in creating the conditions that led to the reform of Victoria's family violence system and that the scale of change was unlikely to have occurred without her. Batty helped reframe public discourse about family violence and generated community support for action, which enabled the Victorian Government to introduce a whole-of-system reform, underpinned by an unprecedented financial investment. What is more, Batty continued to play a role in the reform of the system until 2019 as Chair of VSAC. However, a central finding from the research was the importance of Batty's outsider status and the fact that her role became more challenging when she transitioned to working inside the government, as she felt the need to be compliant, 'avoid rocking the boat' and eschew upsetting powerful interests, such as Ministers and senior bureaucrats. This finding was reinforced in Studies 2 and 3. In Chapter 5/Study 2, I found that the state as a site of gendered power finds it difficult to provide a safe space for often marginalised population groups to be heard. In Chapter 6/Study 3, I found that those survivors who had operated within the state, particularly current and past members of VSAC, felt that they could achieve more outside as an activist than inside as an advocate.

Figure 6 Integration of findings and insights across articles

Theoretical underpinnings	Objectives & Research questions	Publications / Studies	Findings	Integration of findings	Critical insights
CRIMINOLOGY AND VICTIMOLOGY Ideal victim Victims' rights **POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION** Policy entrepreneur Public value Limits of co-production **GENDER AND POLITICS** Feminist institutionalism **SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY** DV services movement Submerged social networks **BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE** Social norms & victim-blaming	**1. Examine the role Rosie Batty played in bringing about significant reform of family violence policy in Victoria.** 1.1 What role did Batty play in family violence policy reforms in Victoria? 1.2 What personal attributes helped Batty fulfil this role? 1.3 What other factors contributed to driving change? 1.4 Did Batty open the door for other, more marginalised survivors to be heard? **2. Explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy.** 2.1 What are the risks and limitations for public value creation of survivors of GBV being engaged in the co-production of policy? 2.2 Do the benefits of engaging survivors in policy co-production outweigh the costs? **3. Define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement.** 3.1 What mechanisms have diverse, marginalised survivors found most effective and rewarding in influencing public policy reform (advocate or activist, inside or outside the state, etc.)? 3.2 What benefits have often marginalised survivors received from sharing their lived experiences and influencing policy? 3.3 What support has been most beneficial in helping marginalised survivors from diverse backgrounds, operate as advocates or activists?	1. Wheildon, L. J., True, J., Flynn, A. & Wild, A. (2021). The Batty Effect: Victim-Survivors and Domestic and Family Violence Policy Change. *Violence Against Women*. 2. Wheildon, L. J., Flynn, A., True, J. & Wild, A. (submitted). Survivors and gender-based violence policy reform: Assessing the risks and the public value. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*. 3. Wheildon, L. J., Flynn, A. & Wild, A. (submitted). Survivor perspectives: What works for survivors of gender-based violence in driving policy change? *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*.	• Importance of outsider status • Power of lived experience • Value of policy entrepreneur characteristics and strategies • Role of women's movement • Restrictiveness of ideal victim stereotype (esp. need for compliance) and victim-blaming social norm. • Importance of role clarity • Relevance of the evils of co-production, esp. lack of democracy and reinforcement of power imbalances • Ramifications for public value creation of not explicitly addressing power imbalances • Trauma of sharing lived experiences of violence / speaking truth to power and no one listening. • Benefits of being an outside activist, over being an inside advocate • Importance of empowerment and moving through victimhood • Value of training esp. re. sharing lived experience in a way that focuses on change • Power of collective activism in challenging stereotypes and social norms • The different needs of marginalised survivors who are consistently failed by systems and services, and put into conflict with the state because they need systemic changes.	Outside/ activism over inside/ advocacy Empowerment and training Clear, shared objectives Importance of diverse voices Collective activism	• Survivors' outsider status is important. Positioning survivors inside government or the sector may diminish their independence and influence • There are individual characteristics, capabilities and strategies that help survivors to be effective policy change agents. Some of these may be developed/ shared through training and collective activism • Hearing diverse voices/experiences is critical and requires specific focus. • There are risks associated with survivor co-production, most notably co-option and secondary victimisation • Institutional power differentials maximise some voices and minimise others • Power imbalances should be explicitly addressed when working with survivors. • There is support, understanding and safety in collective action/activism • Training helps develop networks and crucial independence • The policy changes marginalised survivors want to see are likely to be substantial, and require the state to redirect or cede power.

Research question 1.2: What personal attributes helped Batty fulfil this role?

Chapter 4/Study 1 focused on this question and Chapter 5/Study 2 and Chapter 6/Study 3 also provided findings relevant to this question. The theoretical application of the common attributes and actions of policy entrepreneurs (Mintrom, 2020) demonstrated that Batty possessed personal characteristics and employed strategies that made her a powerful change agent. Some of these capabilities and approaches may be able to be developed and shared among survivors through training and collective activism.

