

From the roots up:
Principles of good practice to prevent
violence against women in the Northern
Territory.

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University.

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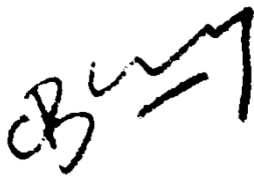
Dedication

For R.Rubuntja (RaRa). R. Rubuntja was the president of Anthepe Camp here in Alice and was on the executive board of Tangentyere Council. R. was also a founding member of the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group. And she was my friend. Her words and art feature heavily in this thesis. "We grieve now and then we mobilise, we will continue, it just may take a minute. We will be inspired by our sister's legacy; we will not let her be forgotten and then we will ask you to stand with us against family and domestic violence" (Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group). I hope that this thesis can serve R. Rubuntja's legacy and contribute to work we all have to do to end violence against women.

Statement of Authenticity

Except as acknowledged in the text, the work I present in this thesis is my own original research. Some parts of this thesis contain excerpts from unpublished reports of which I am the sole author, and these have been reproduced with permission from the partner programs in this research. This thesis does not exceed 100 000 words, excluding footnotes, tables, figures, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'CB' followed by a stylized flourish.

Chay Brown

12th September 2020

Abstract

Violence against women is a global problem that transcends all ethnic, economic, and social boundaries. However, Indigenous women are disproportionately affected and are overrepresented as the victims of this violence. In Australia, Indigenous women are far more likely to be hospitalised due to assault than non-Indigenous women or Indigenous males. Australia's Northern Territory has the highest rates of domestic, family, and sexual violence in Australia and Aboriginal women in the Northern Territory are the most victimised group of people in the entire world. This research aimed to answer the central question: what works to prevent violence against women?

This research used an Indigenist feminist standpoint and participatory action approach to undertake two case studies of programs working in the Northern Territory to prevent violence against women. The research made use of an adapted Transtheoretical model to evaluate two case study programs and identify principles of good practice in their work. The adapted model was also used in interviews with external stakeholders to assess community change and to draw out further principles of good practice to prevent violence. The principles identified in the research were compiled into a long list and considered alongside principles in national and international literature in a series of collaborative workshops with stakeholders throughout the Northern Territory. This thesis presents a framework of principles and context-specific indicators to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory.

This thesis argues that a reframed approach away from victim-based responses to violence against women is needed to address and prevent violence. It emphasises that interventions focused on the choice to use violence and that target community attitudes which condone violence are needed to effectively prevent gender-based violence against women. It further argues that context-specific approaches are necessary in order to address regional complexities, and that collaborative participatory processes are needed to develop these frameworks in order to harness localised practice-based knowledge. This thesis details one such participatory approach in the development of a place-based framework which focuses on preventing violence against women by addressing risk factors and focusing on the choice

to use violence. This thesis further argues that government needs to respond to the high levels of violence against women, particularly against Indigenous women, in Australia by deeply listening to grassroots knowledge and developing interventions ‘from the roots up.’

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B	Shortlist of principles of good practice used in the workshop process

C	Planned questions used in interviews and focus groups

D	Women’s Groups’ paintings and drawings

E	Consultation document

F	PowerPoint presentation used in the workshops

Acronyms

AFL / AFLNT	Australian Football League / Australian Football League Northern Territory
ASWS	Alice Springs Women's Shelter
APY	Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
ANU HREC	Australian National University Human Research Ethics Committee
BRADAAG	Barkly Region Alcohol and Drug Abuse Advisory Group
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CAAAPU	Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Programme Unit
CAHREC	Central Australian Human Research Ethics Committee
CAWLS	Central Australian Women's Legal Service
CPO	Child Protection Order
CDP	Community Development Program
DV	Domestic Violence
DFV	Domestic and Family Violence
DFSV	Domestic, Family, and Sexual Violence
DVSCS (Children's Service)	Domestic Violence Specialist Children's Service
DVAP	Domestic Violence Action Plan
FSF	Family Safety Framework
FASD	Foetal alcohol spectrum disorder
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KPI	Key performance Indicator
Men's Program	Marra'ka Mbarintja Men's Behaviour Change Program
MBCP	Men's Behaviour Change Program
MOARS	Men's Outreach, Assessment and Referral Service
MCDC	Mums Can Dads Can project
NAIDOC	National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee

NPY / NPY Women's Council	Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara Women's Council
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NT	Northern Territory
NTER	Northern Territory Emergency Response
NTV	No To Violence
TCAC	Tangentyere Council Aboriginal Corporation
TFVPP	Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program
TWFSG (Women's Group)	Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group
TTM	Transtheoretical Model
VAW	Violence against Women
WoSSCA	Women's Safety Services of Central Australia
WHO	World Health Organisation

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My mother and my brothers and sister – this thesis is for and because of you.

Chapter One: Introduction

‘Women talking to the little ones about domestic violence.

*Talking about the future...So the future can be better and
stronger’ [TWFSG6]*

Introduction

Across the globe, women experience violence at staggering levels: one in three women experience violence from an intimate male partner (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012; World Health Organisation, 2016; Ellsberg, et al., 2015); 50% of all sexual assaults are committed against girls aged 15 or younger (UNHCR, 2008); and 20% of women report being the victim of sexual assault, as opposed to 5-10% of men (World Health Organisation, 2016). Women are more likely to experience violence in their own homes by someone known to them and women of colour are more likely to be victimised than white women (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). Women are also far more likely to be killed in these encounters, and femicide continues to rise (Manjoo, 2012). Moreover, following a worldwide increase in domestic and family violence, the World Health Organisation (WHO) has made addressing domestic and family violence a priority (Baumann-May, 2014). Most forms of violence against women have been recognised as a crime in Australia since the 1970s¹. Since this time, governments and policy makers have responded largely through victim-based crisis interventions. Forty or so years later, the incidents of violence against women (VAW) have not decreased – and some would argue they have increased² (ABS, 2017). This research aims to shift the focus from the problem of VAW to the solutions by reframing it to focus on interventions directed at risk factors and the choice to use violence within the context of the Northern Territory, where rates of VAW are high and solutions are urgently needed.

¹ With the introduction of the Family Law Act 1975

² This is likely due to increased reporting, rather than increased incidents.

This chapter will discuss terminology, before outlining the problem of violence against women in Australia more generally, then within the Northern Territory specifically. In keeping with Indigenist research principles, I will then state my positionality and motivations for undertaking this research. The chapter will end by stating the research aims and questions, and giving a structure for the thesis. It is necessary that I begin by first explaining and justifying my choice of terminology.

Terminology

Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) defines violence against women as ‘any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life’. VAW manifests in many different forms at different stages of a woman’s life: from gender-selective abortion to domestic violence to widow abuse (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). The two most common forms of gender-based violence perpetrated against women are physical intimate partner violence and sexual violence (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005).

Intimate partner violence ‘refers to behaviour by an intimate partner or ex-partner that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours’ (World Health Organisation, 2016). Sexual violence, as defined by the World Health Organisation (2016), is:

any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, or other act directed against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting. It includes rape, defined as the physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration of the vulva or anus with a penis, other body part or object.

VAW can be analysed in four main spheres: ‘violence in the family; violence in the community; violence that is perpetrated or condoned by the State; and violence that occurs in the transnational sphere’ (Manjoo, 2012, p. 3). VAW therefore includes violence which occurs privately or publicly, such as battering, harassment or intimidation, and violence

perpetrated or condoned by the state (UN General Assembly, 1993). This research primarily focuses on programs which aim to prevent violence against women that occurs in the family and community, but does so with the knowledge that it was the historical violence perpetrated by the state in the form of ongoing colonisation which created the conditions that place Indigenous women at heightened risk of experiencing violence.

The problem in Australia

The problem of VAW is well-known and the literature-base is well-established: in Australia, one in three women have experienced physical violence since the age of fifteen; one in five women have experienced sexual violence; one in six women experience physical or sexual violence by a current or former intimate partner; on average, ten women a day are hospitalised for assault injuries perpetrated by a partner; women are nearly three times as likely to experience intimate partner violence (IPV) than men; women are four times more likely to be hospitalised due to assault perpetrated by a partner; and one in ten women have experienced violence perpetrated by a stranger since the age of fifteen (Our Watch, 2016). Evidence and research about VAW in Australia continues to grow: between mid-2010 and mid-2014, there were 152 intimate partner homicides in Australia; in 80% of these cases a man killed an intimate female partner, in the majority of these men were the primary domestic violence abuser³ (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, 2019). In 18% of these cases, a female killed her male intimate partner, and 61% of these women who killed their male partners were primary domestic violence victims (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, 2019). In that same period, three men killed their intimate male partners; no women killed their intimate female partners (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, 2019).

Rates of victimisation are higher in Indigenous communities: in Australia, Indigenous women are 35 times more likely to be hospitalised as a result of violence than white women and Indigenous women report three times as many incidents of sexual violence compared to non-Indigenous women (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 13). Indigenous women are also far more likely to be killed due to assault than non-Indigenous women (Our Watch, 2016). Indigenous

³ The 'primary domestic violence abuser' is the person who primarily perpetrates violence against their partner, which is different to the retaliatory violence sometimes used by primary domestic violence victims.

women are also hospitalised due to family violence at three times the rate of Indigenous males (Our Watch, 2018). Whilst Indigenous men and women are at heightened risk of experiencing violence, this violence is usually perpetrated by men and the victims are usually women and children (Cuneen, 2002). Violence represents 10.9% of the burden of disease for Indigenous women between the ages of 18 and 44 - this is the single highest health risk factor, more so than smoking, drinking or obesity (Our Watch, 2018). The evidence is clear about the scale of the problem, and that domestic, family, and sexual violence is gendered – men are the primary perpetrators of this violence, and the victims are primarily women and children. Moreover, as this problem disproportionately affects Indigenous women (Manjoo, 2012), this research takes the standpoint that Indigenous women's voices must be privileged and Indigenous women must be listened to about what they say works to prevent violence. This thinking has meant that this research makes use of the term 'violence against women' in preference to domestic, family, and sexual violence (DFSV).

Justification

Deciding on the terminology for this thesis is in, of itself, a political act. Violence against women and family violence are both politically-charged terms which carry a set of values and assumptions. Family violence is the term preferred by some Indigenous people because it acknowledges that violence often occurs within complex kinship systems, often with multiple perpetrators and multiple victims (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 18) (Lievore, 2003; Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012). Family violence, defined by the 2000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence, refers to:

unwanted acts on individuals involving physical, verbal, or psychological force. It occurs between men and men, men and women, women and women, adults and children, and children and adults. Suicides and self-injury as well as intergroup fighting, cyclic violence, and dysfunctional community [are] included. It violates a person's trust and spiritual/cultural beliefs (cited in Cheers, et al., 2006, pp. 54-55).

Family violence is therefore a more holistic term than VAW as it acknowledges the violence experienced by men, and recognises the victimisation of children who often witness violence. Cheers et al. (2006) argue that many Indigenous people regard family violence as inseparable from other forms of violence, such as physical, emotional and financial violence against women and children, the abuse and neglect of elders, as well as verbal, spiritual and psychological abuse. Moreover, Indigenous people perceive family violence as being intertwined with issues such as substance abuse, addiction, unemployment, grief and shame (Cheers, et al., 2006, p. 55). Whilst 'domestic violence' seemingly refers to men's violence against an intimate female partner, 'family violence' extends to broader familial networks of biological and social kin (Lievore, 2003). Family violence therefore encompasses harmful behaviours such as self-harm, suicide, psychological and economic abuse as well as intra-family and partner violence (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012). Lievore (2003) also contends that 'family violence' is a 'more inclusive concept' which acknowledges the 'powerlessness engendered in Indigenous men and women by colonialism and racial oppression and is implicated in family dysfunction and violence' (2003, p. 54). It is evident why some Indigenous people prefer the term family violence as it works to place violence within a matrix of contributing factors and relationships. Why then have I, as a non-Indigenous researcher, chosen the term 'violence against women' rather than some Indigenous people's preferred term?

Globally, including within Indigenous communities, men perpetrate most violence, against women and other men (Anderson & Umberson, 2001). Some scholars dispute this, however, and argue that women commit domestic violence at similar rates to men and so argue that definitions of gender-based violence should be inclusive of the violence committed against men by women (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005). However, this argument has been strongly refuted by feminist scholars who argue that findings of 'sexual symmetry' in domestic violence fail to consider differences in physical strength between the sexes as well as the motivations for the violence (Anderson & Umberson, 2001, p. 362; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). This argument is supported by Anderson & Umberson's (2001) research with male perpetrators of domestic violence which found that even when men experienced violence at the hands of their female partners, they did not feel threatened or endangered, but rather minimised their partner's violence as hysterical or comical. Furthermore, Anderson and

Umberson (2001) also found that such acts of female violence were almost exclusively retaliatory in nature. This is supported by ANROWS' research regarding intimate partner homicides in Australia, which found that of the women who killed their male partners, the majority were primary domestic violence victims, whilst 93% men who killed their female partners were the primary domestic violence abuser (2019). It must be acknowledged that women do perpetrate violence against their male partners, but at nowhere near the level that men perpetrate violence against women. The two rates do not even bear comparison. The fact is that the vast majority of intimate partner violence is perpetrated by men against their female partners (Manjoo, 2012; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005; World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010).

Many Indigenous women also feel that the term 'family violence' 'detracts from the lived experience of being a woman abused by an intimate partner' (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 17; Ingram, 2016). It is for this reason that I will use the term 'violence against women' in preference to 'family violence'. This thesis does make use of the terms domestic, family, and sexual violence as this term was used by the partner-programs, but this term is not interchangeable with VAW. The focus of this research will be on women's experiences of violence at the hands of men, not out of disrespect to the knowledge and views of Indigenous people, but in acknowledgment that the clear majority of family violence is perpetrated by men against women. It would be dishonest not to acknowledge the different experiences of Indigenous men and women, and that Indigenous women often take the brunt of family breakdowns and violent disputes. To fail to acknowledge this would be to further silence the experiences of Indigenous women – and this research aims to help elevate the voices of Indigenous women in Australia's Northern Territory, who are disproportionately impacted by violence.

VAW in the Northern Territory

The Northern Territory has extremely high rates of violence against women, of which the most common forms are domestic, family, and sexual violence (Havnen, 2012). The Northern Territory has the highest rates of domestic, family, and sexual violence in Australia (The Northern Territory Government, 2018). Police typically attend 61 incidents of domestic and family violence every day (The Northern Territory Government, 2018). Indigenous

women are overrepresented as victims of domestic, family, and sexual violence (The Northern Territory Government, 2018) and have been found to be hospitalised as much as 69 times the rate of non-Indigenous women due to assault (Havnen, 2012). Indigenous women in the Northern Territory have the highest rate of victimisation of violence in the entire world (The Northern Territory Government, 2018).

These statistics illustrate the scale of VAW in the Northern Territory, but they do not speak to the severity of the problem. The Northern Territory has the highest rate of domestic and family violence related homicides in Australia (The Northern Territory Government, 2018). However, this fact also reveals little about the extremity of the violence, and the trauma experienced by victims and survivors, which is captured in some of the stories in this thesis. These experiences of violence are compounded by additional barriers, challenges, and complexities which disproportionately exist in the Northern Territory, particularly in remote Indigenous communities, such as lack of phone service; little infrastructure; poverty; overcrowding; low literacy levels, substance abuse, previous experience of violence and intergenerational trauma. Indigenous people's prior experience of violence is inextricable from their experiences of ongoing colonisation. The violence of the frontier wars traumatised Indigenous communities, and this was followed by successive government policies of annihilation, assimilation, neglect, and intervention (Watson I. , 2009). We are currently in a period of intervention, as evidenced by the Closing the Gap⁴, and other initiatives. Many of the Indigenous participants in this research felt they had little control or say over the decisions that affected them.

Whilst this research looks at violence against all women in the Northern Territory, it places greater emphasis on Indigenous-led initiatives and aims to centre the voices of Indigenous women because they are disproportionately impacted by violence and face greater obstacles when seeking help. It must be noted here that not all Indigenous women experience violence, not all Indigenous men use violence, and violence against Indigenous women is not accepted or condoned by Indigenous cultures (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 4; Lloyd & Rogers, 1993). Moreover, violence against Indigenous women is perpetrated by

⁴ 'Closing the Gap' is an initiative and campaign to get the Federal, State, and Territory to commit to achieving equal health and life expectancy for Indigenous Australians – this intervention is different to the NTER in that it is Australia-wide, and is not punitive (Australian Indigenous Health InfoNet, n.d.).

Indigenous *and* non-Indigenous men. Native American people in the United States, for example, are more likely to experience violence by a non-Native person, and 95% of Native women who had experienced violence reported that the violence was perpetrated by a non-Native person (Deer, 2018).

However, this research does not solely focus on Indigenous women's experiences of violence because it does not wish to reinforce the racist stereotype that VAW is 'an Aboriginal problem'. DFSV⁵/VAW does not exist solely among Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory. Throughout this research, Indigenous women repeatedly expressed their concerns about the violence experienced by non-Indigenous women in the Northern Territory, and how this violence was often minimised or dismissed by service providers and the judicial system. VAW is everywhere, among all social classes and ethnic groups, and occurs in all communities around the world. This research focuses on VAW in the Northern Territory, but acknowledges that Indigenous women are disproportionately affected.

In Northern Territory, a number of specific contextual complexities and challenges mean that mainstream prevention frameworks, strategies and interventions created elsewhere are largely inappropriate or ineffective because they do not acknowledge or account for these complexities.

Until this time, the primary response to VAW in the Northern Territory, as elsewhere, was through mainstream crisis responses. Often mainstream interventions – or those developed for Western women – are inappropriate in Indigenous contexts. Mainstream interventions often seek to solve the problem of violence against women by developing programs which place the onus on the woman to leave the abusive relationship and seek safety. These often take the form of shelters, refuges, or counselling. However, such interventions are largely inappropriate in many Indigenous contexts where relationships are considered permanent and the removal of a woman could mean she is off country or could sever her support networks. Interventions also occur through the judicial system in the form of incarceration. However, recidivism rates highlight the ineffectiveness of a solely penal approach (Department of Attorney-General and Justice , 2018). These contextual factors are explored

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further below and show that it is necessary to develop context-specific principles and frameworks to guide violence prevention practice in the Northern Territory.

The problem of VAW has been well-established and documented, but little is known about ‘good practice’ in VAW interventions. This research aimed to be solution-focused by learning lessons from Indigenous-led interventions to answer: what works in preventing violence against women? There is vast practice-based knowledge within the Northern Territory; this research hoped to harness this knowledge to identify principles of good practice to prevent VAW. The research used case studies of programs currently working to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory, as well as a collaborative workshop with stakeholders working in the DFSV sector in the Northern Territory, to identify these principles.

The Northern Territory Context

The Northern Territory of Australia (see **Figure 2**) provides the context of this research: the programs that were used as case studies operate in different parts of the Northern Territory, and the workshop process was conducted in the regional centres of the Northern Territory: Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Katherine, and Darwin (see **Figure 36**).

Figure 1 Map of the Northern Territory⁶



⁶ Maps from (Australian Travel Wholesalers, 2019; Marquee Media, 2016)

The Northern Territory is not a state, and this comes to influence its relationship with the Federal Government and has funding implications as well as consequences for organisations and staff working in the DFSV sector there, as key performance indicators (KPIs) often come from frameworks developed elsewhere that are not appropriate for the Northern Territory context.

There is a history of externally imposed interventions in the Northern Territory which has created a culture of ‘suspicion and hostility’ towards outsiders, especially those from ‘Down South’⁷. As a result, many people in the Northern Territory feel a sense of powerlessness when it comes to control and decision-making. An example of this is the Northern Territory Emergency Response (otherwise known as ‘The Intervention’) in 2007 which was led by the Federal Government in response to the Little Children are Sacred Report (Wild & Anderson, 2007; Altman & Hinkson, 2007). The Intervention imposed a range of measures that had drastic and unintended impacts on the Northern Territory, especially on Indigenous people (Altman & Hinkson, 2007). The most pertinent to this research is an increased reluctance to report sexual violence for fear of perpetuating harmful stereotypes of Indigenous men – especially fathers – as violent aggressors. This reluctance is reported by stakeholders and is also evident in the lack of reports of sexual violence. ‘The Intervention’ continues to have negative ongoing impacts on the Northern Territory, to the point that the very word ‘intervention’, which I often use, has been sullied by the violence and punitive nature of the Northern Territory Emergency Response. I continue to use the word ‘intervention’ to capture the broad nature of prevention and response to VAW, however, I am aware of its negative connotations, so I elect to use other terms where fitting and appropriate.

Examples like ‘The Intervention’ reflect why people in the Northern Territory often feel their local knowledge is dismissed and devalued by outsiders – participants in this research study made repeated references to the superior attitudes of outside ‘experts’ and people from ‘Down South’. The fact I am born and raised in the Northern Territory, particularly in an

⁷ ‘Down South’ refers to the southern parts of Australia where the urban centres are, which also hold all the decision-making power in Australia. However, Northern Territorians really use this term to refer to anyone who is not local to the Northern Territory. It takes an extremely long time to be considered ‘local’, and is really reserved for people who were born and raised in the Northern Territory, although people who have lived there for decades begin to be included as locals.

extremely remote and rural location, has helped me throughout this research process, as I am able to take an 'insider' role most of the time.

There are several other contextual factors which set the Northern Territory apart: extreme remoteness; vast distances; a high Indigenous population; lack of access to services, resources, and facilities; an extremely transient and mobile population; a very small population spread over a vast geographical space; a rich and complex cultural and linguistic context; high rates of poverty and inequality; lack of housing and infrastructure; and minimal access to goods and services, including phone service.

There are also very strict laws in the Northern Territory, that people from elsewhere find very confronting. The most notable law relates to alcohol restrictions: alcohol is prohibited in much of the Northern Territory in what are called 'dry zones' (Northern Territory Government of Australia, 2020) and this is mostly remote Aboriginal communities, but also through the regional centres as well. Everyone must present identification (ID) in the Northern Territory to purchase alcohol, and if a person's ID has an address on it where alcohol is prohibited (a Town Camp, remote community, and even urban housing), then they are not allowed to purchase alcohol. Everyone is asked where they plan to consume the alcohol, but this measure really targets Aboriginal people – quite openly racially profiling people. This is widely discussed and known by locals and visitors to the Northern Territory alike. There is the harmful stereotype that all Aboriginal people are alcoholics, although literature shows alcohol consumption in the Northern Territory is high for all groups (Skov, Chikritzhs, Li, Pircher, & Whetton, 2010). Further to this, all alcohol purchases are recorded against a person's ID in the Northern Territory which is a measure to prevent 'sly grog' or 'grog running', terms which refer to the black-market sale of alcohol in prohibited areas. There are many instances of people driving alcohol back from interstate for sale in remote communities – cars carrying as much as 500 litres of alcohol⁸. Further to this, the sale of products with a percentage of alcohol, such as mouthwash, are restricted and closely monitored. Aerosol cans and paint are also restricted and closely monitored. The Territory also uses Opal fuel which was brought in over ten years ago to stop the epidemic of petrol sniffing (Moore S. C., 2006), and whilst this had a drastic impact to the extent that petrol

⁸ This was reported by stakeholder ES31 during an interview.

sniffing is now rare, sniffing remains a problem which is why glue, paint, and aerosols are restricted.

In addition to this, a huge number of people in the Northern Territory are under mandatory income management, which is overwhelmingly targeted at and mandatory for Aboriginal people on certain forms of government income support – and takes the form of 50% income quarantining and the basics card (Australian Government, 2019; Bray, Gray, Hand , & Katz, 2014), which is a card that can only be used to purchase food and household goods at certain stores. This measure was imposed under the Intervention and continues to have impacts, particularly on Indigenous women, and is pertinent to this research because a lot of violence revolves around basics cards. These are just a few of the measures and restrictions in place the Northern Territory that have a serious impact on the way people live. They are very confronting and alien for people from elsewhere, and have contributed to a significant cultural divide between ‘The Territory’ and other Australians. Further to these contextual factors, is the extremely high rate of DFSV, especially against Indigenous women.

Positionality

In keeping with Indigenist methodology it is necessary that I self-identify and state my positionality (Aveling, 2013; Rigney, 2006; Martin, 2006), which also explains the reasons I undertook this research.

I am a Western, white, feminist woman who has grown up in a violent home and who has witnessed violence against women just about every day of my life. I have experienced domestic, family, and sexual violence, as a child, as a teenager, and later, as a young adult. I have experienced what it is to be a child in the Australian Law Court system, as judges make decisions on your behalf which shape your entire life. I have witnessed domestic and family violence against my mother, against my siblings, against my friends, and against strangers. My mother has several disabilities, and I witnessed how this compounded and added complexities to the violence she experienced.

I am from Mparntwe/Alice Springs: I was born there and grew up on a cattle station just West of Alice Springs, close to the community of Jay Creek. After a family-violence related head injury for which I was hospitalised when I was fourteen, I was placed in the care of two women, who I also call my mothers, living in the Alice Springs suburb of Gillen, and I

remained in their care for two years, before returning to the care of my biological mother. I remained with my mother for less than a year, before moving into my own apartment in Gillen at the age of 17. I moved to Melbourne to undertake my university studies when I was 19. I moved back and forth between Alice Springs and various places for many years, before returning permanently at the age of 31.

I have connection with Warlpiri people, through my mother and her connections, and there I am called Nampijinpa. I am also proud to call many Arrernte and Anmatyerre people my family and friends. I have sought advice and guidance from my Indigenous family, friends, and kin throughout the life of this research.

By self-identifying in this way, I acknowledge my positionality has inevitably shaped and influenced the way I carried out the research. There are undoubtedly limitations to my research because I am a non-Indigenous white woman. I acknowledge this and have attempted to recognise it by placing Indigenous people's knowledge, voices and priorities at the centre of my research.

Motivation

Although the problem of violence against women, and against Indigenous women specifically, is well-known, the high rates of DFSV/VAW in the Northern Territory are rarely discussed outside of the Territory. There seems to be too little awareness of the scale and severity of this problem in the wider discourse and among DFSV practitioners operating elsewhere in Australia⁹.

This research was developed in response to the problem of VAW in the Northern Territory – and was really a product of my own experiences growing up in the Northern Territory. I knew this to be a problem because I saw it just about every day of my life – in my own family, but also on the streets of Alice Springs. I saw many Aboriginal women bashed in public. Once, I watched a man attack his wife with a baseball bat that he stole from the

⁹ In the course of this research, I presented at several national and international conferences where there was little awareness of the scale and severity of VAW in the Northern Territory; or of the specific contextual factors which make addressing DFSV/VAW in the Northern Territory particularly complex. One example of this was the repeated assumption, by magistrates, practitioners, police officers, and academics that mainstream responses – such as DVOs – were sufficient to address violence. The ineffectiveness of solely mainstream approaches is discussed in detail in following chapters.

dugout when I was playing T-ball as a 5-year-old. I remember her terror very well as she tried to run from him, and hide behind a gum tree. My coach intervened to take the bat from the man, but never called the police. I also remember very well a woman approaching me in the Coles carpark when I was a teenager, crying and begging for help, with a large gash on her head that was oozing blood. I also remember very well my own mother sitting on her bed with her face and neck cut open with a broken plate, and her uneventful trip to the hospital to get it stitched up – the scar remaining across her throat to this day. I could tell many more stories but this thesis is strengths-based and hopeful, and this is its priority. There is a problem, this is reflected in the literature, but the problem is also known because of our lived experience.

Research Gap & Questions

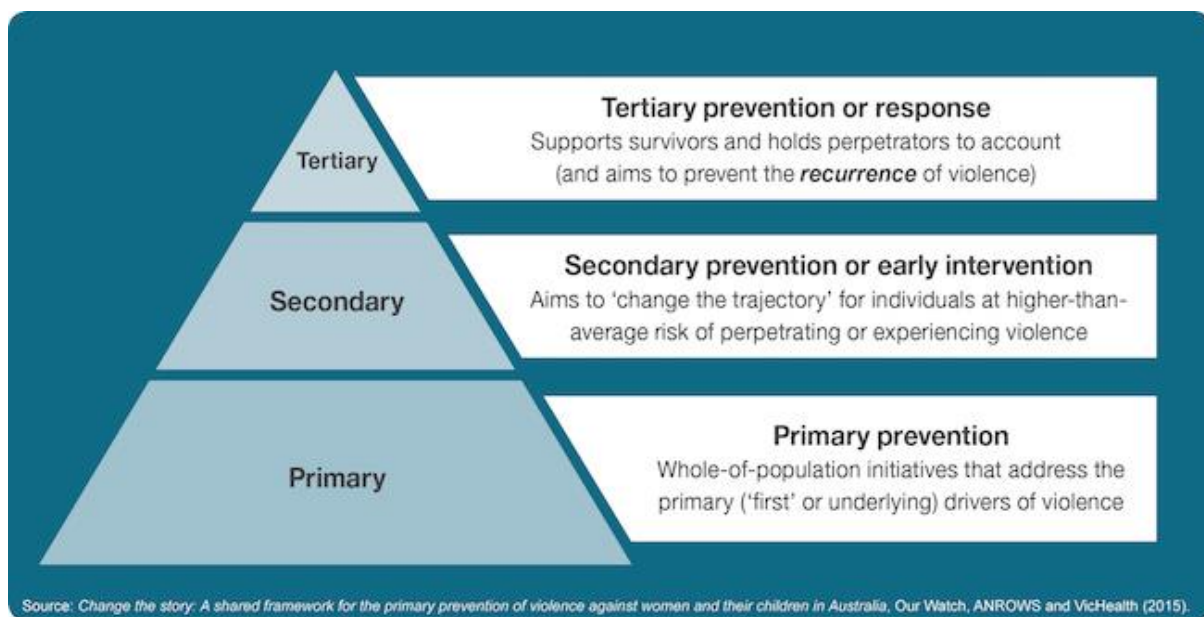
Little is known about what works to prevent VAW, and there has been little research in assessing programs designed to prevent violence against women, particularly in low-and-middle-income countries and settings (Ellsberg, et al., 2015). Even less is known about local context-specific strategies to prevent VAW in the Territory.

This research aimed to address the problem of VAW in the Northern Territory by taking a solutions-focused approach to gather local practice-based knowledge about what works to prevent VAW and what is needed to guide this practice, in the hope that we can begin to address and prevent the extremely high rates of violence in the Territory so that other young people do not grow up surrounded by violence. The research used a mixed-method approach, which included case studies of two programs: the Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program (TFVPP) and the NO MORE program. These two programs were selected because they were the only two programs in the Northern Territory that met my criteria (see **chapter three**) – both programs are Indigenous-led interventions working to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory.

Much of the existing literature and frameworks differentiate between types of interventions, and categorise them as primary, secondary, or tertiary (see **Figure 1** below). These terms are useful conceptually, but I am not talking about only one level of intervention. Primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of intervention are concurrent, but not

necessarily integrated. The importance of integrating and coordinating these levels are intervention are discussed in this thesis. The first program case study presented in this thesis, TFVPP, for example, use their secondary and tertiary interventions to inform their primary prevention project. The severity and scale of violence in the Northern Territory is the reason why this research does not focus on any one particular level of intervention – the focus of this research is to find out what works to prevent *any* further harm.

Figure 2 Different categories or levels of intervention (Our Watch, 2017)



Academics agree that there is much to be learnt from practice-based knowledge about what works to prevent VAW (Australian Government, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013; Bryant, 2009; Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Cripps & Davis, 2012). This research sought to fill this gap by harnessing localised practice-based knowledge about what works to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory (NT) in order to develop a framework of good practice principles and context-specific indicators of good practice to guide program design, delivery, and practice in the NT. It is my hope in conducting this research to provide a model so that other areas and places can undertake their own collaborative process to develop their own localised frameworks.

Research aims and questions

This research set out to answer the central question: what works to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory? The research also asked:

1. What is the current practice in the Northern Territory and what approaches are being used to prevent VAW? What is needed to strengthen this practice?
2. What interventions are having some success in preventing VAW in the Northern Territory?
3. What is 'good practice' in programs designed to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory?
4. What principles can be learnt from existing interventions that might represent principles of good practice?

In the course of the fieldwork, the research also developed to add: what would principles of good practice look like in practice/when operationalised? How could these principles be monitored and assessed?

The research sought to identify principles of good practice in order to develop a Northern Territory specific framework (in the form of a set of principles) to guide program design, delivery, and practice. As the research evolved in the fieldwork, it also included an objective to develop context-specific indicators to aid the implementation of these principles. The purpose of these principles and indicators was to provide a contextually-appropriate and place-based framework developed from practice-based knowledge to enable organisations, programs, and staff working in specialist and non-specialist domestic, family, and sexual violence (DFSV) programs to work from a shared understanding and united approach in order to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory.

As part of meeting these objectives, the research also sought to test the efficacy of using the Transtheoretical Model (TTM) as a tool to test community attitude change. The TTM was developed as an individual decision-making model, mostly in the context of health-related harmful behaviours, such as quitting smoking and weight loss, and it has since been applied to women leaving intimate partner violence. This research sought to adapt the TTM to focus on violent behaviour and community attitudes, and to use it as a way to measure the impact of the partner-programs and whether they were engaging in the cognitive and behavioural processes to help their communities to move through the cycle of change. Therefore, this research attempted to apply the TTM in a very different way than it was originally intended: as a tool to assess community attitudes rather than individual decision-making; as a way of evaluating programs to see if their work engaged with the processes necessary to move

people through the stages of change; and as applied to harmful behaviour – the use of violence – rather than on people experiencing violence. The TTM was adapted with the TFVPP (see **chapter four**) and used as a means of evaluating both case study programs. The research sought to test the value and usefulness of adapting and applying the TTM in this way, and whether this adaptation would have ongoing application.

In this research, it was not only the ‘what’ but the ‘how’ that was important. This research aimed to produce a framework to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory in a way that was culturally appropriate and culturally safe, that prioritised the voices of Indigenous women. This research aimed to harness and elevate practice-based knowledge in a participatory and collaborative way that acknowledged local experience and expertise, particularly that of Indigenous¹⁰ people. In order to achieve this, the research was guided by an Indigenist feminist standpoint methodology.

This thesis draws upon two case studies of programs working to prevent violence against women (which I will refer to as partner-programs), as well as semi-structured interviews and a collaborative workshop process to show that it is necessary to reframe the way we address and prevent VAW by focusing on men who use violence within a holistic model.

Structure of thesis

The thesis begins with a literature review in **chapter two** which examines the knowledge-base about violence against women, including theories about its causes, and this includes the literature specifically about the high rates of victimisation of Indigenous women. The literature review is followed by a breakdown of the research methodology, including the research methods and the theories that underpin the methods in **chapter three**.

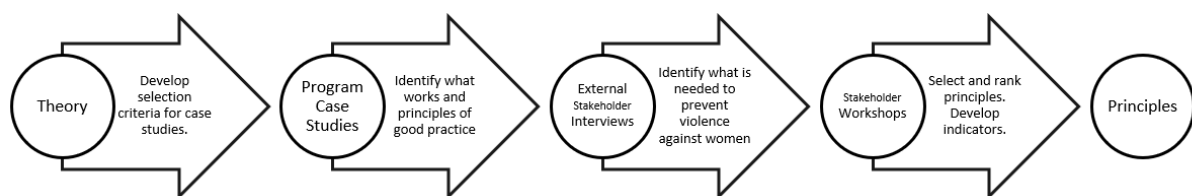
Figure 3 illustrates the research process which progressed as indicated and structures the thesis. This diagram will be repeated throughout the thesis, with the highlighted circle to indicate the stage in the process I am describing in that chapter. The case studies were used

¹⁰ In this thesis, the term ‘Indigenous’ is used to mean Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people of Australia. Indigenous people from elsewhere are referred to as “Other First Nations people” and the term “First Nations people” is used as a collective term for all Indigenous peoples, from Australia and elsewhere. Sometimes the term ‘Aboriginal’ is used when specifically referring to Aboriginal people, rather than Torres Strait Islander people. At times, the thesis refers to Indigenous people by their language group such as Arrernte or Warlpiri people.

to identify principles of good practice which informed the interviews. These interviews gathered practice-based knowledge and helped to identify and compile a longlist of principles of good practice. The longlist was taken into the workshop process where the principles were selected, ranked, and validated, and indicators developed which then produced the framework.

Figure 3 Diagram conceptualising the research process and the thesis structure

The Research Process



Chapters four and five detail the case studies of two Indigenous-led programs designed to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory: the first is the TFVPP; and the second is the NO MORE program. These partner-programs were selected as both programs are working to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory; both programs engage with men who use violence; and both programs are Indigenous-led. Also, based on preliminary reading and media, I considered both programs likely to be good examples of programs working to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory that could likely yield lessons and principles of good practice.

Chapter six gives a detailed analysis of the interviews with external stakeholders which present additional key learnings and findings from a range of practice-based knowledge from people in various occupations who work with women experiencing DFSV, and/or with men who use violence.

Chapter seven outlines the collaborative workshop process which was used to select the principles of good practice and develop the indicators for each principle to guide practice. It then presents the Northern Territory specific framework to prevent VAW; this includes the

principles and indicators developed in the workshop process. This is followed by the thesis conclusion which points to how the framework can be implemented and areas for further research.

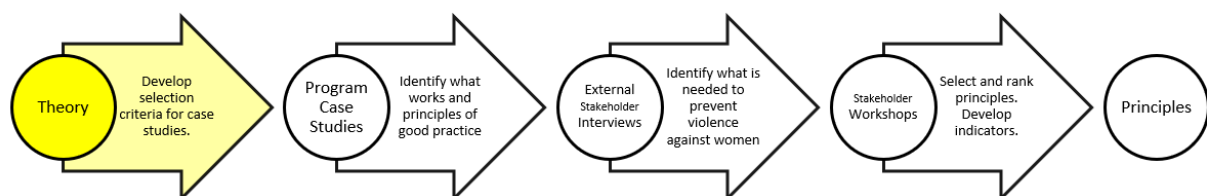
Conclusion

The research aimed to harness practice-based knowledge about how to prevent VAW to facilitate the development of a context-specific framework of principles and indicators to guide practice in the Northern Territory, and offer a shared language for specialist and non-specialist DFSV agencies in the NT. This thesis argues that place-based grassroots initiatives like this are critical to the success of any intervention designed to prevent VAW, which at its centre, prioritises the safety of women and children. However, this research fundamentally shifts perspectives to focus on addressing risk factors associated with violence and challenging violent behaviour, and the attitudes which condone this behaviour in the NT.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

'If these [assaulted women] were all white women, the government would have the fucking army in here and we'd be under martial law.' [ES29]

The Research Process



The intention of this Literature Review is to explore the theories of origin of VAW, as well as to discuss the theory behind interventions to prevent VAW. It is not my intention to explore VAW as a problem, or to delve into comparative data between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations too deeply – it is my view that these aspects are well established and covered quite extensively in the literature (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence, 1999; Australian Government, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013; Andrews, 1997; Blagg, 1999; Cheers, et al., 2006; Bryant, 2009; Bligh, 1983; Ingram, 2016; Lawrence, 2006). This chapter seeks to provide background to my research in Indigenous-led interventions. As this thesis takes an intersectional approach and given both case study programs operate in Indigenous contexts, the focus of this Literature Review is on theories which help to explain why Indigenous women are disproportionately impacted by VAW. This does not negate the fact that all women can experience violence, no matter their economic, racial, social or ethnic background. Indigenous women, however, experience risk factors which make them

vulnerable to violence, and present additional barriers when help-seeking. The Indigenist feminist standpoint of this research aims to centre the voices and experiences of Indigenous women, so this Literature Review primarily focuses on the literature as it pertains to Indigenous women.

Firstly, I discuss the historical context and contemporary risk factors which place Indigenous women at a heightened risk of experiencing violence and present some additional interventions currently working to prevent violence against women. I then present several different theories about the origins of violence against Indigenous women and a discussion on what makes effective interventions in Indigenous contexts. I conclude this chapter by detailing a number of frameworks I used to evaluate the case study programs.

What differs about violence against Indigenous women?

The purpose of this section is to explore the socio-historical context in which violence against Indigenous women takes place. The prevalence of violence in Indigenous communities has been widely discussed and is the subject of innumerable inquiries, reports and papers (Cripps & Davis, 2012). In the United States, Native American people, for example, suffer the highest per capita rates of violence and over half of Native Women will experience sexual violence in their life time (Deer, 2018) Violence in Australian Indigenous communities has been invariably characterised as a 'tsunami', an 'epidemic', an 'avalanche', a 'national emergency' (Brown, 2014; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Skelton, 2011). As Cripps & Davis point out, 'particularly since 1999, [inquiries and reports] have found that Indigenous communities are more vulnerable to violence and more likely to be victims of violence than any other section of Australian society' (2012, p. 1). It is for this reason that 'community safety' (inclusive of family violence) is one of the seven indicators for the Australian Government's 'Close the Gap' initiative (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013).

According to the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2014, p. 10) the forms of violence Indigenous women face include 'physical, emotional and sexual violence against women and girls (usually perpetrated by men) through interpersonal relationships (domestic or family violence), leading to high levels of assault and murder'. Therefore, 'Indigenous women are disproportionately at risk of experiencing all forms of violence, compounded by multiple forms of discrimination' (The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of

Indigenous Peoples , 2014, p. 10). No matter who initiates the violence, Indigenous women are more likely to be injured and injured more severely than men (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). Such resulting injuries are often severe due to the use of weapons (Manjoo, 2012, p. 16)

Despite the initial silence and shame of Indigenous people in the face of violence in their communities, Indigenous leaders have now been calling for the violence to be addressed for more than several decades (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). This call has largely been led by Indigenous women speaking out against this violence (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). The Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence, for example, said in 1999 that violence had reached crisis point and that Indigenous women do not accept the violence against them as normal (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32) Such a call shows dedication in itself, as many Indigenous people were concerned that highlighting violence in their communities would merely serve to solidify stereotypes about Indigenous people – a concern that many commentators would argue has proved justified (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). Unfortunately, despite repeated calls for action, the violence has only got worse; which some argue has been aided by the inaction of sluggish governments and policy makers (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32).

The violence against Indigenous women takes place within a matrix of historical, social and risk factors. The power structures created through colonisation “converge to produce a host of violences: from environmental degradation to white supremacy to heteropatriarchal domination to class exploitation and inequality” (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016, p. 251). Violence against Indigenous women, and all forms of family violence, must be located within ‘the historical context of colonization, oppression, dispossession, disempowerment, poverty, and cultural, social and geographic dislocation as these affect individuals, families and entire communities’ (Cheers, et al., 2006, p. 52).

Globally, Indigenous women exist in a context in which racism, sexism and other prejudices intersect to make them vulnerable to violence, marginalise them when seeking justice, and present additional barriers when seeking help (The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples , 2014; Manjoo, 2012).

The intersection of gender, race, power imbalances, and the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous people's culture and country must be studied in order to understand violence in

Indigenous communities (Cheers et al, 2006, p. 52). Violence against Indigenous women cannot be merely studied through a gender lens as 'patriarchy intersects with other power structures, such as colonization, which contribute to the nature and experience of violence' (Cheers, et al., 2006, pp. 52-53). The Special Rapporteur on violence against women concurs, and notes:

The social, cultural, economic and political marginalization of aboriginal and Indigenous women globally, along with a negative legacy of colonialism, historic racist government policies and the consequences of economic policies, has driven an alarming number of these women into extremely vulnerable situations. (Manjoo, 2012, p. 15)

Violence against Indigenous women, and family violence, are also inseparable from other issues within Indigenous communities. VAW is related to issues such as substance abuse, unemployment, lack of access to health and education, land rights and poverty (Cheers, et al., 2006; The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples , 2014; Manjoo, 2012). VAW therefore creates a 'ripple effect' in Indigenous communities which affect the entire community: women, children and men (Cheers, et al., 2006, p. 56). Some of these consequences might include injuries, psychological trauma, incarceration and recidivism, truancy from school, shame, divisions in the community and reinforcement of negative stereotypes of Indigenous people, and thus contributes to the continuation of structural disadvantage (Cheers, et al., 2006, p. 56).

Moreover, violence against Indigenous women also contributes to the disproportionate representation of Indigenous women in the criminal justice systems (The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples , 2014, p. 11). In Australia, Aboriginal women make up only 2% of the adult population, yet they comprise 34% of incarcerated women (Bevis, Atkinson, McCarthy, & Sweet, 2020). A number of programs, such as Kunga Stopping Violence Program, are currently being developed to work with incarcerated women in the Northern Territory, many of whom are imprisoned for retaliatory violence. The Kunga Stopping Violence Program found that the majority of their clients had experienced multiple forms of violence at different times in their life: they had been witness to and experienced family violence as children; and gone on to experience sexual assault, social isolation, and physical intimate partner violence as young people and adults (Bevis, Atkinson, McCarthy,

& Sweet, 2020). The women in this program connected their experiences of violence with grief and loss, substance abuse, and their own offending (Bevis, Atkinson, McCarthy, & Sweet, 2020).

Whilst these interwoven issues create violence, they also present additional barriers to Indigenous women when reporting violence (Bligh, 1983; The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2014). For example, Indigenous women may be reluctant to report to police, as when they have, it has been met with racism and/or a reluctance to investigate, even in cases of missing or murdered Indigenous women (Bligh, 1983; Manjoo, 2012). The Aboriginal women who participated in this research highlighted many reasons why they do not report, fear of homelessness and of child removal being among them. Also, if Indigenous women were intoxicated at the time of the violence, there may be little sympathy due to negative perceptions of Indigenous peoples as drunks (Bligh, 1983) – indeed this issue has surfaced in this research with reports of Aboriginal women being breathalysed after presenting to hospital with assault injuries. Evidently, these barriers can prevent Indigenous women from gaining help, but they can also act as deterrents to reporting violence. If the reporting of violence can reinforce negative stereotypes of Indigenous people among police and the government, it is little wonder that violence is underreported in Indigenous communities. This is the significant burden Indigenous women carry, which is not shared by non-Indigenous women who experience violence.

Where does violence against Indigenous women come from?

It is well established that violence against Indigenous women is frequent, severe, disproportionate and ongoing. However, where does this violence come from? Many theories have been proffered and I will present some key theories as to the origins of VAW in Indigenous communities. My intention is not to 'choose a theory' or to argue from a certain vantage point, but rather to provide more background to the violence in Indigenous communities.

Violence as inherent in Indigenous culture.

One idea is that Indigenous culture and communities have always been violent towards women. The idea that Indigenous communities have always been violent is favoured by a set of people who would prefer to think that white culture, and specifically white Australia, has nothing to answer for in regard to violence against Indigenous women. It is a convenient narrative which allows us to dismiss the ongoing ramifications of colonisation and its disastrous consequences for Indigenous peoples. This idea is discussed here as a way of exploring how it entered and continues to underpin the dominant discourse about violence against Indigenous women.

Louis Nowra, in his 2007 book for the Now Australia series, draws upon a range of primary evidence in colonists' diaries and letters to suggest that Australian Indigenous men have always been violent towards their women. For instance, Nowra quotes Watkin Tench's diary from 1788-1791 in which he gives an account of the 'settlement' at Port Jackson:

'[Indigenous women] are in all respects treated with savage barbarity; condemned not only to carry the children, but all other burthens, they meet in return for submission only with blows, kicks and every other mark of brutality' (cited in Nowra, 2007, p. 10). Nowra also quotes the La Motte du Portail of the d'Entrecasteaux expedition's observations that the women hunted, fished, and undertook dangerous work, only to feed the men before themselves whilst the men did nothing. The expedition believed this behaviour was demonstrative of the laziness and privilege of Aboriginal men whose physical dominance allowed them to act this way towards 'their' women (Nowra, 2007, p. 11).

Nowra draws upon secondary evidence to argue that 'there has been much romanticisation of traditional aboriginal life' but that 'despite local variations, there is a consistent pattern of Aboriginal men's treatment of women that was harsh, sexually aggressive (gang-rape, for instance) and, in our term, misogynist' (2007, pp. 23-24) also. This 'romanticisation', as Nowra calls it, has led to an environment where 'Aboriginal men are still using the defence of cultural traditions to literally get away with rape and murder' (Nowra, 2007, p. 7). Nowra also quotes several court cases in the Northern Territory, such as the Jackie Pascoe Jamilmira case, wherein defendants successfully argued their 'traditional rights' allowed them to use violence against 'their' women. Nowra's claims are, to some extent, echoed by

commentators in other Indigenous contexts. For example, Hiatt (1978) describes the infanticide of baby girls in Netsilik Eskimo on King William island in times of deprivation, which Hiatt says is because of the belief that boys were more productive. Hiatt (1978, p. 14) states that in 18 marriages, 38 girls were killed out of 96 births to protect the family who did not want to waste time nursing a girl.

Nowra claims his hospital stay in my hometown of Alice Springs in 2005 compelled him to write his book *Bad Dreaming* in response to the violence he saw: 'the violence, much of it fuelled by alcohol, was public and astonishingly brutal' (Nowra, 2007, p. 6). As well as Louis Nowra there were a number of male anthropologists, such as Les Hiatt, who argued that violence, including VAW, was inherent in Indigenous culture. This is both hypocritical given the violence, including sexual violence of the invaders (Jolly, 2016; Deer, 2018), and reductionist given that this argument is often made solely on the basis of reports by early white explorers and settlers. What Nowra and others fail to acknowledge and analyse, is that the sources they draw upon were written from the perspective of white males, with perhaps the odd exception of a white female.

Every record of history is saturated in the writer's position, values and culture: the views Nowra offers can therefore only be the views of an outsider. It is noted by Bell, Pettman and others, that early anthropological work was conducted by white males who sought out Indigenous males as their sources: the views of Aboriginal women were silenced (Pettman, 1992; Bell, 1983).¹¹ In these early accounts, Indigenous women are largely presented as loose and wanton, and the men as barbaric (Pettman, 1992, p. 27). This is similar to other Indigenous contexts, such as Māori people in New Zealand, where the "supposedly inherent and savage violence of Māori men... had to be curbed by the virtuous colonizers" (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 262).

Within anthropologists' accounts 'women's roles were often invisible or misrepresented, reflecting the prominence of male white anthropologists and the sexism of their

¹¹ Whilst early anthropology was dominated by white men who privileged male informants and rendered women invisible or silent, there were exceptions. There is also varying accounts and reports by anthropologists about gender relations in the communities they observed, with some, like Bell, who argued a view of gender complementarity and other anthropologists who perceived hierarchies on the basis of gender and age. There is not the scope within this thesis to explore these debates in any great detail, but it is important to acknowledge there are varying nuances and complexities to the arguments and theories presented in this chapter.

perceptions, as well as the fact that their informants were usually Aboriginal men' (Pettman, 1992, p. 24). Gale (1978, p. 1) muses 'the early male observers could never have entertained the idea that, in a society which they considered to be "primitive", women should have enjoyed more freedom in some spheres of life than those in their own "civilised" society'.

Indigenous peoples and scholars have frequently, and repeatedly, rejected the theory that violence is a part of traditional culture, saying 'it cannot be stated often enough – Indigenous law and culture do not condone sexual abuse of children or family violence' (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). The argument that Indigenous men's violence against Indigenous women and children is a product of 'men's business' or tradition, has also been refuted by many authors and academics (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 14). As Lawrence so powerfully argues:

The offensive – and racist – assumption that child abuse and violence is in some way culturally sanctioned cannot be tolerated and should be challenged.

Violence cannot be explained away or excused as being "the Aboriginal way." ...The fact that some lawyers and defendants have attempted to use caricatures of the Indigenous "customary law" as a defence in cases of rape or assault, and the fact that some judges have, in their ignorance accepted these pleas, does not mean that Indigenous law and culture actually do permit such brutality. In reality, the fact that such views have been endorsed says more about our prejudice than it does about Indigenous law. In 1980, one judge in a Northern Territory case infamously expressed the view that, "rape is not considered as seriously in Aboriginal communities as it is in the white community," (Lawrence, 2006, p. 29)

Lawrence (2006, p. 32) further argues that the Australian Law Commission of 1987 found 'acts of family violence and child neglect were unacceptable under traditional law'. Therefore, 'the problem is not traditional law, but the breakdown of traditional law' (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). This resonates in other Indigenous contexts, in which the idea that violence is inherent in Indigenous cultures can be used to legitimise state violence against Indigenous communities – and that even responses to violence against women can be driven by this motivation. Writing about violence against Indigenous women in Canada, Robyn Bourgeois, for example, argues:

the Canadian state's responses to violence against indigenous women and girls have been driven by self-interest and state political agendas which, because of the adversarial nature of colonial domination, rarely coincide with the interests or needs of indigenous women and their communities (2014, p. iii)

Unfortunately, however, the racist idea that violence against women is inherent and permissible in Indigenous cultures remains a part of the dominant discourse, to the point where some Indigenous people have also come to subscribe to this view – or to use it as an excuse – this is an ongoing impact of colonisation on both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Our Watch, 2018).

Violence as a product of colonisation

The theory favoured by Indigenist standpoint scholars is that violence in Indigenous communities is a product of colonisation. The violence, they argue, is a result of the collective despair and hopelessness brought about by dispossession, and of the introduction of disparate and inequitable gender roles into their previously equitable societies. As argued by Olsen and Lovett, (2016, p. 14) 'Indigenous family violence is, in part, attributed to the breakdown of traditional culture and kinship practices including disconnection from cultural roots, the detrimental intergenerational impacts resulting from the stolen generation and changes in the social roles of men and women'. This is an experience shared across Indigenous communities around the world. Sarah Hunt, for example, writing about violence against Indigenous sex workers in Canada, writes "in addressing interpersonal violence against Indigenous women alongside the foundational violence of law in colonial relations, it becomes clear that violence is not only a product, but also a means of world-making" (2015/2016, p. 35). Violence in contemporary Indigenous communities is inextricable from their experience of the violence of colonisation. Firstly, I will discuss the legacy of dispossession as a cause of violence.

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2006) drew upon Memmott et al.'s (2001) work which divides the causes of violence in Indigenous communities into three categories: precipitating causes; situational factors; and underlying factors. These underlying factors, Memmott et al. argue, are the 'historical circumstances' which began in colonisation and make Indigenous people vulnerable to experiencing and perpetrating violence (Australian

Institute of Health and Welfare, 2006). Colonisation resulted in the dispossession of land, which led to the ongoing dispossession of culture, which in turn has resulted in psychological, emotional, social and economic problems for Indigenous people: the violence in Indigenous communities is one manifestation of the legacy of dispossession (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2006). In their report on family violence, Gordon et al. also found that colonisation has created 'unresolved grief that is associated with multiple layers of trauma spanning many generations' (Gordon, Hallahan, & Henry, 2002, p. 57). These 'layers of trauma' include racism, genocide, dispossession of lands, breakdown of social structures, loss of language, stolen generations, and loss of traditional roles (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2006; Olsen & Lovett, 2016; Gordon, Hallahan, & Henry, 2002). So rather than violence being natural or inherent in Indigenous cultures, as Nowra would argue, these reports summarised by AIHW find that it is the loss of traditional culture which has created violence. I would argue then, that perhaps culture can be the solution – but this will be discussed in proceeding chapters.

In addition to the dispossession of land and its creation of collective despair, it is theorised that colonisation also introduced inequitable gender roles into Indigenous societies. The creation of gender hierarchies in Indigenous societies is important for two reasons: rigidly enforced gender roles are a risk factor for violence; and the introduction of gender hierarchies could have led to greater deterioration of traditional Indigenous cultures.

Over time, inequitable gender roles became internalised in Indigenous cultures, including the adoption of colonial policies and practises which discriminate against Indigenous women (Kuokkanen, 2015, p. 272). These practices range from the reluctance, in some Indigenous communities, to deal with VAW, to the exclusion of women's voices in lands rights, and the marginalisation of women's rights (Kuokkanen, 2015, p. 272). Kwan (2014, p.3) argues 'the alteration in the role of the Aboriginal woman is a fundamental factor in the paradigm shift of Aboriginal traditions. When women lost their status and rights within Aboriginal communities, they also lost their ability to provide and to speak towards the well-being of their families'. Bell (1983, p. 29) agrees and states 'today [women's] separateness is one means of their subjugation'.

Inequitable gender roles are a major risk factor which increase women's likelihood of experiencing violence. In a 2010 report published by the WHO in partnership with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, they state:

Two specific risk factors appear to be strongly associated with intimate partner and sexual violence – the unequal position of women in a particular relationship and in society (which is underwritten by ideologies of male superiority); and the normative use of violence to resolve conflicts (and during political struggles). These factors are manifested by distinct and hierarchical gender roles, notions of male sexual entitlement, the low social value and power of women, and ideas of manhood linked to the control or “disciplining” of women. (World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010, pp. 31-32)

The creation of inequitable gender roles in traditional Indigenous societies

The list of WHO's manifestations are plain in many Indigenous communities and contexts. However, many would argue that prior to colonisation, inequitable gender roles as we understand them now and their resultant violence, were not present in traditional Indigenous societies. For example, the literature around pre-colonial Indigenous communities suggests that ‘family violence was a rare occurrence’ (Kwan, 2014, p. 2). Kwan (2014, p.2) states ‘within Aboriginal communities, gender roles were not ranked hierarchically but rather considered to be complementary, and the central role of the woman was reflected in the religious or spiritual context of their community’. Daylight and Johnstone (1986, pp. 1-2) also support this argument, and state that the parallel roles of food providers and child raisers, and the separate ceremonies and land ownership of women and men formed the basis of a complementary and balanced social structure.

So, whilst in Indigenous society men and women often had distinct but complementary roles: neither was considered above or more important than the other (Kwan, 2014, p. 2; Bell, 1983). Men's and women's work were equally valued in these societies: ‘there was no suggestion from Aborigines themselves that doing [women's work] was unworthy of any of them or a low-class kind of occupation’ (Berndt, 1983, pp. 14-15). Importantly, it is argued

that political decisions were made by men and women in partnership (Kwan, 2014, p. 2; Gale, 1978). In fact, in many Indigenous societies, women had high status, they 'owned' property, and some societies were matrilineal (Denis, 2007, p. 37). Whilst men were often dominant in the spiritual field, Aboriginal women were more-or-less independent and self-sufficient in the economic field because gatherable food was reliable as opposed to the inconsistency of hunting (Hiatt, 1978, p. 5; Gale, 1978). In fact, some would argue 'the digging stick played a more important role than the spear in traditional Aboriginal society' (Chesson, 1983, p. 41).

Additionally, Kwan (2014) argues that traditional Aboriginal culture regarded women, children and elders as sacred and therefore family violence was taboo. Any instances of violence were dealt with by the community and there were severe punishments, especially for repeat offenders (Kwan, 2014, p. 2). However, 'with the European settlers came condemnation of the Aboriginal way of life and the implementation of Westernised values and beliefs, including the shift and propagation of patriarchy' (Kwan, 2014, p. 2).

Inequitable gender roles were instilled subversively into Indigenous communities through a variety of means. Smith (1999) points to the colonialists' refusal to discuss important matters, trade or provide rations to Indigenous women as a key point in the introduction of inequitable gender roles in Indigenous communities. Pettman points to the disparate power relations and exploitation of Indigenous people by their colonisers who maintained 'the Aboriginal camp as a source of cheap casual labour and of sexual partners for white men' (Pettman, 1992, p. 19). In Australia, the ongoing sexual abuse of Indigenous women by white men highlights the oft-overlooked problem that Indigenous women are victimised by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous males: 'Aboriginal women were also exploited sexually by white men, including those who were charged with responsibility for their welfare' (Pettman, 1992, p. 20). Lawrence (2006, p. 33) concurs and states 'the sexual assault of Indigenous children and young people began with white settlement and included the practice of abducting women for sexual exploitation'. This was probably expounded by the 'maleness' of the Australian frontier in which the ratio of men to women was 38:1, and this figure presumably only included white women (Pettman, 1992, p. 27).

Moreover, the sexist representations of Aboriginal women in Australia promoted their marginalisation:

where visible [in popular representations], Aboriginal women were frequently represented as degraded and abused chattels, mistreated by Aboriginal men; or as dusky temptresses who were to blame for white men's straying. These representations legitimised white government and mission interference in Aboriginal life and white men's exploitation of Aboriginal women (Pettman, 1992, p. 25).

Also, anthropological records, which have come to be relied upon to describe traditional Indigenous life, also denigrated women's roles: 'That judgement comes from non-Aborigines, and then specifically in relation to women. For example, according to Maddock, women's traditional domestic tasks were menial but men's were not' (Berndt, 1983, pp. 14-15).

What has the adoption of inequitable roles meant for Indigenous women?

Over time, Indigenous people have been encouraged by colonisers to believe that matters of public affairs are for men, not women – women can only play a supportive subordinate role, and their rights and wants are secondary particularly in regards to land rights and sacred sites (Berndt, 1983). Land ownership is key to Indigenous women's rights. Gale (1983, p. 4) recounts one such land rights council in Australia: 'yet [Aboriginal women] were deeply concerned that the negotiators were mostly European men, who sought out Aboriginal men and who seemed not to realise that women also owned the land and possessed inherited and sacred rights, which were just as important to the society as were those of men'. Bell (1983) relates something similar, but that many Indigenous men wanted their role as leaders (as seen by white people) to be balanced with Indigenous women: they did not want to speak for women.

However, many Indigenous people have been led, over time, to believe that gender inequality was the rule in their traditional societies (Berndt, 1983). Bolger's 1991 study of VAW highlights the degree to which gender inequality became entrenched in Indigenous communities. The study shows how Aboriginal men are able to claim

privilege on the basis of both Western values and ‘traditional Aboriginal culture’, and draw discriminately from both cultures to validate their own power (Bolger, 1991; Blagg, 1999). This in turn serves to support racist arguments that violence against women is inherent in Indigenous cultures, which both legitimises colonial violence as well as excuses the state from taking meaningful action to address and prevent violence against Indigenous women. Writing in response to comments made in regard to a National Inquiry into murdered and missing Indigenous women in Canada, Robert Innes argues that the failure to “situate Indigenous male violence within the context of the imposition of the White supremacist heteronormative patriarchy internalized through the colonial process” has resulted in a

tribal patriarchy [that] is sustained by, among other means, violence directed towards Indigenous children, women, Elders, and men. Within this setting it becomes clear that one of the government’s strategies to derail momentum for a national inquiry is to use the racial and gender biases evident in Canadian society against Indigenous men to blame them for the violence, while eschewing any responsibility for creating and maintaining the conditions that channel many Indigenous men into situations of despair, dysfunction, and violence (2015, p. 47).

This illustrates how the violence of colonisation and of the white-settler state has instilled power imbalances within Indigenous communities, then continues to use these power imbalances to legitimise the state and its interventions (or lack thereof) in Indigenous communities.

Male domination, Feminism and Indigenous Feminism

It is interesting to consider whether the Indigenist theory that VAW – and violence in general – is a product of colonisation contradicts the feminist theory that male domination is universal (Denis, 2013, p. 17). Over time, some have theorised that VAW is a product of the biological differences between men and women - that VAW is ‘human nature’ (O’Toole, Schiffman, & Kiter Edwards, 2007). However, feminists have come to argue that it is gender roles, not biology, which creates violence.

Feminists argues that VAW, in its many forms, is rooted in gender inequality; it is both a product of and serves to reinforce gender roles produced by cultural and societal norms

(Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). Whenever there is power disparity between genders, where one is believed more important or dominant than the other, the likelihood of violence increases. Ellsberg and Heise (2005, p. 11) argue VAW 'stems from women's subordinate status in society with regard to men'.

It may be that some Indigenous societies were in fact egalitarian and perceived the roles of men and women as distinct but complementary. Gale, for example, argues that 'power and status' in Aboriginal society has never been 'determined by sex' (1983, p. 8). Some argue that it was the effects of colonisation which created inequitable gender roles by putting the decision-making securely in the hands of Indigenous males – this imbalance of power then resulted in the role of Indigenous women becoming less valued, which contributes to an environment where women are vulnerable to violence. This vulnerability is heightened by the fact that Indigenous women may be reluctant to speak out against violence for fear of reinforcing negative stereotypes of Indigenous people and condemning their men, when both Indigenous women and men face discrimination (Ingram, 2016; Berndt, 1983). Verna St Denis (2007, p. 48) engages with this idea when she says: 'the claim that one's first loyalty is to one's nation, race or culture, above gender, and to challenge oppression by one's own community is to betray it'. As one Indigenous woman (the Office of Aboriginal Affairs, 2002, pp. 52-53) noted, 'I thought it was my responsibility for us black women to be caring for black men... we sympathise with our own men'.

Other Indigenous feminist scholars, however, argue that gender oppression existed in many Indigenous communities prior to colonialisation (St. Denis, 2007; Green, 2007). Pettman (1992) also challenges the view that Indigenous societies did not suffer from VAW prior to colonisation: 'sometimes the cost of Aboriginal inclusion in Australian history appeared to be romanticising Aboriginal men as fighters, presaging an Anzac tradition'. This romanticisation is a result of trying to redress the racism with which pre-colonial Indigenous societies are observed, however, this attempt to balance the narrative has resulted in one that ignores the possibility that Indigenous men and women may have had different experiences.

However, the lens offered from a purely gendered perspective is likewise too narrow to capture the experiences of Indigenous women as racialised beings (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). As Olsen & Lovett (2016, p. 14) note 'the overarching context of coercive control in

violence against women... the majority see this viewpoint as grounded in Western feminism and too narrow to encompass the embedded nature of family violence in colonisation, loss of culture and poverty.' Aboriginal feminism is perhaps the answer to this conundrum as it explores the genesis of colonisation and its consequences, as well as the internalisation and perpetuation of colonial practices in Indigenous societies, especially male dominance over women and children (Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, 2007). Green (2007, p. 23) argues that Aboriginal feminism goes beyond Indigenist frameworks because it questions the notion that all pre-colonial aboriginal social practices were innocent of oppression, especially sex oppression, and so goes against 'the veneration of tradition'. However, Aboriginal feminism also goes beyond 'white feminism' as it centres Indigenous women's experiences and priorities as Indigenous people (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). Aboriginal feminism offers a critique of 'white feminism' which positions white middle class women as the norm, and merely accommodates 'others' and their 'differences' (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). Moreton-Robinson (2000, p.151) argues that 'middle-class white feminists and Indigenous women speak from different cultural standpoint, histories and material conditions' so the priorities of Indigenous women are often in opposition to white feminism. Moreton-Robinson (2000) writes in response to some instances where white feminists spoke on behalf of Indigenous women about sexual violence in Indigenous communities; she argues these white feminists positioned themselves in dominance and failed to consider the agency and voice of Indigenous women.

The Aboriginal feminist position creates an interesting parallel with the arguments offered by some male academics and writers: the theory that Indigenous men have been effected more by colonisation because they have suffered a greater loss of traditional roles than Indigenous women (Tengan, 2008; Nunes & Whitney, 1994). This argument is not without controversy. Rauna Kuokkanen (2015, p.273) argues...

that there is a need to reject those discourses of colonization that externalize responsibility for gendered violence or construct male violence as a reflection of their own victimhood and loss of status. These considerations tend to construct a hierarchy of subordination, positioning Indigenous men as greater victims of colonization.

This 'hierarchy of subordination' is reflected in the third theory below, that Indigenous men were disproportionately impacted by colonisation.

Violence as a result of the loss of traditional male roles

A third theory suggests that colonisation stripped Indigenous men of their historical roles, effectively 'emasculating' them. In 1991, Maryanne Sam reported that: 'Family violence is widespread in our communities... Our women are suffering serious injuries and are fleeing to refuges and shelters in order to get away from the violence...Our men are drinking more and more, turning to drugs and gambling as a way of coping with the loss of their families and the deterioration of their traditional roles' (Lawrence, 2006, p. 32). Gale (1978, p. 2) also argues that 'in post-traditional societies Aboriginal women have often come to hold a position of equality, and sometimes dominance, in all spheres of Aboriginal life'. These views seem to be in stark contradiction with my earlier discussion about the creation of inequitable gender roles in Indigenous communities.

There is considerable evidence to support Gale's assertion, for example, Australian Indigenous women's representation on Board of Directors in ORIC¹² Corporations was 51.6% between 2015-2016 and 80% of all the top 500 boards had more than 30% female representation (ORIC, 2016). Spectators often also highlight the strong female leadership in Indigenous communities – and in my own experience, I have also been witness to the strong leadership of Australian Indigenous women, some which has been captured in this thesis – but it leads to the question, can there simultaneously be strong female leadership and high levels of VAW? It would appear so. More to the point however, what Gale is saying is not that female leadership and VAW are mutually exclusive, but that whilst Indigenous women may be paving a way for themselves in contemporary society, Indigenous males may have been left behind. This sense of loss, such as Maryanne Sam refers to, could well contribute to the sense of powerlessness and dispossession which Indigenous people the world-over name as a contributing factor to the violence in their communities. In *Why Warriors Lie Down and Die*, Trudgeon (2000, p. 7) also captures the sense of loss created by the destruction of roles:

¹² Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations

welfare leads to a level of dependence that is crippling and creates loss of roles, loss of mastery and, above all, hopelessness. And hopelessness in turn translates into destructive social behaviour – neglect of responsibility, drug abuse, violence, self-abuse, homicide, incest and suicide.

Many scholars concur that Indigenous men's traditional roles have been eroded by colonisation. Gale (1978), for instance, says that the role of Australian Indigenous men was largely usurped by superintendents, missionaries, and other authorities, whilst the role of women remained largely intact. For example: men's role in the education of their young people was thwarted by the imposition of Western education; the introduction of western religion condemned Indigenous spirituality and so undermined men's sacred role; and the dispossession of Indigenous people of their lands by pastoralists limited men's ability to hunt (Chesson, 1983, p. 40; Gale, 1978). Whereas women's roles of child-bearing, nurturing, and gathering were less impacted: 'in these post-traditional communities the status of women increased whilst that of the men declined' (Gale, 1978, p. 2). Gale also argues that whilst women's traditional roles were affected, they were encouraged to take up new roles such as liaising with mission staff for family, housing and food matters when their men were sent to work in far off places (Gale, 1983, p. 3). However, Gale notes that despite Europeans 'investing' decision-making in Indigenous women for more than a century and 'despite women being in [leadership] roles, women watched as in the 1960s and 1970s aboriginal men were groomed and picked for leadership roles in institutions that modelled European patterns of all-male bureaucracy' (Gale, 1983, pp. 3-4).

Native Hawaiian academic Ty P. Kāwika Tengan in *Native Men Remade* discusses the loss of Indigenous males' traditional roles at length. He says that colonial domination as well as the intersection of race, class, and gender have contributed to Hawaiian men feeling 'disconnected, disempowered, and sometimes emasculated' (Tengan, 2008, p. 3). Tengan elaborates to say that the 'emasculated Hawaiian male' has lost 'land, tradition, authenticity, culture and power' because of 'the historical experience of colonialism and modernity' (Tengan, 2008, p. 8). Tengan particularly criticises the role of the Hawaiian tourism industry in denigrating the roles of Hawaiian men: Hawaiian tourism is built upon the exoticised and sexualised image of the hula girl, whilst Hawaiian men are relegated to the background or erased completely (Tengan, 2008, p. 8). These images are replicated and

reinforced in popular culture and through westernised films such as *Lilo and Stitch* (Tengan, 2008, p. 8). Similarly, Brendan Hokowhitu argues that depictions of Māori men in film and literature, such as *Once Were Warriors*, reinforce colonial ideas of Māori men as violent savages (2004). Tengan argues that such caricatures of Native Men in popular culture are dangerous because they exist to reinforce stereotypes of native men and Indigenous people (Tengan, 2008, p. 10).

Tengan also laments that whilst strong Hawaiian female leadership is celebrated, he believes that strong male leadership is unfairly criticised by feminists as a 'patriarchal and misogynistic brand of activism...and for [its] political collaborations in the power structures of the colonial state' (Tengan, 2008, p. 10). Tengan believes that 'such discourses as productive of a social emasculated and ineffectual Hawaiian male subjectivity' (Tengan, 2008, p. 10). In answer to this, Tengan suggests a renewed Hawaiian warriorhood to reclaim, 're-masculinise' and re-empower traditional male roles and practices (Tengan, 2008, p. 11). Tengan notes that many Indigenous women from both Hawaii and New Zealand have criticised this view: 'in their view, the articulation of masculine power and authority with sovereignty and self-determination represents a double colonisation for Indigenous women, as both white society and their own men work to marginalise them' (Tengan, 2008, p. 13). Tengan does not seem entirely unsympathetic to these views, but he does criticise some Indigenous scholars by arguing that the phrasing of their arguments and their stance against male domination alienates Indigenous men so the feminist message is 'lost' (Tengan, 2008, p. 13).

What Tengan and others highlight is a palpable sense of loss – that Indigenous males have been disempowered and dispossessed by a loss of their traditional roles. However, others, such as Suzanne Ingram (2016), would perhaps argue that this would be yet another silent driver of violence against Indigenous women – that seeking to rationalise, then apologise and somehow legitimise men's violence seeks to further silence Indigenous women who bear the brunt of their violence. As Pettman (1992) would argue, Indigenous women have also experienced loss, and it is necessary to consider the different experience Indigenous men and women have had of colonisation. Kuokkanen (2015) also challenges the view that Indigenous men have been more affected by colonisation, and highlights the danger in an

argument which seeks to condone or minimise the seriousness of Indigenous male violence against women.

From a non-Indigenous feminist perspective, I do not believe we can argue that Indigenous men have experienced 'greater' loss than Indigenous women, but I do believe that the loss of traditional roles – female and male- contribute to the sense of dispossession and hopelessness which so many Indigenous people highlight in their definitions and discussion of family violence. Many Indigenous people prefer a holistic view of violence and its effects on the community – hence the term family violence.

Indigenous Queer Theory

Up until this point, this thesis has discussed the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous communities using a gender binary and heteronormative perspective – and this is something that is certainly used in the discourse in the Northern Territory – but it is important to acknowledge that not all Indigenous peoples, individuals, and communities subscribe to this view.

Indigenous Queer theory critiques heteronormativity as a colonial project and through that critique, decolonises Indigenous knowledges of gender and sexuality (Driskill, Finley, Gilley, & Morgensen, 2011). Indigenous Queer Theory invites a criticism of “colonial heteropatriarchal gender/sexuality...that link queer Indigenous people within and across Indigenous nations, colonial borders, and global networks” (Driskill, Finley, Gilley, & Morgensen, 2011, p. 3). For example, Indigenous Queer Theory highlights the experience of Two-spirit people:

“the sexuality of two-spirit people cannot be considered as separate from the rest of an individual’s identity. Two-spirit connects us to our past by offering a link that had previously been severed by government policies and actions” (Wilson, 1996, p. 305)

Whilst the term ‘Two-spirit’ speaks to the North American context, Indigenous Queer Theory is also being used in Australia to:

“challenge and to reify epistemic violence, heteronormative knowledge systems and institutions, highlight tensions inherent in collaborating with both grassroots queer, trans and Indigenous community and institutional knowledges.” (Clark, 2015, p. 2).

Aboriginal trans women and men are often referred to as Sistergirls and Brotherboys, particularly in the Tiwi Islands, and show gender diversity in Indigenous communities in contemporary Australia (Lawson & Bolger, 2019). Indigenous Queer Theory presents a means to question and challenge

“the underlying relationship between sexuality and the racialised white nation, and how that relationship has travelled through all of frontier and post-federation history and into the present.” (Clark, 2015, p. 3)

Governments have attempted to regulate Indigenous Americans’ behaviour patterns, such as in the United States and Canada where much legislation only applied to Indigenous Americans – for example religious freedom for Native Americans in the United States was not supported until 1978 (Wilson, 1996). These interventions are based on Western binary and heteronormative views of gender and sexuality. Whereas, people with diverse genders and sexualities have always been a part of traditional communities (Wilson, 1996). Two-spirit people, for example, existed as valued community members in most Indigenous American cultures, and in some cultures were considered to have been “born in balance” of the masculine and feminine attributes and both female and male spirituality – meaning that Two-spirit people often had unique spiritual roles within their communities (Wilson, 1996, p. 305).

Historically, Western ideas about gender exist in a strict binary which impose rules and roles for acceptable behaviour for men and women, with the goal of procreation being at the centre. When Europeans made contact with Indigenous peoples, they did so with these values and assumptions – which means that all early European accounts of Indigenous communities were laden with these ideas about sexuality and gender – “based on Eighteenth-century European values, difference became deviance” (Wilson, 1996, p. 306). These attitudes led to the marginalisation, discrimination, and attempted erasure of Indigenous people and roles that did not confirm to Western ideas of strict gender binary. It can be argued that ideas about pre-colonial roles in Indigenous communities have been misrepresented through colonial heteropatriarchy, and perhaps do not reflect gender and sexuality diversity in all Indigenous communities (Smith A. , 2010).

This is important when considering interventions which employ cultural revitalisation or cultural strengthening as a means to address and prevent violence, as is recommended by the FaCtS study, for example (Guthrie, et al., 2020). As Andrea Smith argued, “the subjectless critique of queer theory can assist Native studies in critically interrogating how it can unwittingly re-create colonial hierarchies even within projects of decolonization” (2010, p. 63).

Whilst this chapter has largely discussed the imposition of inequitable gender roles and the loss of traditional roles through colonisation, it must also be acknowledged that many argue that a strict gender binary and heteronormativity did not exist – certainly not in all Indigenous communities. According to Indigenous Queer Theory, the revitalisation of culture may not be in restoring traditional gender roles but in acknowledging the diversity of gender, sexuality and spiritual roles.

This idea fits well with the literature on addressing VAW – if VAW is driven by gender equality and rigid gender roles, then a theory which challenges this strict binary may provide avenues for addressing the gendered drivers of VAW as well as the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous communities.

What interventions are currently in place?

Within Indigenous Australia, many innovative and promising programs are underway. For instance, Red Dust Healing in Queensland has been developed for Indigenous men and their families to address violence, relationships, loss and identity (Ross & Powell, 2020). The program is delivered to groups in the form of two training sessions which first focus on individual ‘hurt’ then follow on to community healing (Ross & Powell, 2020). The program draws upon Indigenous symbolism and uses role play to address violence, the impacts of colonisation and restore relationships within the community (Ross & Powell, 2020). For this reason, Red Dust Healing does not fit neatly into any of Memmott et al.’s (2001) program categories but could be described as behaviour reform, strengthening identity, support, education and composite. However, this is perhaps a strength of the program as it attempts to address the underlying risk factors of violence as well as providing support to communities experiencing violence.

Another interesting example is the Murri Court, also in Queensland. This justice program involves Indigenous elders, families, community organisations and groups in sentencing Indigenous offenders (Morgan & Louis, 2010). The court provides a cultural alternative to the more formal Magistrates court and focuses more on rehabilitation (Morgan & Louis, 2010). However, a formal evaluation showed that whilst the Murri Court had strong community support and improved court appearance rates among adults and teenagers, it had not improved recidivism rates (Morgan & Louis, 2010). Despite this, the evaluation found that the Murri Court was well placed to take an intervention-based approach to deal with Indigenous offending (Morgan & Louis, 2010). The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2014, p. 11) found that whilst traditional court systems can be male dominated, they can also ‘increase access to justice for Indigenous women by providing access to justice in a culturally relevant form’.

In other Indigenous contexts around the world, Indigenous communities are similarly drawing upon traditional dispute resolution and cultural law to address VAW. One interesting strategy which seeks to address family violence in Indigenous New Zealand is the Kaupapa Māori framework which develops *whānau* (family) intervention and prevention programs from within a Māori world view (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). These programs are founded within Māori culture and seek to strength *whanau* rather than focus on individuals or partners (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Such programs also use Māori language and draw upon the cultural knowledge of elders to restore harmony to the community (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). This framework is therefore directed at holistic healing as well as prevention. Similarly, research in Native American nations in the U.S. shows Indian nations draw upon culture and tradition to address VAW within their own communities (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). This too is done from within an Indigenous world view.

The Navajo Nation, for instance, regards men and women to be distinct but complementary equals (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). Under Navajo law, VAW is therefore 'deviant' and 'illegal' (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). The Navajo Nation, as well as other Native American tribes, seek to protect women through customary law, codes, intervention programs and support services for victims, perpetrators and their families (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). Traditional proceedings are used to restore harmony to the relationship and to the community. The maintenance of harmony and restoration of the individual who is in 'disharmony' is central to traditional dispute resolution (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). This is a fundamental difference with mainstream or Western ideas. Rather than individual rights, in Native American Nations, individual interests are only a part of a larger perspective (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). Native American conflict resolution, such as the Navajo Nation Peacemaker Court, are therefore focused on compromise and accommodation, not upon punishment, to restore peace (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012). Such courts are 'non-adversarial' and draw upon elders, community members and families who all contribute to the outcome (Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 2012).

Such programs are interesting and hold promise as they inherently draw upon the cultural knowledge and strength of the communities they seek to assist. A feminist critique of such programs would question who is expected to make compromises in order to restore harmony? It cannot fall to women to make harmony with the men who have used violence against

them. However, community engagement has been repeatedly stated to be central to address violence against Indigenous women (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). However, few evaluations of these promising projects and programs have been published; many interventions have never been evaluated which makes it difficult to determine their effectiveness (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Ellsberg, et al., 2015). Despite this, there is evidently a wealth of knowledge to be harnessed in both International and Australian VAW interventions.

What is interesting to consider is whether projects which have been successful in one context can be transferrable to another, or whether they can provide lessons which can be used to combat VAW elsewhere. Whilst this research is focused on Indigenous-led interventions, other studies have focused on evaluating VAW interventions across a range of different contexts. For example, in 2008, the Office for Development Effectiveness (ODE) undertook research in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Timor-Leste to assess current approaches to combating VAW in the region (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). The report identified three key strategies: increasing access to justice for survivors; improving support services; and promoting violence prevention (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). The follow-up report, released three years later, added an additional strategy: 'strengthening the enabling environment for ending violence against women' (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011, p. vii). Of these four strategies, the report found that significant gains had been made in increasing access to justice for survivors and 'strengthening the enabling environment' through the development of gender-focused and human rights centred laws and policies (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). For instance, in 2009 Timor Leste entered domestic violence into the penal code as a public crime and similar legal advancements were made in Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). However, implementation remained problematic. Traditional justice approaches and police responses to VAW also remained a concern (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). The other two strategy areas, support services and violence prevention, were found to have made the least progress (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011).

Within these four strategies, particular programs and service providers were identified as 'promising'. One notable example was the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre which implemented a variety of programs and approaches to address VAW in Fiji (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). Among their programs were: violence prevention training for regional actors; supporting survivors of violence; and the development of a training methodology to work with men on ending VAW (Ellsberg, Heilman, Namy, Contreras, & Hayes, 2011). Timor Leste introduced a National Action Plan on Gender Based Violence (2012) as part of the 2010 Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) (Niner, Wigglesworth, dos Santos, Tilman, & Arunachalam, 2013). One of the National Action Plan's key strategies is prevention through changing attitudes and behaviour through education, awareness and political and economic empowerment (Niner, Wigglesworth, dos Santos, Tilman, & Arunachalam, 2013). Ellsberg et al. (2011, p. xi) state there are many 'innovative programs' within the region 'which could be of great interest and relevance not only to other countries in the region, but also on a global level'. However, once more, Ellsberg et al. (2011, p. xi) said the need for evaluation and consolidation should be a priority: 'priority should be given to assessing what works and what doesn't, and to identifying interventions that can be brought to scale'.

Another promising program is the SASA! Mobilising Communities to End Violence against Women and HIV/AIDs developed by Raising Voices in Uganda (Raising Voices, 2020). SASA! makes use of four strategies to engage people and communities in preventing violence against women: local activism, media and advocacy, communication materials and training (Raising Voices, 2020). SASA! is focused on creating social norm change through engaging with communities to unpack power and taking a step-by-step process to change (Raising Voices, 2020). Interestingly, SASA! also makes use of the stages of change model in their work, although this was unknown to me at the time of my fieldwork, it will be interesting to see if the adapted Transtheoretical model (discussed in **chapter three**) used in this research has application to that used by SASA!. The SASA! program has been adapted and is now being used in more than 20 countries around the world (Raising Voices, 2020).

Whilst it is clear that many promising interventions are being undertaken at different levels in Indigenous contexts throughout the world, further research is still needed on interventions to address and prevent VAW (Cripps & Davis, 2012; Day, Francisco, & Jones,

2013; Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). Day et al. state 'very little is known about the empirical outcomes of holistic, whole-of-community, or place-based programs, or those that aim to prevent violence' (2013, p. 2). They also state that it remains unclear as to whether effective programs can be successfully implemented in other communities or regions (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013). Bott, Morrison, and Ellsberg state that 'rigorous research documenting the public health and socio-economic consequences of gender-based violence is an important tool for promoting policy change and increased investment in prevention and response' (2005, p. 7) Bott, Morrison, and Ellsberg argue that currently 'the dearth of evidence about effective ways to address gender-based violence limits policy makers' and program managers' ability to make informed decisions' (2005, p. 7) They state the knowledge base should be built through 'rigorous evaluation....particularly in the area of prevention' (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005, p. 7). Ten years later, Ellsberg et al. continue to highlight and argue that

in view of evidence for the high prevalence and severe health outcomes of violence against women and girls, it is troubling that rigorous data for what works to prevent violence are still scarce. (2015, p. 1564)

Academics agree that presently evidence about 'effectiveness', 'what is known' and 'what works' is lacking in VAW interventions (Cripps & Davis, 2012; Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). Day et al. state 'one of the most notable findings of this review is the lack of consistent available evidence to support the delivery of programs specifically aimed at preventing violence in Indigenous communities' (2013, p. 13).

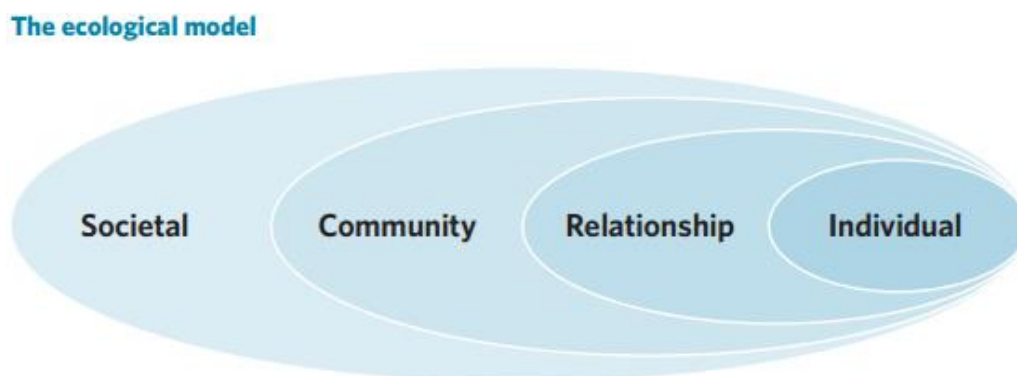
Therefore the intention of this research was to identify commonalities between 'successful' Indigenous-led VAW interventions, and to use participatory action research to develop a model of good practice which can hopefully be transferrable to other contexts. For this reason perhaps the ecological theory of violence can best explain the origins of violence against Indigenous women because it acknowledges the intersecting risk factors that impact upon Indigenous people and communities.

The Ecological model

According to this theory, the prevalence of family violence in Indigenous communities cannot be attributed to one casual factor, instead it must be understood as taking place

within a matrix and as a cumulative product of a myriad of risk factors occurring at multiple levels (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 2). For instance, in Australia, the Taskforce Report on Victorian Indigenous Family Violence (2003) highlighted factors which contribute to the prevalence of family violence in Indigenous communities: intergenerational grief and trauma; erosion of traditional language and culture; dispossession of land; break down of traditional roles; poverty and economic exclusion; and barriers to confronting the issue on the part of victims and perpetrators (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012). Other risk factors affecting Indigenous Australians include overcrowding, unemployment, substance abuse, and financial, social and mental stress (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012). Added to this is the violence perpetrated by the state which resulted in loss of cultural heritage and dispossession (Andrews, 1997; Watson, 2009a). As shown in **Figure 4**, the ecological model organises all these risk factors into four levels of influence: individual, relationship, community and societal (World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010, p. 19). Hence, the ecological framework provides a more holistic means for explaining why some societies experience more violence than others (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005, p. 24; Hegarty, 2004).

Figure 4 The Ecological model: Levels of risk factors (WHO/London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010)



By combining risk factors which occur at an individual, relationship, community or societal level as shown in **Table 1**, the ecological framework helps determine why some societies and individuals are more violent than others (Hegarty, 2004; Manjoo, 2012; World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010). At the individual level, factors

like age, income, substance abuse and history of violence can make a person more vulnerable to violence. At the relationship level, relationship dynamics such as conflict, power and decision-making can increase the risk of violence (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005; World Health Organisation, 2016). At the community level, the setting in which relationships exist can increase the risk of violence. For instance, lack of social support, reduced mobility and community condonation of violence make the individual more vulnerable to violence and less able to leave violent situations (Hegarty, 2004; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). At the societal level, social and cultural norms such as government policies, inequality, and enforcement of stereotypical gender norms can increase the risk of violence (Hegarty, 2004; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). Risk factors are also cumulative, so the presence of each additional risk factor increases the possibility that an individual will experience violence (Bryant, 2009). This framework can help explain the prevalence of violence in Indigenous communities and is acceptable from an Indigenist perspective as it acknowledges the underlying factors of colonisation and dispossession which contribute to violence.

At the individual level, history of violence makes Indigenous women more likely to experience future violence. At the relationship level, Indigenous ideas about relationships and intricate kinship systems (whilst often being a rich source of support) can also make it difficult for Indigenous women to leave violent situations (Cunneen, 2008). For example, when VAW occurs within Indigenous kinship systems, women can experience violence committed by several perpetrators and reporting this violence can lead to intra-family conflict and reprisals. Furthermore, there is the controversial debate that Indigenous cultural law prescribes Indigenous male dominance in relationships (Price, 2009) – again, this is strongly refuted by a number of academics and Indigenous people (Andrews, 1997; Lloyd & Rogers, 1993; Lawrence, 2006).

Table 1 Risk factors for victimisation and perpetration of IPV and sexual violence (WHO/London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010)

Risk factors for both intimate partner violence and sexual violence	
Perpetration by men	Victimization of women
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL	
DEMOGRAPHICS ▪ Low income ▪ Low education	DEMOGRAPHICS ▪ Young age ▪ Low education ▪ Separated/divorced marital status
EXPOSURE TO CHILD MALTREATMENT ▪ Sexual abuse ▪ Intra-parental violence	EXPOSURE TO CHILD MALTREATMENT ▪ Intra-parental violence
MENTAL DISORDER ▪ Antisocial personality	MENTAL DISORDER ▪ Depression
SUBSTANCE USE ▪ Harmful use of alcohol ▪ Illicit drug use	SUBSTANCE USE ▪ Harmful use of alcohol ▪ Illicit drug use
▪ Acceptance of violence	▪ Acceptance of violence
RELATIONSHIP LEVEL	
▪ Multiple partners/infidelity ▪ Low resistance to peer pressure	
COMMUNITY LEVEL	
▪ Weak community sanctions ▪ Poverty	▪ Weak community sanctions ▪ Poverty
SOCIETAL LEVEL	
▪ Traditional gender norms and social norms supportive of violence	▪ Traditional gender norms and social norms supportive of violence

At the community level, the poverty of Indigenous communities has led to situations where Indigenous women are incredibly vulnerable to violence. Lack of education, poverty and disadvantage experienced by the whole community means that preventative and support measures are often not in place to address violence (Andrews, 1997). Moreover, the ‘normalisation’ of violence (desensitisation of communities and individuals to violence when violence becomes a part of their daily lives) further increases Indigenous women’s risk (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 14). Finally, at the societal level, Indigenous people have been the subject of numerous harmful interventions at the hands of successive governments. Policies designed for annihilation, protection, assimilation, and intervention have created a culture of ongoing violence against Indigenous people (Watson, 2009a). Such racism permeates the very institutions designed to help women experiencing violence (Vincent & Eveline, 2008).

Such institutional racism therefore presents another barrier to Indigenous women fleeing violence (Vincent & Eveline, 2008; Cunneen, 2008). Moreover, as Kuokkanen (2015, p. 272) argues, the impact of colonisation cannot be ignored when examining the causes of violence:

the history of colonization of Indigenous peoples continues to manifest itself in structural factors such as poverty, lack of access to lands and resources or limited access to education and health services, and Indigenous women often bear the excessive brunt of these factors.

In addition to these structural disadvantages, Indigenous women face discrimination owing to their race and gender, making them one of the most marginalised groups in the world (Andrews, 1997; Brown, 2014; Manjoo, 2012; Kuokkanen, 2015). Thus, Indigenous women face additional risk factors and barriers when experiencing violence and seeking help: any interventions which seek to prevent further violence against Indigenous women must therefore acknowledge the location of Indigenous women's experiences within these risk factors.

Our Watch – Changing the Picture

Our Watch has developed a national resource to support the prevention of violence against Australian Indigenous women called 'Changing the Picture' (2018) – given this is the context that the partner-programs operate in, this model was one framework used to evaluate the partner-programs' activities (explored in **chapters 4-5**). 'Changing the Picture' is also useful to unpack and explain the key drivers of violence against Indigenous women. Our Watch (2018) argues that programs must address the underlying drivers of violence to prevent violence against Indigenous women.

Our Watch states that although there is no one cause of violence against Indigenous women, they point to three drivers of violence which are depicted in **Figure 5** below which shows how these drivers intersect to create an environment where Indigenous women are at disproportionate risk of experiencing violence. These three drivers are: the impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people; the impacts of colonisation on non-Indigenous people and society; and 'gendered factors' (Our Watch, 2018, p. 13).

Figure 5 The drivers of violence against Indigenous women (Our Watch, 2018, p 13)

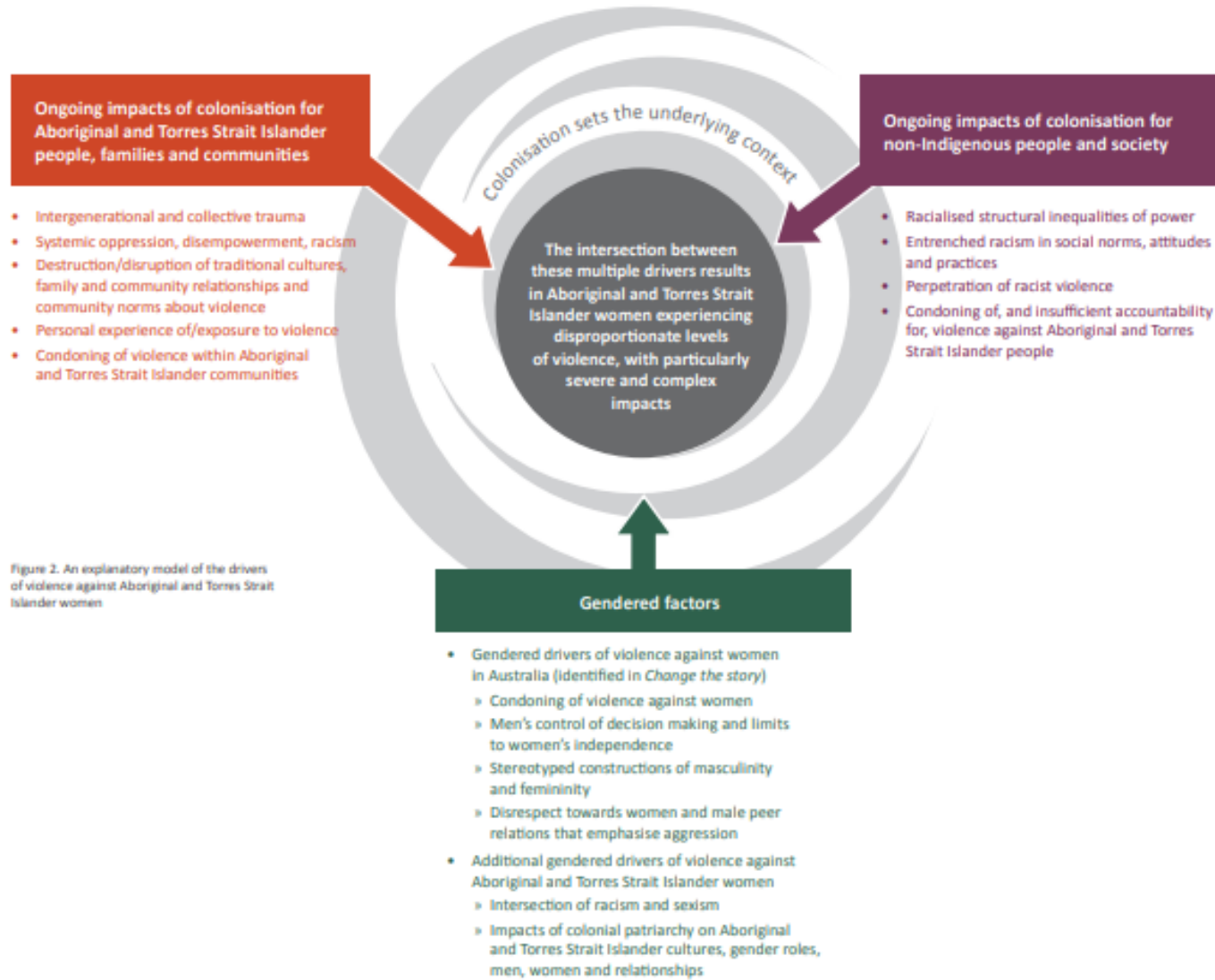


Figure 2. An explanatory model of the drivers of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women

Whilst the gendered drivers of VAW/DFSV – such as inequitable gender roles – and the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous people – such as dispossession and intergenerational trauma - have been discussed throughout this chapter, the ‘Changing the Picture’ resource also importantly identifies the impacts of colonisation on non-Indigenous people as a key driver of violence against Indigenous women. The impacts of colonisation on non-Indigenous people include structural racism; power inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people; racist attitudes and social norms; racist violence; and condoning of violence against Indigenous people (Our Watch, 2018). These impacts can mean that non-Indigenous people dismiss violence against Indigenous women due to racist attitudes and misconceptions.

Broadly, Our Watch (2018) recommends that in order to prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, programs must challenge misconceptions about violence perpetrated against them. These misconceptions include that violence is a part of traditional Indigenous cultures; that violence against Indigenous women is exclusively perpetrated by Indigenous men; and that violence against Indigenous women is caused by alcohol or other substance abuse (Our Watch, 2018).

This research additionally found that these racist attitudes and stereotypes also meant that violence against non-Indigenous women in the Northern Territory was minimised or dismissed, because of the attitude that VAW is ‘an Aboriginal problem’. Many Indigenous women in this research expressed repeated concern that violence against Indigenous women was being ignored and allowed to ‘fly under the radar’. This research did not want to perpetuate the belief that VAW is only found in Aboriginal communities, and based on the ‘Changing the Picture’ model, this research focuses on violence against all women in the Northern Territory, but recognises that Indigenous women are overrepresented as victims and face additional barriers when seeking help.

What are the implications of the different theories on possible solutions to VAW?

Each of the different theories explored above would suggest very different approaches to solving the VAW problem. It is not my intention to be deliberately non-committal, but rather

to highlight the value of considering different theories when designing an intervention to address violence against Indigenous women.

Whilst this thesis rejects the racist and colonial idea that violence is a part of Indigenous cultures, this idea is considered here purely to discuss the implications of this idea on possible interventions to prevent VAW. If violence were inherent in Indigenous cultures – just as it seems to be in Western culture – then protective strategies like safe houses and refuges must continue whilst the power imbalance between genders is addressed in Indigenous societies. In effect, Indigenous societies would need to undertake a cultural revolution to achieve parity in the social and cultural roles of Indigenous women. Such a revolution would need to be led by Indigenous women at their own behest and in a form specific to place and people. This would effectively mean that mainstream and Indigenous-led interventions in VAW continue as they are, but with the addition of Indigenous-led educational programs which aim to educate about gender roles and power. As women's liberation in the Western world, which has adopted this strategy, has not stopped VAW, it seems unlikely that something similar would work in Indigenous societies. Such an idea is underpinned by colonial narratives and is dangerous as it demarcates Indigenous culture as the problem – as the cause of VAW – to do this, effectively legitimises colonisation and reinforces negative stereotypes.

If violence against Indigenous women is a result of colonisation, specifically because of its introduction of inequitable gender roles and the loss of culture, then the strengthening of culture and Indigenous-led interventions could provide meaningful solutions to VAW (although this based on the assumption that there was no gender oppression prior to colonisation). Programs which seek to decolonise culture and gender roles could have a meaningful impact on VAW by restoring men and women to their complementary pre-colonial roles. Such programs would be focused on the healing of the grief and loss associated with colonisation. Land rights and native title would also therefore play an important role in VAW prevention. Such programs could include the celebration of culture and seek to promote women in leadership roles to ensure they have a place at the table in all land rights discussions. These programs could only be long-term and would need to be firmly grounded in community and culture. Perhaps Indigenous feminism (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Green, 2007; Denis, 2013; Kuokkanen, 2015) offers a powerful avenue to

develop such programs and cultural shifts, because Indigenous feminism considers two drivers of violence against Indigenous women: gendered drivers and the ongoing impacts of colonisation.

If violence against Indigenous women is a result of the erosion of pre-colonial male roles then programs which decolonise Indigenous masculinity and focus on men's behaviour change could be effective in combating VAW. Such programs could deal with dispossession, grief, and shame, whilst rebuilding men in their roles as educators, fathers, elders, and spiritual leaders. From a Western perspective, programs which are focused on men who use violence as opposed to victim-based programs are likely to have a far greater impact on VAW as they address risk factors and the choice to use violence, rather than attempt to solve VAW by focusing on victims' behaviour. However, such programs would combat the issue in a way that is holistic and restorative,¹³ rather than punitive. Current rates of recidivism and the connection between recidivism and marginalisation clearly illustrates why punitive measures do not work (Cripps & Adams, 2014; SNAICC, NATSILS, NFWPLS Policy Paper, 2017).