Batty's personal characteristics, such as her ability to understand others and her authenticity, were notable strengths. Batty's ability to reframe family violence as an issue of relevance to many and a problem that could be solved was also important. Further significant was Batty's capacity to build networks of people with the expertise required to inform and support the change necessary. This finding was reinforced in Chapter 5/Study 2, which highlighted the risks of excluding survivor voices that represent the breadth of lived experiences, and in Chapter 6/Study 3, which found that survivors enjoyed and recognised the value of the support of people with GBV expertise that was not necessarily lived experience. Chapter 6/Study 3 also highlighted the benefits of networks and collective action in challenging the stereotype of the ideal victim and ensuring that diverse voices are heard. This finding is discussed in more detail later in this chapter regarding who is and is not heard.

Research question 1.3: What other factors contributed to driving change?

All three studies provided insights that are relevant to this question, although the studies did not control for the influence of other factors. Rather the studies sought to understand in-depth the role of survivors and effective mechanisms for engaging them. Nonetheless, insights from these studies could inform future studies, including comparative and large-N studies.

In Chapter 4/Study 1, analysis of the interview data and a range of reports, including Victorian Labor Party policy documents, identified other important external contributing factors, including the window of opportunity opened by the election of a new government and the Andrews government's aspiration to use family violence as an opportunity to break down bureaucratic silos and undertake the business of government differently (Victorian Labor, 2014).

The decades of work by women's movements, particularly the domestic violence services movement in Victoria (Theobald et al., 2017), was also identified as a crucial contributor enabling the change in Victoria. The work of feminists and particular organisations, including VicHealth which developed the *Preventing violence before it occurs*

primary prevention framework (2007), meant that within government and the sector there was a network and workforce with an understanding of the drivers of GBV and of what needed to change. Chapter 5/Study 2 underscored the importance of women's movements and particularly feminist institutionalism in increasing our understanding of the ways in which political institutions are sites of contest that reflect and reinforce gendered power imbalances through formal and informal rules and norms. Similarly, Chapter 6/Study 3 revealed the value of the Voices for Change media advocacy program, developed by primary prevention specialists from VicHealth, Our Watch and Women's Health in the East (Women's Health East, Melbourne, 2016), for survivor advocates/activists. It also highlighted the importance of the support for survivor advocates/activists provided by specialist women's safety/feminist organisations such as Engender Equality and Safe and Equal. As Batty reflected, this is work that often goes unrecognised, so that social change can appear sudden; but if you look closely, you will find that decades of work went into building the foundations for change.

Research question 1.4: Did Batty open the door for other, more marginalised survivors to be heard?

While this question was a key focus of Chapter 4/Study 1, all three studies contributed to addressing it. Chapter 4/Study 1 confirmed that, as Walklate et al. (2019) have found, an important factor contributing to Batty's ability to drive change was her ideal victim status. As Christie (1986) observes, ideal victim status is a status that most survivors of family violence are not afforded because they know the offender. Indeed, the same is true for most victims of GBV. Batty, however, had not lived with Luke's father for many years, so no one could ask, 'why didn't she leave?' and thus, she escaped the victim-blaming levelled at many survivors. This factor meant that while most of the policy actors interviewed in Chapter 4/Study 1 recognised that Batty was not representative of the majority of victims but hoped that she would open the door for other, more marginalised survivors to be heard, this was not the case. Chapter 5/Study 2 and Chapter 6/Study 3 expanded on this finding, highlighting how the dominance of ideal victims (as opposed to non-ideal victims) within VSAC affected those who felt less ideal. Chapter 5/Study 2 in particular exposed the tensions within and around VSAC as a result of some survivors feeling unheard and/or feeling pressure to be compliant. Chapter 6/Study 3 demonstrated that there was a useful comradery among the members of VSAC and that members did support one another, even if they did not always feel heard or supported by those within the government. Ultimately, the three studies highlighted the importance of diverse, often marginalised voices being listened to due to their distinct needs and the requirement for specific, deliberate measures to ensure this occurs.

Objective 2: Explore the risks and limitations involved in engaging survivors of GBV in the co-production of public policy.

Research question 2.1: What are the risks and limitations for public value creation of survivors of GBV being engaged in the co-production of policy?

Chapter 4/Study 1 revealed the risks of survivors, such as Batty, being politicised and of ideal victims dominating public discourse and policy reform, while other victims remain unheard and may even be silenced. Chapter 5/Study 2 confirmed that the risks and limitations of co-production identified by Steen et al. (2018) were directly relevant to the survivors involved in the first three years of VSAC. However, the VSAC case study extended Steen et al.'s 'seven evils' analysis to reveal that these challenges are likely to be more acute for survivors of GBV due to the grief and trauma they frequently experience and that the risk of secondary victimisation through ill-conceived policy co-production efforts is high. In addition, the power of survivors is, as the history of the victims' rights movement reveals, a power that influential interests, most notably politicians and the media, often want to co-opt to advance their own agendas. Thus, attempts by state institutions to bring survivors inside or to fund them may have more to do with having power over survivors than with sharing power with them. Chapter 6/Study 3 also underscored some of these risks, such as the limitations of working inside government, but focused on how they can be overcome or avoided, particularly through explicitly addressing power imbalances and collective activism outside the state.