However, in this discussion about the restoration of culture and traditional roles, it must be noted that although programs may take an approach which strengthens culture and promotes the complementary nature of traditional gender roles – as recommended by some studies (Guthrie, et al., 2020) – it must be acknowledged that culture is not static, it evolves over time. Similarly gender roles do not remain the same and change over time. There is also the argument that there was not a strict gender binary in all Indigenous cultures, such as Two-spirit people in some Indigenous American cultures and Sistergirls in the Tiwi Islands (Wilson, 1996; Lawson & Bolger, 2019). It can be argued that the construction of a gender binary and heteronormative ideas about sexuality in Indigenous cultures has also been shaped by colonisation and the reinterpretation of Indigenous cultures thought non-Indigenous anthropologists and researchers (Wilson, 1996; Clark, 2015). In recognising the evolution of culture, the past may present a source of strength to respond to and cope with the ongoing violence of colonisation. VAW interventions can

¹³ It is important to note that some Indigenous women are critical of restorative justice programs which can give powerful men recourse to forms of reconciliation which arguably diminishes justice for women who have experienced violence. There is perhaps room for other forms of justice, however, beyond adversarial justice.

decolonise their approach by drawing upon the strength of culture, whilst also recognising that many Indigenous women and gender diverse people may not want to return to 'precolonial roles'. Conversations about gender are evolving and changing, including within Indigenous communities (Clark, 2015). It is important that a rigid gender binary is not imposed or reinforced. VAW interventions can look for intersections where culture promotes and supports gender equality, and allows space for individuals to express both their cultural, sexual, ethnic and gender identities.

If violence against women is the product of the cumulation of a range of risk factors in different spheres of influence, then this requires an integrated response. The complexity of the problem would require a complex solution: multiple interventions occurring at multiple different levels. Moreover, the focus on these interventions need not necessarily be VAW but instead focused on risk factors such as overcrowding, substance abuse, and intergenerational trauma. Unfortunately, many policy-makers desire a simple magic-bullet, but the ecological model shows the impossibility of such a wish: a constellation of risk-factors requires a holistic and multi-faceted response.

Whilst numerous theories point out the role of colonisation in creating VAW in Indigenous societies, they do not adequately explain why Indigenous women experience more violence than Indigenous men. Moreover, the theory that Indigenous societies have always been violent towards women also does not align with Indigenous people's understanding and practise of their culture. The ecological model illustrates how risk factors at cumulative levels can make an individual vulnerable to violence – but does it adequately account for colonisation and its impacts? No one theory seems entirely satisfactory on its own, and clearly a much more nuanced or holistic approach is needed. It is interesting to consider how these theories relate to the framework of principles and indicators presented in **chapter seven**. Exploring the causes of violence against Indigenous women is crucial because without this understanding underpinning our strategies to prevent VAW, their impact can only be marginal and superficial. Current interventions in violence against Indigenous women reveal how few are directed at preventing violence.

Interventions to address and prevent violence against Indigenous women

The problem of violence against Indigenous women is well-known, yet little is known about effective interventions to prevent further violence (World Health Organisation, 2016). What follows is a discussion of the literature on effective intervention programs as well as several intervention programs in different Indigenous settings. However, this is not a rationale for the selection of my case studies - this will follow in **chapter three**.

Owing to the lack of formal evaluations and published data, very little is known about 'what works' or 'good practice' in VAW interventions, particularly those taking place in Indigenous contexts (Bryant, 2009; Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Cripps & Davis, 2012). However, academics agree that there is much to be learnt from 'practice-based knowledge' or existing interventions occurring in Australia and internationally (Australian Government, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013; Bryant, 2009; Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Cripps & Davis, 2012). Academics advocate for interventions which are flexible, holistic, multi-faceted and context appropriate (Cripps & Davis, 2012; Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Bryant, 2009; Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). Because of the layers of risk factors confronting Indigenous VAW victims, a variety of programs and interventions are needed at different levels to address them (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013; Cripps & Davis, 2012). As argued by Olsen & Lovett, (2016, p. 16)

the complex and cumulative nature of violence and victimisation suggests that any attempt to reduce violence requires a multifaceted approach that deals with individuals and interpersonal relationships as well as wider socio-economic issues.

The WHO also highlights the need for whole community approaches to address the problems using a variety of programs directed at achieving interpersonal safety (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013). This would involve the multi-agency coordination of services and government sections. For instance, collaboration between: police, social services, economic, health, and education agencies as well as NGOs to develop an integrated approach which is both preventative of violence and protective of victims (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005).

These interventions should also be layered and take place at different levels: individual, community, institutional and policy (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). Long term measures to prevent future violence are also desirable, such as targeting young people and addressing norms and attitudes that condone VAW (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). However, such interventions should involve the Indigenous community, and should not come from a 'mainstream' perspective unless in partnership with Indigenous organisations (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 2).

The term 'mainstream' is used extensively in the literature to mean Western or non-Indigenous programs directed at addressing violence against women (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Dobbs & Eruera (2014) use the term 'mainstream' interchangeably with 'Western' to mean programs imbued with Western culture which are not culturally specific to Māori. Cripps and Davis (2012) do not define the term 'mainstream' but seemingly use it in reference to initiatives and programs which are non-Indigenous. These are programs developed for general application to Australian society and culture, not specifically for Indigenous culture and people (Cripps & Davis, 2012). Day et al. (2012) also use the term 'mainstream' to mean non-Indigenous programs and extend the term to 'mainstream feminism philosophy'. 'Mainstream feminism' is an interpretation of feminism made by the dominant Western culture, rather than adapted to Indigenous culture and context (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012). This is important particularly in terms of feminism's analysis of violence – feminist theory holds that VAW stems from patriarchy and the subordinate power status of women in relation to males (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). This is problematic from an Indigenous perspective as it seemingly ignores the racism also faced by Indigenous people. To regard violence purely as the product of gender constructions, is to ignore the violence of colonisation and the dispossession and powerlessness imposed on Indigenous people by the state (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence, 1999). Therefore, 'mainstream' interventions which approach VAW from this perspective perhaps ignore or undervalue the intersection between race and gender (Blagg, 1999). Whilst Day et al. (2012) state there are lessons to be learnt from 'mainstream' interventions, most academics reiterate that non-Indigenous programs do not seem to present the best

solutions to VAW in Indigenous contexts (Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Cheers, et al., 2006).

Indigenous people as well as academics repeatedly insist that mainstream interventions are largely ineffective in Indigenous contexts (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Cripps & Davis, 2012; Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012). Cripps & Davis argue this is because mainstream interventions largely arise in the context of a crisis and therefore focus on protective measures such as 'policing, prosecution and punishment, as well as providing safe accommodation for women and children' (2012, p. 1). They also assert that mainstream interventions are led by a host of mainstream agencies with 'heavy workloads and limited time' and often, 'with limited cultural awareness and/or experience working in Indigenous contexts' (Cripps & Davis, 2012, p. 1). Moreover, often mainstream approaches are inappropriate in Indigenous contexts because of fundamental differences in world views between the parties (Collins, 2010; Blagg, 1999). For instance, the Western view that victims should leave their abusive partners is not always applicable to Indigenous contexts where relationships may be considered permanent (Brown, 2014; Cunneen, 2008). Also, the removal of the victim may also take them away from their traditional land and support networks thus creating further harm (Brown, 2014; Cunneen, 2008). Day et al. (2012) similarly argue that often mainstream interventions are 'culturally unsafe' or culturally unaware and led by non-Indigenous practitioners with limited cultural knowledge. Dobbs & Eruera (2014) state that mainstream interventions can further pathologise violence in Indigenous communities with a discriminatory approach reminiscent of the violent policies and practices of colonisation. Furthermore, often mainstream interventions are individual or couple based despite the violence often affecting whole families and whole communities (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Moreover, if we are to view VAW interventions through the lens of Indigenous self-determination, then the right of Indigenous people to design, develop and implement their own interventions is crucial (Cunneen, 2002, p. 243; Cheers, et al., 2006; Guthrie, et al., 2020). As one Indigenous woman stated: 'Indigenous family violence needs addressing in the Indigenous way, in a broader sense than the white way' (the Office of Aboriginal Affairs, 2002, p. 17). This is supported by the literature which argues that programs designed specifically for Indigenous contexts with strong community involvement

are best placed to address violence in Indigenous communities (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Day, Jones, Nakata, & McDermott, 2012; Cripps & Davis, 2012). As Olsen & Lovett state:

Solutions to violence developed by Indigenous people are likely to focus on community healing, restoration of family cohesion and processes that aim to let both the victim and perpetrator deal with their pain and suffering...Because Indigenous family violence is, in part, attributed to the breakdown of traditional culture and kinship practices, the rebuilding of these family and kinship ties is often seen as central to developing any type of response to Indigenous family violence (Olsen & Lovett, 2016, p. 2).

Unfortunately, despite the strong support by academics, scholars and Indigenous people for Indigenous-led programs, they are constantly under threat of defunding. The ongoing battle Indigenous organisations and programs wage for funding and legitimacy inhibits the effectiveness and longevity of interventions (Olsen & Lovett, 2016; Ingram, 2016). Even when Indigenous communities have developed effective and culturally safe interventions, services are scrambling for funding and can be halted at any time (Lawrence, 2006). This, in part, stems from the reluctance of governments to acknowledge alternative ways of working and to be patient and flexible as they wait for 'results'. This is also linked with a preference for quantitative data which governments, as well as many other institutions, consider to be the only kind of academically rigorous studies (World Health Organisation, 2016). However, these methodologies do not necessarily fit with Indigenous world views, nor are they appropriate to measure all aspects of change. Programs therefore may be cut before they can have lasting impact:

A holistic understanding of family violence as intertwining with a mash of community issues that affect everyone suggests a holistic community development approach that builds on the community's strengths. This will be more effective than policy and service responses based on a deficit model of what the community lacks. However, because western constructions of domestic violence dominate policy and service provision in Australia it is difficult for Indigenous people to convince governments that they are on the right track. They are seriously troubled by family violence, and governments must acknowledge the legitimacy of Indigenous understandings and initiatives (Cheers, et al., 2006, p. 61).

It must be understood, that whilst Indigenous projects may not be generating data yet (or generating a different type of data), these interventions could still hold the potential for long-term benefits:

It is clear that [Indigenous] projects are developing new approaches and models derived from and strengthening Indigenous family life and culture. These programs move beyond seeing Indigenous men simply as perpetrators. They seek to overcome the long-term effects of colonisation and marginalisation, as well as changing immediate behaviour. However, we also need to recognise that these programs are still very much in their infancy (Cuneen, 2002, p. 249).

More than 12 years after Cuneen made this argument, studies led by Indigenous academics are still calling for interventions to be community-driven and Indigenous-led:

A key required action is macro-level cultural change, leading to an overarching operating ecosystem that listens and learns and generates ongoing solutions for addressing family and community violence. It would be characterised by programs that are designed, implemented and led by local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, that are based on community needs and priorities and that integrate the best current evidence. They would be rigorously evaluated, using appropriate methodologies, in order to inform future programs. (Guthrie, et al., 2020, p. 17)

This recent study also reiterates the dearth of evidence about what works: “The general lack of rigorous evidence on what works to reduce and support those affected by family and community violence is problematic” (Guthrie, et al., 2020, p. 16). This highlights the ongoing need for Indigenous-led initiatives, as well as the development of the evidence-base about what works in this context.

Although Indigenous-led interventions are vital, there is also much to be learnt from comparing different types of programs in different Indigenous contexts (Day, Francisco, & Jones, 2013, p. 2). For instance, comparisons have been made between alcohol-related harms in Indigenous people in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States which have adopted similar approaches to alcohol restrictions in Indigenous communities (Smith,

et al., 2013). These comparisons utilising both international and Australian literature, provided a 'good evidence base' for alcohol restrictions as an effective strategy for harm reduction – this knowledge base was incorporated into the Alice Springs Alcohol Management Plan (Smith, et al., 2013). Similar comparisons have been made between Indigenous courts in the United States, Australia and New Zealand to explore recidivism and community approaches to dealing with conflict (Black, Kidd , Thom, & Meehan, 2013). However, one of the limitations to comparative studies is that many of the programs have vastly different focuses, objectives and methods.

In the 2001 report *Violence in Indigenous Communities* Memmott et al. attempted to categorise violence program types (Memmott, Chambers, Go-Sam , & Thomson , 2006). They devised three ways of doing this: the first was to break 'family violence' down into harmful behaviours then define programs based on which behaviours they attempted to address (Memmott, Chambers, Go-Sam , & Thomson , 2006). The second defined programs based upon the approach they took to address violence and the third defined programs by the time of intervention – before, during or after the violence has occurred (Memmott, Chambers, Go-Sam , & Thomson , 2006). Memmott et al.'s (2001) second method of categorisation provides a comprehensive list of nine different violence program types: support, strengthening identity, behaviour reform, community policing and monitoring, shelter, justice, mediation, education, and composite programs (Memmott, Chambers, Go-Sam , & Thomson , 2006). Memmott et al.'s nine categories have also been drawn upon elsewhere in the literature to categorise and define intervention types (Cripps & Davis, 2012). Cripps & Davis (2012) add 'alcohol restrictions' to this list.

It is not the intention of this thesis to focus on different types of interventions, but rather to explore what works to prevent violence. Therefore, it was necessary to apply a theory and develop an analytical tool to analyse the data from the case study programs in order to assess 'what works' and identify principles of good practice. However, evaluating prevention is notoriously difficult so how to measure what did not happen? This thesis therefore makes use of the Transtheoretical Model (TTM) or the Stages of Change Model as it allows for incremental change to be measured.

Stages of Change Theory

The Transtheoretical Model (TTM) or the Stages of Change Model was used to evaluate the extent to which the case study programs are successful in engaging in the key processes and constructs necessary to help their communities to move through the stages of change.

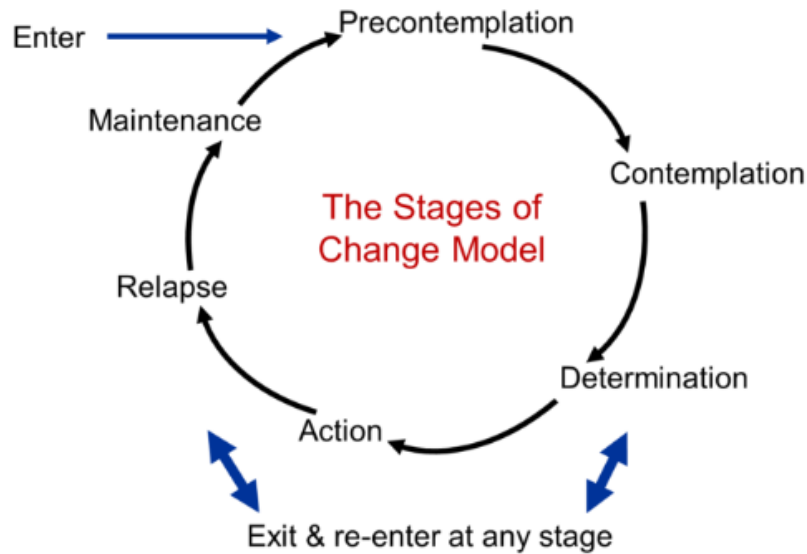
The TTM was developed by Prochaska and DiClemente in the 1970s by examining the experiences of people who were able to quit smoking independently (LaMorte, 2016). The study found that people were capable of quitting smoking if they were ready to do so (LaMorte, 2016). Therefore, the TTM

focuses on the decision-making of the individual and is a model of intentional change. The TTM operates on the assumption that people do not change behaviours quickly and decisively. Rather, change in behaviour, especially habitual behaviour, occurs continuously through a cyclical process (LaMorte, 2016).

Further, the TTM:

construes behaviour change as an intentional process that unfolds over time and involves progress through a series of six stages of change... TTM integrates processes and principles of change from across leading theories, hence the name Transtheoretical (Prochaska, 2013).

Figure 6 Cycles of Change (From LaMorte, 2016)



The TTM theorises that individuals move through six stages of change (see **figure 6**) before they can terminate harmful behaviour or maintain a lifestyle free from the harmful behaviour (Prochaska, 2013). The stages are: precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance, termination (Prochaska, 2013). The stage of ‘termination’ however, was not included in earlier models (hence its absence from the figure above) and is still often excluded from application of the TTM to health-related behaviours (LaMorte, 2016). At any stage, an individual may exit and recycle through the stages (LaMorte, 2016).

A range of different strategies can be used to move individuals through the various stages, and individuals undertake a range of cognitive and evaluative processes as they move through the cycle (LaMorte, 2016). These are: consciousness raising, dramatic relief, self-reevaluation, social liberation, helping relationships, counter-conditioning, reinforcement management, and stimulus control (LaMorte, 2016). These processes result in the individual being able to strategise to make and maintain change (LaMorte, 2016). Prochaska et al. posit that these processes ‘provide important guides for intervention programs, since the processes are like the independent variables that people need to apply to move from stage to stage’ (2008, p. 62). The TTM has been successfully applied to a range of health issues, from smoking to weight loss.

A range of studies have applied the TTM to women who have experience intimate-partner violence and found that women leaving a relationship cycle through the stages of change (Burke et al., 2004; Chang, et al., 2006). Chang et al. (2006) detail several of these studies:

Brown was among the first to adapt the TTM to women experiencing IPV and expanded the definition of precontemplation beyond denial of the problem to include a woman's belief that the violence is her fault. Anderson used a Delphi technique to test the TTM with a small sample of women with a history of IPV and found that the women broadly described stages consistent with the TTM. Zink et al. performed qualitative analysis on interviews with women experiencing IPV and likewise found they could apply the TTM to the women's descriptions of their cognitive, affective and behavioural changes in the experience of dealing with the IPV (p. 331).

Burke et al. (2004) also suggest that although multiple studies on women experiencing IPV 'show support for the stages of change, further research is necessary to explore the processes of change so that a stage-tailored IPV intervention can be developed' (p. 123). What is interesting, however, is that these studies apply the TTM to women experiencing violence as though it were them who had practised the harmful behaviour. This perhaps links in with Western ideas about abuse and violence against women: that to terminate the abuse, the onus is on the woman to leave, hence Western interventions often take the form of women's refuges and shelters, rather than men's behaviour change programs.

One consideration in using the TTM was whether it has application to group behaviour. This research undertook case studies with programs working with communities, and ultimately most Indigenous violence takes place within kinship networks, therefore, it is theorised that a community will resolve or maintain a violence-free environment once a critical mass of healthy relationships is being maintained.

The adaptation of the TTM is discussed further in **chapter three**, but I adapted the TTM to see if it could be applied to community change and rather than individual decision-making processes. Both the ecological model and the Changing the Picture resource state that community attitudes which condone, minimise, or justify violence are a key risk factor – so the adapted model redefines each stage of change in relation to community attitudes

towards violence. The TTM was also adapted to show how the program can help move the community through the stages of change by engaging with key processes and constructs of change.

As such, I think the TTM still holds efficacy in evaluating whether an intervention is having success in creating change; for example, by determining the extent to which silence about VAW has been broken down and consciousness raising – a key process in creating change – has occurred. Or by determining the extent to which the intervention can act as (or foster) a ‘helping relationship’ which several studies have found is a key resource for women experiencing IPV (Chang, et al., 2006). The tables below were developed by Burke et al. (2004) by adapting the TTM to IPV – I likewise adapted the TTM to community behaviour and used it as an evaluative tool to determine whether an intervention is driving change (see **chapter three** for these adaptations).

Table 2 From Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 124

Table 1 Stages of Change for Intimate Partner Violence⁴⁹	
Stage of Change	Definition
Precontemplation	The woman does not recognize the abusive behavior as a problem and is not interested in change.
Contemplation	The woman recognizes the abusive behavior as a problem and has an increasing awareness of the pros and cons of change.
Preparation	The woman recognizes the abusive behavior as a problem, intends to change, and has developed a plan.
Action	The woman is actively engaged in making changes related to ending the abusive behavior.
Maintenance	The abusive behavior has ended, and the woman is taking steps to prevent relapse.

Table 3 From Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O'Campo, 2004, p. 125

Table 2 Processes and Constructs of Change^{31,33,35}	
Cognitive Processes	
Consciousness raising	Seeking new information and to gain understanding about the problem.
Self-reevaluation	Emotional and cognitive reappraising of values with respect to problem behavior.
Dramatic relief	Experiencing and expressing feelings about the problem behavior.
Environmental reevaluation	Considering and assessing how the problem behavior affects the individual's environment.
Social liberation	Increasing awareness, availability and acceptance by the individual of alternative, problem-free lifestyles
Behavioral Processes	
Helping relationships	Trusting, accepting, and using the support of caring others during attempts to change the problem behavior.
Counterconditioning	Learning and practicing alternative behaviors.
Reinforcement management	Rewarding oneself or being rewarded by others for making changes
Self-liberation	Choosing and committing to changing the problem behavior - including belief in ability to change
Stimulus control	Controlling situations and other causes that trigger the problem behavior.
Other Constructs	
Decisional balance	Weighing the pros and cons regarding the behavior change
Self-efficacy	An individual's confidence in ability to make the behavior change

The application of the TTM to evaluating the success of interventions in addressing and preventing violence against Indigenous women yielded interesting insights (detailed in **chapters 4-6**), and offers one method of analysing change, particularly incremental change. Complexity theory posits that complex problems require complex solutions which creates change in non-linear way over time (Burns & Worsley, 2015; Ife & Tesoriero, 2006; Ramalingam, 2013), therefore, it is unrealistic for one intervention to 'fix' the problem of VAW in its community. As Burns and Worsley (2015) argue:

change is not necessarily proportional to the extent of an intervention. Nothing may appear to happen at all – even for decades – and then everything seems to change all at once. This is a non-linear pattern of change (p. 28).

The adapted TTM helped to highlight that small incremental change is also important by providing a point of reference that allowed participants to identify partial or incremental change, which is still a success, and is still a part of making long-term generational change.

Concluding thoughts

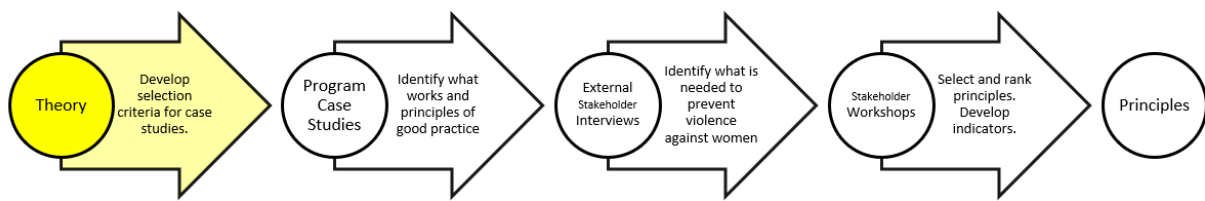
It is clear that Indigenous women around the world face multiple layers of disadvantage and discrimination. This is true also of Indigenous males, whose loss of land, culture and

language has led to a crippling state of hopelessness and despair. Indigenous women, however, bear the brunt of the violence in Indigenous communities. Multiple theories exist to explain this violence, but it is clear that the common factor among them all is colonisation and the breakdown of Indigenous communities. Governments must come to recognise that Indigenous interventions may take different forms to mainstream interventions because they are place-based and culturally safe – at present, funding is yet another means of control and the ever-present threat of defunding is choking promising Indigenous interventions in Australia (Holman, 2019; Davidson, 2015). The lack of funding is also consistent across mainstream domestic, family, and sexual violence services. It is also fairly consistent across the sector that mainstream responses to VAW are not keeping women safe, that it is necessary to refocus interventions on addressing risk factors and the choice to use violence.

Chapter Three: Methodology

'How I used to experience family domestic violence. Thinking it was normal... [Program manager] entered our lives and gave us the strength... Keep the old knowledge and mix it with the new one today. In the future to see everyone working together...Walking in two worlds' [SP7]

The Research Process



Methodology is 'a theory and analysis of how research should be conducted' (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007, p. 199). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues that 'methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shapes the analyses' (p. 143). In this chapter, I wish to employ the metaphor of weaving to explain my approach to methodology. The problem of violence against women is complex so the methodological standpoint had to acknowledge the complexity of the problem.

Women on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) lands in Central Australia have engaged in weaving grass into coiled basketry and fine art. The use of weaving is a relatively new medium in Central Australia, but it draws upon centuries old techniques of natural dyes and fibres. Trips to collect weaving grass give women the chance to reaffirm and teach their culture to the younger generation. Moreover, weaving provides culturally appropriate employment which celebrates the survival of Indigenous culture (NPY Women's Council, 2012). The weaving metaphor perfectly symbolises the standpoint I wish to weave: a

methodology which is Indigenist and Feminist, which celebrates the survival of Indigenous people and privileges the voices of Indigenous women.

Figure 7 Coiled basket from the NPY Lands. Photo by Chay Brown.



The metaphor of weaving, as though of a grass basket, serves me well in that each of the theories and methodologies I drew upon are symbolised by a single grass thread. Not every aspect of each methodology was relevant or appropriate for investigating violence against Indigenous women, for reasons I will explain. Rather I took elements from each to weave together a culturally appropriate approach. In this chapter, I will explain what methods were used and how they were selected; the theoretical and methodological basis for these methods; and the research participants with whom the methods were used. I will first explain what I did – the methods that were used in the research – and then explain their theoretical underpinnings.

The Research Process

The research process began with the theory; I was looking at what the literature says works to prevent VAW. This helped me to develop selection criteria for the case studies. I was interested in finding programs that were Indigenous-led because the literature says that mainstream interventions are often ineffective in Indigenous contexts – and I also found this in my own research. The literature also says victim-based responses do not prevent violence against women, so I was interested in looking at programs that engaged with men who use

violence. The literature also highlighted the value of practice-based knowledge and local knowledge and the need for context-specific interventions, so I was interested in programs working in the Northern Territory specifically. Also, because I was using an Indigenist feminist standpoint, I was interested in programs that had Indigenous people at the forefront of program design and delivery. I was also interested in programs that would be willing partners and would work alongside me as co-researchers.

Based on the theory and selection criteria, I identified programs that could be potential case studies and approached them. In the end, I had two case study programs: TFVPP and NO MORE. Whilst undertaking fieldwork with the case study programs – which meant working alongside the staff, using participant observation to work as an additional staff-member, and conducting focus groups with the program’s beneficiaries – I also undertook semi-structured interviews with a range of external stakeholders. Initially the interviews were intended to assess whether the program was known to external stakeholders and whether they believed the program was helping to move the community through the stages of change. However, I came to learn a lot more from the interviews (see **chapter six**), and the interviews produced several principles of good practice that were considered in the workshops.

After the fieldwork with the case study programs was completed, I undertook workshops with external stakeholders. In the beginning, I was only going to hold one joint workshop with the staff from the case study programs, but I made the decision to invite all stakeholders in specialist and non-specialist DFSV agencies and services into the workshops. This was done to harness more practice-based knowledge and promote buy-in to the framework of principles and indicators produced in the workshops.

The workshops produced the framework which was distributed back to stakeholders in the Northern Territory as well as to government. I am still in the process of talking and working with government about the ways that that framework can be implemented – but the framework is the product of my research.

This is what I did – methods

Two case studies of Indigenous-led programs were used to answer the central research question: what works to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory? The

case study programs were selected based on the following criteria: the program is preventative; the program has been designed and delivered with Indigenous people at the forefront; the program is based in the Northern Territory; the program is holistic (offering a place for both victims and perpetrators, women and men); and the program engages with men and is directed at holding perpetrators accountable for their use of violence.

Initially, it was planned that two periods of fieldwork, each one month long in duration, would be undertaken with each case study. However, as outlined in **chapter five**, only one period of fieldwork was completed with the NO MORE program, whilst two periods were undertaken with the Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program (TFVPP). The methods used with each case study were selected in partnership with each program – these methods were selected prior to fieldwork commencing but were iteratively adapted and developed throughout the fieldwork period in collaboration with the staff participants.

Methods were selected and developed with staff-participants to also ensure they were culturally and contextually appropriate. I presented different methods and the staff selected those which they felt would work best in that situation with those participants. I then developed the research tools (questions; maps etc.) and showed these to the staff participants who advised whether they were appropriate or whether they should be adapted. The methods used in the research were participant observation; yarning; an internal document review; semi-structured interviews; focus groups; and safety mapping. However, each method was conducted slightly differently depending on the partner-program and the program-participants – the breakdown of participants in each method can be seen in **Table 4**. Some participants took part in multiple methods, whilst others only participated in one method. Workshops were used in the final stage of fieldwork with external stakeholders and staff-participants.

Table 4 Breakdown of participants/documents per program in each method

Method	Number of participants/documents		
	NO MORE program	TFVPP	Total
Yarn	10	37	47
Participant Observation	56	58	114
Semi-structured interviews	16	19	35
Focus Groups (including safety mapping)	15	79	94
Document Review	22	203	225

Participant observation allowed me to use a place in the office and take part in the activities of the two case studies: at TFVPP I sat at the meeting table in the centre of the office, which allowed me to observe the staff, program, and stakeholder participants are they engaged with the program. Participation observation at NO MORE was also facilitated by my position in the shared Katherine and Tennant Creek CatholicCare N.T. offices, the long drives to remote communities, and through shadowing NO MORE staff as they delivered training sessions. This allowed me to yarn with participants and observe as they engaged with the program. There were 114 total participants¹⁴ involved in this method, either by my observing them deliver or take part in group sessions, training programs, or working with clients. These figures represent those who consented to taking part in the research and not those who were merely ‘present’. I interacted with many other people whilst working with the programs and with whom I discussed the research, but unless a formal consent process was undertaken (i.e. by gaining their consent verbally or in writing, and seeking permission

¹⁴ The participant figures in this section refer to both case studies combined. See **Table 4** for a breakdown of participants in each case study. **Chapters four** and **five** further detail the participants in each case study.

to include their views in the research), then I did not include them as participants and did not use their input in the research findings.

In addition to observing participants, I observed various trainings and meetings at both case studies. At TFVPP, I attended five Men's Behaviour Change group sessions (three with the community group, and two with the prison group) followed by the debriefs. I observed two Mums Can Dads Can workshops on Town Camps. I attended and participated in ten multi-agency meetings at which TFVPP was present, one Alice Springs Women's Shelter (now named WoSSCA) training session, eight TWFSG meetings, one media launch, one staff training day, one night patrol, two internal TFVPP meetings, and one TWFSG three-day strategic planning retreat. I also took part in daily program activities such as picking up and dropping off program-participants, preparing lunch, and shopping. At NO MORE, I attended five NO MORE training sessions for Aboriginal men which were held in Jilkminggan, Kalano, Ngukurr, and two in Tennant Creek. I attended and participated in staff meetings, and one NO MORE symposium which included presentations from police and other services working in sport and violence prevention. I also took part in daily program activities such as traveling to communities and meeting with local external stakeholders such as Aboriginal Legal services, the hospital, and Alcohol and Other Drugs (AOD services) where NO MORE delivered training sessions. I took every opportunity to shadow staff and observe the work of each partner-program as they undertook daily tasks and delivered the program.

Yarning was used to informally talk with and listen to participants. These conversations were unstructured and followed a variety of topics, although the researcher would occasionally ask questions. Yarning was again facilitated by the researcher's workplace in the partner-programs' offices, which meant that participants (staff, program, and stakeholder alike) would often come and engage in conversation. Topics ranged from responses to DFSV, intersectional feminism, participatory action research and research partnerships, to politics, DFSV training, sport, and family connections. Program objectives, activities, and frameworks were regularly discussed. A combined total of 47 participants were yarned with across both case studies. Again, these figures represent those who consented to participating in the research project rather than all people who were yarned with – as there were often many people present in the offices and trainings, many people were yarned with, but unless they formally consented to being a part of the research, they were not included in the figures –

this was done to ensure that each participant had given full informed consent for their views to be used as part of the research findings. Some participants were yarned with only once, whilst others were yarned with on many different occasions throughout the period of initial fieldwork.

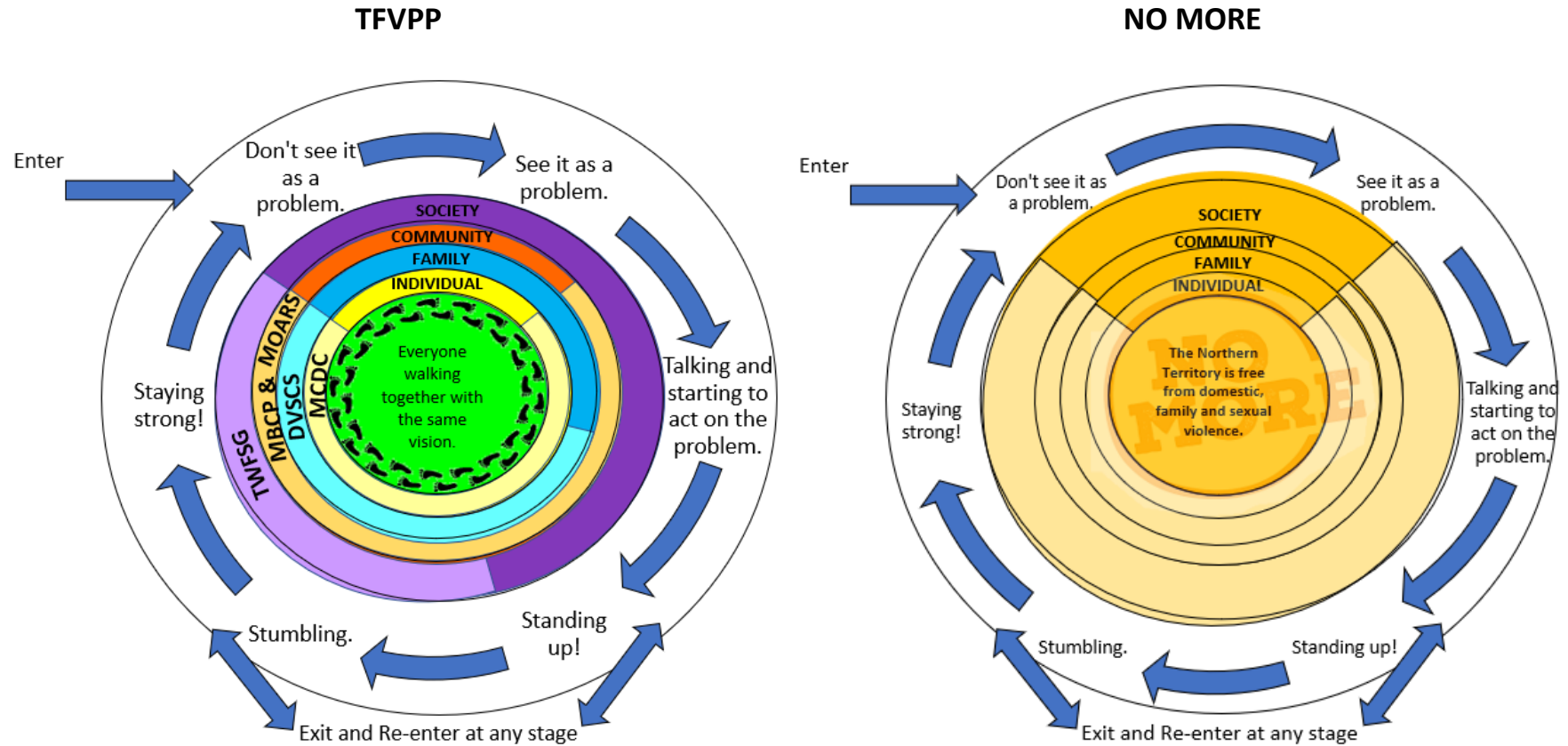
Semi-structured interviews were conducted primarily with external stakeholder-participants, but one TFVPP program-participant participated in an interview. The interviews with external stakeholders included some planned questions (see **Appendix C**), but the method allowed the researcher the flexibility to ask additional or follow-up questions.

The planned questions were designed to elicit the stakeholder-participants' knowledge of VAW and DFSV in their location; gauge their knowledge of support services and whether they were aware of the partner-program; gain their views based on their experience about what would work to prevent VAW and DFSV in the Northern Territory; and explore their knowledge of the partner-program and its activities. Then the adapted stages of change (TTM) model, as shown in **Figure 8**, was used to measure their assessment about where the community was at in the cycle, *if* they believed the community had entered the cycle. These interviews will be discussed in further detail in **Chapter Six**.

The interview with the individual TFVPP program-participant used the same questions as those asked of the Men's Behaviour Change [MBCP] focus group participants. The interview with the TFVPP program-participant was conducted because the participant was a graduate of the MBCP program and was in the office by himself when a staff-participant asked if he would like to share his experiences about the Men's Behaviour Change program.

Several focus groups were also conducted with both case studies. Only one focus group was undertaken as part of the NO MORE case study, and this was with participants from a NO MORE training session. This focus group was used to elicit the views of NO MORE program-participants about the strengths and challenges in their community and to assess their knowledge of the NO MORE program. There were fifteen participants in the focus group. The focus group took place at the beginning of a planned training session in Tennant Creek. Participants were initially asked to describe their community, they were then asked about the strengths of their community, and whether they had heard of the NO MORE program before the training session and what they knew about it.

Figure 8 TTM or Stages of Change model adapted to each partner-program



Ten focus groups were undertaken as part of the TFVPP case study: one with the TFVPP Men's Behaviour Change Program; two with the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group; and 7 safety mapping sessions with Town Campers in Alice Springs.

The focus group with the TFVPP Men's Behaviour Change participants took place at the start of a group session and had seven participants, including one staff-participant. The program-participants were asked a sequence of questions designed to elicit the views of the TFVPP program-participants about the Men's Behaviour Change program. They were also designed to gauge whether the participants had retained any learning from the program; and to gather their perspective on how the program could be further improved. Interestingly, although most of the program-participants are mandated to attend the Men's Behaviour Change program, they were very positive about the program and were able to easily recall much of what they had learnt in the sessions, including terminology and concepts. The TFVPP program-participants also gave several constructive suggestions about how the program could be improved. These suggestions included: making the program course longer; engaging and using Elders in the sessions; developing more resources; and teaching more concepts.

Focus groups were conducted as part of the safety mapping exercise on seven different Alice Springs Town Camps. The purpose of the safety mapping was threefold: first to ascertain whether DFV was identified as a safety concern by Town Camp women in Alice Springs; secondly to gauge the reach and impact of TFVPP; and thirdly to take a strengths-based approach to identify safe places and gather Town Camp women's views on what made these places safe in the hope that if the 'ingredients' of safety could be identified, then they could be replicated to increase Town Campers feelings of safety. The safety mapping exercise also aimed to identify safe people and safe relationships that could be drawn upon if Town Campers ever felt unsafe. The safety mapping took place in groups of varying sizes, the smallest had three participants, whilst the largest had over sixteen. The details of the safety mapping can be found in **Appendix A**.

Two focus groups were conducted with the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group (Women's Group). The first focus group with the Women's Group was used to elicit the views of program-participants and staff-participants about their activities and whether they had seen any change in their communities. There were thirteen participants. Participants

were initially asked to paint on canvas the timeline of their town camp (or community) with the following instructions ‘show the old times, past, of your town camp, what it’s like now, and what you want for the future – what you hope for’. When the participants finished painting, they took turns to present and explain their painting. The use of the painting was to help garner a range of different voices and give an opportunity to participants to present their ideas of change in an individualised and creative way (see **Figure 9**). By analysing the paintings, it also helped to demonstrate what, if any, changes had occurred. The main themes consistently presented in the paintings were around the important role of women in educating young people about DFSV, and that culture, such as dance and gathering bush tucker, was a good vehicle for teaching young people. The paintings revealed the women believed educating youth was crucial to breaking cyclical violence (see **chapter four** for an analysis of the paintings, and see **Appendix D** for pictures and commentaries on individual paintings). The questions then prompted a discussion of the different activities of the Women’s Group and whether change was happening in Town Camps and/or their communities.

Figure 9 Photo of the paintings the women produced in the focus group



The second focus group conducted with the Women’s Group was as part of the safety mapping exercise¹⁵. This focus group covered the same planned questions used on Town Camps but included additional questions and activities as participants were also asked to paint or draw their understanding of safety, and some of these drawings can be seen in **Figure 10**. The drawings produced in the focus group revealed similar themes and symbols about safety: all the drawings depicted Town Camps in some way, and showed new houses,

¹⁵ The two focus groups with the Women’s Group had mainly the same participants. The focus groups were held during the Women’s Group’s weekly meeting time, which some members may not come to every week, so some Women’s Group members were not present for one of the focus groups.

high fences, lighting, enclosed yards, children's playgrounds, and properly demarcated roads. These drawings reflected the improved infrastructure the Women's Group felt was vital to improving safety on Town Camps. The drawings also showed the role of women – particularly grandmothers – in keeping children safe.

Figure 10 Some of the artwork the TWFSG women produced in the safety mapping session

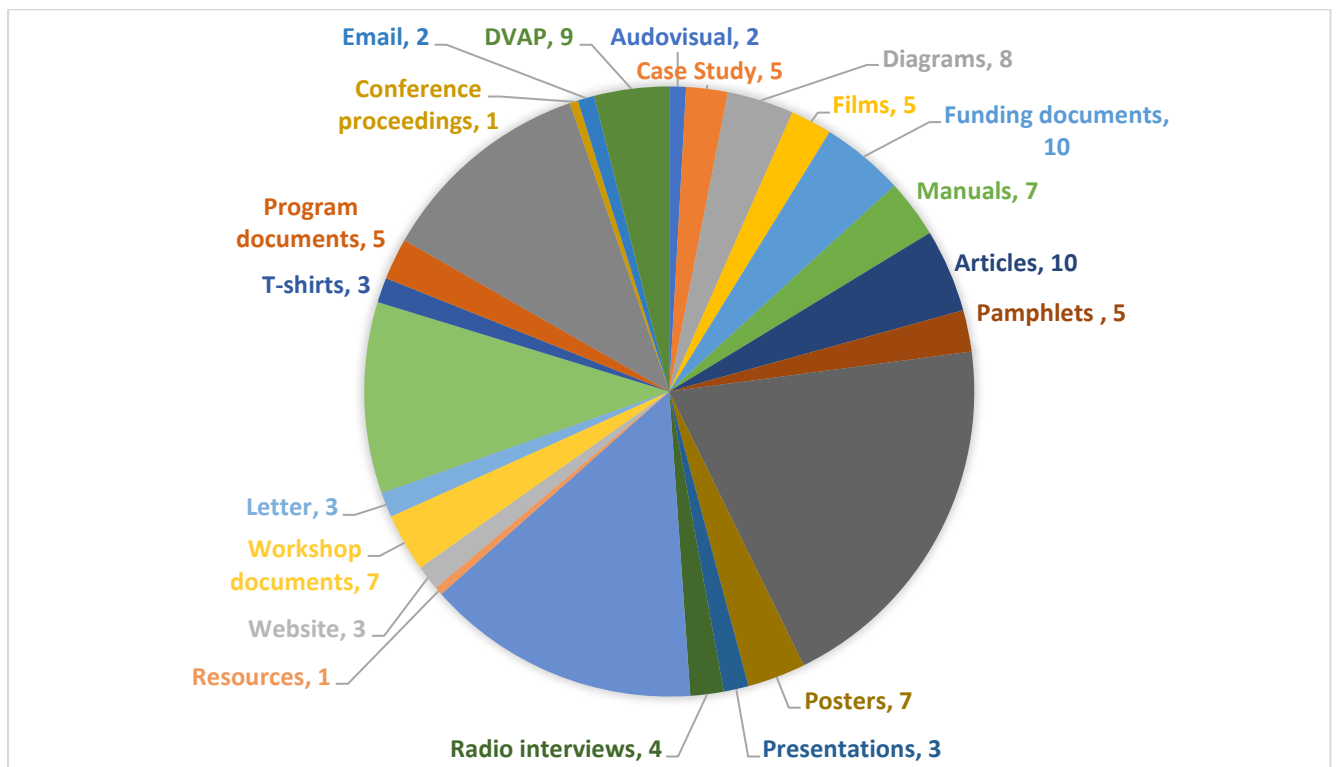


The questions and artwork were designed to elicit participants' own understanding and ideas about safety as well as to identify safe places and relationships within Alice Springs that Town Camp women can draw upon if they feel unsafe. Using drawing enabled everyone, regardless of English language proficiency, to participate (individual drawings with brief commentary can be found in **Appendix D** and the full details of the safety mapping can be found in **Appendix A**).

A review of both partner-programs' internal documents was used to understand the genesis of each partner-program. It was also used to demonstrate and assess the different activities, products, and objectives of the partner-programs. The documents also demonstrated the internal monitoring and evaluation systems in place, and how these were being used. As part of the internal document review, a total of 225 documents were reviewed: 203 from TFVPP, and 22 from NO MORE¹⁶. The breakdown of which can be seen in **Figure 11**. The most common documents were photos, followed by reports, artwork, social media, newspaper articles, grant and funding documents, Domestic Violence Action Plans, diagrams or charts, manuals, posters, and workshop documents, case studies, films, pamphlets, and program documents, radio interviews, presentations, websites, letters and t-shirt designs, email messages and audio-visual material, and finally, conference proceedings and resources.

¹⁶ The disparity in the amount of documents from the two programs is explained by two reasons: I conducted one round of fieldwork with NO MORE, whilst I conducted two rounds with TFVPP, so there was less time for NO MORE to share documentation with me. The second reason is that NO MORE had produced far fewer resources and documentation than TFVPP. Whilst TFVPP invested considerable time developing their own resources and program documents specific to their context, NO MORE rarely produced their own resources or documented their work.

Figure 11 Breakdown of document type in the internal document review



The final method used was workshops – these workshops were not used as part of the case studies, but as a way to develop the framework in the form of principles with stakeholders throughout the Northern Territory. Five workshops were held, one with TFVPP and four with stakeholders throughout the Northern Territory to identify principles of good practice to prevent violence against women, as well as to identify context-specific indicators for each principle. This process is detailed in **Chapter Seven**.

All data was recorded in written note form, then typed into transcripts that were sent to participants for review. Case study organisations were provided with draft copies of reports to allow for feedback prior to finalisation.

This is why I did it – theory

The priority of my methods and methodological approach was to make sure the research was culturally safe and culturally appropriate, and offered ways for Indigenous women, particularly those who speak little English, to share their knowledge and views. As such, the methodology was developed in light of Indigenist and feminist standpoint theories: qualitative methods including yarning and semi-structured interviews; grounded theory;

thematic analysis; and the transtheoretical model – these theories and methodologies were drawn upon to weave together an inclusive and culturally safe approach that valued local knowledge and prioritised women’s voices.

At the centre of the woven basket, symbolised by the inner-most circle in **Figure 7**, is Indigenist methodology as this was my focal point when it came to method selection and design. I used it to critique other methodologies and standpoints and it also guided my interaction with my partner-programs and research participants.

Indigenist methodology

Indigenist methodology cannot be discussed without first unpacking the historically exploitative relationship between researchers and Indigenous people.

It is helpful to employ the metaphor of ‘research as colonisation’ to explain the exploitative nature of research in Indigenous peoples’ lands (Aveling, 2013; Martin, 2006). Research, in a variety of fields, has been used to legitimise the colonisation of Indigenous peoples’ lands and minds (Smith, 1999; Ball & Janyst, 2008; Cochran, et al., 2008; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Martin & Mirraboopu, 2009). It was research carried out by European explorers, travellers, botanists, biologists and anthropologists that measured, categorised and renamed the colonised lands, including Australia (Smith, 1999; Martin, 2006). They measured and divided the land, turning it into ‘space’ which could be bought, sold, and ruled (Smith, 1999). They categorised the plants, animals and ‘people’ based on positivist scientific traditions which allowed these ‘flora and fauna’ to be subjugated (Smith, 1999; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Martin, 2006). They renamed places and landmarks based on the whims of their leaders or after their European homelands; they then taught these names back to the Indigenous peoples who had peacefully occupied these same lands for thousands of years (Smith, 1999; Martin, 2006). These elements of colonisation remain in place today and are in direct conflict with Indigenous ontology (Martin, 2006; Smith, 1999; Martin & Mirraboopu, 2009).

Soon researchers also turned their attention to Indigenous peoples who they categorised as sub-human or savage, thus legitimising the violence committed against them (Smith, 1999; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Martin, 2006; Cochran, et al., 2008). Researchers also expressed a desire to record cultures which they believed would inevitably die out – they

extracted songs, stories, language and other forms of knowledge then reproduced and distorted them through their own European lens (Ball & Janyst, 2008; Kite & Davy, 2015; Martin, 2006). Much of this research has served to benefit the colonisers and not Indigenous people themselves. Research on Indigenous peoples has benefited colonisers through the construction of the Other – we know what we are because we know what we are not (Smith, 1999; Cochran, et al., 2008). It is also important to understand that colonisation is ongoing. It is little wonder that Indigenous peoples are suspicious of research and researchers. Indigenous peoples have too long been the subject of research – the researched- rather than partners in the research that concerns them (Kite & Davy, 2015; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Martin, 2006; Cochran, et al., 2008). It is from this context of ongoing colonisation that Indigenist methodology derives.

It is difficult to pin down any one definition of Indigenist methodology, but it can be captured in the form of principles. In order for any research to employ Indigenist methodology it must be based on these Indigenist principles: 1) include an analysis of imperialism and contextualise the research within its historical context of colonisation (Smith, 1999; Ball & Janyst, 2008). 2) be specifically emancipatory and aimed at fostering self-determination and restorative social justice (Rigney, 2006; Ball & Janyst, 2008; Kite & Davy, 2015; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012) 3) privilege the voices of Indigenous people (Smith, 1999; Rigney, 2006; Kite & Davy, 2015; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012). 4) be grounded in Indigenous epistemology and ontology (Aveling, 2013; Cochran, et al., 2008; Rigney, 2006; Martin & Mirraoopa, 2009). 5) carried out in partnership with Indigenous people – ‘nothing about us without us’ (Smith, 1999; Rigney, 2006; Ball & Janyst, 2008; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Martin, 2006). 6) be of relevance and benefit to Indigenous people (Ball & Janyst, 2008; Cochran, et al., 2008; Smith, 1999; Rigney, 2006) and 7) consults with Indigenous people about the dissemination of the findings and ensures that Indigenous people maintain control over their own cultural knowledge (Rigney, 2006; West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Smith, 1999). Therefore, it is not that Indigenous methodology advocates any particular methods as such - it does not reject ‘traditional’ methods - but rather argues that methods should be selected in consultation with Indigenous people and be conducted in culturally sensitive ways (Smith, 1999; Rigney, 2006). That being said, it could be argued that qualitative methods are more culturally safe as they are more reflective of Indigenous ways

of knowing, being and doing (West, Stewart, & Foster, 2012; Martin & Mirraboopa, 2009; Martin, 2006; Cochran, et al., 2008; Rigney, 2006). In terms of method, Martin argues there is a need for 'culturally rigorous choices to be made for methods for data collection' (2006, p. 9). The emphasis is therefore on culturally appropriate methods.