Research question 2.2: Do the benefits of engaging survivors in policy co-production outweigh the costs?

The application of Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) proposed framework for measuring public value in Chapter 5/Study 2 provided a valuable, if imperfect tool for assessing the impact the challenges associated with VSAC had on its delivery of public value. Specifically, the framework helped illustrate how the lack of clarity regarding the role of VSAC and its survivor members made measuring the public value created almost impossible. The case study also confirmed that, as Cluley et al. (2021) have argued, the concept of public value should be expanded to include public dis/value and thereby encompass the harm that can be caused to vulnerable system users by the state when the risks and limitations of co-production are not addressed. Chapter 6/Study 3 highlighted that from the perspective of the majority of the 11 survivors interviewed, they felt more able to create public value by engaging in co-production efforts through collective action, external to government.

Objective 3: Define the optimal role for survivors in developing public policy and the risks and benefits of mechanisms for engagement.

Research question 3.1: What mechanisms have diverse, marginalised survivors found most effective and rewarding in influencing public policy reform (advocate or activist, inside or outside the state, etc.)?

Chapter 6/Study 3 triangulated the findings from Chapter 4/Study 1 and Chapter 5/ Study 2 by drawing on the perspectives and lived experiences of marginalised survivors regarding what works in changing public policy, particularly in light of the challenges identified in the earlier studies. The study found that most of those interviewed preferred to work outside the state as activists and that collective activism with other survivors and experts around specific objectives was most rewarding. Those who had experience of working within or closely with state institutions were most likely to prefer external activism. All of those who were current or past members of VSAC at the time of the interviews reported that they found it very difficult to effect change from within government, although they did feel heard by the other survivors on the Council. Survivors found rallying together to campaign for change on particular issues to be powerful, safe and effective. Two of those interviewed had been involved in the #LetHerSpeak / #LetUsSpeak campaign to change 'gag laws' for survivors in specific Australian jurisdictions and they found that work very rewarding. This suggests that external collective action is empowering and may even be more successful than work with the state.

Another key finding was that to avoid re-traumatisation survivors generally found it preferable not to speak about the details of their lived experience of GBV in their advocacy/activism work, but rather to focus on what needed to change to improve support services and prevent GBV. This was both to protect themselves from re-traumatisation and to ensure that their speaking out was focused on bringing about positive change. Many identified social media as an important mechanism for activism and grassroots change, and also for support. Some of these findings were reflected in Chapter 4/Study 1, particularly in Batty's belief in the importance of having a clear focus on the bigger picture and the change you want to see. Chapter 5/Study 2 revealed the pain and suffering caused by survivors having to repeatedly share their experiences of trauma, especially in an environment like government where very little seems to change.

Research question 3.2: What benefits have often marginalised survivors received from sharing their lived experiences and influencing policy?

The analysis of the interviews with survivors in Chapter 6/Study 3 supported Loney-Howes's (2018) research with rape victims, in finding that, for survivors, the benefits of sharing their lived experiences are inevitably personal (and therapeutic) *and* political (about speaking truth to power).

Regarding the personal benefits of sharing their lived experiences, those interviewees who were newer to advocacy/activism reported that sharing their story, particularly among other survivors, was an important way of validating their experiences. Through this sharing they realised that they were not alone and came to understand that GBV is a systemic, societal problem. Some reported that it was only when sharing their story with other survivors that they realised that they were not to blame for the violence and abuse they had experienced; that they had not done anything wrong. Others recounted being relieved to share their lived experience of violence so that they could move on. A particularly interesting finding to emerge from the interview data in Chapter 6/Study 3 was that while most found some comfort in the similarities between their lived experience of GBV and the lived experiences of others, there were also always notable differences that generally resulted from structural disadvantages or discrimination, for example, poor police responses due to racism or language barriers. The different lived experiences and different needs of survivors was something the policy actors interviewed in Chapter 4/Study 1 recognised. However, they did not seem to have considered that they may need different mechanisms and supports to be able to engage with government in co-producing policies and services.

In relation to the political benefits, many of those interviewed felt that it was important to break the silence and tell the truth, particularly about the barriers they experienced as marginalised survivors seeking support. The persistence of activists was also identified as being key, with several survivors reporting that they would keep on speaking up and pursuing their goals, even if they felt that they were not being listened to. The speaking up and refusing to be silenced, even in the face of significant barriers, was in itself a form of political victory. Many survivors reported benefits in supporting other marginalised survivors to pursue their goals. Bringing together a range of survivors around one goal, such as introducing a non-fatal strangulation standalone offence in Tasmania, was repeatedly identified as a rewarding and beneficial form of activism. This reflects Batty's experience in relation to the introduction of the Respectful Relationships curriculum across schools in Victoria, an achievement that she said she was particularly proud of.

> Batty emphasized that she always had a clear sense of purpose and that she felt this helped her make an impact: 'It was always about educating and raising awareness.' In this way, Batty managed to focus on clear goals, a key element of strategic thinking. (Wheildon et al., 2022, pp. 1692-1693)

Research question 3.3: What support has been most beneficial in helping marginalised survivors from diverse backgrounds, operate as advocates or activists?

A key finding from Chapter 6/Study 3 was the importance of the Voices for Change media advocacy program (Women's Health East, Melbourne, 2016) and the benefits of ongoing specialist GBV support for advocacy/activism work, particularly briefing support from organisations like Engender Equality and Safe and Equal both prior to and following public speaking events and media interviews. Voices for Change was continually identified by several survivors as having been beneficial in supporting them in their advocacy/activism work. The research participants identified that the most important elements of the program were the assistance provided to plan and rehearse telling your story and the program content regarding the drivers of GBV and the strategies required to prevent it. The training also helped establish cohorts of survivors who continued to stay in touch and in some cases, to work together after the training. This was similar to the finding in Chapter 4/Study 1 about the significance of the VicHealth framework *Preventing violence before it occurs: A framework and background paper to guide the primary prevention of violence against women in Victoria* (VicHealth, 2007) and other foundational work undertaken by the women's movement in its various forms.

Other key findings regarding beneficial supports were the need for ongoing trauma-informed expert assistance, for example, from organisations such as Engender Equality, and the importance of peer support. Many of those interviewed in Chapter 6/Study 3 reported benefits in working with people with expertise in areas such as media management and co-design but identified that it was important that these experts also understand trauma and how to avoid re-traumatisation. The value of peer support was also frequently raised, particularly in relation to helping amplify survivors' voices and concerns. Batty revealed similar benefits in working with a range of stakeholders with various skills in Chapter 4/Study 1.

7.2 Key contributions to knowledge

This PhD research was designed to establish a conceptual and empirical knowledge base regarding the role of survivor advocates in the development of GBV policy and best practice mechanisms for engagement. The theoretical framework underpinning the thesis was developed iteratively after reviewing literatures and undertaking the stages of the research. The framework centred around testing and extending policy entrepreneur theory, theory regarding the risks and limitations of co-production, and the dimensions of public value. Each study was also guided by ideal victim theory, the history of the victims' rights movement and concepts of gender and power, notably feminist institutionalism.

Three key scholarly contributions are delivered in this thesis, which are discussed in turn in the following sections.

7.2.1 Extends the scholarship on policy entrepreneur theory through the in-depth case study analysis of survivor advocate Rosie Batty

Policy entrepreneur theory has typically been applied to those with social power and privilege, such as former mayor of London Ken Livingstone and the university-educated former Rwandan Patriotic Front finance commissioner Aloisea Inyumba (Mintrom, 2020). This thesis adds to the policy entrepreneur literature by testing its relevance to the emergence of survivors of GBV as powerful agents of change and extending the theory to those with limited social power. This examination was particularly important for understanding the role of survivor advocates, including the characteristics, capabilities and strategies that increase the likelihood of success.

Policy entrepreneur theory proved a useful framework for understanding why Batty was such a successful change agent, in relation to her personal characteristics and the strategies she employed. In addition, in Chapter 4/Study 1 this theory demonstrated valuable utility in underscoring the importance of Batty's outsider status. Chapter 4/Study 1 found that outsider status was also a key factor in the role other survivors played, specifically in relation to survivor testimonies presented at the Royal Commission into Family Violence. A policy actor interviewed observed that survivor testimonies helped challenge institutional protectiveness and ideological divisions between stakeholders, such as disagreements regarding the contributing factors to GBV such as drug and alcohol use or poverty. This finding reinforces the conclusions of other scholars, including McCaffrey and Salerno (2011), Roberts and King (1991) and Davies and True (2017), who argue that those who sit outside government can be better positioned to shape government agendas than those inside; a key finding from Chapter 6/Study 3. Yet, given the challenges Batty experienced as VSAC Chair, the Batty effect case study also, somewhat antithetically, supports Mintrom's (2020) argument that 'the attempts of "outsiders" to make change often come to nothing' because of their lack of understanding of the 'intricacies of the political systems through which change actually happens' (pp. 26–27). This suggests that while survivors can be particularly effective in identifying the changes required and building community support for policy change, when it comes to the detail of developing and implementing policies, they may feel out of their depth without adequate induction, training or support. This insight from the research extends policy entrepreneur theory in a way that indicates that some entrepreneurs may only be able to, and may only need to, play an active role in some stages of the policy development process.