From these guiding principles it is evident that Indigenist methodology is concerned with the decolonisation of Indigenous peoples' lands and minds (Ball & Janyst, 2008; Smith, 1999). It also offers a critique of the dominant culture and academic norms by questioning the construction of knowledge and the supposed objectivity of positivist modes of research (Smith, 1999). Indigenist methodology is therefore about 'writing back' against research which pathologises and problematises Indigenous people (Aveling, 2013; Smith, 1999). It is also about Indigenous people setting their own research agenda. Indigenist researchers like Linda Tuhiwai Smith expose a variety of priorities for Indigenous research projects, common amongst them is survival (Cochran, et al., 2008; Smith, 1999). The survival of Indigenous peoples, culture and language despite ongoing colonisation.

This research project was therefore framed within the lens of survival. It sought to celebrate the survival of Indigenous culture and sought to illustrate how necessary cultural safety is to the success of a program designed to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory.

I also placed the problem of violence against Indigenous women within the context of the violence of colonisation and sought to contextualise VAW within ongoing colonisation by selecting Indigenous-specific evaluative tools which acknowledged this. Moreover, this research examined the underlying structural forces and historical legacy of colonisation which has contributed to the problem of violence against women in some Indigenous communities, rather than casting Indigenous communities as 'the problem'. Furthermore, this research sought to privilege Indigenous voices and gain their perspective on what they are doing to address this problem, and this led to the safety mapping design as well as incorporating different ways of conveying knowledge in the focus group designs, such as through art. I also sought to centre the voices of Indigenous people by using Indigenist methodology and the critiques by Indigenist scholars of orthodox research approaches in the weaving of my own methodology. However, this was not without challenges.

Aveling (2013) for example, argues that non-Indigenous scholars cannot write Indigenist research because Indigenist research can only be written from the perspective of colonised people. In some respects, this is true, because how can I as a white woman possibly understand the worldview of colonised peoples? Furthermore, how could I base my research on Indigenous epistemology and ontology as a white person? I cannot fully understand these things because I have not lived them, and any attempt to capture these things on my part could take the form of exploitative research I discussed at the beginning of this section. Finally, how can I privilege Indigenous voices when ultimately I wrote this thesis and all Indigenous voices are reproduced through my own voice, values and worldview? I do not know if I overcame these challenges, but my research was framed by Indigenist methodology in that I was guided by its central principles and accompanied my research and analysis with a discussion of my own positionality as a white woman.

Feminist Standpoint

The second strand in my weaving metaphor comprises Feminist standpoint theory. Feminist standpoint theory shares similarities with Indigenist methodology in that it too questions traditional forms of knowledge. Likewise, it bears similarity in that it is not the methods which make research feminist but rather the methodology and the researcher (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). Feminist standpoint theory also questions positivist scientific notions such as objectivity – that truth exists ‘out there’ and that researchers can remain impartial and objective (Letherby, 2003; Beetham & Demetriades, 2007; Haraway, 1988). Feminist standpoint theory values alternative ways of thinking and values women as knowledge-holders – it advocates for the production of knowledge by women for women (Brooks, 2007) in a way that is ‘considerate of the multi-faceted nature of gender’ (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007, p. 1999). This is not to say, however, that men cannot undertake feminist research; indeed, I believe they can by ensuring their research gives women a voice and values women’s knowledge, experience and priorities.

Similar to Indigenist methodology, which criticises research that has silenced and ignored Indigenous voices, feminist standpoint theory springs from the criticism of studies which have excluded women’s voices (Brooks, 2007; Letherby, 2003). Feminists argue that traditional frameworks have failed to genuinely reflect women’s experiences, so feminist

standpoint theory developed with 'the goal of granting authentic expression and representation to women's lives' (Brooks, 2007, p. 56). Feminist standpoint theory advocates qualitative methods and the adaptation of quantitative methods to shed light on difficult-to-measure issues like gender-based violence and empowerment (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). Feminist standpoint theory is therefore concerned with privileging women's voices and expressing women's 'concrete experiences' (Brooks, 2007; Letherby, 2003). However, it is not just in the development of knowledge which makes the standpoint feminist but in the expressed objective that we must learn from women's lives to create 'social change and toward the elimination of the oppression not only of women but of all marginalized groups' (Brooks, 2007, p. 78). Therefore, like Indigenist methodology, feminist standpoint theory is emancipatory in nature; as Brooks states

feminist standpoint epistemology requires the fusion of knowledge and practice. It is both a theory of knowledge building and a method of doing research—an approach to knowledge construction and a call to political action (2007, p. 55).

Like Indigenist methodology, feminist standpoint theory is concerned with power structures and analysing power dynamics in relationships between men and women, researcher and the researched, dominant groups and the marginalised (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). However, feminist standpoint theorists advocate starting with women's lived experiences (Haraway, 1988) because women have developed a 'double consciousness' wherein they know not only their worlds but those of the dominant group – men (Brooks, 2007). To begin research with women's lived experiences creates 'strong objectivity' and results in findings that are more reflective of reality than those that begin with the dominant group (Brooks, 2007). Feminist standpoint theorists argue this is because the dominant group is interested in maintaining their own position and power; research from their standpoint would therefore lead to knowledge which supports the ongoing subjugation of the Other (Brooks, 2007). Theoretically therefore, to begin research with the most oppressed will result in the most objective position – or the 'maximally objective' standpoint (Brooks, 2007). For example, research that begins with the concrete experiences of Indigenous women would be more objective than research that begins from the position of white women. Obviously, there are a number of issues here, because no standpoint is completely objective and the diversity of women's experiences cannot be ranked. However, feminist standpoint theory is

beginning to contest the idea of 'strong objectivity' and question whether it is even desirable to reduce the wealth of human experience down to one standpoint (Brooks, 2007). Rather many feminists are advocating 'critical discourse' and the networking and communication between women to create transformative social change (Brooks, 2007).

In many ways, it was perfectly congruent to weave aspects of feminist standpoint theory with my central focus of Indigenist methodology. For instance, I explored the lived experiences of Indigenous women. I also investigated the feminist priority area of gender-based violence, but through the lens of Indigenous agency and empowerment. I looked at how Indigenous people, and especially women, address the problems within their own homes and communities. A core focus of my research was the power structures which oppress Indigenous women in relationships with their partners and the state – contextualised within the ongoing colonisation of Indigenous peoples' lands and how this affects Indigenous women. It was my priority to privilege the voices of Indigenous women. Moreover, much like Indigenist methodology, feminist standpoint theory advocates a methodology which is participatory and considerate of local knowledge (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). Similarly, qualitative methods are also favoured by feminist standpoint theory and Indigenist methodology (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007; Smith, 1999). However, there are also some criticisms and challenges to feminist standpoint theory that must be acknowledged here.

Feminist standpoint theory throughout its development has been criticised for privileging and focusing on the experiences of Western white women (Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2012; St. Denis, 2007). Its priorities have largely been constructed by white women within a Western European worldview and value set (Smith, 1999; St. Denis, 2007). As a result, the experiences of women of colour and Indigenous women have largely been ignored (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007; Smith, 1999). Another criticism is that feminist standpoint theory has ignored or marginalised other identity and sociocultural categories which affect people's lives in the interests of privileging gender (Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2012). For example, Staunæs & Søndergaard argue that for women of colour 'a sociocultural category like gender may be surpassed by other categories' and in particular situations 'other categories might be more pivotal' (2012, p. 51). For instance, Indigenous women may strongly identify with their Indigeneity but not their gender. Moreover, it is most likely not

simply their gender which causes Indigenous women's oppression, but their status as colonised Indigenous persons. Therefore, one of the central criticisms of feminist standpoint theory is that it does not capture the scope of different women's experiences (Smith, 1999). However, feminist standpoint theory is responding to this by acknowledging the different experiences of women of colour (Brooks, 2007; Beetham & Demetriades, 2007; Letherby, 2003). Here the term 'intersectionality' becomes useful in that it acknowledges that many categories form peoples' identities, relationships and experiences in the world. For example, Indigenous women are oppressed by virtue of their race and gender. Class also plays a part here – Indigenous women who live in poverty face additional obstacles and challenges in life. Intersectionality therefore can illustrate Indigenous women's positioning 'as outsiders in a matrix of domination' (Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2012, p. 46).

Moreover, at times feminist standpoint theory could be seen as in conflict with Indigenist priorities. For example, Indigenist methodology seeks to restore Indigenous people to their traditional roles and culture – in many Indigenous communities, women's traditional roles, rights and responsibilities were equal to those of men (Smith, 1999; St. Denis, 2007; Green, 2007). The disruption to Indigenous women's traditional roles must be contextualised within colonisation which in some cases imposed Western notions of gender roles onto Indigenous peoples, for example, in Canada through Western understandings of chieftainship as being inherently male, the imposition of the Canadian *Indian Act* and only allowing Indigenous men to collect rations (Smith, 1999; St. Denis, 2007). This is different for Western women who seek to deconstruct traditional gender roles which oppress women (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). However, it must be noted here that gender oppression has existed in many Indigenous communities prior to colonisation (St. Denis, 2007; Green, 2007). Inherently the objective of Indigenist and Feminist methodology is the same – that Indigenous women should have an equal cultural, social and political role to men.¹⁷ Feminist standpoint theory is also acknowledging that men too are gendered individuals (Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2012) and this is particularly important in relation to Indigenist methodology – because within Indigenous contexts both women and men are oppressed. As Linda Tuhiwai

¹⁷ If Indigenist methodology sees Indigenous women's traditional roles as being equal to men, then to restore women to their traditional role is in effect the same objective as feminist standpoint theory – that women should have equal standing to men.

Smith (1999) points out 'in the end Indigenous men and women have to live together in a world in which both genders are under attack' (p. 153).

It was possible to weave aspects of Feminist Standpoint theory together with Indigenist methodology because both question traditional forms of knowledge and power structures. However, Indigenous experiences as colonised Indigenous people were privileged and contextualised within a wider discussion of colonisation. The research could not have been split into a dichotomy of women and men, but instead prioritised a critical analysis of the power structures that exist between Indigenous people and the dominant white culture. An example of this was acknowledging the barriers face by Indigenous men when accessing programs and acknowledging the need for specialist programs to work with men within a holistic model which allows for restoration and recovery, rather than solely punitive responses. Failing to acknowledge and factor in the power structures experienced by Indigenous women and men would have worked to perpetuate the colonial stereotypes of Indigenous men as barbaric abusers and of Indigenous women as hapless victims – to do so would have been to repeat an act of research violence against Indigenous people.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research could be described as a methodology and a method. It is 'how research should proceed' but it is also a set of methods to be employed in research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). As such, I am going to discuss qualitative research as a methodology and then explore some qualitative methods I drew upon in this research: ethnography, participatory action research (PAR) and case study.

Qualitative research springs from the central idea that the complexity of human life cannot be quantified in numbers alone (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). Qualitative research is context-bound and context-sensitive, and is focused on the views, interpretations, feelings and meanings of the people involved in the research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). Qualitative research therefore seeks to express the subtleties of human experience by drawing on approaches and methods which provide more detail and scope for interpretation such as focus groups, interviews and storytelling (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). It is therefore 'a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live' (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 3).

Qualitative and quantitative research have often been dichotomised, but they can be used effectively together as part of a mixed method approach. However, qualitative research is more compatible with Indigenist methodology as it draws upon methods like yarning which are more culturally safe (Aveling, 2013). Qualitative research also reflects 'the interpretive approach to social reality' (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 3) which holds that reality is constructed. Using qualitative methods will therefore prompt a criticism of objectivity (Lincoln, 2011; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). By engaging in Indigenist research, a criticism of objectivity was necessary because Indigenist methodology argues that all knowledge is constructed: who chooses the questions and methods, who collects and analyses the data, and who writes the findings are positioned within their particular values and worldview (Smith, 1999; Lincoln, 2011). There can be no truly impartial objective truth – to agree with this would mean that there is only one form of knowledge and only one way of understanding the world – it is exactly this belief which has led to the exploitative nature of research on Indigenous lands and peoples. As Lincoln (2011) argues 'detachment and author objectivity are barriers to quality, not insurance of having achieved it' (p. 7).

Moreover, LeCompte argues that it is the duty of qualitative research to 'seek out the silenced because their perspectives are often counter-hegemonic' (1993, p. 10). This imperative clearly complements both Indigenist and feminist methodologies as it promotes privileging marginalised voices with the express objective of creating social change (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Lincoln, 2011). Moreover, because qualitative research is immersive and context-sensitive (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975), this gives qualitative research the scope to appropriately contextualise violence against Indigenous women within the context of colonial violence. As Bogdan and Taylor (1975) argue

It is important to respect the context and culture in which the study takes place. If researchers understand the context, they can locate the actions and perceptions of individuals and grasp the meanings that they communicate (p. 11).

The focus of my research was on Indigenous people's experiences and how they use their agency to engage their living culture to address a problem which manifests in their communities. Since qualitative research embraces culturally appropriate methods, promotes a criticism of positivist modes of research and seeks to understand phenomena

within their real-life context, qualitative research was more appropriate to the Indigenous context of my research.

This now prompts a discussion of ethnography as methodology. I am conscious that ethnography carries with it many ethical dilemmas. Buch and Staller define ethnography as 'a form of research that asks questions about the social and cultural practices of groups of people' (2007, p. 187). Quite simply, 'ethnography' is usually conducted by a single researcher who lives within the 'field' for a period of time (sometimes for many years) and who can participate actively within the community in order to come to understand how culture is constructed (Zilber, 2014). Coleman and Hellermann distinguish ethnographers as 'fieldmakers' in recognition of the fact that 'fields are always made, are never natural' (2012, p. 3). For my own research, 'field' meant the two partner-programs and their wider community contexts of Alice Springs (including Town Camps) and the various community locations of the NO MORE program, including Katherine, Tennant Creek, and surrounding communities.

The purpose of ethnography, as Wolcott succinctly explains, 'is to describe and interpret cultural behaviour' (1987, p. 43). On the one hand, this seemed to fit nicely with Indigenist methodology because ethnography could be a conduit for the celebration and survival of Indigenous culture. However, I was concerned with the use of 'interpret': that this could have fallen back in the pattern of exploitative research in that a researcher comes to the field, takes knowledge, then regurgitates it through the sift of their own worldview. Furthermore, a single researcher undertaking research did not seem to reflect the collaborative and participatory approaches preferred by Indigenist methodology. However, increasingly ethnographers are rejecting the idea that the ethnographer can be a detached passive observer, and feminist ethnographers in particular are beginning to account for their own positionality in the creation of knowledge. Emerson for example argues 'the encounter between researcher and researched... is not simply one in which a reality is merely observed and noted: It is also an occasion in which reality is created' (2011, p. 8). Moreover, Buch and Staller argue that many feminist ethnographers...

view the people they study as experts on their own lives and communities and thus consider the people they work with active collaborators in the research project rather than passive research subjects (2007, p. 218).

Such shifts towards acknowledging the power structures which exist in the 'field' and towards approaches that are more collaborative and cognisant of the researcher's role in the creation of knowledge allowed me to draw upon ethnography within an Indigenist approach. However, other challenges remained.

Controversially, Wolcott argues 'ethnographers must engage explicitly in cultural stereotyping if there is to be ethnography' (1987, p. 50). Wolcott (1987) makes this argument because he believes that in order for research to be able to generalise findings, stereotyping must take place. However, I would argue that generalisation is not desirable in Indigenous contexts where culture is so diverse and that stereotyping Indigenous culture could herald a dangerous return to exploitative research practices. Buch and Staller (2007) likewise disagree with Wolcott's views, saying that it is very difficult to make generalisations based on ethnography. They argue that is far better to use ethnography comparatively to see 'what is shared and what is unique in communities' (Buch & Staller, 2007, p. 188). This idea had far more application to my research: I use 'field' to mean the two partner-projects, and comparing these two fields yielded important insights about what is needed to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory, and importantly, what doesn't work.

However, ethnography presents an additional ethical conundrum around informed consent (Fine, 2011) or what Jennifer Stacey (1998 cited in Shaw, 2011) called 'the delusion of alliance' (p. 6). What if participants involuntarily disclose more than they intended?

Participants may not know if the ethnographer is 'having a break' and so may inadvertently share more than they intended. My ethnographic approach therefore went hand-in-hand with informed consent which was constantly renegotiated throughout the entire research process. Once again, the weaving metaphor becomes useful, in that I took aspects of ethnography that are compatible with Indigenist methodology and 'wove' them together. For instance, ethnographers have long used participant-observation wherein the researcher becomes a participant in the cultural and social life of the community that they are studying (Buch & Staller, 2007). In my own particular research, I used this to participate in the work of the partner-programs by attending meetings, and taking part in workshops and activities. Moreover, with the use of participant-observation, informed consent was constantly negotiated and discussed to ensure open channels of communication. I began each period of fieldwork by introducing myself to the staff and giving a presentation, which included

information on the research as well as my own background. The staff then introduced me to program participants and external stakeholders, and I firstly told my story then the story of the research, then gave them a participant information sheet. At another time, I then invited them to participate in the research through one method or another. If they agreed, I went over the participant information sheet and the consent instrument with the participant prior to collecting any data with them. Informed consent was thereby ensured through a gradual and step-by-step process that prioritised relationship-building and gave participants multiple opportunities to withdraw consent as well as be included in the research. Some of my concerns around informed consent were also mitigated by the inclusion of PAR.

Balcazar et al. (2003) argue that PAR is 'both a research ideology and a strategy for conducting research' (p. 17). Simply, PAR is a set of principles which engage participants as 'co-researchers' to research their own communities in order to identify issues and make a plan for action (McIntyre, 2008). PAR provides a forum in which the voices and knowledge of local people are engaged in research efforts, rather than as passive subjects of research (Boothroyd, Fawcett, & Foster-Fishman, 2003). PAR holds that engaging local participants in the research process is necessary in driving development and social change efforts (Boothroyd, Fawcett, & Foster-Fishman, 2003). Therefore, PAR builds upon community and culture to create interventions which are relevant and contextually appropriate (Boothroyd, Fawcett, & Foster-Fishman, 2003). PAR is therefore inherently linked to social justice and creating social change (Balcazar, et al., 2003; McIntyre, 2008).

PAR is also focused on reworking the power relationship that has traditionally existed between the researcher and the researched to create an equal relationship where co-researchers set the guidelines, questions and parameters of their research (Kendon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007). Similar to feminist and Indigenist methodologies, PAR can draw upon a wide variety of qualitative, quantitative and creative methods to develop a unique research process which is context appropriate (McIntyre, 2008). Participatory approaches like PAR are favoured by Indigenist methodology because of their innately collaborative approach (Smith, 1999). This is not to say that PAR is without power dynamics. Of course, it may be that certain voices are heard more than others, or that particular co-researchers are not able to participate all of the time. However, as McIntyre argues, PAR holds 'the most

promise and the most potential in a participatory process' (2008, p. 31). Equally it could be said that PAR gives the flexibility for co-researchers to participate as much as they can and that as many people as possible can be invited to 'participate, to voice their concerns, and to inquire as to the development of the PAR process as it evolves' (McIntyre, 2008, p. 30). There was a limit to the extent I could truly employ PAR because I had already selected the issue (violence against women) and to meet the rigors of academic expectations, I had to write the findings into this thesis. Once again, I employ the metaphor of weaving to select the aspects I could engage with.

I agree with Bloodworth et al. (2003) who reflected that participation is a continuum. This is precisely how I integrated PAR into my own research methodology – I could not make my research entirely PAR because I had already selected the problem and had to do the thesis writing, but I still engaged with staff-participants as 'co-researchers'. I also included an element of self-selection by approaching several programs (selected based on a set criteria) and asking if they wanted to partner with me in this research. McIntyre (2008) reflects that most PAR projects mirror this position wherein a researcher approaches a particular project or community. Balcazar et al. (2003) add to this and suggest that participation is defined by the amount of control participants have over the project and the dissemination of the results. My research was collaborative in that the methods were designed alongside staff participants who also contributed to the analysis of the data. Staff participants also checked over the draft reports and gave feedback. They also decided how the reports would be disseminated.

I also collaborated with staff participants to ensure the selected methods were culturally appropriate. Staff participants also contributed to the collection of data by providing documents and artefacts, as well as through conversations. Some staff participants also helped to facilitate focus groups. I agree with Balcazar et al.'s statement that one of the most 'important and innovative component of PAR is its capacity to empower participants with learning' (2003, p. 21) – this was a central objective of my research.

Finally, the third qualitative methodology I drew upon is case study. Case study is the investigation of one or multiple 'cases' and is both a methodology and a method (Yin, 2004). Gillham defines 'case' as:

a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw (2000, p. 1).

To investigate each case, a variety of methods can be drawn upon, the emphasis being on the collection of a diverse range of evidence (Gillham, 2000). This may include digital files (e.g. records), distributable materials (e.g. pamphlets), documents (policies, letters etc.), stories, interviews, and physical artefacts (e.g. artwork, photos) (Gillham, 2000; Flyberrg, 2011; Charmaz, 2011). Case study also makes use of observation, particularly participant observation, as a method (Yin, 2009).

Case study is underpinned by the view that knowledge is subjective and is influenced by the role of researcher who participates in constructing knowledge (Gillham, 2000). Therefore, whilst case study does not reject quantitative methods, it is primarily concerned with qualitative methods (Gillham, 2000). Other more positivist standpoints, which seek to generalise findings, are inappropriate within case study because each case is unique: ‘proof is hard to come by in social science because of the absence of “hard” theory, whereas learning is certainly possible’ (Flyberrg, 2011, p. 6). Case study takes notice of empirical evidence, but its emphasis is on how people behave in their real-world context: ‘how people understand themselves, or their setting – what lies behind the more objective evidence’ (Gillham, 2000, p. 7). This is a key strength of the case study approach as Yin argues, ‘compared to other methods, the strength of the case study method is its ability to examine, in-depth, a “case” within its “real-life” context’ (2004, p. 1).

Much of case study methodology is compatible with Indigenous methodology. Particularly because case study requires the investigation of the ‘case’ within its real-world context – Indigenist methodology also advocates place-based research with Indigenous peoples, as well as placing the research within the context of on-going colonisation (Smith, 1999). For this research, the cases were the two partner-programs and their real-world contexts. Because case study is a collection of methods and draws upon multiple forms of evidence, this allowed for the participatory aspect of my research. The case study approach allowed me to undertake an in-depth analysis of the partner-programs within their real-world context in an Indigenist and participatory way. For these reasons, I had decided to undertake three case studies because I was aiming to identify similar themes and strategies

in Indigenous-led interventions to prevent violence against women so this required an in-depth study of more than one case. However, I only completed two case studies due to difficulties in finding three case studies that met the criteria, but also because of the amount of data the two case studies yielded – in the end, I believe having a third case study would have jeopardised quality.

The multi-method approach advocated by case study also complemented Indigenist methodology. The use of a variety of methods to gather a diverse array of evidence gave this research the flexibility to draw upon methods and evidence which were more culturally safe, for example, the inclusion of yarning and painting. Case study also offered a more culturally appropriate form of writing for this thesis. Often academic writing is criticised for its language; it can be too dense and confronting for people to engage with. Whereas, case study can be written in a more accessible way that makes it easier to disseminate and be useful for Indigenous people. For example, case studies often begin with ‘thick description’ and take the form of a narrative (Flyberrg, 2011; Gillham, 2000). To tell the research ‘as a story’ is more compatible with Indigenous worldviews than jargon-heavy writing.

As with feminist standpoint theory and ethnography, it is the research and the researcher that makes case study compatible with Indigenist methodology. Case study could also be extractive and harmful if underpinned by an inappropriate theoretical and methodological standpoint. It was necessary for the research to be grounded within the four Rs: respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility (Martin, 2006). Within each case study, this did not mean I ignored quantitative evidence, but my emphasis was on collecting evidence and data in participatory and culturally safe ways. I engaged elements of ethnography by using participant observation, and my research also drew upon PAR by including participants as co-researchers in the design, collection and analysis of the research. Finally, the research also drew upon case study by conducting an in-depth investigation of the two partner-programs.

Data analysis

For the analysis of the research, I drew upon grounded theory and thematic analysis. Grounded theory is ‘the discovery of theory from data’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 1) or ‘letting new theory emerge from data without theoretical preconceptions’ (Timmermans &

Tavory, 2012, p. 186). Perhaps the most useful definition of how I used grounded theory is given by Charmaz 'grounded theory refers both to a method of inquiry and to the product of inquiry. However, researchers commonly use the term to mean the mode of analysis' (2011, p. 2). This is how I used grounded theory - as a strategy for analysing the data I collected. However, there were a few important reservations.

Grounded theory derives from a rejection of deductive modes of analysis wherein a theory is proved or refuted by the data set (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Rather grounded theory comes with the objective of creating new theory based on evidence through the use of induction (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Induction requires the researcher to initially ignore theory so that the researcher's analysis is not 'contaminated' by any pre-existing concepts or theories (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Researchers then move back and forth between data and theory reflectively and iteratively to check their inferences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). In this way, researchers begin to develop what Glaser and Strauss call 'theoretical sensitivity' where the researcher continually develops their ideas and knowledge of theory so that they can 'conceptualise and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data' (1967, p. 46). They argue that the researcher should not be dependent on any one theory because then any potential emerging grounded theory will be lost (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This makes grounded theory appropriate for a whole host of methodological approaches because, as simply stated by Gillham, 'theory is not primary, evidence is primary' (2000, p. 34).

However, as criticised by Charmaz (2011), Glaser and Strauss' ideas of grounded theory are strongly positioned within positivist ideas of objectivity. Such ideas are incompatible with Indigenist methodology because they hold that there is only one objective version of reality, such positivist thinking inevitably discriminates against alternative ways of knowing, being and doing. A stronger use of grounded theory is grounded in social constructionist theory which takes 'a reflexive stance on modes of knowing and representing studied life' and locates the researcher within the research (Charmaz, 2011, p. 5). Social constructionist theory acknowledges that researchers shape the data they collect, as they determine the questions, tools, and instruments (Charmaz, 2011). As Charmaz argues, social construction theory...

Does not assume that data simply await discovery in an external world or that methodological procedures will correct limited views of the studied world. Nor does it assume that impartial observers enter the research scene without an interpretive frame of reference. Instead, what observers see and hear depends upon their prior interpretative frames, biographies, and interests as well as the research context, their relationships with research participants, concrete field experiences, and modes of generating and recording empirical materials. No qualitative method rests on pure induction....Our theoretical analyses are interpretive renderings of a reality, not objective reportings of it (2011, p. 5)

This centering of grounded theory within a constructionist worldview was more in keeping with Indigenist methodology because it allowed me to identify and acknowledge the limitations of my research owing to my positionality. However, I used an abductive mode of analysis rather than inductive.

Timmerman and Tavory (2012) advocate that abduction, not induction, is at the core of creating new theory from data. Abduction is the creation of theory based on surprising evidence (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). To be able to recognise surprising evidence and to create new theory requires an in-depth knowledge of a range of theories prior to and during the collection of data (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). As they say:

as opposed to both grounded theory and approaches that assume that we address data “with our favorite theory” (Burawoy 1998:16), we show that if we wish to foster theory construction we must be neither theoretical atheists nor avowed monotheists, but informed theoretical agnostics. (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 169).

However, Timmerman and Tavory (2012) suggest that it does not matter which theories you read, as long as you have an in-depth understanding of a range of theories to allow you to recognise novel insights when they arise in the data.

I disagree that the theory the researcher reads does not matter. The selection of theory, much like the selection of the research question and methods, is grounded in the values of the researcher – it is impossible to be ‘theoretically agnostic’ as it is almost impossible to approach any human situation free of preconceptions. Whilst Timmerman and Tavory

(2012) acknowledge positionality as a factor in any research, they advise to avoid the typical gender-race-class trifecta of positionality. They argue that positionality is far more complex than any combination of categories, and is in fact underpinned by theoretical readings and disciplines, amongst others (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). They caution not to account for positionality so much that the research becomes more about the researcher (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Again I disagree, and in terms of weaving grounded theory into Indigenist methodology, it was not only important that I identified myself and my role in the design, execution and analysis of research in keeping with social constructionist notions, it was also essential in conducting research that was culturally safe. I cannot remove my position as a Western white feminist woman and how it influences the theories I choose to read – but I can be critically aware of it. The gender-race-class trifecta of positionality may perhaps be an oversimplification– as critiqued by Timmerman and Tavory – but it is undeniable that the intersections between gender, race, and class shape the ways people engage with the world and so undeniably influence the questions they ask and the theories they choose to read. To ignore my positionality would reinforce power structures between the researcher and the researched. Moreover, I chose the field sites (the partner-programs) based on some theory about gender violence and how to prevent it. The theory was crucial to selecting the field, and as my research focused on ‘good practice’, the theories I used were equally important.

Grounded theory has its place in the weave of my methodological standpoint: the analysis of my data was participatory, conducted by myself and my co-researchers, and it was grounded in the data we collected. I made use of abduction as a means of identifying what works to prevent violence against women. Thematic analysis was used to analyse and identify themes in the data sets.

Thematic analysis is a commonly used method to analyse qualitative data which identifies patterns across a data set (The University of Auckland, N.D.). I combined thematic analysis and grounded theory by coding the data set and developing themes in an inductive way – i.e. based on the content of the data.

All the data collected was compiled into files using NVivo software.¹⁸ I used NVivo to code words, phrases, sentences, and whole files according to what they were about – these are called ‘codes’. For example, a case study detailed an instance of a young woman using violence, this was coded under the code ‘youth violence’. As coding continued, if codes related to each other they were grouped together in parent-child relationships, for the example the child code ‘youth violence’ was grouped with the parent code ‘violence’. In this way, overarching themes began to emerge, and I was able to see the dominant codes by the amount of references assigned to them. I was also able to see how similar the codes were to each other in terms of content and language which assisted with abduction, for example the codes ‘place-based’, ‘adapting to context’, and ‘cultural safety and integration’ are clustered together. This is perhaps because in order for a program to be place-based, it must be context-specific, but this may include adapting measures or principles sourced from elsewhere to their context – and in Central Australia this requires programs to have a cultural safety framework if they are to be successful in engaging with Indigenous communities. By analysing these themes, I was able to see what is of most import to the partner-programs; their dominant activities, their achievements, the challenges they face, and also allowed me to gather evidence to apply against the Transtheoretical model and other evaluative tools to assess whether it is likely that the partner-program was assisting in the creation of change. I worked with the partner-programs to adapt the Transtheoretical model so it could be applied to VAW and community attitudes, and used this to assess whether the partner-program was engaging with the processes required to move through the stages of change.

Adapted Transtheoretical Model

The Stages of Change model was adapted to the Northern Territory context with the input of four TFVPP staff-participants – one of these participants was also a Tangentyere Women’s Family Safety Group member. I later invited the NO MORE program to adapt the TTM to their context, but they were happy with TFVPP’s adaptation and felt it was also suitable to their context. Both the stages and processes of change were adapted. The ‘stage

¹⁸ I elected to use NVIVO software as a way to store and analyse data. Because my research made use of so many methods, it was necessary to have a systematic way of analysing data so that different forms of evidence could be drawn upon and that many different stories and voices could be shared.

of change’ refers to the various phases within the model that indicate where the community is located at a particular point in time, whereas the ‘processes and constructs of change’ refer to the behavioural and cognitive methods the program can engage in to assist the community to move through the stages.

The adaption of the stages involved changing the language in the model and the definitions so it was more accessible but also to reflect that it was about community change, and community attitudes towards violence rather than individuals’ experience of or use of violence (See **Figure 8, Table 5 and 6**). For example, the precontemplation stage became ‘don’t see it as a problem’ and the definition became ‘the community do not see violence against women as a problem and aren’t interested in change...the community is unaware that DFSV is a problem and produces negative consequences for the community’. The definitions also included direct quotes from the women to illustrate their understanding of that stage, and relate directly to the context. For example, under ‘don’t see it as a problem’ is ‘she put him in jail’ which was a key problematic attitude reported by the women (as well as many other stakeholders in the research), which illustrates how women reporting violence was seen as a problem, rather than the violence itself. Women were in effect blamed for the violence they experienced. These quotes proved quite useful when using the adapted model in the interviews as they helped stakeholders to identify the stage their community was in, for example in response to ‘she put him in jail’ many stakeholders commented ‘there’s a lot of that around here’ and ‘I’ve heard that so much’ (this is discussed further in **chapter six**)

At the end of each stage of fieldwork with the case study programs, I compiled the data and looked for evidence that the program was engaging or using processes and constructs of change which were also adapted. For example, ‘consciousness raising’ became ‘get the facts’ and was defined as ‘the community seeks new information to gain an understanding about violence against women. The program can provide information and training’. The adapted definitions reflect community agency and participation, but also how the program can engage or assist with that process. If the program is engaging meaningfully in these processes, then it is likely that they are assisting their communities in making change – although again, this is about collective impact and no one program can solve the problem of violence against women on their own.

The model was then used in interviews and focus groups to gauge where the participant thought the community was in the cycle of change. The model has been further adapted to show the levels of intervention: individual, family, community, and society. These levels allowed me to break down the activities of the partner-programs into interventions at different levels – change is necessary at all levels to facilitate ‘community change’. The key processes – which have been shown to help individuals move through the stages of change – were used to measure the program’s success.

This application of the adapted TTM will be discussed further in **chapters four and five**, where it is used as an evaluative tool to assess the impact of each partner-program.

Table 5 Original definitions (LaMorte, 2019) versus TFVPP adapted definitions of the different cycles of change

Original Model		Adapted Model	
Intentional individual decision-making stages of change: health model.		Community Stages of Change to prevent domestic and family violence.	
Stage of Change	Definition	Stage of Change	Definition
Precontemplation	‘In this stage, people do not intend to take action in the foreseeable future (defined as within the next 6 months). People are often unaware that their behaviour is problematic or produces negative consequences. People in this stage often underestimate the pros of changing behaviour and place too much emphasis on the cons of changing behaviour.’ (LaMorte, 2019)	‘Don’t see it as a problem.’	The community/people does/do not recognise VAW/DFSV as a problem in their community and aren’t interested in change. ‘There’s no violence’, ‘That’s the way it is’, ‘She put him in jail’. The community is unaware that DFSV is a problem and that it produces negative consequences for the community.
Contemplation	‘In this stage, people are intending to start the healthy behaviour in the foreseeable future (defined as within the next 6 months). People recognise that their behaviour may be problematic, and a more thoughtful and practical consideration of the pros and cons of changing	‘See it as a problem.’	The community/people recognise/s VAW/DFSV as a problem in their community and they are becoming aware of the reasons/benefits to/of change or not changing. ‘It makes us sad and hurts our families and community’. The

	the behaviour takes place, with equal emphasis placed on both. Even with this recognition, people may still feel ambivalent toward changing their behaviour.’ (LaMorte, 2019)		community may still be unsure about making changes.
Determination	‘In this stage, people are ready to take action within the next 30 days. People start to take small steps toward the behaviour change, and they believe changing their behaviour can lead to a healthier life.’ (LaMorte, 2019)	‘Talking and starting to act on the problem.’	The community accepts that VAW/DFSV is a problem, decides to change, and makes a plan. ‘Living free from violence means our families can be happy’. The community is making small steps towards change and they believe ending DFSV/VAW will lead to a better life for their community.
Action	‘In this stage, people have recently changed their behaviour (defined as within the last 6 months) and intend to keep moving forward with that behaviour change. People may exhibit this by modifying their problem behaviour or acquiring new healthy behaviours’ (LaMorte, 2019)	‘Standing up!’	The community is actively engaged/participating in making changes to end DFSV/VAW in their community. ‘coming together to defeat violence’, ‘finding ways to stand together’. Change has been made and the community intends to keep moving forward.
Relapse	Resumption of old harmful behaviours (Prochaska, 2013)	‘Stumbling.’	The community experiences a setback and DFSV/VAW once again becomes a problem. The

			community recycles through the stages of change or re-enters at another point.
Maintenance	‘In this stage, people have sustained their behaviour change for a while (defined as more than 6 months) and intend to maintain the behaviour change going forward. People in this stage work to prevent relapse to earlier stages.’ (LaMorte, 2019)	‘Staying strong!’	DFSV/VAW is no longer a problem/widespread in the community, the change is being sustained, and the community is taking steps to prevent relapse to earlier stages. ‘Supporting the community to keep violence away’, ‘Town Camps Free from Family Violence’.

Table 6 Processes of change: IPV application definitions (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O'Campo, 2004) versus TFVPP adapted definitions

IPV Model		Adapted Model	
Processes and constructs the individual engages in to make change		How the program can drive change in the community	
Processes and Constructs of Change	Definition	Processes and Constructs of Change	Definition
Consciousness Raising	'Seeking new information to gain understanding about the problem.' (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O'Campo, 2004, p. 125)	'Get the facts'	The community seeks new information and to gain an understanding about DFSV/VAW. The program can provide information and training.
Self- Re-evaluation	'Emotional and cognitive reappraising of values with respect to problem behaviour' (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O'Campo, 2004, p. 125).	'Create a new self-image'	Emotional and thoughtful reconsidering of community values in respect to DFSV/VAW. The community realises that being DFSV/VAW free is who they want to be. The program can help to highlight that DFSV/VAW does not fit with cultural values and/or is working to change culture which condone DFSV/VAW.
Dramatic Relief	'Experiencing and expressing feelings about the problem behaviour.' (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O'Campo, 2004, p. 125)	'Pay attention to feelings'	Experiencing and expressing feelings about DFSV/VAW. The program can start dialogue, listen deeply and hear stories of violence and promote stories of resistance, courage, and healing.
Environmental Re-evaluation	'Considering and assessing how the problem behaviour affects the individual's environment.' (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O'Campo, 2004, p. 125)	'Notice the effect on others'	The community considers and assesses how DFSV/VAW affects the community as a whole. The program can

			acknowledge the impact of violence, talk straight, and show ways that violence can be challenged.
Social Freedom	‘Increasing awareness, availability and acceptance by the individual of alternative, problem-free lifestyles’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘Notice public support’	Increasing awareness, availability and acceptance by the community of alternative DFSV/VAW free lifestyles. The community is supportive of its members who want to change to be DFSV/VAW free. The program can strengthen respect and promote alternative behaviours through messaging and sharing of resources.
Helping Relationships	‘Trusting, accepting, and using the support of caring others during attempts to change the problem behaviour.’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘Get support’	Trusting, accepting, and using the support of the community during attempts to change. The community seeks relationships that support its change to being DFSV/VAW free. The program can develop relationships over time, find ways to stand together against DFSV/VAW, and support the community to keep violence away.
Counter-conditioning	‘Learning and practicing alternative behaviours.’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘Use alternatives’	The community learns and practices alternative behaviour. Healthy relationships are substituted for unhealthy ones in behaviour and thought. The program can model healthy relationships, provide the tools for peaceful conflict resolution, and supports community members to keep their families safe and happy.
Reinforcement management	‘Rewarding oneself or being rewarded by others for making changes’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘Use Rewards’	The community rewards its members for making changes. The program can celebrate successes and build on the strengths of the community. They can celebrate and share stories of hope and healing.

Self-liberation	‘Choosing and committing to changing the problem behaviour – including belief in ability to change’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘Make a commitment’	The community chooses and commits to ending DFSV/VAW based on the belief in the community’s ability to change. The program can support and reinforce the community’s commitment to change through positive messaging, capacity building, and empowerment.
Stimulus Control	‘Controlling situations and other causes that trigger the problem behaviour.’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘Manage your environment’	The community makes plans and acts to control the situations and other causes which trigger DFSV/VAW. Changing the environment so that reminders and cues support healthy relationships and remove those that support DFSV/VAW. The program can educate about the triggers and underlying causes of DFSV/VAW and help to develop community action plans to address them.
Decisional Balance	‘Weighing the pros and cons regarding the behaviour change.’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125)	‘The benefits outweigh the negatives’	The community weighs the pros and cons of acting to end DFSV/VAW. The program can educate, train, and promote the benefits of living free of DFSV/VAW for all community members. The program can train community members and groups to equip them with the tools to sustain behaviour change in high risk situations.
Community Efficacy	‘An individual’s confidence in ability to make the behaviour change’ (Burke, Denison, Carlson Gielen, McDonnell, & O’Campo, 2004, p. 125).	‘Have confidence’	The community’s belief and confidence in the ability to change and live free from DFSV/VAW. The extent to which community members feel the need to use violence in high-risk situations. The program can take a strengths-based approach to build the confidence of the community and share positive stories of change. The program reinforces

the message that change is possible and that an alternative
DFSV/VAW free life is accessible.

Who did I do it with? – participants

There were several types of participants involved in the research: TFVPP and NO MORE staff were the primary participants who are referred to as staff-participants; Tangentyere Council and CatholicCare NT staff who work for different programs were also included and are called internal stakeholders; people directly and indirectly involved with the partner-programs and/or who participated in the workshops are referred to as stakeholder-participants; and people who are engaged by the partner-programs as targeted beneficiaries are referred to as program-participants. All quotations from participants in this thesis are italicised and coded to indicate the kind of participant: ES (external stakeholder); IS (internal stakeholder); SP (staff-participant); TWFSG (TWFSG program-participant); PP (program-participant); SM (safety mapping participant).

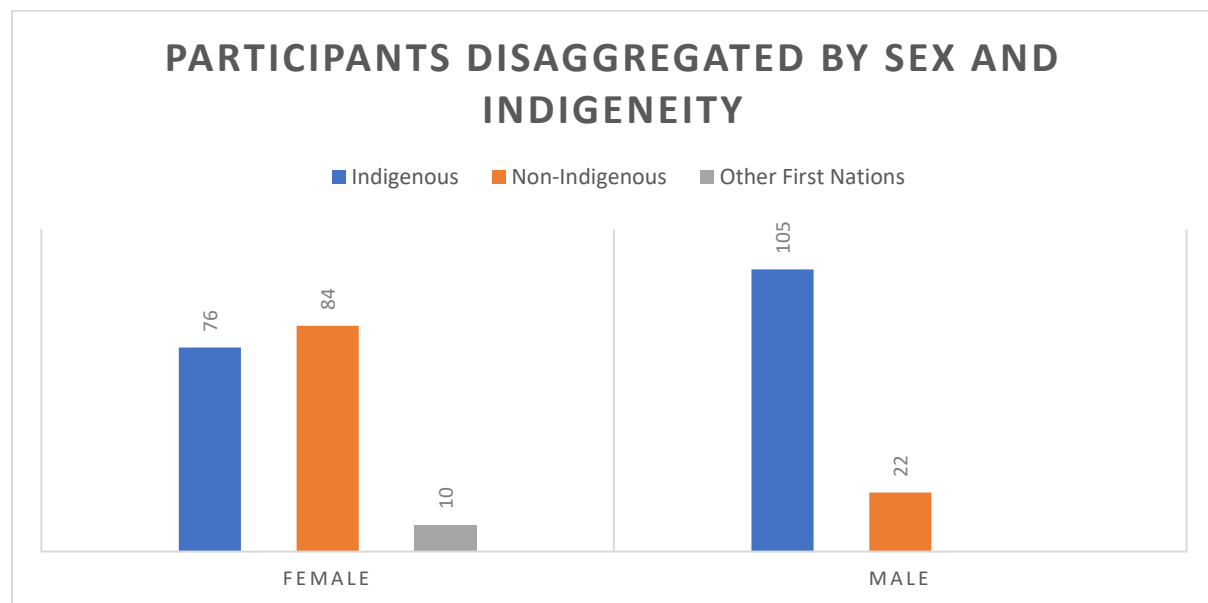
The total number of participants in this research study was 297. The participants were made up of 28 staff-participants (10%); 161 program-participants (54%); and 108 stakeholder-participants (36%), twelve of whom were internal stakeholders. The stakeholder-participants were people who worked with other social and legal services in the Northern Territory – these included Police, social workers, Aboriginal Liaison Workers, and Lawyers.

Figure 12 shows the sex and Indigeneity of the participants – this shows that 61% of participants were Indigenous. It also shows the majority of participants were female (170 participants), with 127 men participating in the research. The disparity between male and female participants is explained by the majority of external stakeholder participants being female. The male program-participants largely derive from the Men's Behaviour Change Program and NO MORE training sessions, although there were some male safety mapping and external stakeholder participants. The feminist Indigenist methodical standpoint of this research calls for the voices of Indigenous women to be centred, however, efforts were made to include a diversity of voices to add further value to the findings. Because most of the observed program-participants¹⁹ were observed in training sessions and programs

¹⁹ The consent process for observed participants was done at the beginning of all observed program activities. The staff member would introduce me, I would then explain the aims and the objectives of the research and provided copies of participant information sheets. I then asked if it would be okay if I took notes whilst I observed. With other types of participants, I discussed the participant information sheet with them, then we

directed at men who use violence, this explains why there are more Indigenous male participants than female. The disparity between female and male voices may be one possible limitation of the research.

Figure 12 Participants disaggregated by sex and Indigeneity



Conclusion

To return to the metaphor of weaving, this conclusion represents the coiled basket, the ‘tool’ I used to approach my research. Through weaving all of these methodological and theoretical standpoints together with Indigenist methodology at its centre, several guiding principles emerged for my research. These were: it is not the ‘what’ but the ‘how’ that is important; the voices of Indigenous people and particularly Indigenous women are privileged; the grounding of the research within Indigenous perspectives; and identifying my positionality and the limitations which stem from this position. These principles were formed by the weaving together of Indigenist methodology, feminist standpoint theory, qualitative methodology, ethnography, PAR, case study and grounded theory. The result is a methodological standpoint which sought to conduct research in partnership with partner-programs in a way that was culturally safe and appropriate and which sought to contextualise the problem of violence against Indigenous women within the context of on-

completed either the written or verbal consent form. As part of this, we discussed how I would record and refer to their contributions in the research. Whereas, incidental people who happened to be interacting with the program were not included in the research unless they explicitly consented to participate.

going colonisation. It is a feminist approach which began with the experiences of Indigenous women and privileged their voices; it is an approach which tried to break down the power structures between the researcher and the researched through PAR; and it is an approach which sought to promote positive social change.

The research took the form of two case studies of Indigenous-led programs designed to prevent violence against women. Staff-participants were co-researchers who helped to design culturally appropriate methods, collect and analyse data, and disseminate the findings. I took the role of co-researcher, participant-observer and took responsibility for the ethical conduct of this research²⁰. In this research, the process was just as important as the findings so as to ensure the research was not harmful but rather of benefit to Indigenous people. To return to the metaphor of the coiled basket: Indigenist methodology occupied the centre of the basket, circled by supporting circles of feminist standpoint theory and qualitative methodology, strands of ethnography and grounded theory have been woven into the larger supporting circles of PAR and case study. This grass basket became the starting point of my research.

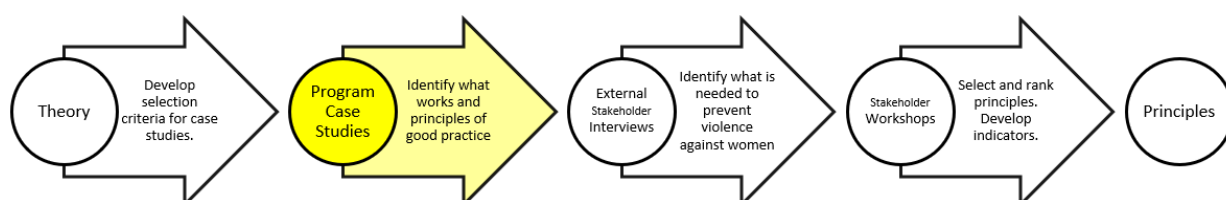
²⁰ This research was approved through two ethics processes: one by the Australian National University Human Research Ethics Committee, and the other by the Central Australian Human Research Ethics Committee.



Chapter Four: Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program Case Study

‘There was a lot of sadness back then. Things weren’t going well. People were hurting. They were dark days whereas there is much more light now... We’re beginning and I want to see it continue on’ [SP3]

The Research Process



Introduction

The first case study selected, which is working to address and prevent VAW in the Northern Territory, is the Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program (TFVPP) in Alice Springs. TFVPP illustrates how necessary and effective a reframed approach to violence prevention can be and shows how important it is for prevention programs to be grounded in appropriate principles and frameworks. In this case study of TFVPP, a number of principles of good practice were identified, which were later validated by stakeholders in the ‘Identifying principles of good practice’ workshop process (see **chapter seven**).

This chapter begins by explaining the context in which TFVPP operates in then goes on to detail the process of my engagement and fieldwork with this partner-program and the types of participants who contributed to the data collection of this case study. This is followed by an analysis of the five most dominant themes in the data set, then evidence of the TFVPP's impact using three different evaluative tools. The chapter ends by presenting principles of good practice identified in the program.

Context

The Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention (TFVPP) program is operated by Tangentyere Council Aboriginal Corporation (TCAC), which is the representative council of Alice Springs' Town Camps in the Northern Territory. TCAC is made up of representatives from each Town Camp. Town Camps are Aboriginal communities within a town zone (several other regional centres have Town Camps in the Northern Territory, such as Katherine). They are places of strong identity, community, and culture, but as a result of successive government policies of annihilation, assimilation, neglect, then intervention, Town Camps have also come to be characterised by overcrowding, poor infrastructure and housing, and lack of access to facilities and basic services (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005).

There are 16 Town Camps which are all members of TCAC, all located on the geographical and social fringes of Alice Springs (see **Figure 13**). In the past there were 18-19 Town Camps (some people considered one of the camps to be two different camps), but since then Whitegate was forcibly shutdown in 2014 (Sleath, 2014) and Ilpiye Ilpiye has withdrawn from TCAC and signed a separate service agreement with Alice Springs Town Council. The remaining Town Camps exist in a jurisdictional limbo, with TCAC acting as their advocacy body, whilst it remains unclear whether Town Camps are the responsibility of the Alice Springs Town Council, the Northern Territory Government, or the Federal Government, as Town Camps are included in prescribed areas under the 2007 Northern Territory Emergency Response ('the Intervention'). This limbo is a result of different perceptions of Town Camps: a government that considered them informal impermanent settlements and Town Campers who regard them as permanent (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005). Not one Town Camp currently meets the minimum guidelines for subdivisions in Alice Springs.