Ultimately, Batty's personal characteristics and the strategies she employed, particularly network building, were only one element contributing to the Batty effect and creating the conditions for the reform of Victoria's family violence system. Other elements, including the window of opportunity (Kingdon, 2003) created by the election of the Andrews Labor government, the decades of work from women's movements, particularly the women's domestic violence services movement (Theobald et al., 2017), and the (submerged) networks of feminists throughout government and the sector also helped create the conditions for change. While policy entrepreneur theory is primarily focused on the individual level and is not intended to identify all the elements that lead to policy change, the Batty effect study does highlight the significance of the characteristics and strategies of the policy entrepreneur. Combined with ideal victim theory, it helps us understand that it had to be Batty that contributed to the conditions for change. Not every survivor possesses the characteristics Batty had, and most survivors of family violence are not ideal victims and therefore could not have attracted the level of community compassion that Batty did. Ultimately, the findings of this thesis demonstrate the extraordinary alignment of factors that contributed to the Batty effect and underscore just how difficult it is to bring about policy change. Without the window of opportunity created by the election of the Andrews government, the decades of work of women's movements and Batty's tireless advocacy and networks, the remarkable reform of Victoria's family violence system is highly unlikely to have occurred.

7.2.2 Provides in-depth empirical insights on the risks and limitations of co-production with GBV survivors in terms of delivering public value

Until recently, co-production with public service users was viewed by scholars and policymakers alike as an inevitably positive development and a key step towards improving services and resolving wicked policy problems. However, a growing body of public administration scholarship has identified significant risks and limitations associated with co-production (Cluley et al., 2021; Dudau et al., 2019; Steen et al., 2018). In line with that scholarship, this thesis shared the goal of providing empirical insights regarding the perils of co-production, particularly for survivors of GBV as a vulnerable group of service users. The addition of a critical feminist institutionalist focus to the analysis was especially important in order to identify the gendered barriers and challenges survivors face, particularly when working with patriarchal state institutions, and thereby to identify potential ways to overcome these obstacles.

However, this thesis also extends the existing literature to provide empirical findings regarding some of the specific risks co-production can pose to the delivery of public value. As I have outlined, Cluley et al. (2021) have argued for the need for the concept of public

value to be expanded to include public dis/value and this thesis provides empirical findings supporting that argument. In this way, the thesis demonstrates that not only can co-production efforts harm vulnerable service users but they can also fail to deliver public value.

Chapter 5/Study 2 focuses on exploring the perils and limits of co-production through the in-depth case study analysis of the first three years of VSAC. This exploration built on the risks identified in the Batty effect case study in Chapter 4/Study 1, such as the pressure facing survivors and ideal victims to be compliant and avoid upsetting powerful interests (Christie, 1986). Through testing the relevance of Steen et al.'s (2018) seven evils of co-production and co-creation, the thesis reveals significant risks and potential harms for survivors involved in co-production work with state institutions. With the addition of Faulkner and Kaufman's (2018) framework for measuring public value and a feminist institutionalist lens, the thesis makes clear that without addressing the implicit and explicit risks survivors and other vulnerable service users face in co-production initiatives, the creation of public value will also be compromised. Instead of improving public policies and services and delivering public value, poorly conceived co-production efforts that do not address these risks will deliver public dis/value through governments rejecting responsibility, failing accountability, rising transaction costs, the loss of democracy, reinforced inequalities, implicit demands and the co-destruction of public value (Steen et al., 2018).

7.2.3 Contributes to the field of GBV through a focus on survivor perspectives and particularly marginalised voices

Chapter 4/Study 1 focused on self-acknowledged 'white, middle-class, well-educated' woman Rosie Batty (Batty, 2015. p. 1) and employed policy entrepreneur and ideal victim theories to understand why Batty was heard and influential, when the majority of survivors are not. It also highlighted the problems resulting from this lack of representativeness among those survivors who are heard, particularly for the development of effective public policy and services. Employing a feminist institutionalist critique, Chapter 5/Study 2 demonstrated that state institutions reinforce power imbalances and gendered social norms (such as victim-blaming) and stereotypes (such as the ideal victim), which silence and exclude many survivors in co-production efforts. This extends to situations where survivors from marginalised communities might have a seat at the policy table, but when they speak, they are unlikely to be heard. Chapter 6/Study 3 aimed to give research participants the space to express their lived experiences and to highlight their difference. As Behrendt (2003) writes, 'People need space within the societies in which they live to be able to express their identity and difference. It is when this "difference" is silenced that tension, antagonism and conflict begin' (p. 77). Fortunately, this is starting to change with the increasing application of intersectional approaches to GBV. This thesis provides a useful contribution to this growing

field by providing space for survivors to express their difference and share their perspectives regarding what works in advocating for public policy reform. This thesis also highlights the importance of an intersectional lens in policy reform and of explicitly promoting and supporting diverse voices even when they are raising points that policymakers might not want to hear.

7.3 Insights for practitioners and policymakers

This research was motivated by the practical challenge of providing insights regarding the role of survivors and best practice mechanisms for their engagement in the development of GBV policy. This approach was supported by the industry-based partnership with ANZSOG and ANROWS, which necessitated a practical focus in the Australian context to provide guidance for practitioners and policymakers wanting to engage survivors of GBV in public policy development. The practical implications of the insights provided by this thesis for practitioners and policymakers are threefold:

1. Knowledge to improve existing and develop new programs.
2. Understanding of good practice to support decisions, including around funding.
3. Guidance regarding the risks and limitations of co-production and what works, particularly in relation to collective activism and training for survivors.

This thesis provides practitioners, policymakers and funders with a conceptually and empirically informed view of the role and lived expertise of survivors of GBV, particularly in identifying where systems are failing and where there are gaps. It also highlights the risks and limitations of co-producing policy with survivors, particularly regarding state institutions, as well as identifying what works for survivors engaged in policy reform. It does this from the perspective of survivors, as well as policymakers, and is informed by the international literature on policy change, victims, and gender and power. These insights can be used by policymakers and practitioners to improve existing programs and to develop new programs. In addition, the identification of successful and unsuccessful characteristics of mechanisms for engaging survivors can support the improvement or discontinuation of ineffective programs, and may assist in funding decisions.

Finally, in relation to the third practical insight, and building from the third scholarly contribution regarding the focus on marginalised survivor perspectives (discussed above), this thesis provides guidance to survivors and policymakers on the capabilities and strategies required to effect change, such as social acuity, framing problems and working with advocacy coalitions.

7.4 Limitations and future research

The research presented in this thesis makes several important contributions to our understanding of the role of GBV survivors and optimal mechanisms for engaging them in policy reform. However, it is not without limitations. This section outlines some of the primary limitations of the research and the implications for future research.

7.4.1 Case study research

The generalisability of this research is potentially limited by its use of case studies and the Australian context. As Yin (2014) contends, case studies are only generalisable insofar as their findings from a specific case study context may be generalised to concepts rather than to other contexts. Chapter 6/Study 3 applies concepts from Chapter 4/Study 1 and Chapter 5/Study 2 to different contexts, such as the #LetHerSpeak / #LetUsSpeak campaign, but it is still based within the Australian context. Therefore, further testing is required in a range of other empirical contexts to confirm the broader international applicability of the concepts identified in this research. However, it is also reasonable to qualify this limitation by highlighting that many of the risks and opportunities identified in the research (such as the politicisation of survivors and the power of collective activism) are reflected in research from other parts of the world, most notably the global North and western, democratic, wealthy countries (e.g., Bottoms & Roberts, 2010; Garland, 2001; Hall, 2017; Rock, 2010; Walklate, 2007). Yet the insights provided by this thesis may not apply in other socio-political contexts.

Nonetheless, this thesis does make a significant contribution specifically through adopting a feminist research ethic and prioritising the voices, lived expertise and perspectives of survivors, including Batty, and particularly survivors from highly marginalised communities, who are not usually heard. Being able to access and develop the trust of these survivors was challenging but very worthwhile in terms of the depth of insights revealed.

Future studies will be able to employ insights from this thesis, such as the importance of survivors maintaining an outsider status and the power of collective activism in challenging the stereotype of the ideal victim, and validate their relevance in other contexts. It is also acknowledged that more immersive data collection methods such as ethnographic studies would yield more detailed data on the day-to-day engagement of survivors' in policy reform and co-production. More refined data from action-based research would assist with the development of practical tools for policymakers and others to help improve engagement with survivors.

7.4.2 Changes in the external environment

Early in the design of this PhD project, a planned research output was a framework providing best practice guidance on engaging GBV survivors in the development of public policies and

services. In July 2020, DV Vic (now Safe and Equal) and the University of Melbourne launched the *Family Violence Experts by Experience Framework* (Lamb et al., 2020). An analysis of this framework, and particularly its principles, found that it largely aligned with the emerging findings of this thesis. However, the *Family Violence Experts by Experience Framework* was developed for specialist family violence services, and there was a need for research and guidance focused on the engagement of survivors in co-production efforts with government and government institutions. I planned to develop such guidance following the analysis of the VSAC case study. But through the VSAC analysis, I concluded that the state as a site of gendered power finds it difficult to provide a safe environment for vulnerable groups to be heard, and thus my plan for a framework for government policymakers was shelved. Although there are several existing toolkits for activists (e.g., Maddison & Scalmer, 2005; Martin, 2019), there may be a need for guidance tailored to survivors undertaking independent advocacy/activism and that is an area for future research and work.

7.3.3 The challenge of co-producing PhD research

Ideally this thesis should have been co-produced and co-authored with survivors of GBV; however, the reality of undertaking a PhD is that it is largely an individual project. As the Monash University website states, 'It is a PhD designed to prepare graduates with the skills and capabilities sought by employers, giving you a competitive edge in an ever evolving employment market' (Monash University, 2022).

The COVID-19 pandemic also made more interactive research approaches such as roundtables and workshops difficult to organise, particularly as Melbourne (where I am based) was in lockdown for much of 2020 and 2021. Furthermore, as I heard marginalised survivors recount the struggles they frequently experience in trying to be heard, I concluded that one-on-one interviews would be most effective. Ideally, future research in this area should be co-produced with survivors and should be mindful of the findings of this research regarding the risks of power imbalances and gendered stereotypes and social norms.