Figure 13 Map of Alice Springs showing the location of Town Camps (from TCAC, 2005)



Town Camps have existed as traditional meeting places long before colonisation and white settlement which began to really impact Central Australia with the establishment of the telegraph station in 1872 (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005; Tangentyere Council, 2008). Once settlement began occurring, Aboriginal people were increasingly moved into Town Camps when they were forced off their lands by white pastoralists; some Aboriginal people moved there to be closer to their children who were forcibly removed as part of the stolen generation and were then living in 'The Bungalow' in Alice Springs; and many moved there when equal wages for Aboriginal stockmen were introduced in 1968 and there were mass sackings of Aboriginal workers on pastoral stations (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005). Aboriginal people also came to reside in Town Camps because they no longer had access to their traditional food sources, and Town Camps are where rations were being distributed (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005). From 1928 until 1964, Alice Springs was declared a prohibited zone for Aboriginal people, and a pass system was in operation so that Aboriginal people could only be in town during daylight hours (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005; Tangentyere Council, 2008; Coughlan, 1991).

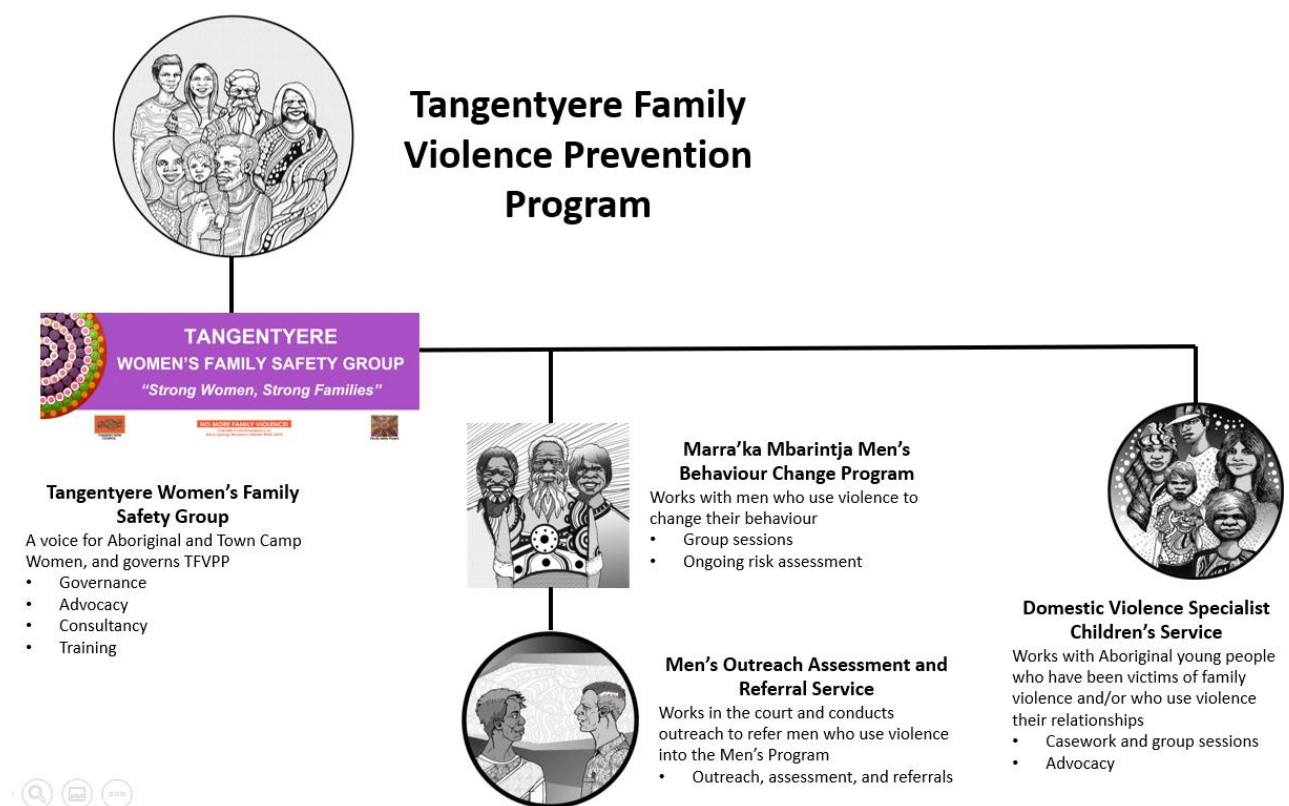
Prior to the establishment of Tangentyere Council in 1979, most people lived in humpies or in tin sheds and were subjected to multiple attempts of forced removal to outlying missions, such as Hermannsburg (Tangentyere Council, 2008). In 1981, Tangentyere Council began winning leases for Alice Springs Town Camps and establishing the Housing Associations (Tangentyere Council, 2008). However, Town Camps have continuously been subjected to periodic government neglect and intervention. Increasingly over the years, Town Campers have actively campaigned for their right to basic services and facilities. TCAC has established a range of different services and programs for Town Campers, of which TFVPP is one. TFVPP is designed by Town Campers for Town Campers.

Program description

TFVPP has been operating for six years, since the opening of the Men's Behaviour Change Program in 2014. Winning the government tender to provide a men's behaviour change program (MBCP) prompted TCAC to recruit a MBCP specialist from Melbourne as a program manager. Upon arrival, the program manager knew she could not operate the new MBCP without the women, and so she approached a newly re-formed Tangentyere Women's

Council (later renamed as Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group) and asked them to oversee the MBCP program. TFVPP is now a holistic program with six programs and projects nested under its banner. These programs are the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group (Women's Group); the Marra'ka Mbarintja Men's Behaviour Change Program (Men's Program); the Men's Outreach, Assessment, and Referral Service (MOARS); the Domestic Violence Specialist Children's Service (Children's Service); and the Mums Can Dads Can (MCDC) project.

Figure 14 Summary diagram of TFVPP programs



The Women's Group involves 13 women from Alice Springs Town Camps. The group was formed in response to the murders of two women in Alice Springs Town Camps in 2014 and the media coverage of these murders: following the two murders, the local newspaper ran a cover story entitled 'Tragedy in the Todd' (Perkins, 2018); the women read this story expecting it to be about the murdered women, but discovered it was about feral buffel grass infesting the river. The outrage and despair of the women led them to re-form a Tangentyere Women's Council, which had operated in the past, in order to draw attention to issues affecting Town Camp women.

The Men's Program began in 2014 when the Northern Territory Government sought out Tangentyere Council to run a MBCP in Central Australia. The Women's Group were brought in by the Men's Program manager to advise and govern the program. The women renamed themselves the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group and chose to focus on domestic, family, and sexual violence (DFSV), as they felt and knew that all the other issues they wanted to draw attention to – housing, overcrowding, food insecurity, and discrimination – flowed into and inseparably intersected with DFSV. By addressing DFSV, the Women's Group felt they would have the ability and opportunity to draw attention to a range of issues, with the priority being the safety of women and children. The core objective of the Women's Group is 'Town Camps Free from Family Violence'.

The Women's Group sits at the centre of TFVPP, is part of its governance structure, oversees the other programs and gives input into their content and operation. The group meets at least once a week – every Wednesday – to go over new issues, discuss problems, make referrals, and offer consultations. TWFSG is also an advocacy group and regularly meets with government ministers, researchers, sector leaders, and other advocates to spread the message that domestic and family violence is not accepted or tolerated by Town Camp women. The Women's Group also regularly work with the media, to create visibility about their work and about the problem of DFSV. Additionally, they organise events including marches and 'Reclaim the Night', to further shine a light on DFSV in Alice Springs.

Figure 15 TWFSG members the day the new TWFSG bus arrived



The Men's Program is the only MBCP operating in the southern part of the Northern Territory, and for its first four years was the only MBCP in the entire Northern Territory. A second MBCP has recently opened in Darwin, run by CatholicCare N.T. in partnership with Dawn House (CatholicCare NT, 2019). The Men's Program follows the No To Violence Minimum Standards for Men's Behaviour Change Programs (No To Violence, 2018) but has adapted a lot of their content to fit the geographical, cultural, and linguistic context of Alice Springs²¹. The Men's Program is for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men who have used violence. Currently, the Men's Program runs two-hour sessions each week with three different groups of men who have used violence against their female partners and/or family violence. There is a community group for men currently living in Alice Springs, a Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Program Unit (CAAPU) group for men currently living at CAAPU, and a prison group for men currently incarcerated for domestic or family violence. The men are referred into the Men's Program by the court as part of their mandated release

²¹ I recently worked with TFVPP, in collaboration with a range of stakeholders, to develop Central Australian Minimum Standards (CAMS) for Men's Behaviour Change. The CAMS will be launched in October 2020 and the Men's Group will now follow these standards in their work. The principles of good practice presented in **chapter seven** of this thesis are included in the CAMS as guiding principles.

conditions, or by NT Department of Corrections, their lawyers, or MOARS, which is the court outreach arm of the Men's Program. However, the Men's Program also accepts self-referrals, and referrals by family members. TWFSG and the Tangentyere Men's Four Corners Group²² have also made referrals into the program.

Once a referral is received, the Men's Program engages with the man and conducts a risk assessment – if the man is too high risk, they are not allowed to join the group, but otherwise they are accepted into the group. The Men's Program uses assertive outreach to assist men in accessing the group sessions – which is not normal practice for MBCPs elsewhere, but because the Men's Program acknowledges the additional barriers faced particularly by Aboriginal men in Central Australia, they offer transport and informal case management to help men overcome these barriers. The groups are co-facilitated by a female and male facilitator, and they lead the men in discussions about the causes of violence and the impacts of violence on women children, and men (see **Figure 16**). They also teach the groups about the cycle of violence, cyclical violence²³, power and control, the different types of violence, as well as peaceful conflict resolution and healthy relationships. The groups encourage men to share their experiences, but also challenge their use of violence and support them to take responsibility to change their behaviour.

In addition to supporting men to make lasting positive change, the Men's Program acts as an ongoing engagement and risk assessment strategy, by evaluating escalation of controlling and/or violent behaviours and reporting this to their program partners and police. The Men's Program is conducted transparently, observation of the group sessions by outside stakeholders is encouraged, and men are advised of the program's limited confidentiality: their name can be kept private, but their violence cannot – and any disclosure of new incidents of violence will be mandatorily reported to police. A staff member from the Men's Program also attends multi-agency information sharing sessions, like Operation Haven,²⁴ for

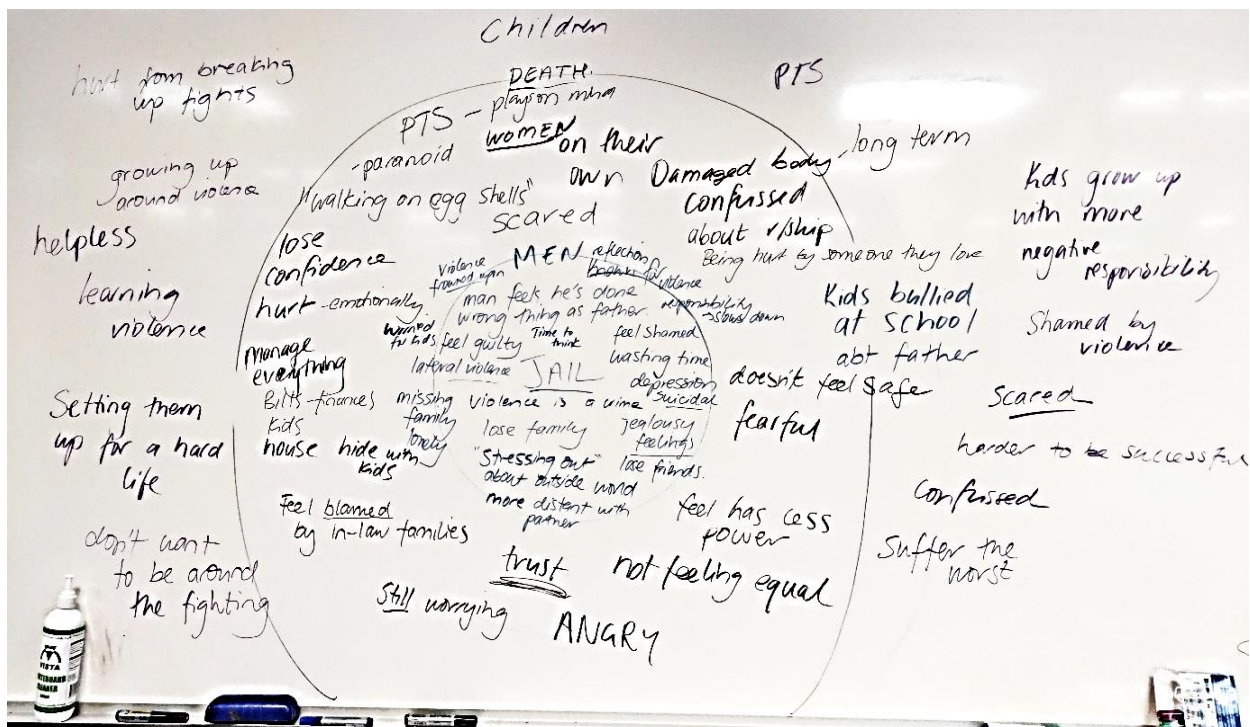
²² The Four Corner's Group is a men's cultural advisory group and is comprised of male leaders from Alice Springs. They form part of Tangentyere Council's governance structure.

²³ The 'cycle of violence' is a pattern of violent behaviour demarcated into stages, whereas 'cyclical violence' is learned violent behaviour, when victims of violence become perpetrators or are revictimised in the future, that transfers to future generations.

²⁴ Operation Haven is an information sharing session chaired by the Police Domestic Violence Unit. DFV services attend the meeting, and the Police will share all the DFV incidents over the past week and make direct referrals to the services to enable an integrated and collaborative response.

referrals but also as a risk assessment strategy for men already engaged in the program. The Men's Program works in partnership with Women's Safety Services of Central Australia (WoSSCA) (formerly Alice Springs Women's Shelter) that does the partner contact work with the current and former female partners of the men in the group; and with Jesuits who conduct the monitoring and evaluation for the program.

Figure 16 Board work showing the men's contributions about the impacts of violence on children, women, and men



MOARS is a younger program connected to the Men's Program and funds a court liaison worker, who conducts outreach in the local Alice Springs court and develops referral pathways into the Men's Program. MOARS also engages with men who have used violence and offers case management support and helps link men into additional support services. This program was developed in response to the development of the new Domestic Violence specialist court in Alice Springs (which is still to be opened) and the MOARS staff works closely with police and corrections in an effort to monitor risk and prevent further family violence. MOARS staff also support the Men's Program by facilitating group sessions and liaising with the WoSSCA partner contact worker.

The Children's Service was conceived in response to TWFSG concerns about children, particularly teenagers, and family violence. The Children's Service is funded to work with Aboriginal children, between the ages of 12 and 17, who have experienced family violence and/or use violence in their own relationships. Despite being funded to work with Aboriginal children between these ages, the Children's Service often continue to work with their clients for considerable periods after they turn 18 (one staff member continued to work with a client until she was 20 years old) and have also supported non-Aboriginal children. The Children's Service employs a team of youth workers, each with a case load of about 8 clients, and offers one-to-one case management but also leads educational programs about healthy relationships at Yirara College.²⁵ The Children's Service also offers a boxing class called 'Healthy Bodies, Healthy Relationships' where young men learn boxing but also about respectful relationships – but this class is dependent on numbers.

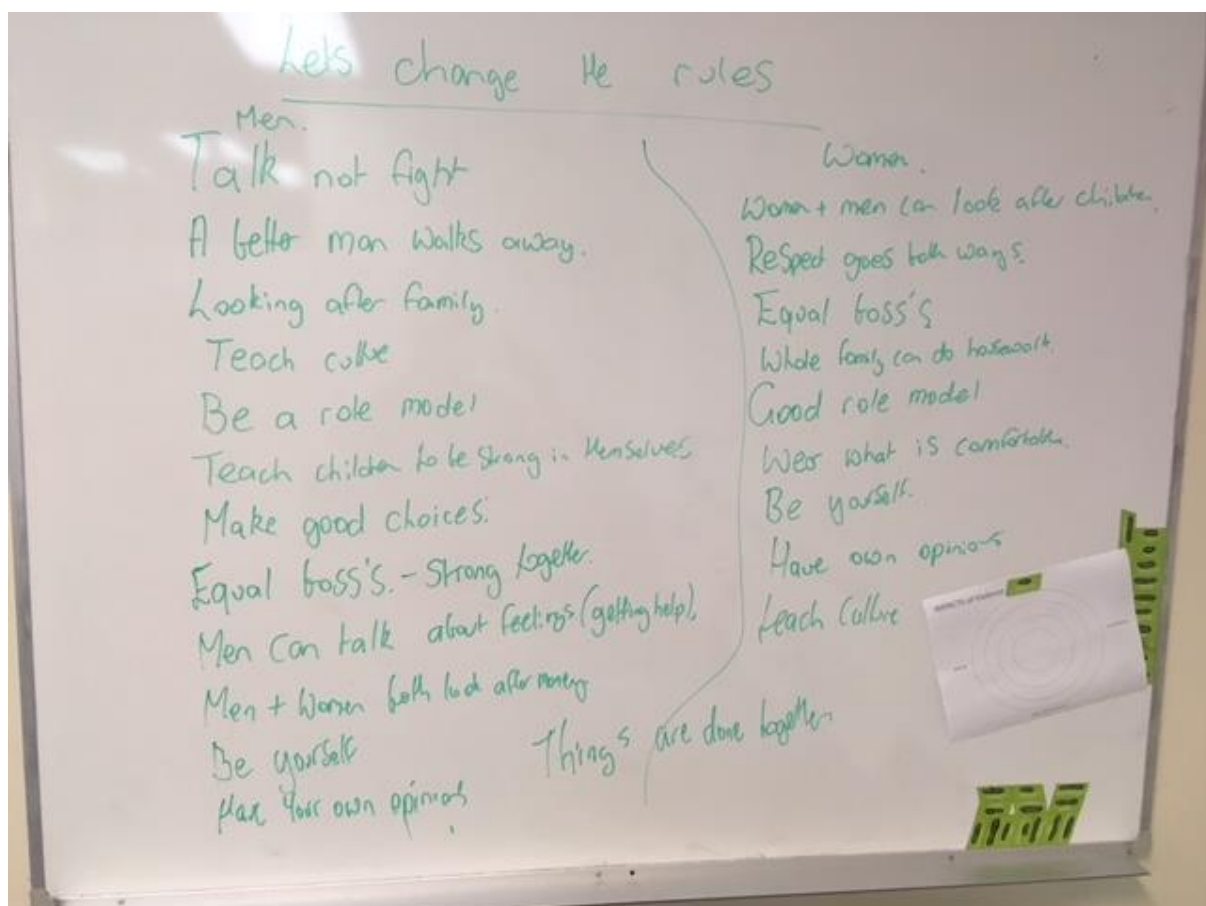
Many of The Children's Service's clients travel to remote communities for long periods of time. Also, many of The Children's Service's clients are in juvenile detention, so Children's Service staff do outreach to the detention centre and continue to work with their clients there. The Children's Service also plays an important advocacy role for their clients with the court, police, and child protection. Much of the Children's Service work is also everyday practical support – assisting with school enrolments, providing clothing and food, and helping with transport and housing arrangements. The Children's Service centres the safety and wellbeing of children and aims to work alongside their clients to increase their understanding of the impacts of DFSV and teach them about respectful relationships with the aim of breaking intergenerational cyclical violence.

MCDC is a primary prevention project developed in response to the Northern Territory's Safe, Respected, and Free from Violence Prevention Fund. This project aims to tackle the gendered drivers of DFSV in Alice Springs Town Camps by first capturing a picture of gender roles held by Town Campers, specifically around parenting, then challenging gender stereotypes. The project further aims to increase Town Campers awareness about the connection between inequitable gender roles and violence. The project takes a strengths-based approach and is focused on challenging rigid gender stereotypes using humour and

²⁵ Yirara College is a boarding school for Aboriginal young people in Alice Springs. Many of the students come from remote communities in the Northern Territory.

fun. The project is led by staff from all TFVPP programs, and the other programs run MCDC workshops and activities with their client base, for example, the Children's Service led an MCDC workshop at the detention centre, the Women's Group has held several MCDC workshops on Town Camps, and the Men's Program has held MCDC workshops in group sessions. The workshops usually start by staff writing on the board 'Men should... Men shouldn't... Women should... Women shouldn't...' and asking the participants to finish the sentences. The contributions were almost always highly gendered, with typical responses being 'Men should be boss', 'Men shouldn't cry', 'Women should look after the kids', 'Women shouldn't stand up to men'. The staff would then unpack the concepts of gender and gender roles with participants, then invite participants to flip the roles to show what women and men can do, as can be seen in **Figure 17**.

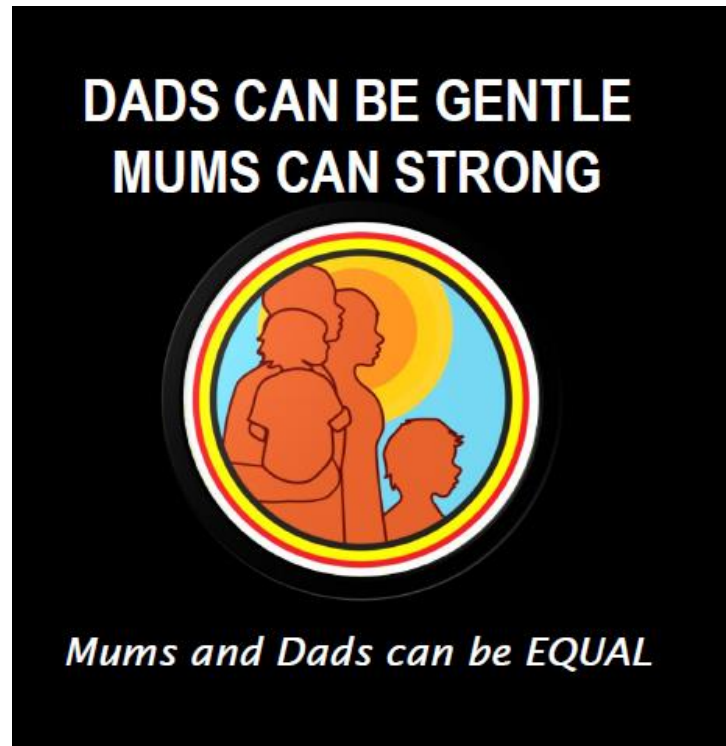
Figure 17 MCDC workshop board work



The project uses the workshops to develop alternative messaging which they disseminate using posters, T-Shirts, and social media. The project outputs are incredibly popular and it is

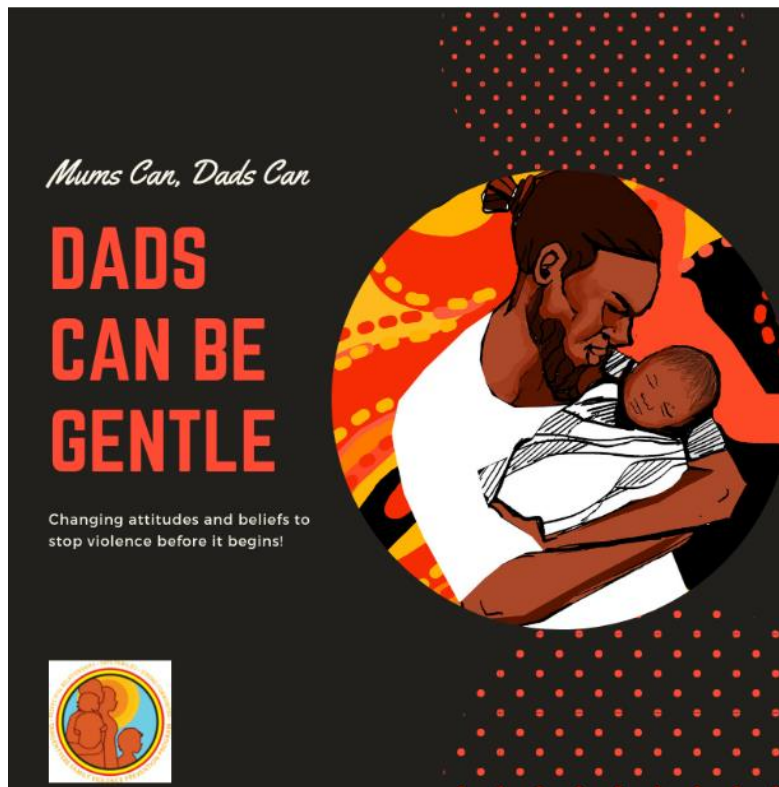
extremely common to see people around Alice Springs wearing MCDC T-shirts with messaging as shown in **Figure 18**.

Figure 18 T-shirt design for MCDC project



The reach of the project has also been amplified with the help of social media, with requests for posters (an example can be seen in **Figure 19**) coming from around Australia and the rest of the world. The project has also begun developing a toolkit and project model to share with programs and educators elsewhere, in order to show how Our Watch's 'Changing the Picture' (2018) can be operationalised and how people can do similar work in their own communities – TFVPP is calling this the 'Grow Model'.

Figure 19 Example of MCDC poster, distributed in print form and shared on social media



The six TFVPP programs work together to offer a holistic response to the DFSV that has a place for women, children, and men – for people who have experienced violence, and for people who have used violence. The program is preventative, aiming to prevent further violence through combined primary, secondary, and tertiary interventions. The program is community-driven, with all parts of TFVPP informed and advised by TWFSG and other Town Campers. Each program within TFVPP is dependent on varying government funding streams and cycles – whilst the Women’s Group and Children’s Service secured five-year funding from 2017 until 2022, the Men’s Program was initially funded for 12 months at a time, and then was only refunded for two years (and was defunded by half) until 2020, and the MCDC project was funded as a pilot project under the Safe, Respected, and Free from Violence Primary Prevention Grants (Northern Territory Government of Australia, 2019). The constant task of identifying funding streams and re/applying for funding is one of the main challenges TFVPP faces and affects their staffing retention and resourcing. As a result, TFVPP carries out a lot of work unfunded.

Engagement and fieldwork

I contacted the Women's Group in late 2016 via email after seeing a newspaper article and receiving the Women's Group newsletter via email (this is an electronic newsletter detailing the work and activities of the Women's Group over the past month). In the email, I outlined the research and attached a biography and research synopsis. I received an email back from the Women's Group co-ordinators asking me to fill in a community engagement form which was simply to show what the purpose of the meeting would be, whether it was to inform, consult, collaborate or partner. I filled in the sheet saying that I would be seeking to partner with the Women's Group and we made a time to meet in June 2017.

Present at the meeting were the two Women's Group co-coordinators as well as a university student interning with them at the time and myself. We discussed the research and what a possible partnership would look like. As part of this meeting, we went through a consultation document (**Appendix E**) I had prepared which asked what the program would like to find out in the research; preferred methods for data collection; potential research participants; culturally appropriate ways of working; ways of ensuring the research was of benefit to Indigenous people; ways of disseminating the research findings; length of fieldwork and timeframes; and ways of making initial introductions to research participants.

After the meeting I received an email from the coordinators saying that the Women's Group would like to partner with me in the research and we began negotiating a research agreement. As part of the research agreement we discussed the best methods and data collection tools. We agreed participant observation, yarning, focus groups, interviews, workshops, and an internal document review would be the best methods of collecting data whilst working with TFPVPP. The research agreement was then sent to TCAC board for approval. The board approved the research agreement and provided an agreement in principle (AIP) letter on the provision that I also gain ethics approval from the Central Australian Human Research Ethics Committee (CAHREC). After gaining approval from the board and beginning their ethics process with CAHREC, I then negotiated with the TFPVPP program manager and Women's Group co-coordinators to select the best times to undertake field work. As discussed in the initial meeting, the plan was to undertake two

months of field work, each in one-month blocks, one in August-September 2018 and the other in March-April 2019.

Following Ethics approval from ANU HREC and CAHREC, I began fieldwork with TFVPP on 13 August 2018. Field work began with several days of induction, initially with the Women's Group co-coordinators, who took me through various documentation and presentations about the Women's Group which explained how the group was formed, the history of the group, including the initial problem tree and log frames of the program. They also delivered training sessions to me that they would normally give to external stakeholders which illustrate the nature of DFSV in Alice Springs but also the various external pressures on Aboriginal women. I also undertook an induction day with TCAC which covered occupational health and safety in various working procedures of Tangentyere Council and attended a DFSV information session at Alice Springs Women Shelter (ASWS now called WoSSCA) Outreach centre. On Wednesday 15 August 2018 I met with the full Women's Group for the first time as Wednesdays between 10:00 AM and 12:00 PM is their usual meeting time. In this meeting I delivered a presentation to the women as well as to some TFVPP staff, to introduce myself, including photographs of my friends, family, and connection to Alice Springs, which was done on the advice of the Women's Group co-coordinators. I explained the research project and what I would be doing during my time with them and the possible outcomes of the research. During the meeting several women asked a lot of questions, some were about the research outputs, some were about including the Tangentyere research hub, and some were personal in nature.

After the initial meeting, I began to shadow various staff. When I was not attending meetings, Men's Program group sessions, Women's Group meetings or training sessions on Town Camps, I would sit at the table in the middle of the TFVPP offices. This became the perfect place for yarning and observation, as various staff-members and Women's Group members would come and sit at the table with me and have conversations. From this vantage point, I could also observe community members coming in and out of the offices as they accessed services, or participated in group sessions, or made contact with the Children's Service's youth workers. Quite often, people, particularly young people, would come into the office to seek help and support, sometimes just with transport, but other times after a violent incident or emergency had occurred. Several graduates of the Men's

Program would also routinely drop in to check in with the Men's Program staff. After the first couple of weeks, I really became part of the furniture, and people, including external stakeholders, were quite used to seeing me sit at the table with my laptop working; several Women's Group members often commented how they got used to me working on the laptop at the table whilst they sat next to me and drew or painted. Something I noticed was the community feeling of the program and the safe and supportive environment at TFVPP offices.

During the fieldwork, I was also contacting external stakeholders and scheduling interviews. I was also organising focus groups with Women's Group and TFVPP staff. I would attend various meetings and consultations alongside the TFVPP program manager and Women's Group co-coordinators. During this time, I also observed and began to help facilitate Men's Program group sessions in the TFVPP offices but also at the prison. Historically, Aboriginal societies have been highly gendered in Central Australia, so initially I thought my participation and facilitation of the Men's groups may be inappropriate. However, co-facilitation of these groups by a male and female facilitator is considered good practice, and my presence in the groups was considered normal and encouraged. Several male stakeholders who participated in interviews also observed that many of these gender-segregated norms had broken down over time. One male police officer and one male lawyer at a women's legal service particularly highlighted that change in that Aboriginal women directly communicated with them about subjects that were previously considered taboo. Moreover, an Aboriginal male participant in a governance position at TCAC also stated that if the Men's Program group sessions were not culturally safe, then the men simply would not attend. The men's presence in groups with a female facilitator shows the inclusion of women in this space is considered culturally safe and appropriate.

After the initial period of fieldwork was complete, I compiled all the data and analysed it (this process is detailed below), and produced the interim report which was sent to TFVPP in draft form for comments, then finalised and sent to TFVPP in electronic and printed form. The report detailed my activities during fieldwork, some preliminary findings from the data analysis, and some recommendations. TFVPP would often hand out the printed copies to various stakeholders who visited the program. At this time, I had begun fieldwork with my other case study, but remained in constant contact via phone, email, and Facebook with

TFVPP staff. Upon my return to Alice Springs from fieldwork in Katherine, I would often stop by TFVPP offices or TFVPP staff would call and ask me to attend a meeting. In this way, the relationship with TFVPP continued and provided more opportunities to learn about the program.

I returned for the second period of fieldwork on 18 March 2019. The objective of this period of fieldwork was to continue data collection, and specifically to complete the proposed activities outlined in the interim report, such as observing training on Town Camps, to engage more with Men's Program participants, and continue to interview external stakeholders.

During the final period of fieldwork, all the proposed activities were completed. I observed several MCDC workshops delivered on Town Camps by TWFSG but did not directly observe the DFSV training. Safety mapping, which sought to map the safe places in Town Camps and identify safety issues according to Town Camp women, was also completed on Town Camps (see **Appendix A**), including several camps that had not received the DFSV training. I managed to undertake interviews with former ASWS staff, Family Safety Framework (FSF)²⁶ Alice Springs, and Police, but not with Territory Families²⁷ – although I did speak with and meet with Territory Families staff and management several times. The major obstacle to scheduling these interviews was time and stakeholders' availability. Finally, a focus group and interview were conducted with Men's Program graduates and current participants.

Also, during this final period of fieldwork, I attended the strategic planning retreat with the Women's Group which meant travelling to Ross River for several days with the women and participating in workshops to develop long term goals for the group. I also spent a lot of time with Tangentyere Research Hub as they were working on the MCDC evaluation, and I

²⁶ FSF is a multi-agency collaboration lead by the NT Police Domestic Violence Prevention Units in the regional centres of the Northern Territory. FSF began as a part of the integrated response to DFV in Alice Springs but was then rolled out to other regions. Its role is to risk-assess and monitor high-risk DV victims and perpetrators (NT Police, Fire and Emergency Services, 2020).

²⁷ Territory Families is a Northern Territory government agency that focuses on child protection.

contributed data to that project. A significant number of interviews with external stakeholders, including the entire Alice Springs DV Unit²⁸, were also undertaken.

This second period of fieldwork was much easier to schedule interviews and participate in various meetings, because I had established strong relationships, not just with TFVPP but also with various external stakeholders throughout Alice Springs. Such connections were invaluable to the research, as the more people I connected with, the more access I had to various people and meetings. These relationships were built on trust – knowing that the research would be conducted in a way that was appropriate and respectful – but also I think, because people knew I came from Alice Springs, had connections to this place, and genuinely wanted to see positive changes come about. My relationships with TFVPP staff were crucial to this process of engagement, as they would often facilitate introductions with external stakeholders.

At the end of this period of fieldwork, I collated and analysed the data, and produced a Final Report for TFVPP which again was sent to the program staff in draft form for comments. Once the report was finalised, several copies were printed and given to the program, as well as a PDF document which was uploaded to the program website. The program was also given PDF and several printed copies of the safety mapping report.

Throughout both periods of fieldwork, I believe there was a real sense of partnership with TFVPP, as if I was a part of the program. I would constantly check with TFVPP staff, particularly the Women's Group co-coordinators and the TFVPP program manager, about the best way to ask questions and collect data. They would share their expertise and would often help me to produce research materials and to analyse data. I think these types of relationships are crucial, particularly in the Northern Territory where everything is so relational. In the Northern Territory, many people, including stakeholders, have consultation fatigue, where there is a belief that often people will come from 'down South' to either take information away without reciprocating, or hold meetings with no outcomes, or come and

²⁸ Each of the regional centres in the Northern Territory has a specialist police DV unit who respond to domestic, family, and sexual violence incidents. The police in DV units are detectives and work closely with a range of stakeholders within the DFSV sector.

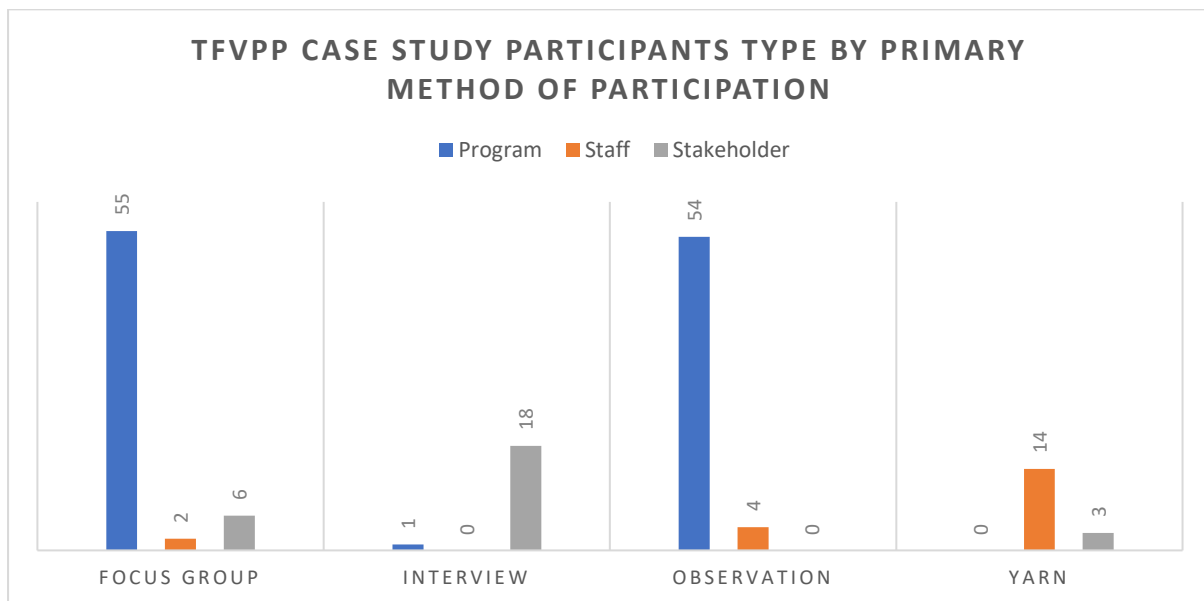
instruct people without having any understanding of the Northern Territory context. I believe that being from the Northern Territory, and having the relationships and connections, has helped me immeasurably in the fieldwork – I believe it makes people more willing to engage and to share with me, and to trust me to understand their perspective. This is something I would often notice in the interviews, workshops, and focus groups, particularly with Town Campers but also external stakeholders, that as soon as I explained where I was from, attitudes and demeanours immediately changed and people became much more willing to share with me. In my work with Town Campers, I was also able to draw upon my relationship with the Women's Group, as they are so trusted. I believe this made participants feel more secure and share with me more freely.

Following the fieldwork with TFVPP, I also facilitated a final workshop with Women's Group and TFVPP staff as part of the 'Identifying Principles of Good Practice' workshop process, which is detailed in chapter seven. I continue to meet regularly with TFVPP and observe their work on a number of platforms, including participating in events they organise like the Reclaim the Night events. It is a relationship I hope will continue in the years to come.

Participants

There were several types of participants in this case study: TFVPP staff were the primary participants who will be referred to as staff-participants; Tangentyere Council staff who work for different programs were also included and will be called internal stakeholders; people directly and indirectly involved with TFVPP will be referred to as stakeholder-participants; and people who are engaged in TFVPP as targeted beneficiaries will be referred to as program-participants.

Figure 20 Participant type by primary method of participation



The total number of participants in this case study was 157. As shown in **Figure 20**, the participants were made up of twenty staff-participants (including students on placement); 110 program-participants; and twenty-seven stakeholder-participants (ten of these were internal stakeholders). **Figure 20** also shows the participants' primary method of participation, as many participants contributed to the data collection via multiple methods.

Figure 21 Participants disaggregated by sex and Indigeneity

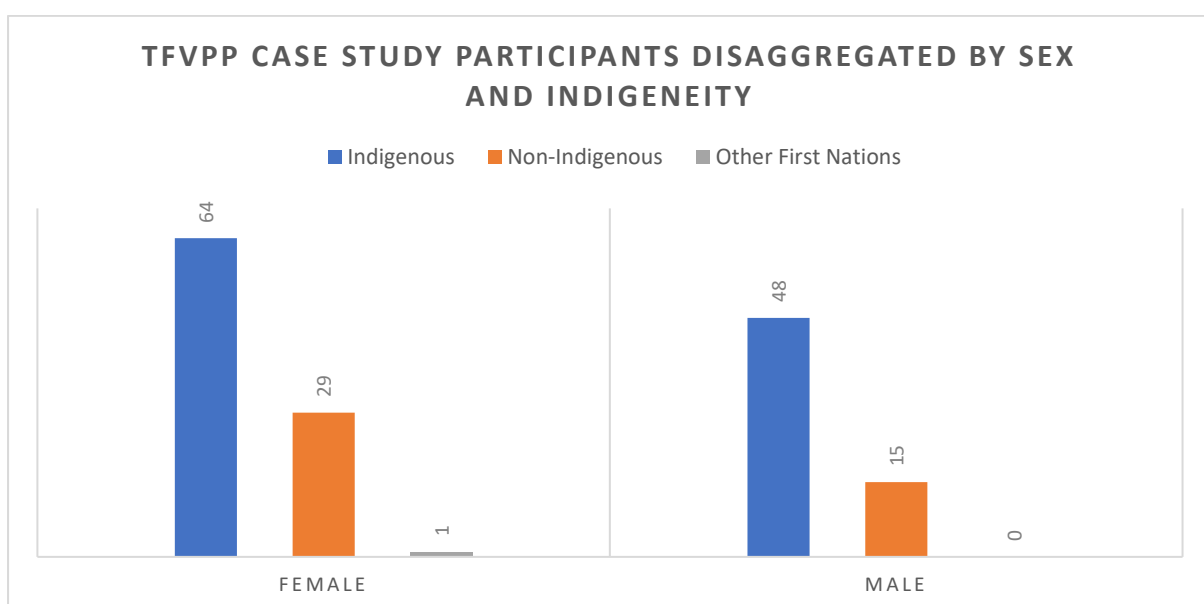


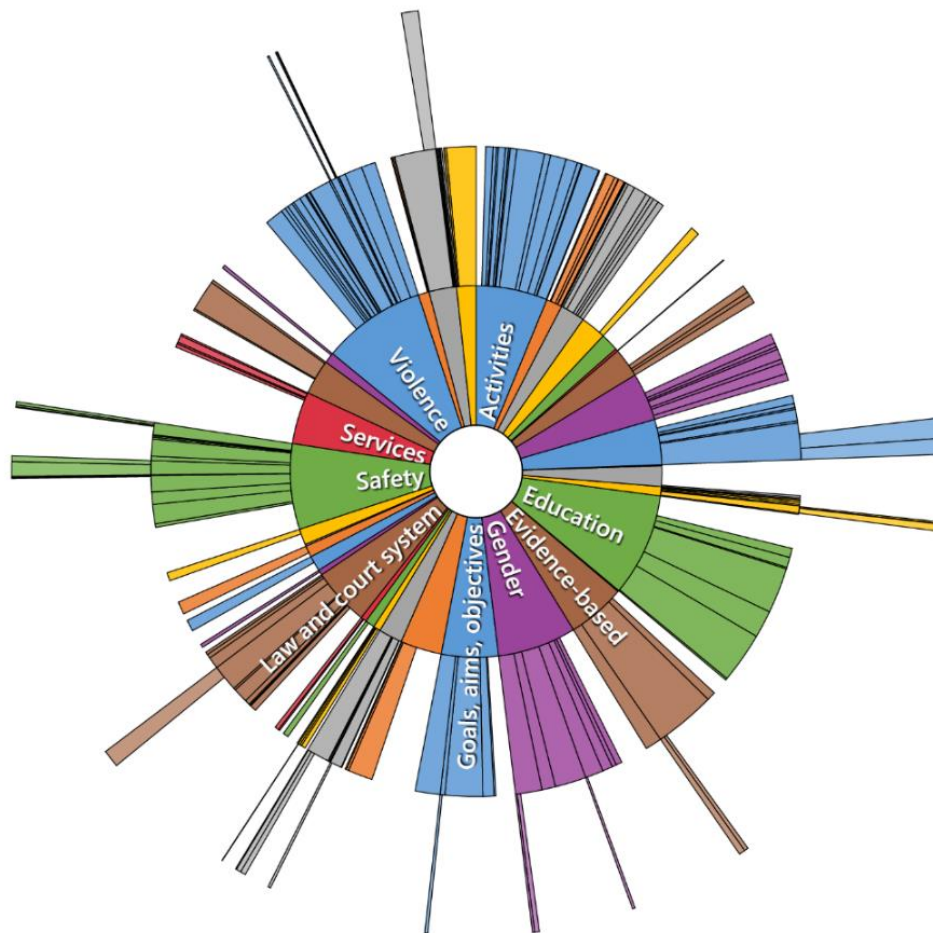
Figure 21 shows the sex and Indigeneity of the participants – this shows that 64% of participants were Indigenous. It also shows the majority of participants were female (ninety-four participants), with sixty-three men participating in the case study. The disparity between male and female participants is explained by the majority of safety mapping and external stakeholder participants being female. The male program-participants largely derive from the Men’s Program, although there were some male safety mapping and external stakeholder participants. The Feminist Indigenist methodical standpoint of this research calls for the voices of Indigenous women to be centred which they are in my analysis. This was not to exclude men’s voices, but to elevate the perspectives of Indigenous women because they are disproportionately impacted by VAW. I did this by drawing more upon quotes from Indigenous women in chapters, titles, and analysis to preference their perspective. However, efforts have been made to include a diversity of voices in the data collection – the analysis of which is below.

Analysis of Overarching Themes

Thirty-six themes were developed from the TFVPP data set and **Figure 22** shows the breakdown of these themes by the number of references assigned to them. The three levels of the diagram show how codes are nested within themes. The five most commonly represented themes in the TFVPP data were ‘Violence’, ‘Education’, ‘Safety’, ‘Gender’, and ‘Activities’²⁹. All the TFVPP case study themes are detailed in **Table 7**. All themes reflected in the data set are of import, but there is only scope to unpack the five most commonly referenced themes in detail, as they reveal the concerns and activities of TFVPP.

²⁹ When themes were analysed from primary data (interviews, observation, and focus groups) from female participants only, the top five themes in order of dominance became: ‘Safety’, ‘Violence’, ‘Education’, ‘Law and court system’, and ‘Services’. The majority difference is that ‘Gender’ fell to 23rd position on the list of themes. This is likely because all the documents related to the Mums Can Dads Can project as well as the observed workshops about gender roles and gender equality with the Men’s Program were excluded. However, the prioritisation of ‘safety’ over ‘violence’ in women’s responses is interesting and possibly reflects their concerns around ensuring safety for families and communities, rather than individual cases or experiences of violence.

Figure 22 Pie chart of themes in the TFVPP data set



The most commonly coded themes were 'Violence' and 'Education' which is to be expected given the primary objective of TFVPP is to address and prevent domestic and family violence – one of the primary ways they do this is through training. These themes were followed by 'Safety' which also reflects TFVPP's primary objective of ensuring women and children's safety. 'Gender' was also a dominant theme in the data set which reflects TFVPP's gender lens, as well as their primary prevention project Mum Cans Dads Can which aims to prevent violence by challenging gender stereotypes. This theme was followed by 'Activities' which includes the various activities of TFVPP and their work. These five most commonly referenced themes will be explored in further detail below.

Table 7 List of themes identified in the data set

Ranking	Theme	Amount of References	Ranking	Theme	Amount of References
1	Violence	591	19	Culture	117
2	Education	587	20	What works	110
3	Safety	487	21	Change	102
4	Gender	447	22	Relationships	91
5	Activities	406	23	Alcohol and other drugs	91
6	Evidence-based	331	24	Parenting	88
7	Law and Court System	328	25	Place-based	65
8	Goals, aims, objectives	323	26	Visitors	62
9	Services	298	27	Staffing	60
10	Community-owned led	272	28	Impact	54
11	Context	258	29	Disturbance	53
12	Government	235	30	Housing	40
13	Sharing	200	31	Jealousing	33
14	Community	167	32	Onus on the woman	30
15	Vulnerable groups	157	33	Colonisation	15
16	Challenges	145	34	Racism	10
17	Approach	141	35	Employment	6
18	Health and Mental Health	135	36	Crisis	6

Violence

Figure 23 Hierarchy chart of references assigned to the theme of 'Violence'



As shown in **Figure 23**, the theme 'Violence' comprises the codes 'Violence'; 'Attitudes towards'; 'Prevention'; 'Youth'; 'Blame'; 'Cyclical'; 'Elder abuse'; 'Family'; 'Fighting'; 'Injury'; 'Non-Indigenous victims'; 'Payback'; 'Power'; 'Self harm'; 'Sexual violence'; 'Social exclusion'; and 'Verbal'. These codes were grouped together because they all refer to a type of violence and its drivers, victims of violence, and responses to this violence. This theme revealed the core objectives of TFVPP, but also revealed the different types of violence that affect TFVPP's clients, as well as the scale and severity of violence in Alice Springs.

TFVPP addresses and prevents violence through several of its programs: the Men's Program engages men who have used violence in their relationships; the Children's Service works with Aboriginal young people who have experienced family violence or have violence in their relationship; and MCDC seeks to prevent violence by challenging gender stereotypes. These three programs are governed by the Women's Group who also aim to address and prevent violence by undertaking advocacy, resource development, and spreading their anti-violence message on a variety of platforms. The 'Violence' theme reveals that the violence the TFVPP program confronts is prevalent, extreme, and complex.

'Men are coming out of jail, hurting their partner the same day, and they go straight back to jail to finish their sentence' [SP5]

'In Melbourne I used to think that measuring DV by physical violence was unacceptable, but here I've had to learn to accept that getting someone to stop using physical violence is a measure of success. Because the violence is so extreme and so high and so severe, the ruler is different – perhaps one of the reasons why violence against non-Indigenous women and why other forms of violence get side stepped, or fly under the radar.' [SP3]

'The severity is high. You'd have to hope it's at the highest end of severity...The women we see have been experiencing violence for quite a long time. It is unusual for us to see a woman who has experienced short-term intimate partner violence.' [ES5]

The data shows that violence in interpersonal relationships is often characterised by the power and control men who use violence seek to exert over their partners. Self-harm and suicide are often used as methods of control.

'Self-harm and suicide as a method of control.' [SP5]

'Suicide and self harm sometimes used as a threat. A really horrible tool.' [ES3]

'It's tricky. It's such a personal thing. It's made harder by the power imbalance in relationships experiencing DV' [ES7]

TFVPP aims to address the dynamics of power and control primarily through the Men's Program which uses a range of tools to engage and challenge men's use of violence. Interestingly, the group sessions also offer a form of social inclusion for these men who reported that they valued attending the group and appreciated the chance to connect and relate to other men in a non-judgemental way.

'[Client] appears to enjoy being in the group, learning about Family Violence and talking with other men about some his challenges. The group process has assisted in building a support group around him offsetting some of the social isolation he experiences.' [Men's Program Case Study doc]

'I find [coming to group] good. Conversations. Having conversations with other people. Share experiences. Learn off them. Learn each day something different about each other. How violence affects each other in different ways. I've shared

things about my relationship, my first and second missus. I've changed. Helps build you as a person. Sharing experiences gives them confidence to speak as well. Encouraging each other in the group. What we feel about we done wrong and the violence.' [PP28]

'Making mistakes is really hard and we have to learn from it. Getting experience from other fellas you never thought about it before. Another chance to be in good relationship with our partner and other people around us.' [PP25]

The complexity of the violence TFVPP sees is not only because of the frequency of the violence, but because of its interconnected and interrelated characteristics - for example, often victims of violence later go on to perpetrate violence. The cyclical nature of violence is evidenced in many TFVPP clients; this highlights that violence is learned behaviour, which, unless countered through Education and positive modelling, will continue to perpetuate itself.