7.4.4 Challenging the stereotype of the ideal victim and the social norm of victim-blaming

While this research focused on the role of survivors and optimal mechanisms for engaging them, the persistent influence of the stereotype of the ideal victim and of the social norm of victim-blaming repeatedly emerged in my studies. Much has been written about the nature and impacts of the ideal victim and victim-blaming, and why we blame women and non-ideal victims (Christie, 1986; Duggan, 2018; Taylor, 2020), yet very little has been written about eradicating them. As Bicchieri (2017) emphasises, 'no conscious decision needs to be involved in the process' of creating and abandoning norms (pp. 106–141), so understanding

these barriers does not dissolve them. Specifically, how these barriers to survivors being heard, believed and listened to might be changed is an important issue for further research. The insights from this thesis confirm the findings of other work, such as that conducted by Runswick-Cole and Ryan (2019), in that collective activism by diverse survivors can help overcome the dominance of ideal victims, but it does not necessarily change the social norm. Consequently, further research in relation to the ideal victim and victim-blaming is needed.

7.5 Conclusion

By applying a feminist research methodology and multiple interdisciplinary lenses, underpinned by an understanding of gender and power, this thesis provides critical insights and an original contribution to knowledge on the role of survivors in informing public policy and optimal mechanisms for engaging them. Practitioners and policymakers can utilise the findings from this research as a roadmap to improve the inclusion and support of survivors involved in the policy sphere. Funders should use the findings to support and expand programs, such as the Voices for Change media advocacy program and Engender Equality's Advocates for Change training and support program, to encompass aspects of the capabilities and strategies of the policy entrepreneur. Policymakers, practitioners and funders should also use the findings to engage and encourage independent survivor action and networks, especially women's networks. Furthermore, carefully planned survivor programs that address power imbalances and gendered norms and stereotypes will help maximise the delivery of public value and reduce the prevalence of GBV.

In conclusion, GBV is a prevalent, costly and persistent social problem. Eliminating it is a global priority. Harnessing the influence and lived expertise of survivors to increase understanding, improve services and policies, and eradicate GBV is critical. But it must be done properly. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to this endeavour.

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Appendix 1. Studies 1 & 3 Supplementary Material

Interview Guide

For victim-survivor advocates

Exploratory interview will involve audio recording. The following questions will be asked:

1.   How do you feel about the term 'victim-survivor advocate'? Do you accept the label or prefer something else?

2.   I am interested in your experience of being an advocate; what do you believe your role is as a victim-survivor advocate? What influence have you seen your speaking out having on others at an individual/personal level?

3.   What influence have you had at a structural or policy development level?

4.   What impact are you most proud of?

5.   What do you think it is about you or your 'experience' that influences people?

6.   Why do you think some people/experiences aren't as influential as others are?

7.   Do you think that those who are heard adequately represent the experience of the majority of victims of gender-based violence?

8.   {If no} How do you think more representative or diverse voices could be promoted?

9.   {If yes} Do you think there could be more diverse voices heard and if so, how might this be achieved?

10.   Was there anything in your life before you became an advocate that helped prepare you for this role?

11.   Since you have become an advocate, what supports do you have in place to help you with this role? Networks? Key confidantes? Training?

12.   You have been courageous in speaking out. Have you ever felt that you have stepped on individuals' or organisations' toes in doing so? What other barriers or negative responses have you encountered?

13.   What has your experience as a victim-survivor advocate [on the Victim Survivors' Advisory Council or relevant group] been like?

14.   How do you think government and the violence against women sector can best embed victim-survivor input into the development of policies and services?

15.   What supports do advocates need?

16.   How can advocates be provided with independence/autonomy?

17.   What reforms would you like to see in relation to family violence, and particularly the role of survivor advocates, in Australia?

18.   Is there anything further you would like to add or clarify in relation to what we have discussed today?

Questions for policymakers

Exploratory interviews will involve audio recording. The following questions will be asked of participants:

1.   How would you describe gender-based violence?

2.   What is a victim-survivor advocate?

3.   What do you think it is about certain victim advocates and their stories that influences people?

4.   Why do you think some people or experiences aren't as influential as others are?

5.   Do you think that those who are heard adequately represent the experience of the majority of victims of gender-based violence?

6.   {If no} How do you think more representative or diverse voices could be promoted?

7.   {If yes} Do you think there could be more diverse voices heard and if so, how might this be achieved?

8.   What impact have victim-survivor advocates such as Rosie Batty had on you personally?

9.   What impact have you seen advocates have on government policy or service delivery?

10.   What is it that advocates add or bring to policy development and service delivery?

11.   Do you see any challenges or limitations associated with the influence of victim-survivor advocates?

12.   How can government and the violence against women sector best embed victim-survivor input into the development of policies and services?

13.   What changes or reforms would you like to see in relation to family violence and particularly the role of survivor advocates, in Victoria and more broadly?