'[Client] has a history of significant violence and as a result he is no longer in a relationship with his partner who lives with their children in a different State. [Client's] older children intermittently visit him which often erupts in violence and abuse and in recent times [Client] has been the victim of his adult son's abusive behaviour toward him.' [Men's Program Study doc]

'While [Client] is currently in detention, we have genuine hope that he can, with support, understand how the violence that he has witnessed has affected him; learn and be supported to make more positive choices and to 'break the cycle' of intergenerational incarceration; and to engage in relationships that are free from violence now and in to the future.' [Children's Service Case Study doc]

'It is acknowledged that [Client's] exposure to violence and experiences of neglect and abuse have contributed to her use of violence and are likely to impact on her expectations and lived experiences of current and future relationships.' [Children's Service Case Study doc]

'[Client's] long history of exposure to, and experiences of, domestic and family violence. [Client] was aged 15 at the time of initial engagement, and had been in

a long term relationship with a man now aged in his early twenties. At this time he was incarcerated due to his relationship with [Client], given that she was a minor. [Client] had experienced significant abuse and violence within this relationship, and had also been exposed to the domestic and family violence that had occurred in the relationship of the adults with whom she was living with.'
[Children's Service Case Study doc]

'Of our Indigenous clients - 100%. I don't know how you could come up with a figure other than that - 100% exposed to DFV as children – Indigenous offenders are victims and perpetrators of DFV.' [ES3]

There are also often multiple victims and multiple perpetrators in a conflict. A contributing factor to the multi-layered and multi-site nature of some of the violence TFVPP addresses is the inter-connected nature of Aboriginal communities – while these relationships are also a strength of these communities, in conflict situations, this can mean that domestic and family violence can be exacerbated through these networks.

'It's about the bigger picture, they just think it's just fighting, but if people get stabbed or someone gets murdered, people will come from out bush and family will be coming. What will people say then? We'll be terrified for the rest of our lives.' [SM37].

Related to this is also the concept of 'blame' – often women are blamed for the violence perpetrated against them, and this puts them at risk of lateral reprisal violence if they report to the police. This also often becomes a conversation about women's use of violence and whether this justifies men's use of violence against women – TFVPP is very firm that violence is a choice and men must be held accountable for their choice to use violence in their relationships. This principle is constantly reinforced through the Men's Program, but also in workshops, and through advocacy pathways.

'We have to be careful in this group, that we can't blame women for family violence. I don't care what [his] partner did...[he needs] to take responsibility for [his] actions. No woman deserves to be at the receiving end of family violence. We know in the NT that Aboriginal women experience family violence and no woman asks for that. It's not okay for women to tease and use violence, but men

need to take responsibility for their behaviour. We try to understand and support women. You make a choice to use violence. Men have had trauma themselves and been through many things, but it doesn't matter, they must stop using violence. We need to support women. I know a lot of you have experienced violence and no matter how much you drunk or how much teasing you did – not one of you deserved violence. We need to worry for our ladies.' [SP3]

One form of violence that stakeholders report is still hidden and extremely widespread is sexual violence. Stakeholders report that the Women's Group will speak about and name sexual violence, but many other groups and service providers will not – which reflects that sexual violence is still taboo in many Aboriginal organisations and communities. Considering this, work and advocacy in 'sexual violence' could be one area where the Women's Group could really lead and push for change to uplift victims of sexual violence.

'Sexual violence is still very hidden, especially in Indigenous communities and CALD communities. People don't necessarily see it as a crime. In the 70s we had legal reform and since then sexual violence is a crime but people in remote communities are lagging behind in recognizing that it is a crime – we did not manage to bring them along... The approach needs to be from community how to address it. [Service provider 1] feel very uncomfortable with 'sexual violence' as a term but they now have a project. We have to do it in a new way that is not offensive to people. It needs to be community driven and community led. The Tangentyere women [TWFSG] are happy to use the word 'rape'. [Service provider 2] are happy to use the words 'sexual violence'.' [ES38]

The prevalence of domestic and family violence has perhaps fed into the attitude in the Northern Territory that DFSV is an Aboriginal problem – and not one that is a concern in non-Indigenous relationships and families. However, TFVPP and other stakeholders who work in the sector express concern that non-Indigenous DFSV in the Northern Territory is being minimised or ignored. This attitude also feeds the harmful negative stereotype that all Aboriginal families are violent. Many staff-participants and stakeholder-participants believe this stereotype of Aboriginal people has resulted in a desensitisation of the wider community to violence and an unwillingness to report.

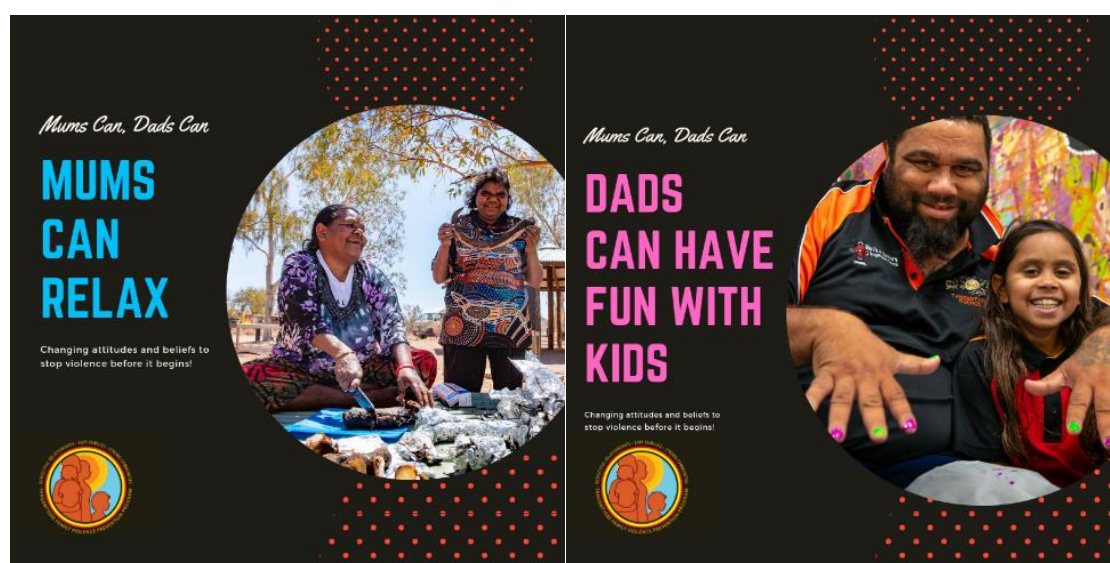
'People are desensitised to it. I think people, I'm talking about non-Aboriginal people, have no empathy for that, and choose to not have any understanding. People don't respond to it. Some people don't know how to respond to it.' [ES37]

'Most whitefellas not even in the cycle – they see it as someone else's problem' [ES2]

'We still see it as an Aboriginal problem. DFV services, they don't see a lot of professional women - that concerns me.' [ES38]

TFVPP sees addressing these negative attitudes as being a critical step in preventing violence and this underpins the work of the MCDC project which aims to shift attitudes around gendered parenting roles by presenting Aboriginal parents in a fun and positive way (see **Figure 24**).

Figure 24 MCDC project posters challenging gender stereotypes in parenting roles



Challenging the underlying drivers of violence is the foundation for much of TFVPP's work. Even tertiary programs like the Men's Program and the Children's Service aim to prevent violence by challenging their clients' attitudes towards gender and violence, whilst teaching them about healthy respectful relationships and peaceful conflict resolution. The primary avenue for this prevention work is education which is explored in further detail below.

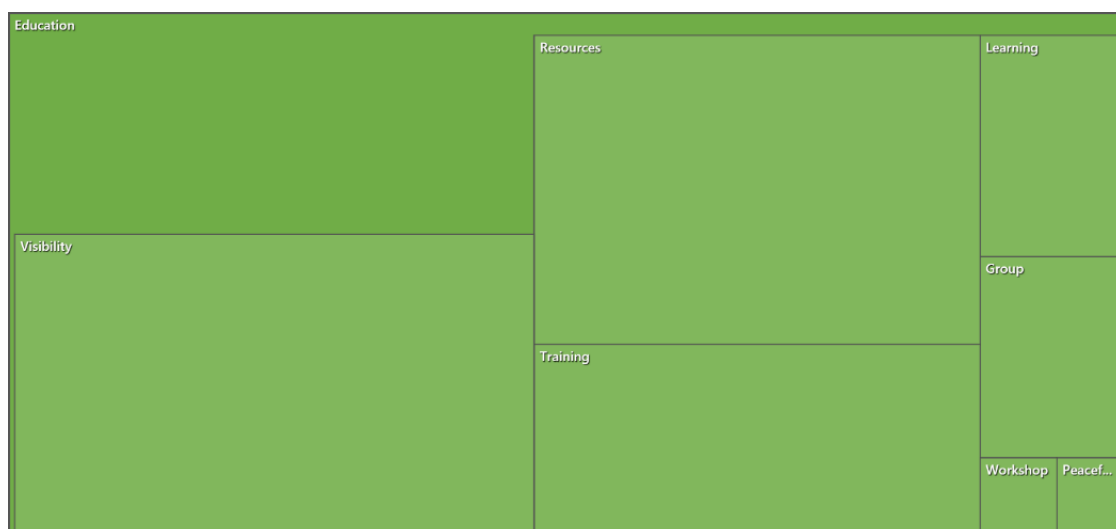
‘Tell young ones to this and that and not do what I went through. Stop them from doing what I did. Don’t want my little girl to follow in my footsteps. And if I have a little boy one day, teach him not to go to jail. Stop the violence. Main thing is to change yourself away from violent world and to change away from violence.’ [PP24]

‘Stopping family violence needs to be a multi-pronged approach that aims to change community attitudes towards violence.’ [MATRIX Training Day Vision Statement]

‘What would it take [to prevent DFSV]? Eliminate poverty and break down gender stereotypes.’ [SP9]

Education

Figure 25 Hierarchy chart of references to the theme of 'Education'



As shown in **Figure 25**, the theme ‘Education’ comprises the codes ‘Education’; ‘Group’; ‘Learning’; ‘Peaceful conflict resolution’; ‘Resources’; ‘Training’; ‘Visibility’; and ‘Workshop’. These codes were grouped together because they are all directed at teaching, learning, consciousness raising, or creating awareness of DFSV/VAW and how it can be challenged. This theme revealed the educational activities of TFVPP – such as Men’s Program groups, MCDC workshops, and Women’s Group training sessions – but also the content of what they teach in these sessions. Moreover, this theme reflected the primary method to address and prevent violence is education, as identified by participants. This education, interestingly,

was not just for families experiencing violence or for young people about healthy relationships – but it was education and capacity building for government departments, those working in police and the judicial system, and across other non-DFSV specialist services. TFVPP identified the need to educate a broad range of stakeholders about men’s violence against women so they could ‘bring everyone with [them]’.

‘Preventing DFV in Alice Springs – you need early Education. that’s a given. Start with the 0-4 years age group and continue right through. Really early interventions.’ [ES2]

‘Territory wide, it’s about early education. So many times, children witness violence, and there’s no independent party to say that it’s wrong.’ [ES34]

‘Yes, we need to have [DSFV training] with the whole community including everyone including the school and health systems.’ [ES38]

Several staff-participants discussed the need for ongoing training, especially for Town Camps, and they saw this as a core objective of the Women’s Group, resourcing permitting. The Women’s Group led DFSV training and MCDC workshops on Town Camps, and four of seven Town Camps that participated in the safety mapping identified the Women’s Group as a safe relationship they could call upon if they felt unsafe. Two participating Town Camps requested the Women’s Group’s DSFV training for their camp – which signals that Town Campers believe these training sessions to be important to increasing the safety on their Town Camp.

‘We was trying to have the safety [training] here because me and my sisters completed the safety training but we didn’t end up joining [TWFSG]. Some young girls don’t know, but the course opens your mind and young ones don’t really know about safety and their right to safety. Do the course, it’ll open your mind and change. Young ones grow up around violence, when you’re young it’s like glue in your head and you get stuck in it. Do the course, learn about safety, and how to get help.’ [SM37]

The group sessions run by the Men’s Program were also identified as a necessary and powerful tool to challenge men’s use of violence and educate them about peaceful conflict

resolution. The men in the group identified learning from other men as being significant to them, as can be seen in the exchanges below:

'There's a lot of expertise in this room.' [SP5]

'Educating our young ones in schools.' [PP28]

'So talking about things that surround violence?' [SP5]

'Yeah.' [PP29]

'Indigenous and non-Indigenous, its about that cycle. We grew up in it [violence].' [PP28]

'Thank you, and what you're saying about learning from other men has come up a lot in my conversations with other men too.' [Researcher]

'It's like group therapy. People learn about it. Get confidence to talk about it. Aboriginal people got a lot of shame and don't want to talk about it.' [PP28]

'Normally men wouldn't discuss problems we have between each other. Usually we'd just talk about something like the footy. Good to speak to other men about past experiences, about how they dealt with it or how they dealt with it wrong. Get a different perspective.' [PP26]

The Men's Program and educational programs for male perpetrators of violence were also identified as being critical by external stakeholders. They also resoundingly acknowledged how overwhelmed and under-resourced the few perpetrator-based interventions in the Northern Territory are – a problem that will be exacerbated by the introduction of the new domestic violence specialist court in Alice Springs unless it is paired with an increase of funding for these programs.

'We need more lawyers sending defendants to these kind of courses. We need more education. Especially seeing as DFV is the predominant form of violence in Alice Springs. This is a small place where everyone knows about it and intricate kinship systems means there are bigger fights. There is none of that education to say "hey this is wrong, this is what you can do instead, and here are some courses". There's not enough services for the scale. There are issues with land –

how can they get away from this place where they've lived all their lives – but where they live across the road from their abuser?' [ES9]

Many participants also highlighted the important role Elders, and particularly women, play in educating young ones – and this was reflected in the paintings produced by the Women's Group members in the focus group (see **Appendix D**). They consistently spoke about the need to talk to young ones about DFV so that they could enjoy relationships free from violence. The education of young ones about violence was connected to visibility and transparency – it was clear from TFVPP literature as well as in discussion with participants that there was a need to 'talk straight' and remove judgement, shame, and taboo from discussing violence.

'Elders talking to the young ones. Education. Women talking to the little ones about domestic violence. Talking about the future. Older people to teach you and talk about the things what's happening around so the future can be better and stronger' [TWFSG6].

'They see it. They live it. They experience it themselves. They're grandmothers - they want to put some ideas in their young women's heads' [SP7].

A significant number of the references to the 'Education' theme derive from the educational resources produced by TFVPP. These resources range from films – such as the film 'Stand Up!' – to posters, T-Shirts, signs, and social media posts. These resources are shared and useful for other DFSV services, but they also play a role in educating the broader public. It is now a common sight in Alice Springs to see community members wearing the MCDC T-shirts with their messages about gender equity - such resources and products play a role in triggering conversations and spreading positive messages.

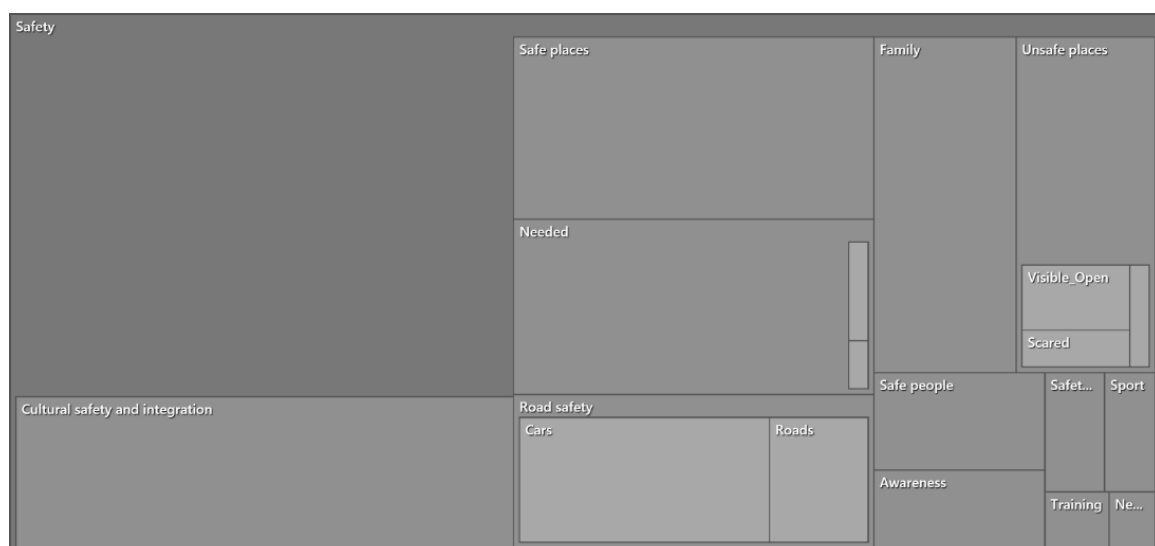
'12 months ago I go to community and think about it – I had a T-Shirt, merchandise as well, and I been asked about it, and I tell the fellas about this course [MBCP]. I tell them I got this T-shirt from course and [MBCP are] the main ones to give you advice. I can always come here and get help. When I got problem I come here and [staff-participant] will give me advice. This is a really hard world to live in.' [PP24]

It is clear that education is also about visibility – visibility shines a light on the problem of DFSV so it can be spoken about openly and challenged, but it also creates community awareness about specific services so they can be accessed. Visibility of the program, particularly the Women’s Group, also means that government and other services seek out their voice in consultations and to inform policy, which in turn provides TFVPP with an opportunity to advocate on behalf of women and children experiencing violence in the Northern Territory.

‘People are speaking about FDV in Alice Springs and in the town camps. It’s reaching out.’ [SP2]

Safety

Figure 26 Hierarchy chart of references coded to the theme 'Safety'



As shown in **Figure 26**, the theme ‘Safety’ comprises the codes ‘Safety’; ‘Awareness’; ‘Cultural Safety and integration’; ‘Family’; ‘Needed’; ‘Neighbours’; ‘Road safety’; ‘Safe people’; ‘Safe places’; ‘Safety plan’; ‘Sport’; ‘Training’; and ‘Unsafe places’. These codes were grouped together because they all referred to what people needed to make them feel safe and secure. A significant amount of the references to this theme derive from the safety mapping with Town Campers, however, many references also derive from TFVPP literature. One of TFVPP’s primary concerns is ensuring the safety of women and children – and this is reflected in a number of references. Also represented in this theme are the different types of safety – cultural safety and its integration into programs and physical spaces is of import

to the TFVPP program. This is epitomised by the concept of two-way learning which is entrenched within TFVPP documents and dialogue – this essentially means that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people can learn from one another, and neither culture is prioritised above the other. At the same time, TFVPP ensures cultural safety is embedded within its programs by drawing upon the cultural authority of the Women’s Group and the Four Corners men when delivering messages to community and by working in a good way with Aboriginal people which centres their voices and priorities.

‘Why do we do this? Why do we get together? Keep our communities safe. Support other womens. Keep families safe. Develop new policies and change policies. Build relationships with police and hold them accountable to work together, two-way learning’ [SP7]

Instrumental to ensuring the physical safety of women and children was the development of safety plans. The Men’s Program partner contact worker (employed by WoSSCA) makes safety plans with the female partners of men in the Men’s Program; the Children’s Service also makes safety plans with their teenage clients; and the Women’s Group also often develops safety plans with women experiencing violence. The Men’s Program also contributes to ensuring the safety of women and children through ongoing monitoring and risk assessment of the men in group.

‘In preparation for her partner’s release, we were able to support [Client] to develop a comprehensive safety plan.’ [Children’s Service Case Study doc]

‘The case management support is also important for [Client] to consolidate the knowledge and skills gained in the group work, and to further equip her with strategies to keep herself safe in what can be an unsafe environment.’ [Children’s Service Case Study doc]

‘[We] support [the men] in doing things differently to ensure women and children’s safety’ [SP8]

Also, critical to ensuring safety was awareness. This is a particular type of literacy needed by community members (and anyone seeking safety) about what services are on offer and how they can be accessed. A number of participants expressed concern that young people in

particular did not have the level of awareness required to access safe people and make use of safe relationships. Therefore, participants felt advertising was critical to raise awareness of services so that people could access them when they were feeling unsafe.

'I know how to access health and safety. It's a matter of making other people aware and understand where you can get health and safety. Pick up the phone and call services. Other people don't know. Services have to be available.'

Sitting around 'Safety' were a number of other issues which participants raised that they felt made them unsafe: whilst the primary issue was usually violence, they also raised cheeky dogs³⁰, visitors, road safety, overcrowding, and alcohol. These issues compound the complex nature of violence in the Northern Territory with many intersecting issues which increase stress on the household, and therefore, the likelihood of violence increases. All the issues raised point to additional risk factors for violence: poverty; substance abuse; and isolation. The disparity between Town Camps and other suburbs in Alice Springs in regard to basic facilities and infrastructure is telling, and environmental design is one notable avenue through which participants felt safety could be increased on Town Camps. Participants felt improving lighting, road safety features, signage, and public spaces would increase safety. TFVPP has played an advocacy role in placing anti-violence signage in Town Camps (see **Figure 27**) and has also advocated for safer school bus routes – this is an area where TFVPP, particularly the Women's Group, can continue to have impact.

Interestingly, several participants felt that participating in sport and having good sporting role models increased safety for young people. This being said, several participants also reflected how sporting carnivals were often a very unsafe time for women and children as DFSV tends to increase at these times. TFVPP responded this by using sporting carnivals as an opportunity to advocate and spread their anti-violence message – by showing the Stand Up! film at half-time of the AFL Country Clash final, for example.

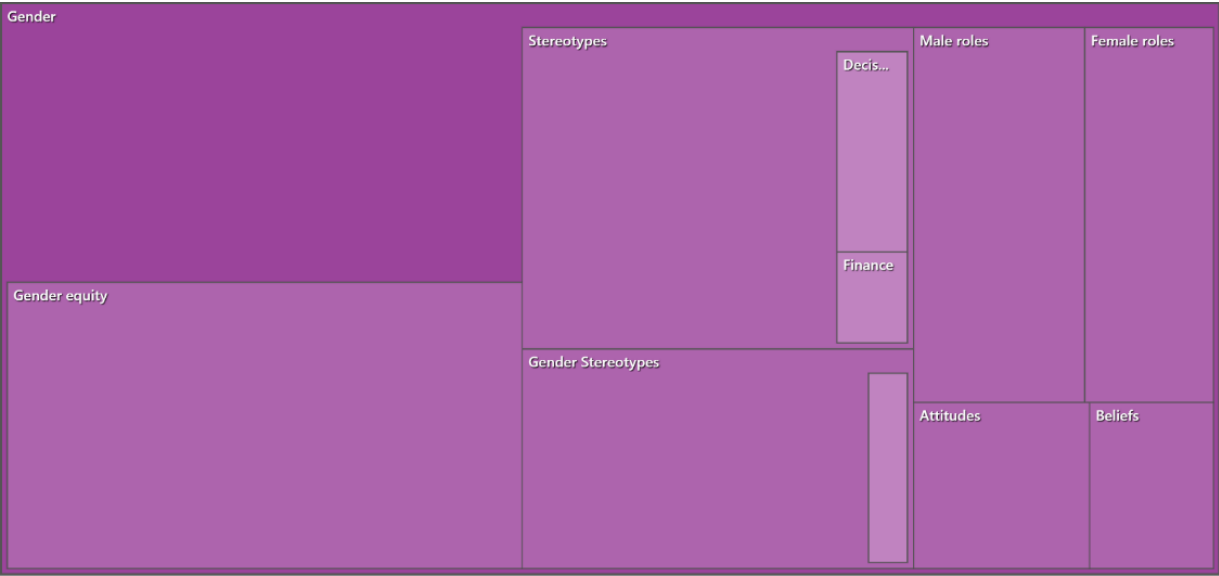
³⁰ Dogs that are likely to bite.

Figure 27 TWFSG anti-violence signs outside of Town Camps [MATRIX Evaluation Final]



Gender

Figure 28 Hierarchy chart of references assigned to the theme 'Gender'



As illustrated by **Figure 28**, the theme ‘Gender’ comprises the codes ‘Gender’; ‘Attitudes’; ‘Beliefs’; ‘Female roles’; ‘Male roles’; ‘Stereotypes’; and ‘Gender Equity’. These codes were all grouped together because they reference the construction or performance of gender, as well as how inequitable gender roles can be challenged.

The theme of 'gender' revealed the gender lens of the TFVPP program, and a significant majority of references are in relation to the MCDC project. Particularly reflected in this theme was the MCDC project's objective of unpacking how gender roles are constructed with participants; why gender stereotypes are harmful and restrictive; and how these stereotypes impact upon women, men and children. This code also highlighted the connection between inequitable gender roles and domestic, family, and sexual violence (DFSV).

'Equal Boss's' [Change the rules session]

'Men are like dogs and women are like pussycats' [MCDC-Preconsultation Phase notes]

'That they have to be boss. Those conversations are dangerous because it makes men feel like they're allowed to have power over women. But it's also bad for men because it says they can't have feelings. It doesn't work for men or women because it tells men they have to only be one way, and that women are under men. It doesn't mean that all men are bad, it means there are some rules that don't work for men or women.' [SP2]

The 'Attitudes' and 'Beliefs' codes revealed how MCDC first elicits attitudes and beliefs about gender roles and then challenges them using humour and fun. In workshops led by the staff of the Women's Group, Men's Program, and Children's Service with various groups, participants were called upon to contribute to tables about what men and women should and shouldn't do. After discussion, these often very restrictive ideas were inverted to show that men and women did not have to conform to these gender rules. This idea was projected as fun and freeing.

'Society tells us...women shouldn't have opinions when men are around' [MCDC-Preconsultation Phase notes]

The 'Stereotypes' code showed the intent of MCDC to identify the nature of gender stereotypes among Town Campers in a series of workshops so that they could be discussed and challenged. The 'Female roles' and 'Male roles' codes largely captured participants' responses to the 'should/shouldn't' table exercise and revealed a sharp gendered division

between how men and women were expected to fulfil their roles. Participants believed that men's roles should be as the bosses of their families, be strong protectors, be the breadwinners, and emphasised aggression. Whereas participants believed that women should be demure, submissive, take care in their presentation, and take care of domestic duties and child rearing. Interestingly, in the MCDC literature there seemed to be more of an emphasis on male roles and the consequences of men feeling they have to adhere to these stereotypes. This is reflected in there being eleven more references to male roles than female roles. There was also more of a focus on challenging male roles than female roles. The majority of the codes about female roles seemed to be reflections of men's expectations of what women should be/do, and their frustration when women didn't meet these expectations. In response to this, TFPVPP began emphasising social inclusion for women and developed the message that it was okay for Mums to 'take a break' and to 'chill with friends'.

The importance of challenging gender roles was also highlighted by stakeholders and program participants, who often emphasised that challenging men's role as 'boss' and decision-maker was critical to achieving equality and preventing violence.

'Aboriginal women often have far better language, are able to navigate government services far better, and they tend to have more money because they get the child payments – the disparity between men and women's roles escalates the violence.' [ES3]

'Main thing is care about your family and kids – that's the main thing. Same thing some different track they taught us in the course and group. Helpful with the guys they do a lot of work. I know a lot of men they're having problems with understanding but its trying to get them to understand. I've stayed away from prison for 12 months – used to always get locked up. In and out. But I don't do it anymore. Family and group remind you not to do it anymore. These days we have to be equal to our partner. They teach us that being equal is like having balance.' [PP24]

There was also a divide between what participants perceived to be the consequences of inequitable gender roles for men and women – this circled around depression and suicide

for men, whereas the consequences for women were largely seen to be DFSV and being tired. The inversion of these roles seemed to be received well by workshop participants which is reflected in the data coded to the 'Gender Equity' code.

'There is light and dark within and the "new way" can bring light out' [MCDC-Preconsultation Phase notes]

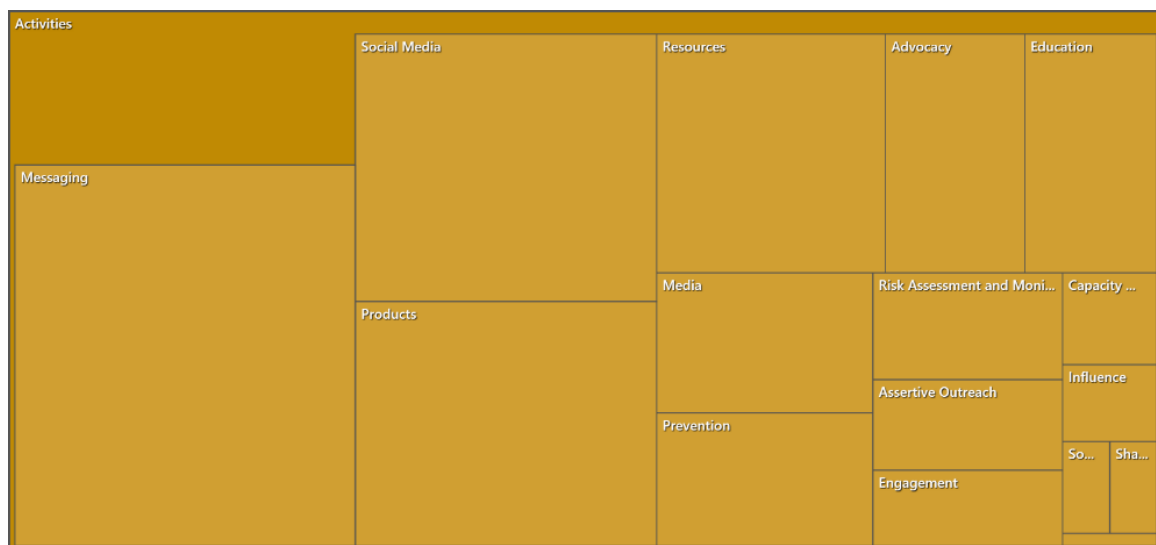
The 'Gender equity' code revealed what would happen if the gender stereotypes were flipped and the rules surrounding gender were removed. Participants seemed to respond positively to these ideas: *'The "new way" (dad can, mums can) looks fun'; 'I feel happy with this way' [MCDC-Preconsultation Phase notes]*. This code also captured the products produced by TFPVP following on from workshops with participants – these included social media posts (see **Figure 29**), posters, and T-shirts – which promoted gender equity as being fun and freeing.

Figure 29 MCDC Social Media Post showing the inversion of gender roles



Activities

Figure 30 Hierarchy chart of references assigned to the theme 'Activities'



As shown in **Figure 30**, the theme 'Activities' comprises the codes 'Advocacy'; 'Assertive outreach'; 'Capacity building'; 'Education'; 'Engagement'; "Events"; 'Media'; 'Messaging'; 'Prevention'; 'Products'; 'Resources'; 'Risk assessment and monitoring'; 'Sharing'; and 'Social Media'. These codes were grouped together because they are the major activities as captured by the TFVPP literature.

The primary activities of TFVPP evident in the literature are messaging, education, and the development of resources. These three activities reflect that the program aims to educate the community using anti-violence messaging, and the primary tool for conveying this message is the range of resources and products they develop, including films, posters, and T-shirts. By organising and leading events, TFVPP also furthers their message, such as the Town Camp women's march against Violence, Reclaim the Night, and the Women's Group's trip to Canberra. During this trip, the Women's Group met directly with government ministers and discussed the need to respond to the high levels of VAW by listening and supporting to Indigenous women. The Women's Group also uses several social media platforms to share their anti-violence message. The far reach of these messages is evident in the geographical spread of people accessing the Women's Group's resources and social media posts – including First Nations groups in the USA, and countries as far afield as Kazakhstan. The growing influence of this Group allows them to advocate to government

and inform policy, and this is evident in the frequency of consultations the Women's Group are requested to attend with government ministers and external stakeholders.

'I've read some news reports, ABC articles about some of the things the [TWFSG] women are saying. Really strong and positive messages, they're strong women, and they're not shrinking away or sugar-coating, they're speaking from their heart and their perspective, and their voices need to be heard and listened to when talking about DV, and what kind of responses should be happening.' [ES37]

Another core activity of the TFPVPP program is capacity-building. TFPVPP undertakes this by training their staff, including Women's Group members, in leadership, facilitating their attendance at conferences, and by helping them obtain formal qualifications. There is also the capacity building TFPVPP undertakes in their training on Town Camps to help Town Campers to identify and report incidents of violence. Moreover, TFPVPP also plays a role in capacity building with non-specialist services and government departments to facilitate their understanding of DFSV and their engagement and work with Aboriginal people (see **Figure 31** which TFPVPP developed for police and other services to show the reasons why Indigenous women often do not report violence). One notable example of this is the cultural safety training package developed by the Women's Group.

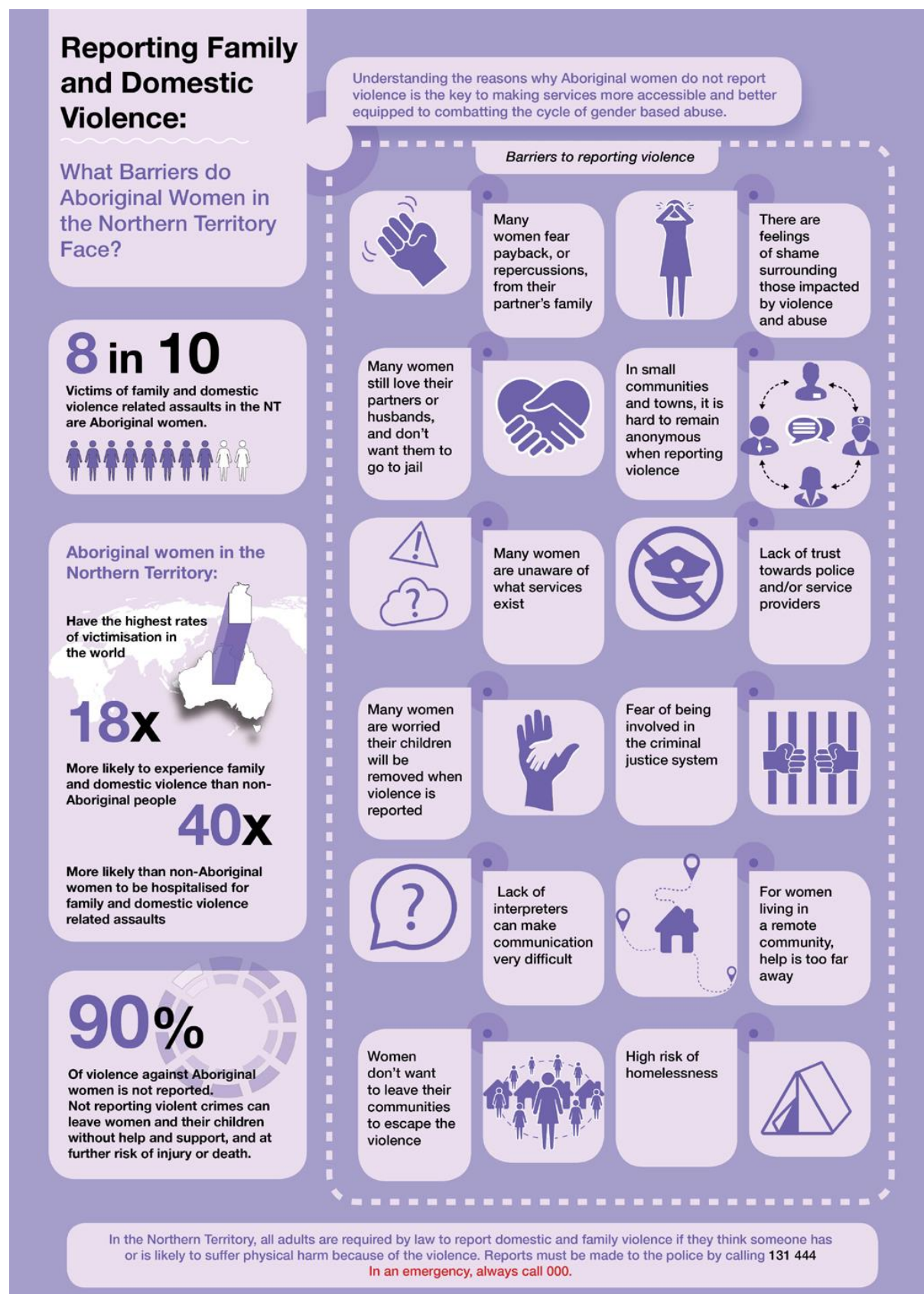
Assertive outreach illustrates how TFPVPP has adapted itself to its context and takes the program to meet participants where they are at. The Women's Group, Men's Program, and Children's Service all spend significant time picking and dropping off clients in acknowledgement that their clients are affected by many intersecting issues which makes transport and accessing services difficult. In regards to the Men's Program, elsewhere in Australia, this kind of assertive outreach would not be the norm as attending MBCP group sessions is a part of the man taking responsibility for his actions. TFPVPP however acknowledges that Aboriginal men in Central Australia in particular are affected by a myriad of issues which can prevent them from attending – the Men's Program's response to this is to pick and drop the men off, as well as host group sessions in several different locations: CAAPU, community, and prison.

The activities theme shows the core work of the TFPVPP program, but it also illustrates the activities they undertake around their funded work. For example, the Women's Group has

been advocating for a case worker to engage with women experiencing domestic and family violence – at this time, their applications have been unsuccessful so they continue to do this unfunded. The Men’s Program likewise does not have the capacity for individual case management, but the Men’s Program staff often take on this role by linking men into other services. This illustrates how increased, consistent, and long-term funding is still necessary and paramount to the success of DFSV programs in the Northern Territory.

‘[Client’s] engagement in the program has assisted him to address his behaviour and to recognise the impact of his use of violence on others. The program has also linked him into services that he has not engaged with for some time such as mental health services.’ [Men’s Program Case Study doc]

Figure 31 Poster developed by the Women's Group which communicates why women often do not report violence



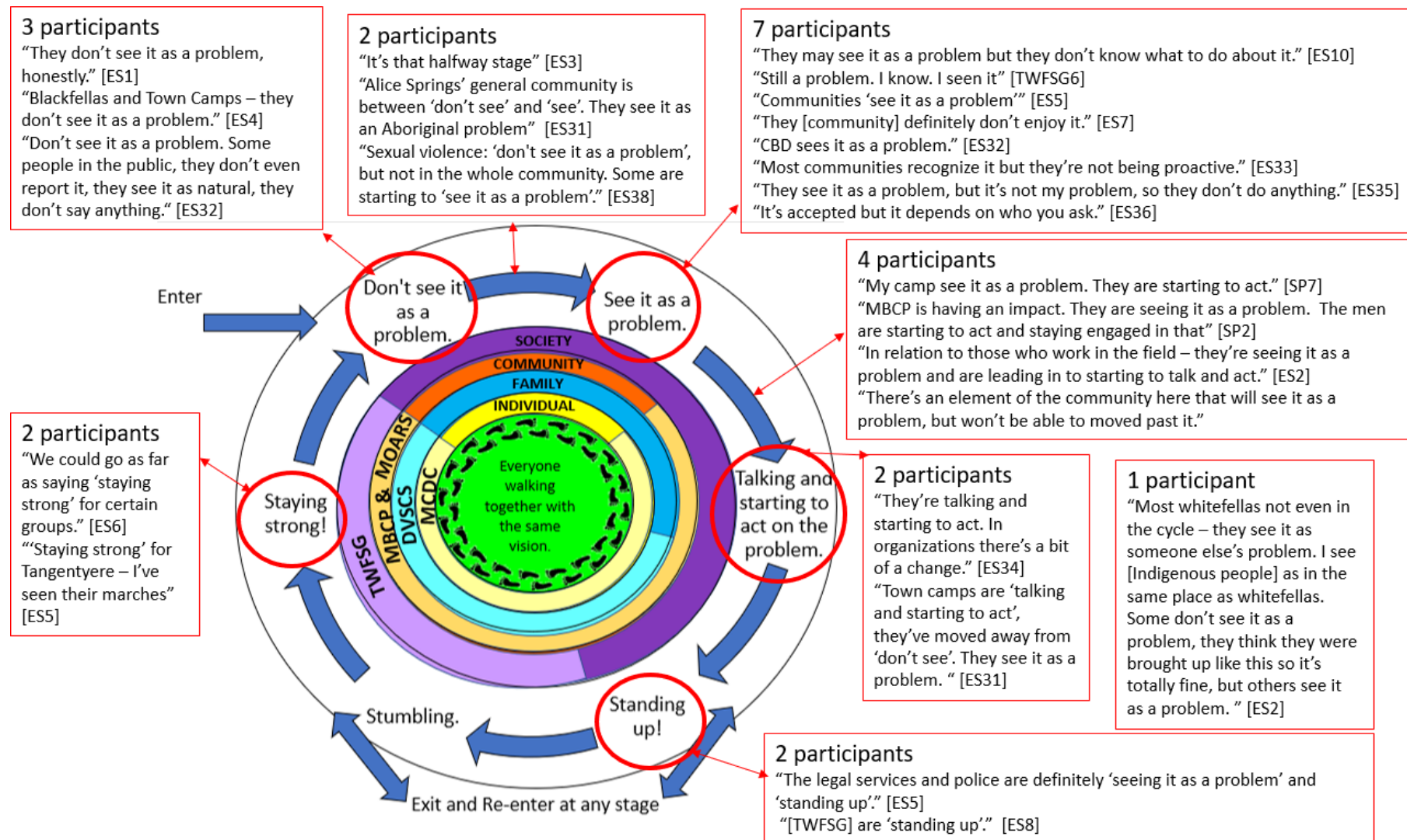
Evidence of impact

The following sections use a variety of evaluative and analytical tools to assess whether TFVPP was helping to create positive change in their community. Whilst it is difficult to attribute change directly to TFVPP's interventions, these tools can indicate whether TFVPP is having an impact and whether their work can be regarded as 'good practice' – which is defined as 'a process or methodology that is ethical, fair, and replicable, has been shown to work well, succeeds in achieving its objective(s), and therefore can be recommended as a model' (Urban Refugee Task Team, n.d.). I further define 'good practice' as effectively contributing to positive, meaningful, and lasting change, whilst acting in a way that mitigates unintended harmful impacts and is consistent and appropriate to place, context, and culture.

Stages of Change – Transtheoretical Model

The adapted TTM was used in interviews and focus groups to gauge where the participants thought the Mparntwe/Alice Springs community was in the cycle of change. The model has been further adapted to show the levels of intervention: individual, family, community, and society. These levels allow me to break down the activities of TFVPP into interventions at different levels – change is necessary at all levels to facilitate 'community change'. In the inner-most green circle is the Women's Group's goal of 'Everyone walking together with the same vision', which is symbolised by the footprints. The model was also adapted to show the spheres of influence of each program – the brighter colour in the internal circles show what stages and transitions are targeted by the program, whilst the lighter colour shows where they have less focus (see **Figure 32**). The work of the Women's Group, for example, is focused on moving people from 'don't see it as a problem' to 'standing up'. Whereas the Men's Program is focused on getting men to move from 'don't see it as a problem' to 'see it as a problem' which is a really pivotal stage of change. The key processes – which have been shown to help individuals move through the stages of change – have been used to measure the program's success.

Figure 32 Participants' assessment of community change using the Stages of Change Model



33 participants were asked to use the model to assess community change, but because of the nature of focus groups – only 21 participants responded. All 18 interviewed stakeholder-participants responded, whilst only three focus group participants responded, however these responses were representative of the whole group who showed their agreement through gestures. Some participants gave multiple answers – this was because most participants chose to break ‘community’ down into smaller groups then assess them separately. As shown in **Figure 32**, all references to the later stages of the model were specific to certain groups, and all of these responses come from the same group interview with one stakeholder service. The majority of the responses (16 of 21) placed the community in the earlier stages of the cycle between ‘don’t see it as a problem’ and the transition to ‘talking and starting to act on the problem’. Only one participant said that certain groups were not in the cycle at all – but this same participant said that service providers ‘saw it as a problem’. Of the Indigenous female participants, two said that community ‘didn’t see it as a problem’; one said community ‘see it as a problem’; one said between ‘see it as a problem’ and ‘talking and starting to act on the problem’; whilst another said that the community saw DFV as a problem but that it’s *‘not [their] problem’ [ES35]*, meaning that the community felt it was not their responsibility to intervene or report DFV. One Indigenous male participant divided the community into smaller groups and said that some parts of the community ‘see it as a problem’ but that Town Camps ‘don’t see it as a problem’ – he also said there was an unwillingness in the community to report violence, even that occurring publicly.

Due to the small number of responses, there is not enough evidence to assess attitudes towards community change but there are some interesting threads in the responses. Evident in a number of the responses is that the community is divided into smaller groups, some of whom have identified DFSV as a problem and are beginning to act, whilst others do not see it as a problem. A common theme in the responses was that although people may regard DFSV as a problem, they are indifferent to reporting it to police; they believe it to be an Aboriginal problem or a private matter that should not be interfered in. It is evident that there are strong pockets that are talking and taking action – like the Women’s Group – and this visibility is pushing change in that the problem is now in the spotlight and is forming part of the public consciousness. In the safety mapping, violence was identified by a

significant number of participants as a key safety issue on their Town Camps – and although they did not use the VAW/DFSV terminology, they talked about ‘family fighting’ and ‘noisy houses’ where ‘arguments’ and ‘yelling’ regularly occurred. The openness of Town Campers to identify this as a safety concern on their Town Camp indicates that a number of Town Campers do see DFSV/VAW as a problem and are at the stage where they desire a conversation and action to be taken.

Many participants reflected that the local and national conversations taking place about DFSV/VAW are part of making change and that not so long ago, these conversations would not be occurring and certainly not in the same way. There has been somewhat of an attitude shift in that DFSV/VAW has largely been identified as a problem, but what is needed now is education to create awareness among the wider community about their legal obligations to report and to develop empathy to combat the community’s indifference. The Women’s Group have discussed producing some resources to combat victim-blaming, and a focus on this area could go a long way in contributing to community readiness to change.

Finally, the Stages of Change model was used to assess whether there was any evidence that TFVPP was engaging and/or assisting with the processes of change that were listed in **table 6** in **chapter two**. In (see **Table 8**) TFVPP’s activities are measured against the processes and constructs of change to assess the extent to which TFVPP is likely assisting their community move through the stages of change towards a stage of ‘staying strong’. Whilst TFVPP participants helped me to collect the data, I alone applied it against the processes to identify strengths and weaknesses in TFVPP’s work according to this model. **Table 8** shows evidence of whether TFVPP is engaged in each process or construct.

The Stage of Change model was also integrated with the ecological model (discussed in **chapter two**) to categorise the different activities of TFVPP into their level of intervention (see **Figure 33**). Whilst the ecological model uses ‘relationship’, the adapted model uses ‘family’ to capture the holistic model. This adapted model reveals that most of TFVPP intervention occurs at the individual level, but a sizeable amount of work occurs at the community and society levels. It would appear that TWFSG and MCDC undertake most activities in the community and society levels, whilst DVSCS and MBCP undertake most work at the Individual level. **Figure 33** also reflects TFVPP’s holistic model of practice –

interventions occurring at multiple levels, with victims, perpetrators, and children included as targeted beneficiaries of the program.

Figure 33 Level and activity of TFVPP intervention

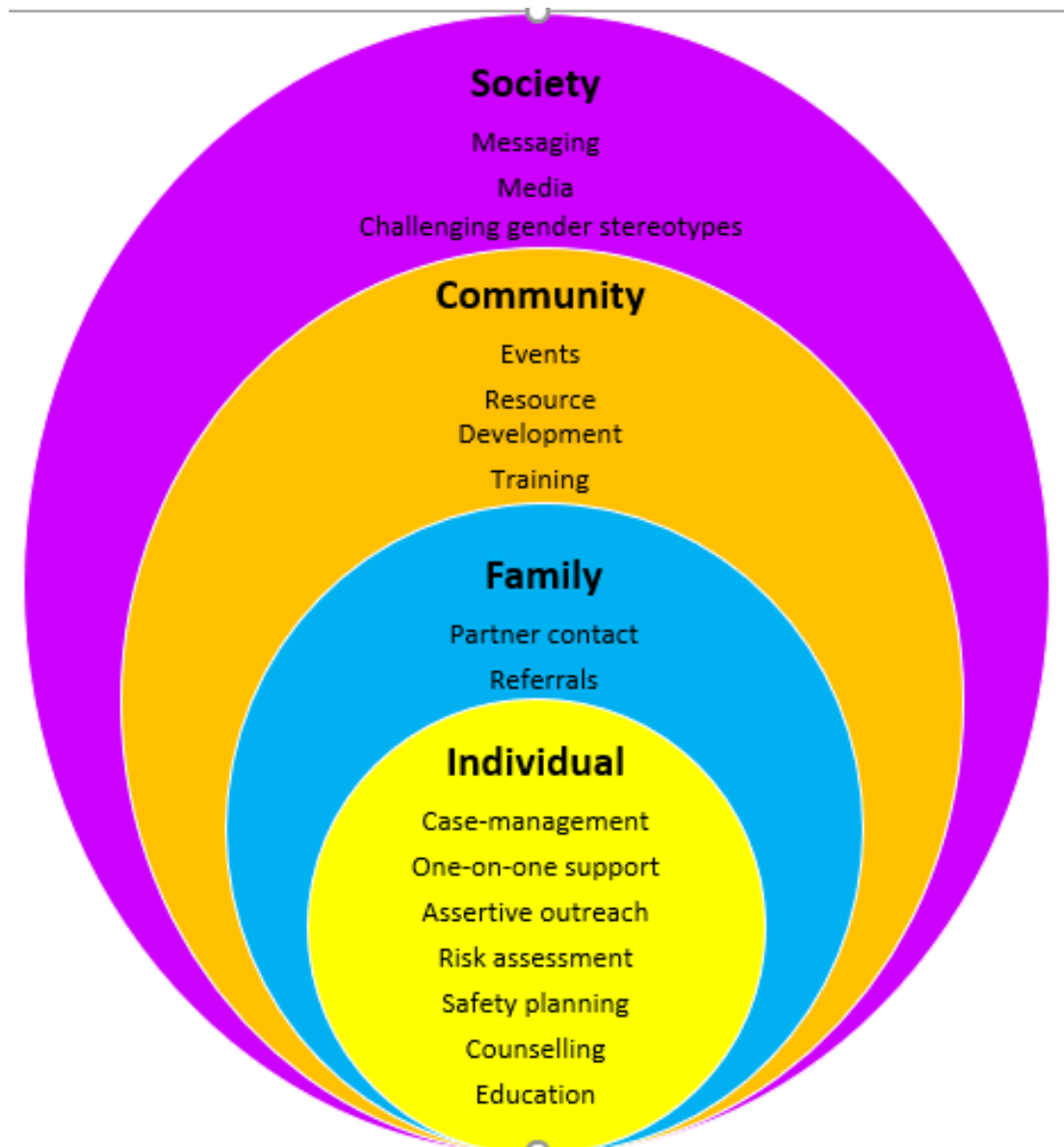


Table 8 Processes of Change and TFVPP engagement

Processes and Constructs of Change	Criteria	Evidence					
		Meets all criteria	Meets most criteria	Meets some criteria	Meets little criteria	Meets no criteria	Not Applicable
Consciousness Raising ‘Get the facts’	The program can provide information and training.	TFVPP engages in this process by developing and distributing resources and messaging; as well as by organising events like the March for Visibility; engaging with the Media; and providing training.					
Re-evaluation ‘Create a new self-image’	The program can help to highlight that DFSV/VAW does not fit with cultural values and/or works to change culture which condones DFSV/VAW.	MCDC aims to challenge community attitudes to gender and parenting; the Men’s Program encourages men to change their attitudes towards violence and women; and the Women’s Group works with community to send an anti-violence message. TFVPP has also engaged with Four Corners (Tangentyere cultural advisory group) men to endorse the Women’s Group’s anti-violence message.					
Dramatic Relief ‘Pay attention to feelings’	The program can start dialogue, listen deeply and hear stories of violence and promote stories of resistance, courage, and healing.	TFVPP draws upon survivors’ voices and listens to women. The Women’s Group has produced the Stories of Hope and Healing film. The Men’s Program shares stories in group sessions and seeks to promote stories of change. The Men’s Program and the Children’s Service have produced case studies of their clients which are drawn upon for evaluation purposes as well as messaging, such as in the ITalks MCDC film.					

Environmental Re-evaluation 'Notice the effect on others'	The program can acknowledge the impact of violence, talk straight, and show ways that violence can be challenged.	TFVPP teaches people the Bystander Approach ³¹ of intervening in conflict; the Men's Program talks straight about men's use of violence in group and its impacts on women and children; the Women's Group shows the impact of violence on women in their resources, but from a strengths-based approach. The signs outside of Town Camps state the impacts of violence on women.
Social Freedom 'Notice public support'	The program can strengthen respect and promote alternative behaviours through messaging and sharing of resources.	The Women's Group is supportive of men who attend the Men's Program and regularly express pride in the men who take responsibility for their actions – this is a sentiment that would be very powerful if projected to Town Camps, that changing and alternative behaviours are a source of respect and pride, not shame. The Children's Service works with young people to teach them about healthy relationships; the Men's Program works with men in groups about the difference between healthy and unhealthy relationships; the Men's Program also teaches peaceful conflict resolution in group sessions; MCDC posters have been distributed to Town Camps which demonstrate gender equity and model parenting. Safety mapping participants requested DFSV and safety training on their Town Camps to promote awareness of services and educate Town Campers how to access them – this is an area TFVPP could contribute to.
Helping Relationships	The program can develop relationships over time, find	This is a strength of the program: TFVPP has strong community connections and has sustained relationships with clients over an extended period of time. People often come

³¹ The bystander approach is the idea that everyone has a responsibility to prevent, intervene, and report violence. It teaches witnesses how to safely intervene in family, domestic, or sexual assault by using their voice, calling the police, or another means of interrupting the violence. The bystander approach empowers witnesses with the tools to intervene, whilst shifting the onus to protect themselves away from the victim.

'Get support'	ways to stand together against DFSV/VAW, and support the community to keep violence away.	into the office to seek help. The Women's Group is constantly working on different ways to communicate their message and to have community stand together. In the safety mapping, Town Campers expressed a desire for improved relationships with services, particularly police – this is perhaps something TFVPP can facilitate and assist in strengthening these relationships.
Counter-conditioning 'Use alternatives'	The program can model healthy relationships, provide the tools for peaceful conflict resolution, and supports community members to keep their families safe and happy.	The Children's Service has the 'Healthy Bodies Healthy Relationships' classes. The Men's Program teaches peaceful conflict resolution skills in their group sessions. MCDC resources model gender equity, and balanced parenting and relationships.
Reinforcement management 'Use Rewards'	The program can celebrate successes and build on the strengths of the community. They can celebrate and share stories of hope and healing.	TFVPP works from a strengths-based approach and the Women's Group has produced a film to show stories of hope and healing. The Men's Program has developed case studies and aims to collect stories of men who previously used violence but have succeeded in creating sustained change. The Children's Service has plans to develop a mentorship program, which should also draw upon the strengths of young people who have experienced violence in the past but are now living strong and healthy lives. TFVPP has also produced a film with iTalks which shows a family recovering from violence. TFVPP also draws upon community members in its MCDC resources to demonstrate gender equity.

		There could be further scope here to elevate the voices of the Men's Program's graduates who have remained violence free.
Self-liberation 'Make a commitment'	The program can support and reinforce the community's commitment to change through positive messaging, capacity building, and empowerment.	The Women's Group trains women on Town Camps which builds their capacity to respond to and report violence, knowledge is empowering and builds confidence amongst the community. MCDC uses positive messaging to challenge gender stereotypes which drive violence. Perhaps there is scope for TFVPP to lead safety training on Town Camps to further empower Town Campers in their relationships with service providers, particularly police.
Stimulus Control 'Manage your environment'	The program can educate about the triggers and underlying causes of DFSV/VAW and help to develop community action plans to address them.	Town Camps have long been engaged in ways to manage their communities, through the development of housing associations and Town Camp rules. TFVPP can engage with this, perhaps by developing resources in partnership with Town Campers, which illustrate the underlying causes and triggers of violence, such as stress. MCDC is addressing gender stereotypes which cause violence against women, but perhaps there is scope here for future actions. Community action plans could be an interesting and useful tool to both raise awareness of DFSV/VAW, and localised plans to address and respond to it. In the safety mapping, safety by environmental design was consistently raised as a way to increase safety on Town Camps – the Women's Group has advocated for changes on Town Camps before, such as to bus routes. Further advocacy for improved infrastructure could enhance TFVPP's engagement in this process.

Decisional Balance 'The benefits outweigh the negatives'	The program can educate, train, and promote the benefits of living free of DFSV/VAW for all community members. The program can train community members and groups to equip them with the tools to sustain behaviour change in high risk situations.	TFVPP works with community to develop resources; the Women's Group trains women on Town Camps; the Children's Service engages with youth over an extended period; the Men's Program uses group sessions to hold men to account for their violence and support them to change their behaviour. TFVPP also leads MCDC workshops with community members to highlight the benefits of equal parenting and gender equity. TFVPP is interested in conducting a cost-benefit analysis of their program, and perhaps this could be used to help community to see the benefits of continued work to prevent DFSV/VAW. Many Town Camps have already identified DFSV/VAW as a problem in their communities, so TFVPP can support communities to create then sustain change through resource development and specialised training packages.
Community Efficacy 'Have confidence'	The program can take a strengths-based approach to build the confidence of the community and share positive stories of change. The program reinforces the message that change is possible and that an alternative DFSV/VAW free life is accessible.	TFVPP programs take a strengths-based approach and utilise social capital to make interventions with individuals, families, and Town Camps. The Men's Program is beginning to collect stories of men who have changed their behaviour to live violence-free – these stories could be shared with the Men's Program's participants but also with the wider community. The MCDC ITalks film illustrates a positive story of change and is currently in distribution. TFVPP could work with community to develop localised strategies to minimise risk and triggers. Perhaps core community strengths could be identified and elevated to encourage confidence in the ability to change. TFVPP already draws upon individual case studies, perhaps community case studies could also be used to encourage confidence.

TFVPP engages with all processes of change which indicates that they are making efforts to move the community through stages of change. In my assessment, particular areas of strength are 'Consciousness Raising' and 'Reinforcement Management', whilst the processes that TFVPP could contribute more to are 'Re-evaluation' and 'Stimulus Control'. To be more effective, TFVPP would need to expand their reach – which has grown considerably with the MCDC project. This reach could be drawn upon to further engage with communities to particularly highlight stories of change; sharing stories of men who no longer use violence could be an incredibly powerful tool, especially if it is done in a strengths-based way, expressing pride in men who take responsibility for their violence and work to maintain healthy and respectful relationships with their partners and children. There are so many avenues that TFVPP could take to further their work in addressing and preventing DFSV/VAW – community connections, cultural safety, relationships, and credibility are considerable assets of this program – there is seemingly no limit to building upon the work of the TFVPP, but there is a restriction by funding, resourcing, and staffing. TFVPP is sharing their work through the development of a MCDC toolkit to guide other communities in how to challenge gender stereotypes; and they consistently share the resources they develop – this is one way TFVPP attempts to overcome these restrictions, although they continue to do a lot of work unfunded.

'Good Practice Indicators'

Humphreys et al. (2000, p. 2) define 'good practice indicators' as 'specific developments which are essential to good practice, that should be aspired to, and which can be used as parameters in evaluations.' These indicators and any evidence of them is detailed in **Table 9** below (the criteria bullet points correspond sequentially with the evidence bullet points). The evidence refers to the data collected from both periods of fieldwork – it may be that data has not been collected on some criteria; this does not mean TFVPP is not meeting the criteria, it may just be that it is not known. At the end of each dot point, brackets are used to show where the evidence was collected from – this is not an exhaustive list but rather points to a few key documents when writing the evidence.

Table 9 Successes of TFVPP as measured against Humphreys et al. (2000) 'Good Practice Indicators'

Indicator ³²	Criteria	Evidence					
		Meets all criteria	Meets most criteria	Meets some criteria	Meets little criteria	Meets no criteria	Not Applicable
1: The use of definitions of domestic violence.	- Definitions should acknowledge diversity and the gendered nature of domestic violence, and include different types of abuse - Definitions should acknowledge the issue of power and control.	- TFVPP uses a definition of 'domestic violence' and 'family violence'. These definitions do not include the gendered nature of abuse, but the gendered nature of DFSV is communicated; and this knowledge underpins the work of TFVPP. [AOD and AHW presentation TFVPP; 2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation; Violence Prevention Fund Final document] - The definition TFVPP uses does acknowledge the issue of power and control. TFVPP, particularly the Men's Program, focuses on challenging power and control and makes use of the Power and Control wheel [AOD and AHW presentation TFVPP; A8- Observes doc; Dec_Jan 2016 2017 Report DCF]					
2: The use of monitoring processes and screening	Systematic screening using a protocol of questions	TFVPP 'screens' its clients upon referral and intake through risk assessments (Children's Service and Men's Program) using the family violence resource cards it developed. It also has a model of constant risk assessment as TFVPP, particularly the Women's Group and Children's Service, is often engaged with clients over an extended period of time. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resource Risk Assessment Cards; MOARS Webpage].					

³² Indicators and criteria taken from Humphreys, Safer Communities Scotland, Scottish Community Safety Network , 2000.

	• Mechanisms for recording • Guidance and supervision • Training • Feedback mechanisms	• Humphreys et al. (2000) recommend collecting data, as research has shown that programs with screening and monitoring are aware of a much higher level of incidence of violence among their clients. Data that could be collected could include: gender of victim; gender of perpetrator; relationship to perpetrator; frequency of violence; type of violence; history of violence. The Men's Program undertakes risk assessments and Jesuits who partner with TFVPP in the Men's Program consortium, record and report on some of the listed data. Men's Program also has access to much of this data via Corrections and uses this information to gauge risk and to inform the partner contact worker [Tangentyere Fieldnotes]. • Strong mechanisms are in place at TFVPP for guidance and supervision. Some TFVPP staff also have external supervision, but the program manager is also a MBCP senior practitioner with many years of experience. Staff are regularly debriefed. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes doc] • TFVPP staff are highly qualified and experienced, and they are trained to use the risk assessment cards and know when and how to ask about domestic violence [Tangentyere Fieldnotes] • TFVPP has feedback mechanisms in place, and makes use of this feedback to continue to develop the programs. However devising 'realistic and useful evaluation questions' (Humphreys, 2000, p. 27) is ongoing. TFVPP has integrated evaluation and feedback mechanisms into its programs. TFVPP has already had an evaluation of the Women's Group completed; is currently conducting an evaluation of the MCDC project; and hope to have

		the Children's Service evaluated in the future [DVSCS Yirara Staff Evaluation doc; DVSCS Yirara Group Student Evaluation doc; MBCP Report Oct 14 to June 17 doc; MATRIX_TWFSG Evaluation Final; MCDC Pre-consultationPhase doc]
3: Good practice guidelines and domestic violence policies	• Safety and confidentiality • Involvement of the survivors of domestic violence and their representatives in refuge and advocacy services • Attention to diversity and equality	• TFVPP are transparent with clients about the limitations of confidentiality and this is included on consent forms; TFVPP undertakes safety planning with their clients and makes safe times to contact them; TFVPP is transparent about mandatory reporting requirements; the Men's Program keeps men's personal details confidential but information about their violence is not. [A8 – Observers doc; Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resources Pamphlets] • The Women's Group all have lived experience of domestic and/or family violence, and they are the key advocacy body of TFVPP. [2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation; Resources Pamphlets]. • Equality is very much embedded in TFVPP discourse and literature. Diversity is also acknowledged, however, as this program is Indigenous-specific (although not the Men's Program), diversity of ethnicity and nationality is not so prevalent in its literature, but diversity of Indigenous language group and culture is discussed. The violence experienced by non-Indigenous and CALD communities is a part of TFVPP discourse. Moreover, the TFVPP discourse acknowledges that people of all socio-economic groups, sexual orientations, and ethnicities experience DFSV. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; 2015 July August Report DCF doc; AugustSeptember 2017 Report TWFSG; Mums Can Dads Can Project Model PDF;TWC FSP Training Models (3) doc].

	• Working together within a wider strategy • Development of a broad range of policies, guidelines and clarity in the referral system	• Whilst it is not known whether TFVPP developed its policies in partnership with other services in Alice Springs or ‘as part of a wider strategy’, it partners with other services and agencies. TFVPP works as part of a consortium with WoSSCA and Jesuits for the Men’s Program; the Men’s Program adheres to the NTV Minimum Standards (No To Violence, 2018); TFVPP attends the information sharing meetings with Police, called Operation Haven; TVPP attends multi-agency meetings and works under the Alice Springs Family Safety Framework, as well as adhering to legislation. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Tangentyere Domestic Violence Specialist Childrens Service Program Manual V2 JAN 2018 doc; MBCP Report Oct 14 to June 17 doc]. • TFVPP has developed a range of policies, a strength being their work around cultural safety and ‘what makes a good worker’ which are community-driven. TFVPP also have policies which cover perpetrators; practice guidelines for frontline workers; and provide information about other services to program-participants. Humphreys et al. (2000, p. 30) state ‘good practice is indicated by areas and organisations which have given attention to the broad scope of policy development’ – it is not known whether TFVPP has policies which cover the breadth Humphreys et al. advocate: child protection; vulnerable adults; housing; education; policing; and interagency coordination. Clarity in the referral system has been a real challenge for services in Alice Springs – many external stakeholders and staff participants talked about the problem of siloing and referrals not being made. Police have also reported frustration with Support Link Referrals which only allow them to see if a case

	• Building on policies which have already been well developed in other areas • Policies embedded within the organisation • Detailed guidelines about barriers.	has been closed but not whether the referral has been successfully engaged by the partner service [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resource Poster; Diagram Community Practice Model; Poster DFV Services in Alice Springs]. • TFVPP makes use of policies, frameworks, and practice which have proven successful in other contexts, but also adapts them to suit the Alice Springs and Town Camp context. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Tangentyere Domestic Violence Specialist Children's Service Program Manual V2 JAN 2018 doc; 2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation; MCDC Pre-consultation Phase doc). • TFVPP policies are embedded through training and supervision and are present in everyday discourse and activities [Tangentyere Fieldnotes]. • Detailed policies, practice, and discourse around the barriers faced by Indigenous people, and particularly Indigenous women, is a clear strength of TFVPP. The model of pressures and its corresponding ping-pong ball demonstration³³, as well the 'Reporting Domestic and Family Violence' resource (see Figure 31) are a good examples of this. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resource Why Women Don't Report PDF; 2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation].

³³ The Women's Group have a component to their training sessions which seeks to illustrate the pressures and barriers faced by Indigenous women. They do this by having one women's group member stand in the middle of the room holding a ping-pong ball, whilst another member reads off a list of the services, agencies, commitments, and challenges the woman deals with. Each time something is listed, the woman in the middle of the room is given an additional ping-pong ball to hold, until her hands are so full she begins dropping them. The point of the exercise is to illustrate how difficult it is for Indigenous women to manage all these pressures.

4: Safety measures and safety-oriented practice	• Safety planning • A range of organisational measures: safety measures in place for premises, attendance, confidentiality, provision of information and links with other agencies. • Supporting mothers as a response to child protection	• TFVPP undertakes safety planning with clients and also touches on this in training sessions. As part of safety plans, women and children identify safe places to go; a safe person they can go to; ensure women and children know how to contact emergency services (and often provide them with a phone to do so); and go over other safety measures such as housing, credit, and transport. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resource Pamphlet; Anna Case Study APRIL 2018]. • TFVPP keeps women and children's information confidential but has limited confidentiality for perpetrators of violence in keeping with good practice. The Men's Program's partner-contact work is carried out by WoSSCA and this is kept confidential. The Children's Service conforms with child protection laws and policies and has a good relationship with Territory Families. TFVPP has many strong relationships with other services and agencies, particularly WoSSCA, Community Corrections, Four Corners, and the Central Australian Women's Legal Service³⁴ (CAWLS). [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Interview CAWLS; A8 - Observers; DVSCS Report April-June 2018]. • TFVPP supports mothers whose children are known to Territory Families, the Children's Service in particular works with children under child protection orders (CPO) but the child's voice is centred in this rather than the mother's. Participants reported that it was a huge concern of women that their children would be removed – the historical context of stolen

³⁴ CAWLS is a free women's legal service in Mparntwe/Alice Springs who primarily deal with DFSV related matters. They also deliver free DFSV training to service providers in Mparntwe/Alice Springs.

	Workers' safety	generations and the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care must be acknowledged here. It is not known where TFVPP has a specific mechanism to support mothers in response to CPOs. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Fred Case Study 2018]. TFVPP has safety measures in place for workers, with the use of mobile phones, recording whereabouts, and applying risk assessment procedures. TFVPP additionally has safety measures for community to ensure workers act in a way that is culturally safe. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Tangentyere Staff Handbook; Resource 'What Makes a Good Worker' Poster].
5: Training—raising awareness, exploring values, developing skills	- Training large numbers of employees - Training beyond initial awareness- raising leading to a range of specialist courses	- All TFVPP staff are DFSV trained. TFVPP also undertakes training of government workers, health workers, and other people working in service provision. The Women's Group also trains women on Town Camps. The Children's Service was presenting regularly at Territory Families and plans to reimplement this. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; AOD and AHW presentation TFVPP; 2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation]. - TFVPP offers specialist training in cultural safety, and does offer an introduction to domestic violence training session to new TCAC employees, but TFVPP has not developed a specialist DFSV training package for external stakeholders and agencies at this time. The training TFVPP provides covers definitions of DFV; the scale of the problem; types of violence; safety planning; and the bystander approach. Although TFVPP has identified a need for specialist training for service providers, government agencies, and the judicial system, TFVPP is limited by resourcing so cannot offer more specialist training. [AOD and

	• A rolling program of domestic violence training • The integration of the training strategy into operational planning for domestic violence services • A strategy for financing and providing ongoing training	AHW presentation TFVPP; 2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation; TWC FSP Training Modules]. • The Women's Group's training with women on Town Camps lasts for two days, and they are aware that they need to follow-up with these women and there is a need for ongoing training. TFVPP training tends to be a one-off session although they have identified the need for follow-up training. MCDC workshops are also being run on Town Camps although these are in primary prevention and aim to challenge gender stereotypes. It must be noted that other services in Alice Springs also offer training sessions, so it may be this could be done (or is being done) in partnership. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; AOD and AHW presentation TFVPP; 2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation; TWC FSP Training Modules]. • TFVPP participates in several inter-agency contexts: The Alice Springs Integrated Response to Domestic and Family Violence; Alice Springs Family Safety Framework; and attends several multi-agency meetings. It is not known if this has resulted in service coordination, although participants have reported that sharing of information, referrals, and siloing has been problematic in the Alice Springs context. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Interview CAWLS; Interview Community Corrections]. • Funding represents an ongoing challenge not just for TFVPP but for a range of programs and services in Alice Springs. The Women's Group has been re-funded for a 5-year period since 2017 and Men's Program has been renewed for 2 years since 2018 but on a partially

	• Training quality, equality issues and service users' voices.	defunded basis. However, the costs of training are high, particularly for the Women's Group which pays Town Camp women for their attendance. TFVPP is constantly engaged in actively seeking out funding opportunities, however, it is not known if TFVPP has a specific strategy for financing training – or if this is captured under their funding agreements. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Interview BJM; TWFSG Focus Group; June July 2018 Report TWFSG]. • The TFVPP training content, especially that delivered by the Women's Group, includes the voices of survivors of DFSV. The content includes definitions; understandings of DFSV; and types of DFSV that are context appropriate. A particular strength of the Men's Program is the co-facilitation model wherein there is a male and female facilitator, which also includes an emphasis on including the men's partner's voice. [Fieldnotes Tangentyere; TWC FSP Training Modules].
6: Evaluation– ensuring effective responses	• Independent evaluation • Building the voice of survivors	• The Women's Group and the Men's Program have been independently evaluated, MCDC is currently being evaluated, and TFVPP plans to have the Children's Service evaluated in the next 12 months (this program is only two years old). TFVPP recognises the importance of monitoring and evaluation processes. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; MBCP Report Oct 14 to June 17 doc; MATRIX_TWFSG Evaluation Final]. • The Women's Group and the Children's Service advocate on behalf of survivors and include their voices in their feedback and reporting mechanisms. The Men's Program, as a perpetrator-based program, still emphasises the voice of survivors in group sessions and

	• Follow-up • Feedback loop	through the use of the WoSSCA partner contact worker. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; MBCP Report Oct 14 to June 17 doc; MATRIX_TWFSG Evaluation Final; DVSCS Yirara Group Student Evaluation; DVSCS Case Studies; TWFSG Film Stories of Hope and Healing]. • The Women's Group and the Children's Service engage with clients over a long period of time – up to four years. The Men's Program encourages men to 'check in' after they have completed the program; whilst remoteness makes this difficult, many men do continue to 'check in' with the program. I observed several men who had completed come into the office to see the facilitators. It is not known whether WoSSCA follows-up with the partners once men have completed. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes]. • Feedback has been drawn upon to improve the programs and make them more context appropriate. This is evident in the Women's Group changing the way they paid women for attending the training; the Children's Service strengthening the safety planning component of their training; and the Men's Program reducing to a 16-week program and using assertive outreach to ensure continued engagement of the men. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; DVSCS Yirara Staff Evaluation doc; MATRIX_TWFSG Evaluation Final]
7: Multi-agency integration and coordination	• Consistency of service across and within agencies	• Whilst TFPVP cannot control or coordinate multi-agency integration on its own, it can demonstrate a willingness to engage and participate in this approach. TFPVP has recognised DFSV as a key and priority area, attends several DFSV-specific multi-agency meetings, and engages in partnerships with other services. [Tangentyere fieldnotes; TFPVP webpages].

– working together	• Confidentiality, permission and agreement • The full and active involvement of women’s refuge, outreach and support services • Equality issues and active consultation with abused women and children • Clarity of response	• TFVPP participates in multi-agency meetings and partnerships where confidentiality is partly suspended in order to keep women and children safe. Information about men’s use of violence is not confidential. Mandatory reporting laws means confidentiality is limited. [A8 -Observers; Tangentyere Fieldnotes]. • TFVPP works in partnership with the women’s shelter to deliver the Men’s Program. The women’s shelter provides the partner contact in this program. TFVPP works alongside numerous women’s support services in multi-agency meetings and collaborates on interventions [Fieldnotes]. • TFVPP is informed and governed by survivors’ views and ‘participative mechanisms’ are in place in that the Women’s Group workshops all messages and resources, and MCDC workshops are used to develop positive messages around parenting and gender equity. TFVPP can advocate on behalf of survivors in multi-agency meetings, but it cannot control the extent to which consultative and participative mechanisms are used to ensure multi-agency efforts are informed by survivors’ views – although they could advocate for their inclusion. [2018 Community Development TWFSG presentation; Tangentyere Fieldnotes]. • Lines of accountability are not always clear in the Alice Springs context, although the FSF has perhaps given this some direction. TFVPP participates regularly in multi-agency meetings. However, TFVPP cannot be alone in ensuring a multi-agency response meets best practice indicators, but there may be scope for them to advocate for them and promote the development of ‘mechanisms ... needed to ensure clarity about decisions

	- Monitoring of effectiveness and evaluation of inter-agency coordination - Improved resources	made, actions to be taken, lines of accountability, financial responsibilities and so on, where many organisations with different briefs and responsibilities are attempting to work together' (Humphreys, 2000, p. 39). - An evaluation of the Alice Springs Integrated Response to DV was undertaken, but it is not known if TFVPP was included as part of this. - TFVPP has contributed to developing and sharing resources in a multi-agency setting. Examples are the risk assessment cards; cultural safety training; the STAND UP! Film; and the upcoming MCDC toolkit. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resource DFV assessment cards; Resource Film STAND UP!].
8: Specific working with women and children	- Attention to the voices and expressed needs of women using the service (and their active involvement where possible). - Attention to children's needs and views and recognition that these may overlap with, but not necessarily be the	- TFVPP draws upon the voices of women through the Women's Group which acts to govern the programs, and where women actively participate in the development of resources, messaging, training content, and projects. The voices of Town Camp women are also included through the MCDC project [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; MCDC Preconsultation Phase doc] - The Children's Service is a specialist service which centres the voice of the child and advocates on their behalf. The Children's Service works with families, but the child's needs and voice are primary. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; DVSCS Case Studies]. - TFVPP empowers women and children through capacity building and through providing opportunities. Children are given the chance to participate and lead music projects; boxing classes; and in camps. Women are given the opportunity to complete the Women's

	same as those of their mothers. • The empowerment of abused women and children. • Attention to equalities issues and anti-discriminatory practice. • Attempts to mainstream the service within multi-agency provision.	Group's training, after which they can join the women's group. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Resource Be The One Music Video]. • TFVPP places equality and anti-discrimination as core values. Although several programs (the Children's Service and the Women's Group) are Indigenous-specific, it is acknowledged that all communities experience DFSV. DFV in same-sex relationships is also acknowledged. There is a culture of inclusion. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; MATRIX Training day docs]. • TFVPP advocates for gender-specific frameworks in multi-agency meetings and training sessions. However, this is a challenge as there is still an unwillingness among some of the service providers and government to accept that DFSV is gendered. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; AOD and AHW presentation TFVPP]

It is clear through the use of 'Good Practice Indicators' that TFVPP meets the majority of the requirements for good practice. Key successes include the engagement of clients over extended periods of time; the governance structure of TFVPP with the Women's Group and community engagement; the number of women trained on Town Camps; the strength of engagement with monitoring and evaluation processes; adaptive and reflective practice; the development and sharing of resources; the co-facilitation model of the Men's Program; the elevation of Indigenous women's voices; and the increased visibility of DFSV in Alice Springs. Areas where TFVPP could further progress is in the development of specialist DFSV training for service providers, government departments, and those working in the judicial system. They could also develop rolling training for Town Camp women which covers DFSV as well as safety planning and facilitating awareness and partnership between Town Campers and service providers.

Our Watch – Changing the Picture

Given the Indigenous context that TFVPP operates in, TFVPP's activities have also been evaluated against the actions recommended by Our Watch 'Changing the Picture' (2018).

To prevent violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, Our Watch recommends programs challenge misconceptions about violence perpetrated against Indigenous women (see **chapter two**). TFVPP regularly advocates against these misconceptions in government consultations and in multi-agency meetings; and addresses these misconceptions in workshops and training sessions by drawing upon the cultural authority and knowledge of Elders to draw a comparison between violence used in pre-colonial Aboriginal culture and violence today. TFVPP also makes it clear in the resources and products it produces that DFSV/VAW is not a part of Aboriginal culture. Where TFVPP could make greater impact is in formalising their advocacy and explicitly educating service providers in particular that alcohol and substance abuse does not cause violence; and that non-Indigenous men also perpetrate DFSV/VAW against Indigenous women. The latter also addresses Our Watch's recommendation that programs must address the underlying drivers of violence to prevent violence against Indigenous women.

Our Watch (2018) states that although there is no one cause of violence against Indigenous women, they point to three drivers of violence which intersect to create an environment where Indigenous are at disproportionate risk of experiencing violence. These three drivers are: the impacts of colonisation on ATSI people; the impacts of colonisation on non-Indigenous people and society; and 'gendered factors' (Our Watch, 2018, p. 13). To address these drivers, Our Watch recommends three actions which are outlined in **Table 10** below which is also used to evaluate TFVPP's activities according to Our Watch's recommendations. However, some of these actions are outside the operational level and scope of the TVPP program – which reinforces the need for multiple interventions working concurrently at different levels in order to address and prevent DFSV/VAW.

Table 10 Successes of TFVPP as measured against Our Watch (2018) recommended actions

Action ³⁵	Strategies	Evidence					
		Engages all strategies	Engages most strategies	Engages some strategies	Engages few strategies	Engages no strategies	Not Applicable
Action 1: 'Address the legacies and ongoing impacts of colonisation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, families and communities'	1. Heal the impacts of intergenerational trauma, strengthening culture and identity	1. TFVPP takes a strengths-based approach to address violence, particularly through the MCDC project, which presents Indigenous parents in a way that is positive. In these resources, Indigenous people are often depicted undertaking cultural activities such as hunting goanna and gathering bush foods – this helps to strengthen culture and allows participants to take pride in their culture. The Women's Group also draws upon culture as an asset, and has developed cultural safety training and integrates this cultural competency into their work – such as by organising smoking ceremonies before retreats and sometimes in their offices. The Women's Group, the Men's Program, and the Children's Service are also trauma-informed – they are underpinned by an understanding of intergenerational trauma and how this manifests in Indigenous communities. Responses to this include assertive outreach; case management; and production of resources which contextualise problems in Indigenous communities within the context of ongoing colonisation and reframing these problems through a strengths-based approach. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; MCDC posters; ITalks film; STAND UP! Film].					

³⁵ Actions and strategies taken from Our Watch: Changing the Picture, 2018.

	2. Strengthen and support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families 3. Implement specific initiatives for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and girls, boys and men, and children and young people 4. Challenge the condoning of violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities	2. TFPVPP works alongside Indigenous families, and has programs to engage with Aboriginal women, children, and men. Single programs, like the Children's Service, often work alongside the family of their client and support them with practical matters like school enrolments, Centrelink, and clothing, alongside therapeutic support. [Case Study Dec 2016; Case Study March 2018; Tangentyere Fieldnotes] 3. TFPVPP has programs specific to women, men, and children. The Women's Group works from a whole-of-community approach by developing resources and advocating for Aboriginal people, however, their DFSV training sessions are specifically to engage with women. They also refer women to other services. The Men's Program and MOARS engage with men who use violence against their partners, and liaise with the WoSSCA partner contact worker who supports the female partners of these men. The Children's Service works with Aboriginal young people between the ages of 12-17 who have experienced violence, but have sometimes continued supporting clients after they turn 18. MCDC is a whole-of-community project that engages with women and men to model gender equity in parenting roles. [TFPVPP website; Tangentyere Fieldnotes] 4. TFPVPP challenges the condoning of violence within Aboriginal communities by repeatedly reinforcing the message that violence is not normal and it is not okay. The Women's Group has placed anti-violence signs outside Town Camps which several stakeholders have identified as turning points in changing community attitudes to

		violence. The Men's Program works with men to support them in making better choices and hold them accountable for their use of violence. TFVPP also spreads this anti-violence message in multiple platforms, including social media, multi-agency meetings, and consultations. [TWFSG signs; Tangentyere Fieldnotes]
	5. Increase access to justice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Women's access to justice can be increased by assisting them to 'access an appropriate response to the violence; secure their short and long-term safety and that of their children; break the cycles of imprisonment, child removal and trauma for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women that often stem from	5. TFVPP prioritises the safety of women and children in all of their work. The Women's Group, in particular, supports Aboriginal women to access justice through safety planning; and providing DFSV training to Town Camp women to help them identify and report violence. The Children's Service works alongside children and their families who are engaged with Territory Families and CPOs, and takes on an advocacy role for their client (the child). However, TFVPP's work in this area would be greatly supported by the employment of a women's case worker – TFVPP has made repeated funding applications to staff this position but has been unsuccessful to date, and as a consequence, TFVPP continues this work unfunded. On several occasions in the fieldwork, TFVPP supported women experiencing violence who came to them for help. The need for an identified women's case worker is clear - continuing this unfunded work increases the strain on TFVPP and its staff. The other strategies include implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody report³⁶ and the Human Rights Law Centre and Change

³⁶ The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody was a Royal Commission appointed by the Australian government in 1987 and was delivered in 1991 with multiple recommendations. The Royal Commission investigated the underlying social, cultural, and legal issues which drive the disproportionately high rate of deaths of Aboriginal people in custody (Johnston, 1991).

	their own experiences of violence' (Our Watch, 2018, p. 26)	the Record ³⁷ to address the underlying drivers of the disproportionate incarceration of Indigenous people in Australia. The Men's Program works with men in prison, and TFVPP has expressed a desire to work with women in prison. As DFSV/VAW is a driver of Indigenous incarceration, TVPP's work to prevent violence meets this strategy. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; TWFSG Case Worker Application; Case Study Dec 2016; Case Study March 2018 ; Case Study Sam].
Action 2: 'Address the legacies and ongoing impacts of colonisation for non-Indigenous people, and across Australian society'	1. Challenge and prevent all forms of racism, indifference, ignorance and disrespect towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and cultures	1. TFVPP is culturally competent and culturally safe – TFVPP is governed by the Women's Group whose cultural authority and expertise is used as an asset and is used to inform all TFVPP programs, projects, and resource development. TFVPP advocates for equality and has taken a leadership role in organising National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee (NAIDOC) and Reconciliation events – they continue to advocate for the permanent installation of the Aboriginal flag on Anzac Hill. These activities challenge racism, indifference, and disrespect by sending a clear message of inclusion, acceptance, and self-determination. Perhaps there is scope for TFVPP to educate service providers and non-Indigenous community members to challenge some of their misconceptions about DFSV perpetrated against Indigenous women. This would help to address what external stakeholders identified as a reluctance and indifference amongst non-Indigenous

³⁷ A report by the Human Rights Law Centre in collaboration with Change the Record to address the over-representation of Aboriginal women in custody (Walters & Longhurst, 2017).

	2. Address racialised power inequalities and amend discriminatory policies and practices 3. Challenge the condoning of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	people to acknowledge DFSV as a problem which transcends cultures and socio-economic status, and perhaps influence their reporting habits [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Interviews with external stakeholders; News articles] 2. TFVPP, particularly the Women's Group, are strong advocates and consistently work to change discriminatory policies and practices, mostly recently around child incarceration and juvenile detention in the Northern Territory. TCAC as a whole regularly makes submissions to Royal Commissions and plays a strong advocacy role for Town Campers. TFVPP draw upon wide support networks and connections, not just with Aboriginal communities, but also other service providers and government agencies to advocate for change. TFVPP is guided by Aboriginal people in the issues they address. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Letters] 3. TFVPP challenges the condoning of violence against Indigenous people by organising events to increase visibility and to encourage community to make a stand against violence. Whilst TFVPP regularly engages with non-Indigenous people and organisations to spread their anti-violence message, this is not explicitly directed at non-Indigenous people. Perhaps there is scope for TFVPP to develop resources to educate non-Indigenous people and society, and challenge their role in condoning violence perpetrated against Indigenous people. This could help to address the 'it's an Aboriginal problem' attitude raised by many of the participants in this research³⁸.

³⁸ This is discussed in further detail in Chapter Six.

		These resources could be produced in the same vein as the ‘What makes a good worker’ resources to help the non-Indigenous community to identify their role in preventing violence and address their reluctance to intervene and report. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Interviews with external stakeholders; Posters].
Action 3: ‘Address the gendered drivers of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women’	1. Implement intersectional approaches to preventing violence against women across the Australian population 2. Challenge the condoning of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women by challenging both racist and sexist attitudes and social norms	1. TFVPP operates from an intersectional feminist framework that acknowledges the compounding gendered and racialised drivers of the disproportionate rate of DFSV/VAW in Indigenous communities. The Men’s Program also acknowledges the intersecting issues affecting the men engaged in their program – and responds to this through principles like assertive outreach. The Women’s Group and Children’s Service are also beginning to talk and work more towards the inclusion and representation of Indigenous LGBT+ people in these conversations. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Funding applications; TWC Manual] 2. TFVPP challenges racist and sexist attitudes towards Indigenous women by taking a strengths-based approach to educating the community about the benefits of gender equity. The most notable example of this is the MCDC project which challenges sexist and racist ideas by challenging gender stereotypes in a way that engages with and strengthens culture. These messages are also reinforced in group sessions in the Men’s Program. TFVPP also consistently sends the message that violence is not ‘normal’ or ‘traditional’. There is perhaps scope for TFVPP to tailor these messages to non-Indigenous community members in an effort to challenge their attitudes and the

		social norms in Alice Springs which seemingly accept or condone violence against Indigenous women. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; MCDC Posters]
	3. Support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's participation in leadership and decision making	3. The TFPVP is governed by the Women's Group – TFPVP not only supports Indigenous women's participation in leadership and decision-making, this strategy is fully integrated into the fabric of the program. All messaging, resource production and decision-making is run through the Women's Group, usually in the form of workshops. The Women's Group are kept updated on all the activities of the Men's Program and the Children's Service, who regularly draw upon the Women's Group for their expertise and authority. This is a clear strength of the program.
	4. Challenge gender stereotypes, and the impacts of colonisation on men's and women's roles, relationships and identities	4. The MCDC project explicitly challenges gender stereotypes using fun and humour to reimagine parenting roles grounded in gender equity. MCDC workshops with the Men's Program's and Children's Service's participants, as well as with Town Campers, allow for personal discussions to further challenge these views. The Men's Program and Children's Service also teach about healthy and respectful relationships. The Women's Group continually has conversations about the impacts of colonisation on the roles of Aboriginal men and women – these conversations are used to further advocacy and development of resources. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Strategic Planning Retreat Notes; MCDC Posters ; MCDC Pre-consultation Phase notes].
	5. Strengthen positive, equal and respectful relationships	5. The Men's Program and Children's Service each have integrated educational tools or programs to teach their clients about healthy and respectful relationships. The MCDC

	between women and men, girls and boys	project also portrays men and women in equitable and positive relationships. The Women's Group is working alongside Four Corners men to produce MCDC materials and send anti-violence messages to community – this relationship can serve as a model for an equal relationship between men and women. One area where the Women's Group could possibly work more is around consent and sexual violence – based on the need identified by external stakeholders for more conversations around sexual violence and healthy sexual relationships to lift the taboo and shame around this topic. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Interviews with external stakeholders; MCDC Posters; Social Media accounts].
	6. Engage both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men to challenge harmful and violence-supportive ideas about masculinity and relationships	6. TFVPP engages with Indigenous and non-Indigenous men through the Men's Program. The Children's Service also engages with Aboriginal males between the ages of 12-17 as clients. Both the Men's Program and Children's Service have a gender lens and operate from an intersectional framework – both have integrated educational strategies to discuss and model equal relationships. MCDC workshops have addressed some constructs around masculinity, and the Women's Group has had explicit conversations around toxic masculinity . The Women's Group has identified the need for further resources and responses to challenge violence-supportive ideas about masculinity and relationships. Moreover, TFVPP has expressed concern to stakeholders that they have comparatively few non-Indigenous participants in the Men's Program – this is perhaps linked to the attitude prevalent in

		the Northern Territory that DFSV/VAW is ‘an Aboriginal problem’. Engaging more non-Indigenous men in these conversations and programs could also be a focus for TFVPP –for these reasons: non-Indigenous men perpetrate violence against Indigenous women; DFSV/VAW exists in non-Indigenous relationships just as it does in other demographics; to contribute to a wider conversation that challenges non-Indigenous people to condemn violence against Indigenous women. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; DVSCS Yirara Evaluation; MCDC Pre-consultation Phase notes; Strategic Planning Retreat Notes].

TFVPP is engaged with the vast majority of actions and strategies recommended by Our Watch 'Changing the Picture' (2018). Action 1 'address the legacies and impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, families, and communities' and Action 3 'address the gendered drivers of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women' are particular strengths of this program, and that is largely because TFVPP is underpinned by appropriate frameworks and is theory-informed and evidence-based. TFVPP stays updated with the latest research and contributes to its development – this is then integrated into the program or used to develop further projects or resources. An area in which TFVPP could make further impact is Action 2 'address the legacies and ongoing impacts of colonisation for non-Indigenous people, and across Australian society' – and this has already been identified by the program, particularly by TWFSG at the strategic planning retreat. Addressing this action could have further positive impacts: challenging the view that DFSV/VAW is an Aboriginal problem, so reducing the condoning of violence against Indigenous women; increasing the likelihood that the community will intervene and report violence; and leading to the engagement of more non-Indigenous men in MBCP. The ability of TFVPP to adopt these actions and strategies will be dependent on the scope and resourcing of the program, therefore this could possibly occur partnership with other organisations.

Principles of Good Practice identified in TFVPP

Having compared the program against externally sourced criteria and observed the work of TFVPP in practice, several principles of good practice emerged from the TFVPP case study. I discerned these principles through observation and comparison – against the above evaluative tools, but also against the other case study in this research (discussed in **chapter five**). I also discerned these principles by incorporating the feedback of external stakeholders who were explicitly asked in interviews what was needed to prevent violence against women in their context (see **chapter six**).

I then presented these principles to the TFVPP to gain their feedback and perspective, before including them in the final report. TFVPP has since gone on to use these principles in funding applications and in the resources they have produced – such as the Grow Model which is a practice guide for the MCDC project. **Table 11** below communicates TFVPP's principles of good practice.

Table 11 Principles of Good Practice identified in TFVPP

	Principles	Indicators	Examples
	Educational	• Trains the community to identify, intervene, and report VAW/DFSV • Challenges attitudes which condone DSFV/VAW • Models equal and respectful relationships	TFVPP conducts DFSV training on Town Camps; its programs demonstrate alternatives ³⁹ by teaching about healthy relationships.
	Holistic	• Caters to women, men, and children • Works to strengthen families • Takes a whole-of-community approach	TFVPP comprises programs that cater to women, men, and children. TFVPP works alongside couples and families.
	Framework and theory-informed	• Has a gender lens and acknowledges the gendered nature of VAW/DFSV • Uses an intersectional framework • Is trauma-informed and contextualises VAW/DFSV within ongoing colonisation	TFVPP is underpinned by intersectional feminism and adapts their program to be cognisant of inter-generational trauma and intersecting risk factors which compound violence.

³⁹ The Transtheoretical model uses the terminology ‘counter-conditioning’ but I have selected to use ‘demonstrating alternatives’ because of the negative connotations of the term ‘conditioning’.

 Culturally safe	• Works in a way that is respectful and celebrates Indigenous culture • Builds relationships with community • Listens to community and values their knowledge and expertise	TFVPP draws upon the cultural authority and expertise of community members; cultural practices are integrated into physical spaces and into program activities.
 Community-driven	• Indigenous people involved in conception, design, and delivery • Community owns, leads, and governs • Engages and mobilises Indigenous community	TFVPP workshops all messages and resources with community-members; TFVPP mobilises community-members in workshops, training, and events.
 Accessible	• Uses assertive outreach • Assists people to overcome barriers to access • Takes the program to where people are	TFVPP assists participants to access their program with transport; TFVPP runs training sessions where community-members live and work.
 Accountability for men who use violence	• Challenges men's use of violence • Focuses on changing behaviour • Integrates and elevates survivors' voices	TFVPP engages with men who use violence in group sessions and supports them to change their behaviour, whilst holding them accountable for their use of violence.

	Safety- focussed	• Centres women and children's safety • Ongoing risk assessment • Safety Planning	TFVPP prioritises the safety of women and children and listens to their voices when engaging with perpetrators. The Men's Program is also used to monitor risk.
	Strengths- based	• Non-judgemental and draws upon community assets • Engages and strengthens social capital • Strengthens and celebrates culture	TFVPP draws upon strengths, such as food, art, humour, and relationships to develop resources which celebrate culture whilst challenging attitudes.
	Multi-agency coordination	• Shares resources and information • Refers and follows-up with other services • Participates in multi-agency meetings and contributes to integrated responses and strategies	TFVPP works in a consortium with WoSSCA and Jesuits to deliver the Men's Program; also participates in several multi-agency meetings.

Lessons learnt from program

TFVPP was identified as a good practice model through the data collected in this case study. In addition to the evidence of impact, there are several other crucial lessons learnt from this program about what is necessary to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory, and about the best ways of working with people experiencing DFSV.

1. Different interventions for different levels of risk

In the Northern Territory, there are currently only two MBCPs. Men are usually referred into the MBCPs via the courts or Corrections Department, although the Men's Program also takes volunteers, and referrals from family and community members. After a referral is made, the staff engage the man for an assessment, and if the man is too high a risk, then he is not accepted into the program because the program is not likely to be sufficient to change his behaviour and the likelihood of him seriously hurting his partner is too high. However, once the man has been excluded from the program, there are really no alternatives for him in the Northern Territory. He can be referred for counselling and case management, but these are not DFSV specific programs – and the Men's Program has no capacity to offer individual case management due to staffing and funding constraints, although it is something they would like to offer in the future if funding permits.

As discussed with the TFVPP program manager and Men's Program staff, there is a need for different levels of intervention for different levels of risk in the Northern Territory. There need to be interventions for high risk men. As things stand, there is no targeted intervention for these men, and stakeholders report that a murder is expected given the severity of the violence such men use in these cases.

2. Press standards and legislation around reporting and media coverage of VAW

In Australia there are strict standards around media coverage and reporting of suicides. There need to be similarly strict standards when it comes to the reporting of DFSV/VAW. Presently, the reporting on DFSV/VAW tends to be victim-focused, in that the actions of the victim are scrutinised and examined, even in the case of violence perpetrated by strangers in public places. The reporting also tends to humanise and minimise the actions of the offender, and in many cases is motivation-seeking – rationalising the use of violence. Other

times, the victims are erased or sidelined. Yet it is known that at a societal and community level, anything that condones, minimises, justifies, or colludes with men's use of violence contributes to creating a culture where VAW can thrive. Inappropriate and irresponsible reporting of DFSV/VAW contributes to this harmful culture (Our Watch, 2019). Just as the Australian Press Council acknowledges the need to carefully manage the reporting of suicides to mitigate further potential harm, standards are needed to govern the reporting of DFSV/VAW so that it does not inadvertently contribute to a culture which rationalises VAW.

3. Use partnerships to support the work already underway in the Northern Territory

TFVPP has a strong partnership with RMIT University, which sends social work students to them to undertake placements throughout the year. TFVPP selects the students who are interviewed by the Women's Group via teleconferencing. The students stay for a period of three months and help with much of the logistical and project work of TFVPP, which expands TFVPP's capacity and allows TFVPP staff to focus on their core program work. The students benefit immeasurably from their placements, as does TFVPP. The partnership between TFVPP and RMIT University embodies the TFVPP core value and principle of 'Two-way learning'.

In the Northern Territory, externally imposed frameworks, metrics, and interventions are often met with resistance and a certain amount of hostility – which was reported to me by both Northern Territory stakeholders as well as by national organisations attempting to work in the Northern Territory space. There is the feeling in the Northern Territory that there has been a long history of not being listened to, and as a result, a lot of wasted resources and failed interventions with a lot of serious unintended consequences.

One example is of a national body deciding that they would deliver DFSV workshops on Town Camps without consulting with anyone or speaking to the right people. There was considerable concern from stakeholders that this would be done in the wrong way and put Town Campers at risk, as well as undermine the good local work already underway. These concerns were brought to the attention of the national body which initially struggled to understand them, but eventually realised that they did not understand the context, and their role should be one of support and advocacy, rather than outsiders delivering inappropriate services to communities they have no connection with.

In order to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory, partnerships should be developed to support the work already underway. Locally driven and developed solutions that are fit for the context need to be championed, rather than the imposition of inappropriate external frameworks. National bodies and governments need to acknowledge that they are not always best placed to deliver interventions in the Northern Territory, and that this work is best carried out by grassroots organisations who have established relationships and connections. Any work in the Northern Territory needs to begin with deep listening and be driven by a principle of partnership.

4. Flexible and informal approaches

Much of TFVPP's case management work is undertaken informally and flexibly. TFVPP staff constantly talk about the power of car rides and informal meetings to undertake case management and engage positively and meaningfully with their clients. The Children's Service, for example, often have important conversations with the young people they work with when they are giving them lifts around town or taking them to McDonalds for food. Men's Program staff also make use of their assertive outreach principle and engage the men in deep conversations when transporting them to and from group. Staff and students also learn so much from the Women's Group when they are driving the Women's Group's bus to collect and drop off the women – this might be stories, language, or histories. This informal and flexible approach to relationship building and case management is appropriate for the context and creates a supportive and non-judgemental environment where clients feel they are able to disclose. This approach also allows TFVPP to take advantage of every opportunity to engage with clients and undertake their work, whether it is to make contacts, referrals, challenge harmful attitudes, or to learn from their clients. This approach can be challenging for people new to the Northern Territory who are perhaps used to a more formal, confidential and structured approach, but this is the best way of working with clients in the Northern Territory context – it is culturally safe and culturally appropriate, and makes the best use of time and resources in a way that prioritises relationships.

Conclusion

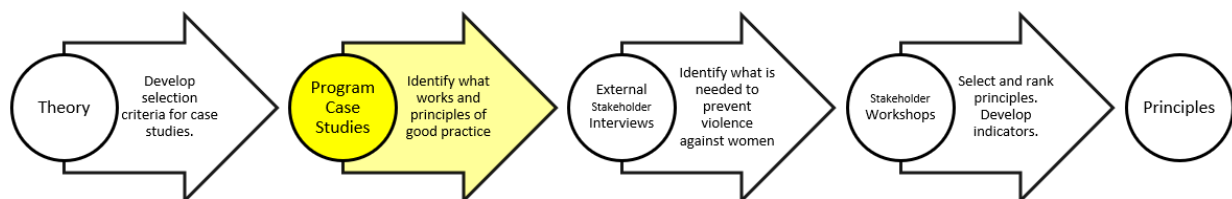
A range of evaluative tools show there is an array of evidence to illustrate the impact of TFVPP in addressing and preventing VAW, as evident in the application of the adapted TTM, and the increased visibility of Town Camp women and conversation about DFSV. The principles of good practice that emerged from TFVPP's work highlight how their work is guided by contextually appropriate and specific principles and frameworks. TFVPP also highlights the crucial need to reframe the approach to violence prevention by focusing on challenging the use of violence in a holistic model. The TFVPP case study illustrates how crucial it is for programs to be underpinned by relevant frameworks and theory, and for the intervention to be place-based and strengths-based. These principles, in addition to evidence of impact, assessed using a range of evaluative tools, have been used to identify TFVPP as a good practice model for violence prevention in the Northern Territory. Research for this case study illustrates how context-specific models are effective and necessary to prevent VAW.