14.   Is there anything further you would like to add or clarify in relation to what we have discussed today?

Distressed Participant Protocol

Before the interview the interviewer will:

1. Explain the process of the interview

2. Let participants ask questions about the process

3. Set boundaries (any areas they don't want to discuss)

4. Explain that the participant can take a break or end the interview at any time.

During the interview the interviewer will:

1. Listen sympathetically, empathetically

2. Watch physical responses (e.g. signs of dissociation such as staring into space)

3. Provide reassurance.

Should a participant become distressed at any time during an interview, the following protocol will be followed:

1. The researcher will cease asking questions and offer water, tissues, etc…

2. The researcher will, in consultation with the participant, assess the need for a break or for terminating the interview and referring the participant to support services

3. The researcher will document any advice given and action taken in the comments section of the interview

4. Report any adverse interviewees to their supervisor (Assoc Professor Asher Flynn).

After the interview the interviewee will ensure:

1. The participant has somewhere safe to go to

2. That they have any support they may require

3. That the participant is offered the opportunity to debrief with the interviewer at a later date.

Batty effect case study codes

Name	References
Other factors	17
Andrews Labor government	2
VAW sector	10
Window of opportunity	2
Women's movement	2
Policy Entrepreneur Theory	20
Ambition and clear sense of purpose	4
Building teams	3
Credibility and authenticity	2
Defining problems	3
Leading by example	0
Optimism	1
Outsider status	1
Rosie's platform	3
Social acuity (understanding others and engaging in policy conversations)	3
Research needs	6
Rosie's personal characteristics	30
Challenged victim-blaming	1
Helping others be heard	3
Horrific circumstances	1
Impact	12
Rosie's capabilities	8

Name	References
Toll	5
The ideal victim	12
Compliant	1
Not representative	4
Selecting victim-survivor advocates	3
Victim-blaming	4
The state	70
Capabilities needed to work with victim-survivor advocates	4
Dangers of basing policy and legal reform on individual cases	1
Government	7
Powerful men and victim-survivors	2
Reform weaknesses	12
Role of the Royal Commission	8
The policy problem victim-survivors help address	6
VSAC	30
Victim-survivors	37
From victim-survivor to advocate	2
Impact	20
Support	1
The cost of being a victim-survivor advocate	4
Victim-survivor terminology	2
Victim-survivor diversity of experiences	5
Victim-survivor expertise	2
Victim-survivor resilience	1

Survivors' perspectives codes

Name	References
Background	40
Aleana	5
Ash	5
Deb	1
Deborah	3
Fiona	2
Luisa	9
Lula	2
Mahalia	1
Nic Lee	1
Nina	4
Russ Vickery	6
singing	2
Tarang	1
Barriers Challenges	146
Autonomy, lack of	1
Backlash	7
Bureaucracy	2
Co-creation, lack of	7
Compliance	14
Cultural	10
Disclosures	1
Exploitation	1

Name	References
Intersecting barriers	8
Lack of support	8
No feedback loop	3
Non-ideal victim	26
Not representative	7
Reinforcement of power imbalances and stereotypes	5
Sector (self-interest)	2
The state	12
Tick the box	3
Tight timeframes	1
Trauma	25
Beyond trauma narratives	1
Lack of appropriate trauma support	3
Victim-blaming (inc. internalised)	2
Motivation to be an advocate	16
Opportunities	109
Access to power & frank & fearless	2
Autonomy and choice	7
Backers or supporters	12
Being outside government	2
Diversity in government	2
Funding	5
Genuine co-creation	5
Leveraging change	1
Peer support	9

Name	References
Persistence	1
Purpose	5
Representative structure	3
Research and Expert support	6
Therapeutic benefits	14
Timely current system user feedback	3
Training & Advocates for Change program	18
Victories	14
Other	20
Inside v outside	7
Need diverse forms of expertise	3
The need to move on from victimhood	4
Us and them – victim-survivor advocates and those with lived experience that don't advocate	6
Preferred terminology	18
Activist	8
Advocate	1
Other	2
Survivor	6
Victim-survivor	1
Role of victim-survivors	26
The nature of violence	1
What needs to change (broadly)	26

Appendix 2. Study 2 Supplementary Material

VSAC case study codes

Name	Files	References
Co-destruction	1	1
Failing accountability	2	4
Implicit demands	1	2
Inability or lack of preparedness of government to change itself	8	23
Inside Outside	1	4
Lack of role clarity purpose	9	39
Loss of democracy	7	16
Need for compliance	3	7
Other	9	62
Lack of planning and support	5	16
Lack of proper recruitment, training & induction	7	17
Need for culture change	2	3
Need to transition out of being a victim	2	4
Payment	2	11
Politicisation	8	16
Public value	2	17
Pushing out other capabilities	8	26
Reinforced inequalities	7	26
Lack of independence	2	7

Name	Files	References
Reinforcement of stereotypes	2	5
Rejection of responsibility	1	2
Tokenistic	2	2
Transaction costs	5	13
Longer timelines	4	11
Trauma stress	5	37
Divisions between victim-survivors	2	10
Us and them	1	1