Chapter Five: Case Study NO MORE Program

‘Kindness must be at the forefront of any intervention. Be kind – that five minutes of kindness may be the only kindness these women experience. Kindness must be at the forefront of any intervention in DFSV’ [ES29]

The Research Process



Introduction

This chapter will begin by describing case study’s context and program, then detail the fieldwork. It will then analyse the overarching themes in the case study data set, before assessing the program’s effectiveness and impact using a range of evaluative tools. Finally, it will unpack several lessons learned from the NO MORE case study.

Context

The NO MORE program is run by CatholicCare N.T. which has offices throughout the Northern Territory. The NO MORE program operates in seventeen locations in the Northern Territory with a catchment area of ‘Alice Springs, Darwin, Katherine, Tennant Creek and Top

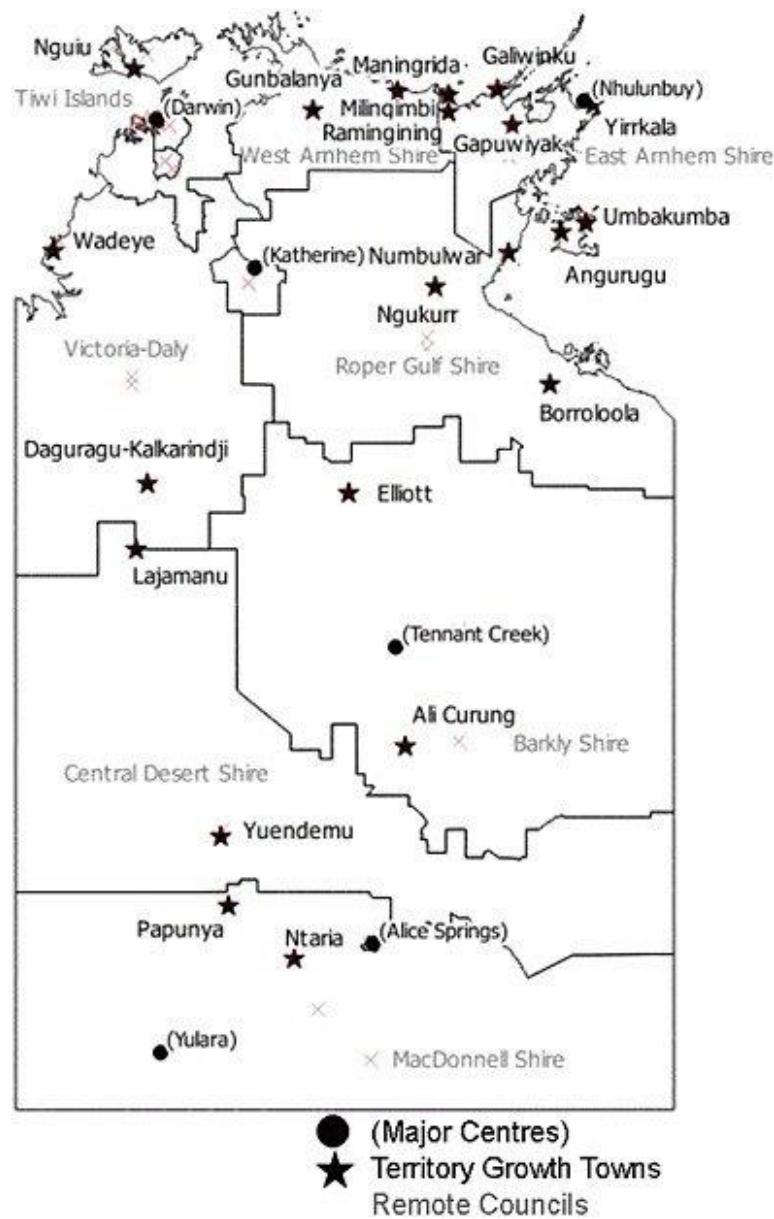
End Communities; Wadeye, Tiwi Islands, Alyangula, Maningrida, Ramingining and Yirrkala' (NO MORE CatholicCare NT, 2018), but is largely run out of regional centres. NO MORE also works in remote towns and communities including Wadeye, Borroloola, Ngukurr, and Biritjimi. NO MORE has since begun recruiting workers in Alice Springs, but at the time of the fieldwork, there were only five NO MORE staff throughout the NT – and three of them were very recently hired. Most of NO MORE's work operated out of Katherine as this is where the longest serving NO MORE staff members were living. The program founder is based in Darwin but also travels throughout the Northern Territory to promote NO MORE.

The work NO MORE undertakes in Katherine is carried out in Katherine's Town Camps, and surrounding communities, such as Jilkminggan. Katherine is a small regional town three and half hours south of Darwin on the Stuart Highway with a population of around 6 000 people. Katherine is the third largest town in the Northern Territory, after Darwin and Alice Springs. It is a regional hub for people in the Roper Gulf and Daly regions (see **Figure 34**). Just as people from remote communities frequently travel into Alice Springs, there is similar mobility and transience in Katherine. There are three main Aboriginal peoples who are custodians of the Katherine area: the Dagoman, Jawoyn, and Wardaman peoples (Wurli-Wurlinjang Health Service, n.d.). Katherine has been an important cultural meeting place for thousands of years (Wurli-Wurlinjang Health Service, n.d.). Many Aboriginal people in Katherine live in the Town Camps on the fringes of Katherine, as well as in surrounding communities (Wurli-Wurlinjang Health Service, n.d.). There is also a large Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) base 15 kilometres outside of Katherine (in Tindal). Air Force are rotated in to Katherine with their families, usually for several years.

The NO MORE worker in Tennant Creek also undertakes their work within the town but also travels to surrounding communities such as Ali Curung to deliver the program. Tennant Creek is a small town five and half hours north of Alice Springs on the Stuart Highway with a population around 3000 people. Tennant Creek has a history of being a mining town and is a regional hub for people living in the Barkly region, the population of which is 70% Indigenous (Anyinginyi Health Aboriginal Corporation, 2020). Historically, the Barkly region is home to nine different Aboriginal peoples, and Tennant Creek has been a traditional camping site for Warumungu in times of drought for thousands of years (Anyinginyi Health Aboriginal Corporation, 2020). Similarly, to Katherine and Alice Springs, many Aboriginal

people in Tennant Creek live in Town Camps on the fringes of the town or in surrounding communities.

Figure 34 Map of the Northern Territory (sourced from Zander, Taylor, & Carson, January 2016)



NO MORE often selects these communities based on recommendations by NT Police, but also on the request of local football clubs or through connections. Sport, particularly Australian Rules Football (AFL) is an important part of community life for many Aboriginal people. There are community teams and regional leagues throughout the Northern Territory, that often come together to compete in 'Lightning Carnivals'. AFL matches and

community sports in the Northern Territory are vibrant and spirited, and the spectators are passionate. It is common to see everyone's cars decorated in streamers and electrical tape in the colours of their community team during grand final weekend. However, sporting fixtures are often the site of extreme violence (Garrick & Hanifie, 2019), and can contribute to overcrowding when people travel into town to watch fixtures but end up staying for long periods.

The communities in which NO MORE works generally have a high rate of violence, are isolated, and lack access to facilities and resources. NO MORE workers often use connections with shire councils, various drug and alcohol services, the Department of Corrections, and Community Development Program (CDP)⁴⁰ coordinators to access participants. In regard to CDP, the participating men are able to count their attendance at NO MORE training sessions towards their mandatory activities, and this enables NO MORE to deliver training sessions to large groups of men. NO MORE also accesses participants through various sporting clubs in different regions throughout the Northern Territory but is mostly centred in the Top End⁴¹.

Program description

NO MORE was founded by an Indigenous sports commentator, then was integrated into CatholicCare NT. CatholicCare NT is a large faith-based organisation that runs many different programs, including counselling, housing support, and financial wellbeing programs, throughout the Northern Territory (CatholicCare NT, 2019). These programs are run from CatholicCare NT offices that are based in regional towns, and their staff often travel to remote communities to deliver their services. Whilst CatholicCare NT oversee some of the NO MORE program, they are mostly responsible for funding applications and reporting, whilst NO MORE is autonomous when it comes to staffing, program development, content, practice, and delivery.

The Program began as the NO MORE Campaign in 2006, and is largely the product of the discussions between the campaign's founder and men on remote Indigenous communities

⁴⁰ CDP is a work for the dole scheme in remote communities. At the time of fieldwork participants had to complete 25 hours a week of work-related activities, otherwise their welfare payments were cut.

⁴¹ The 'Top End' is the northern most part of the Northern Territory, from around Katherine north, whilst the southern end is often referred to as the 'Red Centre'.

in the Northern Territory (NO MORE Campaign, n.d.). NO MORE reports that in these discussions community leaders often talked about the need for Aboriginal men to join together and take the lead to end family violence and this is where the campaign's name 'no more' and the symbolic linking of arms derive.

The NO MORE Campaign was largely about advocacy and working with football clubs to send an anti-violence message. This would often involve having the players stand with linked arms on the field and through anti-violence signage at football grounds (see **Figure 35**).

Figure 35 Photo of players linking arms before the NO MORE AFL round in Darwin



The NO MORE campaign became the NO MORE program in 2008 when they secured long-term funding. The NO MORE program is focused on delivering training sessions to groups of Aboriginal men about the different forms of violence, and the program runs with the central vision of 'the Northern Territory is free from domestic, family, and sexual violence' (CatholicCare NT, 2018). NO MORE's central premise is that men can take the lead in ending family violence:

NO MORE works with men to take the responsibility of reducing domestic, family and sexual violence. While men have the power to be destructive, they have an equal power to care and look after their families. NO MORE works from the premise that the reduction of domestic, family and sexual violence needs men to stand up, as both individuals and as a group, so they can take ownership for finding a solution to end the cycle (NO MORE CatholicCare NT, 2018).

NO MORE is targeted at Indigenous men, however, the specific target group varies in the program documentation. Some program plans state that the target group is ‘men who engage in domestic, family and sexual violence’ (CatholicCare NT, 2018) others say it is ‘Indigenous communities, with a strong focus on Indigenous men’ (NO MORE CatholicCare NT, 2018). This lack of clarity has consequences for NO MORE’s work which will be discussed in the following sections.

The NO MORE program has four objectives. These are:

Objective 1: *Support violence reduction and the changing of community attitudes and norms in the NT, through the NO MORE prevention campaign*

Objective 2: *Work effectively to change men’s behaviour through building capacity of men to take a leadership role in developing strategies to stop gendered violence*

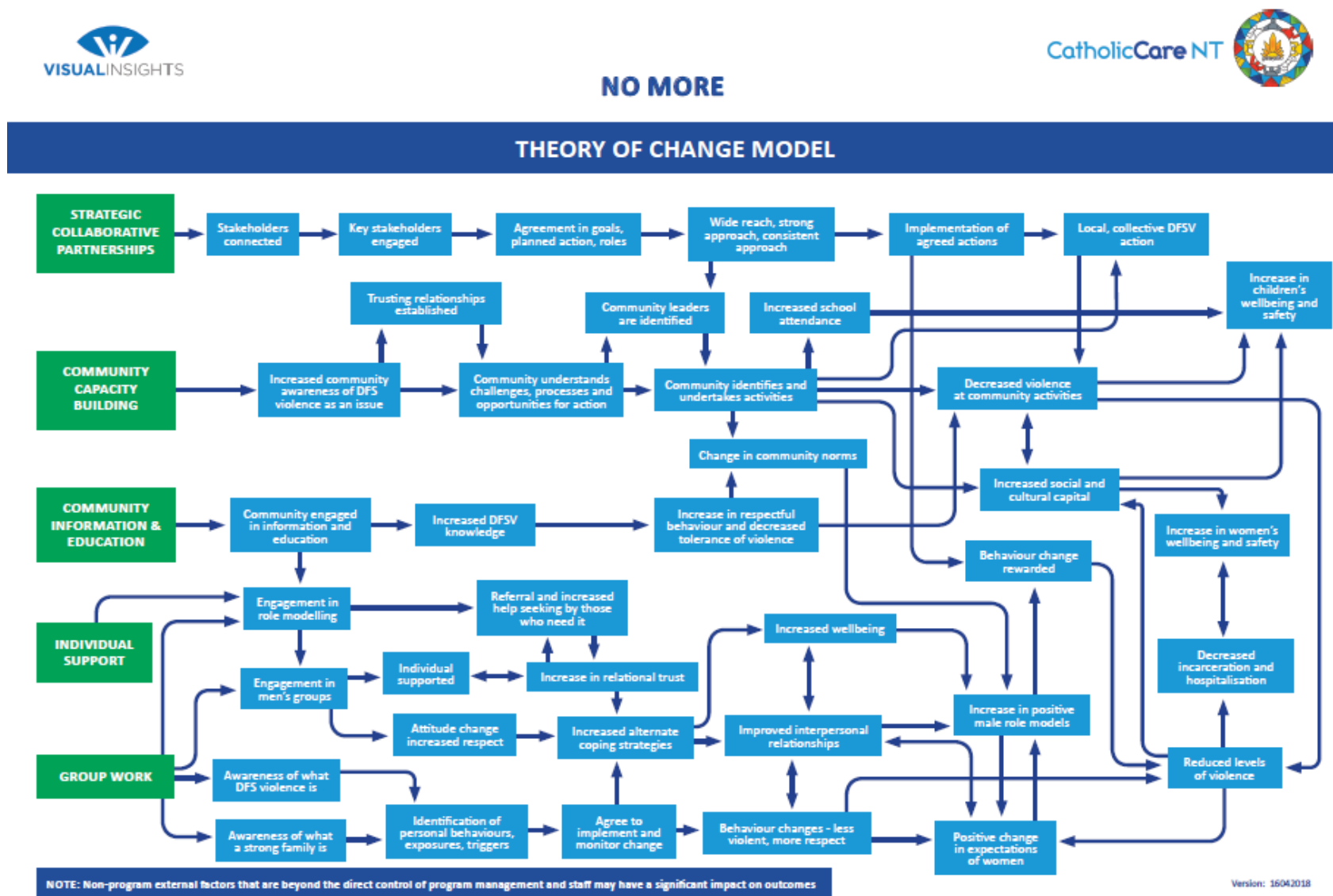
Objective 3: *Decrease the incidence of domestic, family and sexual violence through identifying and collaborating internally within Catholic Care NT and with agencies and groups that share common goal of reducing domestic, family and sexual violence.*

Objective 4: *Identify communities that have a high incidence of domestic, family and sexual violence and support community development initiatives that aim to decrease the incidence of domestic, family and sexual violence. (NO MORE CatholicCare NT, 2018; CatholicCare NT, 2018)*

NO MORE undertakes several activities to work towards achieving these objectives, the major one being training sessions with Indigenous men. The training sessions include a brief

overview of the bystander approach to intervening in VAW and are usually held with CDP groups, but also at AOD services and in prisons. These training sessions are also delivered to the wider non-Indigenous community, including town councils and school groups. NO MORE staff can also make referrals into other CatholicCare NT programs for men who need additional support – I observed one instance of a NO MORE worker making a referral to CatholicCare NT’s housing support team. NO MORE also organises and attends community events to promote an anti-violence message, such as community marches and delivering speeches at sporting events. They also work with sporting clubs to develop Domestic Violence Action Plans (DVAPs) which outline the club’s commitment to creating a culture of respect and zero tolerance for violence. NO MORE partners with sporting organisations, such as AFL Northern Territory, to combat spectator violence and violence on the field. Program staff also regularly attend conferences to speak and held its own symposium of its staff and other sports-based health and wellbeing programs in 2018. NO MORE theorises that through these collective activities, as demonstrated by their theory of change (**Figure 36**), they will drive positive change, including increased safety and wellbeing of women and children.

Figure 36 NO MORE theory of change model



Engagement and fieldwork

NO MORE was suggested as a possible case study by colleagues familiar with my selection criteria (see **Chapter Three**) and I began reading about their work in newspaper articles and on their website. In several articles, police officers said they believed there had been a reduction in violence at football carnivals where NO MORE attended. As a result, I contacted NO MORE via email in November 2017 and in December 2017, began having conversations via phone and email with a CatholicCare NT senior manager who oversaw the NO MORE program. Throughout the consultation phase and the fieldwork with NO MORE, I worked with many different CatholicCare NT and NO MORE staff, but to maintain confidentiality I will refer to them as 'staff members' or 'workers'. I will use the terms 'manager', 'founder' and 'CEO' only when it is necessary to show seniority.

In February 2018, I had a skype interview with a manager (who was transferring into another role within CatholicCare NT), the incoming manager, and a NO MORE worker. NO MORE's founder was also supposed to have attended this meeting but cancelled. During the meeting, the consultation document (**Appendix E**) was completed. As a result of this meeting, we decided to move forward with the research partnership and began negotiating a research agreement, which outlined the agreed research methods. An agreement in principle letter signed by CatholicCare NT's CEO was received in March 2018 and the signed research agreement, also signed by the CEO, was received in July 2018. We agreed that I would undertake the first month of fieldwork between 24 September and 19 October 2018 based at CatholicCare NT's Katherine office.

I continued to be in communication with a CatholicCare NT manager in the interim months via email and phone-calls. However, I failed to hear from anyone from CatholicCare NT in the weeks immediately preceding the fieldwork (later discovering that the manager I had been liaising with had changed positions) so I contacted a CatholicCare NT regional manager, who was unaware of the research or that I would be based in the Katherine office. I spoke with this person over the phone and sent through the research agreement on the 20 September 2018, and arrived in Katherine on the 23 September, and began in the office the next day.

The first day I spent with a NO MORE worker, who showed me the training presentation and some films of NO MORE's community march in Ngukurr. I was also introduced to the office staff and given a desk in the shared office with five other staff members, one of whom was another NO MORE worker who I would be shadowing.

Over the course of the first two weeks, I began attending meetings with NO MORE staff, including with government AOD services and CDP coordinators. I also began attending the NO MORE training sessions which were delivered with CDP groups at Kilano and Jilkminggan. The second week of fieldwork, I travelled to Ngukurr with a NO MORE staff member to observe a training session held with a CDP group and to meet with stakeholders, including clinic staff, police, and community leaders. Throughout this time, I also scheduled and carried out interviews with external stakeholders for the case study.

In this initial time period, the NO MORE staff member discussed with me his lack of confidence in his work, and how he felt extremely unsure about what he was doing because he knew very little about domestic, family, and sexual violence. I observed at the training sessions (which were all the same eight-slide presentation, regardless of whether the participants had already seen it) that the staff member largely read complex definitions off a sheet and struggled to answer the men's questions, especially in relation to the bystander approach. At one training session in particular, the participants disclosed a severe incident of violence and one man talked about how he had intervened, and other men told the staff member that they shouldn't intervene because they could also get hurt. The NO MORE worker had no answer to this. After the training sessions, the NO MORE worker would ask me questions about how he could respond to the challenges he was facing in the trainings. We had long discussions in which I suggested possible answers to the questions and challenges that he had raised and suggested he undergo additional training – which he also wanted but felt that management would not agree. During the fieldwork, this staff member applied to attend a DV specialist conference for his professional development, but was denied.

In the training sessions, I also observed a focus on equating men and women's violence. Often the NO MORE worker would begin the session by reassuring the men that whilst this session was for men, they were working on *'getting something for the women because women are just as bad [in their use of violence]'* [SP12]. I talked this through with the staff

member after training sessions. When I returned to the office after the training sessions, CatholicCare NT managers and other NO MORE staff would ask me about what I had observed in the training sessions and my thoughts about the program. The motivation of the NO MORE staff seemed to be to ascertain whether the NO MORE worker delivering the session was following the training PowerPoint and delivering content 'properly', whilst the motivation of the CatholicCare NT managers was to find out what was occurring in the training sessions as no one had previously observed these training sessions. In these exchanges, I raised my concerns about the collusion and minimisation of violence I had observed with another NO MORE worker and CatholicCare NT managers. This NO MORE worker was quite dismissive of my concerns, claiming that domestic, family, and sexual violence is not gendered in Katherine, but the CatholicCare NT management were quite worried by what I reported. CatholicCare NT management said that there was little oversight of the program and expressed their concern that no one appeared to know what was being delivered in the program. CatholicCare NT managers also disclosed to me that there had been bullying of NO MORE staff and inappropriate conduct of a NO MORE worker towards other CatholicCare NT staff. I shared these concerns as I had personally witnessed several instances of bullying behaviour.

During my first two weeks, I had also had several incidents with one of the NO MORE workers that made me feel uncomfortable, such as one occasion where the worker came to my desk demanding why I had not come to his office when he had texted me 15 minutes earlier. The worker had made jokes about violence against women and trivialised violence on a number of occasions. I raised this with a CatholicCare NT manager, who said she would pass this up the CatholicCare NT management chain. Throughout this time, I also spoke with my supervisor over the phone to discuss how I would manage the situation.

In the third week, I travelled to Tennant Creek by plane with a NO MORE worker. Whilst in Tennant Creek, I met another recently hired NO MORE worker there, and carried out several interviews with external stakeholders. I also attended a meeting between NO MORE and AFLNT, where again violence was joked about, particularly women's violence. I also observed a training session delivered at Barkly Region Alcohol and Drug Abuse Advisory Group (BRADAAG) and at Barkly Work Camp (a minimum-security prison). These training sessions were led by the more experienced NO MORE worker so that the new NO MORE

worker could observe. The training sessions were a repeat of the same eight-slide PowerPoint presentation – the BRADAAG participants had received the exact training session only two weeks prior and commented on this throughout the training session. Again at this training session, men's use of violence was minimised and there was an emphasis placed on women's use of violence.

The training session at Barkly Work Camp was extremely brief, with the new NO MORE worker leading a part of the training, but it was cut short because it was apparent the Indigenous men had too little English to understand any of the content. They rarely spoke and did not engage or respond when they were asked questions. Coincidentally, another speaker was at Barkly Work Camp at the same time who was a former AFL player talking about his own use of violence and struggles with depression and substance abuse. This speaker ended up taking over the session, and the demeanour of the men immediately changed, as he used pictures and other means to engage them. On the drive back from the prison, the more experienced NO MORE worker was quite angry about how the session had gone, and was arguing with the new NO MORE staff member that the NO MORE program couldn't make their own linguistically and culturally appropriate resources because *'things have to be marketed in a certain way'* [SP11]. The new NO MORE staff member was disappointed with the session and believed that he needed more comprehensive training and the training materials needed to be adapted so they could be accessed by linguistically diverse groups. Once we returned to the Tennant Creek CatholicCare NT office, the new NO MORE staff member came to speak to me and was extremely upset and frustrated about the session and also the lack of training he had received. He asked to keep in contact with me and if I could continue to share reading and training resources – I agreed.

Upon my return to Katherine, in our debrief meeting, I informed a CatholicCare NT manager of the events in Tennant Creek and she assured me she would pass this up the CatholicCare NT management chain. She also asked me to look over the report she had written on behalf of NO MORE for Territory Families (the program's principal funder) and asked for my thoughts as the report covered the five training sessions I had personally observed. I told her that NO MORE was not lying, but they were certainly embellishing and polishing the truth. They were indeed delivering training sessions on community but the content of these

sessions, particularly the collusion, minimisation, and trivialising were extremely dangerous and concerning. She appeared to take my concerns seriously.

The fourth week of fieldwork I travelled to Darwin and attended the NO MORE symposium, which was a collection of stakeholders and program representatives involved in sport who were working to combat violence. At the conference, NO MORE's founder began his keynote address refuting a newspaper article published the same day which criticised NO MORE, especially the domestic violence action plans (DVAPs), for not holding players who had used violence to account. NO MORE's founder said it was unreasonable to suspend players who had been accused but not yet convicted of domestic violence related offences. Whilst at the symposium, I met with another CatholicCare NT manager, and we had a brief discussion about my concerns. I also said that throughout the fieldwork I had repeatedly attempted to meet with NO MORE's founder but was unable to due to his busy schedule.

After the symposium, I travelled back to Katherine where I carried out a few more interviews with external stakeholders. I also met once more with a CatholicCare NT regional manager and we discussed the next period of fieldwork and agreed on May 2019 in another of NO MORE's locations, specifically Darwin and the Tiwi Islands. I also told her my concerns about my fieldwork report to NO MORE and whether this should be released to staff, my concern being that it would result in bullying of NO MORE staff members. After finishing fieldwork, I travelled back to Alice Springs in October 2018.

In the following months, I analysed the data and wrote the interim report for NO MORE. I sent a draft of this report to several CatholicCare NT managers for their feedback, and I once again asked that this report not be shared with NO MORE staff and again gave my reasoning. I received an email from a CatholicCare NT manager in early February 2019 asking for a meeting to discuss the report in more detail with himself, several other managers, and the CEO, and a skype meeting was scheduled for late February 2019.

In the telephone meeting, the staff raised their concerns about the report, primarily about who would be able to access the report because they considered it to be quite critical of NO MORE's work. They also said they thought there were several limitations of the report: that I only engaged with five staff (NO MORE only had five staff at the time of fieldwork); that I had not met with NO MORE's founder (I explained that planned meetings and interviews

had been cancelled due to his schedule); and that NO MORE is not supposed to be challenging attitudes or changing their behaviour, so it is unfair to critique them on that basis (I referred to NO MORE's objectives one and two which explicitly state this). In the meeting I also reiterated that I had raised these concerns throughout the fieldwork, and that I was disappointed that their primary concern appeared to be about protecting the image and reputation of NO MORE, rather than prioritising the safety of women and children in the communities in which they were working. At the end of the meeting, it was agreed that I would include some additional acknowledgement of limitations in the report and I would keep the report confidential, and that they would decide how and if to disseminate its findings. I finalised the report and sent it to them in March 2019.

Throughout this period, the newly hired NO MORE worker continued to contact me by phone and email for resources and guidance which I continued to provide. This staff member was extremely frustrated by the lack of support and the inappropriate conduct of another NO MORE worker. I advised him to document and report his concerns. However, eventually the staff member contacted me and advised he had resigned from NO MORE.

I also continued to communicate with a CatholicCARE NT senior manager via email, who would often ask for resources and contacts. As part of the recommendations in the interim report, I put NO MORE in contact with TFVPP so they could learn from their Men's Behaviour Change Program, and they met on several occasions. I also met with a CatholicCare NT manager twice on his visits to Alice Springs. In April 2019, he told me that it had been decided that NO MORE did not want to complete the second period of fieldwork. At this time, he said the report had been shared with a NO MORE worker and this had led to the decision not to proceed with the final stage of fieldwork. I asked him for clarification about whether NO MORE was withdrawing consent, needing to be de-identified, or what exactly they would like according to the terms set out in the research agreement⁴². It was agreed that I would continue to be able to use NO MORE as a case study but that a second period of fieldwork would not be undertaken. It was also made clear that CatholicCare NT

⁴² The clause in the research agreement regarding the withdrawal of consent reads: "As stated in the both the Ethics Protocols, and in the Project Information Sheets and Consent forms, any individual, community or organisation has the right to withdraw from the research project at any time up until the writing of the PhD thesis (2019). The organisation and/or individuals can withdraw their consent in part (the right to use names and identifying factors) or in full (no longer agreeing to participate in the research)."

understood that the data I had collected so far showed that NO MORE was meeting few indicators of good practice and that this would be reflected in this case study. The CatholicCare NT manager said that he knew that the content of the interim report would be largely reflected in this thesis case study, which was one of the reasons he had tried to organise a second period of fieldwork – so that I might have the opportunity to observe NO MORE’s work in other regions. He had also hoped that through the second period of fieldwork, that I would see that the program had addressed several of my recommendations and showed evidence of improvement.

After this meeting, a CatholicCare NT manager continued to try to organise a second period of fieldwork, but it became clear this was untenable due to low staffing, the prolonged absence of the program founder, and the difficulties finding a fieldwork location. I gave NO MORE many opportunities to withdraw consent, and ensured they were aware they could withdraw consent when they knew I would be honest in my assessment of NO MORE in terms of the three frameworks I was applying: Humphrey’s principles of good practice, the adapted Transtheoretical Model, and Changing the Picture. NO MORE chose not to withdraw consent.

However, CatholicCare NT management continued to email me for resources, we met again in July 2019, and they sent CatholicCare NT staff to the workshops (discussed in **Chapter seven**) held in September in all four locations. They also contacted me to report that they believed that NO MORE had made some good progress in addressing the recommendations I put forward in my report, including that they reflected upon collusion and were beginning to address this in their work. Because there was only one period of fieldwork undertaken with NO MORE, this explains the disparity in the number of participants between the two case studies.

Participants

The total number of participants in the NO MORE case study was seventy-nine. As shown in **Figure 38**, the participants were five staff-participants, 51 program-participants, and 23 stakeholder-participants. The stakeholder-participants were people who worked with other

social and legal services in the Katherine region – these included police, social workers, Aboriginal liaison workers, and lawyers.

Figure 37 Participant Type by Primary Method of Participation

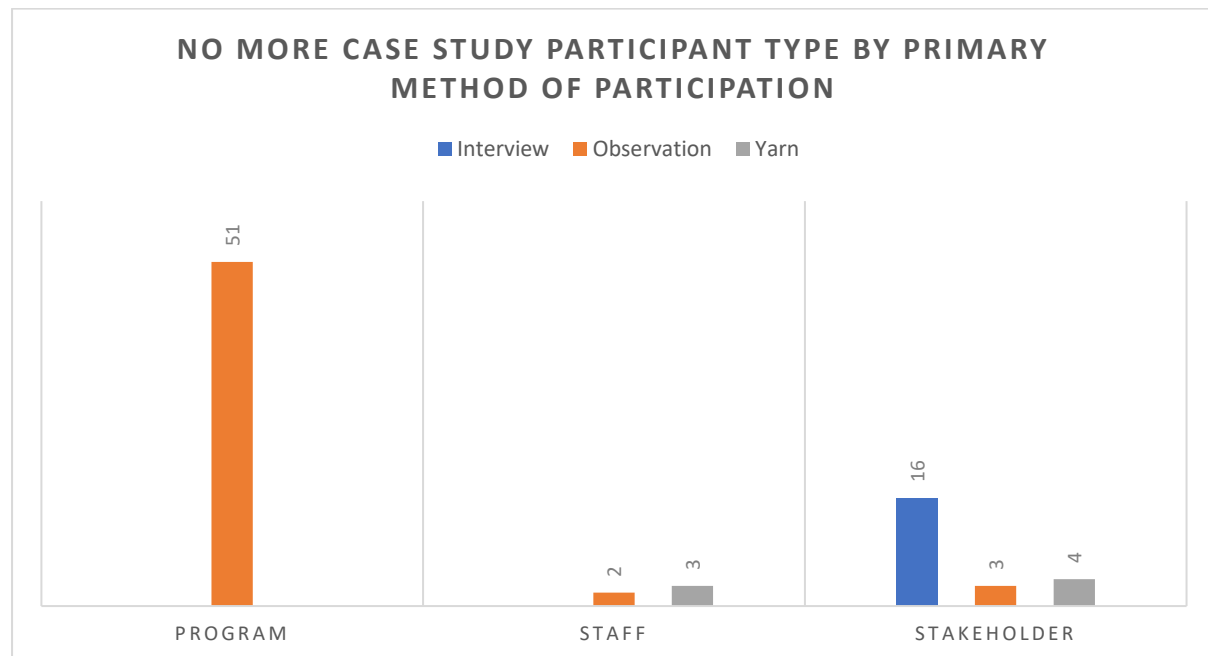
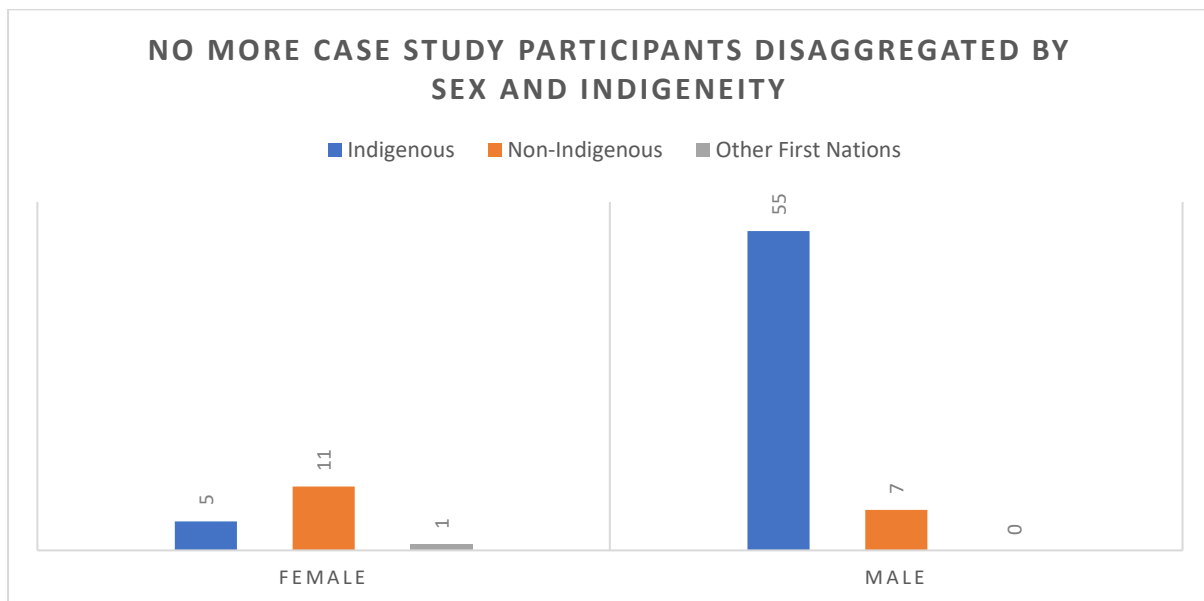


Figure 39 shows the sex and Indigeneity of the participants – this clearly shows that the majority of participants were male, with only seventeen women participating in the NO MORE case study, only five of whom were Indigenous. This possibly reflects the fact that program-participants were captured through training sessions which are only delivered to men. The Indigenist feminist methodology used to approach this research called for Indigenous women’s voices to be centred, and I had identified the need to include more Indigenous female participants as a proposed future activity in the interim report, but as the second period of fieldwork was not undertaken, I was unable to do so. A more diverse range of voices would have helped to better establish the impact of NO MORE on community change.

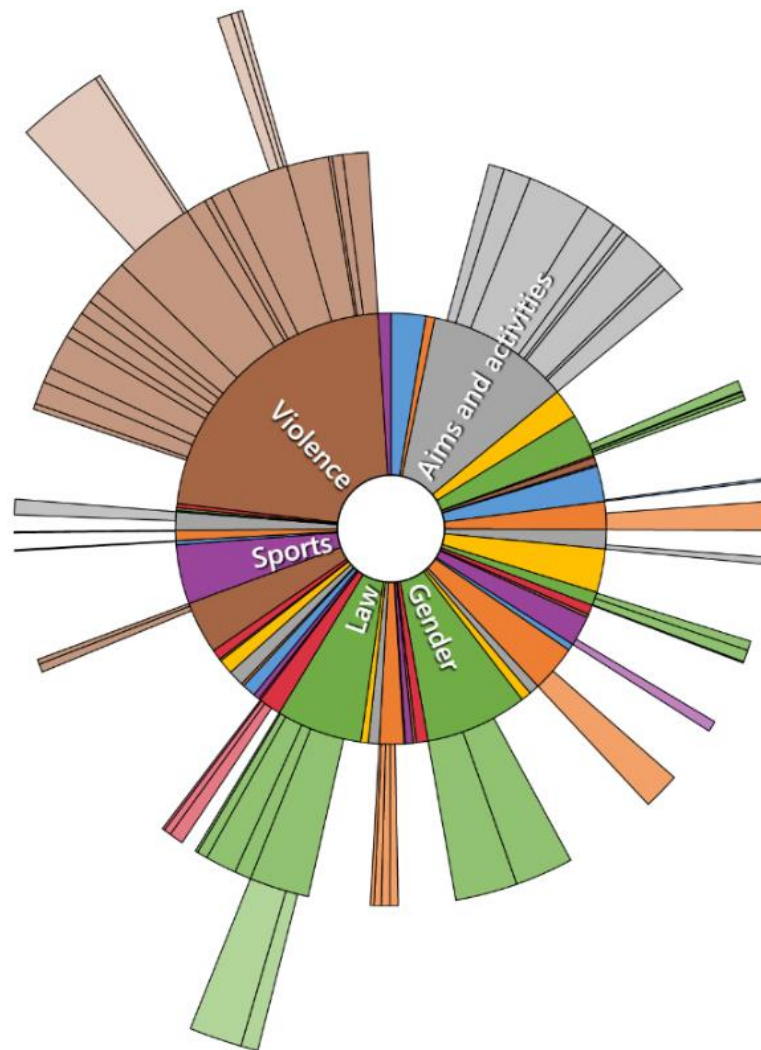
Figure 38 Participants disaggregated by sex and Indigeneity



Overarching themes

The following is a breakdown of the themes identified in the thematic analysis of the NO MORE case study data set. This data set includes the views of external stakeholders so far as they relate to this program's activities, objectives, or its context – but the interviews with external stakeholders will be explored in greater detail in **chapter six**. For the purposes of this thesis, only the most frequent five themes will be discussed as these point to NO MORE's primary concerns and activities.

Figure 39 Breakdown of themes



47 themes were developed from the data set and **Figure 40** is a pie chart that shows the breakdown of these themes by the number of references to them. The inner tier shows the individual themes, whilst the second and third tiers represent the child codes aggregated to the theme. The five overarching themes in the data were ‘Violence’, ‘Aims and activities’, ‘Gender’, ‘Law’, and ‘Sports’. The themes, in order of dominance, can be seen in **Table 12** below.

Table 12 Themes in order of dominance

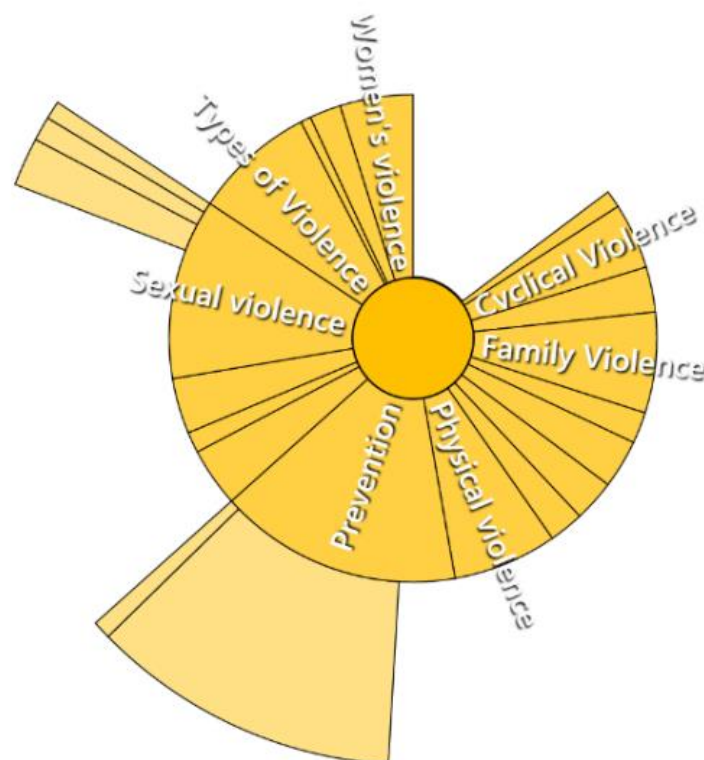
Ranking	Theme	Number of References	Ranking	Theme	Number of References
1	Violence	434	25	Family	15
2	Aims and activities	207	26	Funding	15
3	Gender	150	27	Safety	15
4	Law	126	28	Staying in relationship	15
5	Sports	83	29	Control	14
6	Services	77	30	Accountability	13
7	Education	69	31	Bullying	11
8	Community	68	32	Historical Context	11
9	Barriers	63	33	Language	11
10	Change	52	34	Definitions	10
11	AOD	51	35	Recommendation	9
12	Attitudes	43	36	Staff Knowledge	6
13	Child Protection	41	37	Trauma	6
14	Indigenous-led	36	38	Health	5
15	Culture	35	39	Crisis	5
16	Monitoring and Evaluation	33	40	Rehabilitation	4
17	Collusion	28	41	Technology	4
18	Stereotyping	27	42	Blame	3
19	Relationships	23	43	Challenging	3
20	Conflict Resolution	20	44	Parenting	3
21	Referrals	20	45	Risk	3
22	Youth	19	46	Inclusion	2
23	Government	17	47	Strengths	2
24	Jealousy	16			

The top five themes reveal the concerns and activities of NO MORE. Much of NO MORE's work revolves around training and raising awareness about violence – whether this is displaying signage and linking arms before sports matches; leading training sessions with men; or organising marches to create visibility of the program and of DFSV and VAW, and this was reflected in the top coded themes of 'Violence' and 'Aims and activities'. However,

the theme of 'Gender' highlighted how necessary a gender lens is when training men about the different types of violence. The theme of 'Law' revealed the conflict between law and lore⁴³ in many of the areas in which NO MORE works, and also how penal responses are often regarded as a threat to women experiencing DFSV. The theme 'Sports' reveals the extent to which NO MORE engages with various sporting teams and organisations to further their message, and the signing of DVAPs. An analysis of the five most dominant themes follows below.

Violence

Figure 40 Breakdown of references to the theme of 'Violence'



As shown in **Figure 41**, the theme 'Violence' comprises the codes 'Violence', 'Causes', 'Cyclical Violence', 'Emotional Psychological Violence', 'Family Violence', 'Financial Abuse', 'Normalisation', 'Payback', 'Perpetrators', 'Physical Violence', 'Prevention', 'Scale', 'Self-harm', 'Severity', 'Sexual violence', 'Types of Violence', 'Verbal', 'Weapons', and finally

⁴³ Customary lore and/or cultural lore – the system of right, wrong, and taboos according to Indigenous cultures.

‘Women’s Violence’. These codes were grouped together because they all refer to a type of violence, its size or severity, or attitudes towards violence and how to prevent it. ‘Violence’ was used to capture general references to violence, whilst its sub-codes are more specific. Two sub-codes ‘Prevention’ and ‘Sexual Violence’ have additional sub-codes to capture more specific references. Only the most prominent codes pertinent to the case study will be detailed.

The common thread within the ‘Violence’ theme was how common violence is in Katherine and surrounding areas, particularly that perpetrated against women, and that this violence is often severe:

‘It’s so common, I’d almost say it’s entrenched, it’s a significant proportion of Katherine’s population’s reality. Here [Katherine service] we see people being a victim and a perpetrator. If you walk around here, you’ll see more than one woman with her arm in a plaster. Frequently see victims of physical violence who remain in the relationship and those relationships are long-term. They aren’t breaking up, it’s normal, they’re staying in those relationships. We don’t only see violence, we see people move through patterns of crisis. Couples violent to each other – at times heavily intoxicated, without money, no food. People moving chaotically through those patterns.’ [ES27]

‘One woman, her brother-in-law and her partner pushed her into a fire and she is burnt all over’ [ES17]

The ‘Causes’ code captured some views about where the high levels of violence in the Northern Territory come from:

‘[Violence] is from generational anger and hopelessness...Grog is the main cause but there are others: lifetime habits and sometimes generational habits, no money, housing...Hopelessness. Violence comes from hopelessness and generational hopelessness, the attitude “this is the way it is.”’ [ES17].

Gender inequality creates an environment where gendered drivers give rise to violence against women – these drivers include condoning and/or minimisation of violence against women; men’s control of decision-making; limitation of women’s independence; rigid

gender roles and gender stereotypes; disrespect of women and emphasis on male aggression (Our Watch , n.d.). Flinders University academics examined the NO MORE program as a primary prevention program and in their report, highlighted the gendered drivers of DFSV and VAW and made recommendations that NO MORE engage more with women and include their voices (Louth, Mackay, & Goodwin-Smith, 2018). Despite these earlier recommendations, during my fieldwork, I could detect no understanding of these gendered drivers of violence in NO MORE resources or training sessions.

In several observed training sessions, NO MORE staff reinforced several of these gendered drivers by emphasising men as the decision-makers of their families; minimising violence; and encouraging sexual harassment. These instances will be discussed in further detail throughout the case study.

‘Cyclical Violence’ references were largely a product of interviews with external stakeholders. This code revealed how people become entrapped in the cycle of violence – and how frequently former victims become perpetrators of DFSV and VAW – and the need for genuine interventions to break the cycle.

‘Jail and prosecution – it’s disruptive. That intervention does nothing to address their daily life when they’re in community – you can’t lock people up forever. Put the effort there. Time in jail, they forget everything. Crisis can’t continue forever. Jail. Back in the cycle. Where’s the real intervention?’ [ES27]

‘Some of these girls are underage – and some mothers allow it to happen because it happened to them when they were younger. And they’ll defend the men – protecting sons is given priority. It creates this ripple effect in community when the man is sent to jail, then things happen in jail, and they come out and punish the victim.’ [ES15]

‘We had one young man whose father had killed his mother. He really didn’t want to be like his father but he went on to perpetrate violence. He was then a young witness to violence – family being violent, because of overcrowding there’s always going to be some violence. So we turn it around on him – “you could kill your partner who is the mother of your child.”’ [ES20]

The 'Emotional Psychological Violence' code captured references to emotional forms of abuse in the data set. Captured by this code was the reference to '1 in 7 men have experienced emotional abuse by a current or former partner since the age of 15' statistic displayed in NO MORE's training PowerPoint. I found this choice of statistic interesting given that the title of the slide is 'who is most affected [by DFSV]?' and current statistics show that 1 in 4 women have experienced emotional abuse by a current or former partner since the age of 15 (Our Watch, 2016). Also of interest was that a '1 in 7 men' statistic was often dwelt on in the training sessions by NO MORE staff. When highlighting this statistic, staff made comments such as:

'[men need to] be careful of our heads and hearts so we don't snap and react'
[SP11]

'Humiliation. [Some women will say] "he's better than you." Mind games, you see that around here?' *[SP11].*

These comments prompted the participants to reflect on whether they had seen women emotionally abusing men and focused the conversation on women's use of violence. Moreover, language like 'snap' and 'react' implies men are not responsible for their use of violence.

Most references captured by the 'Family Violence' code were from DVAPs where sporting clubs and other organisations stated their understanding of family violence and their opposition to it:

'Imalu Football Club would like to acknowledge that family violence is not acceptable. Respect each other, respect the people in our community. We need to end Family violence.' *[Imalu Tigers 2018 DVAP]*

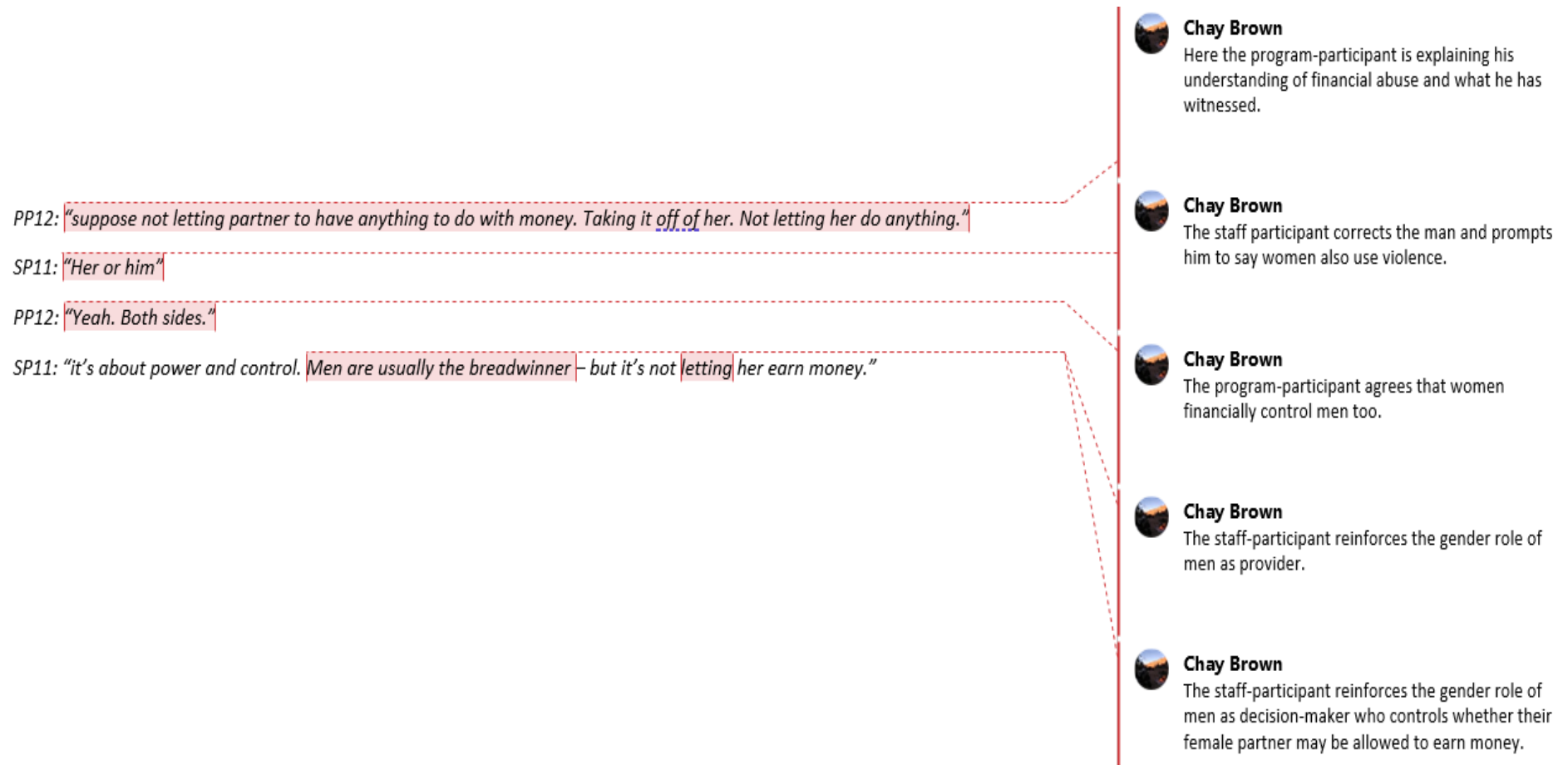
'We also understand family violence to include family and family-like relationships. As well as violence between current and separated intimate partners, abuse and violence in our community also occurs among family members and those in family-like relationships. It can include violence by young people against their parents or other family members, abuse of elderly people by family members, abuse in same sex relationships and abuse of men.' *[Barkly Regional Council DVAP]*

The 'Financial Abuse' code largely captured references to humbug⁴⁴ and the theft of basics cards associated with income management. The code also illustrated how financial abuse is related to gender. One interesting exchange is shown in **Figure 42**. The exchange is between a program-participant (PP) and a staff-participant (SP) in a NO MORE training session reveals the lack of a gender lens in these sessions and in their understanding of financial abuse.

In this particular instance, a gender lens would have helped the staff member to respond to the program-participant's comments – firstly, by not correcting the program-participant's language as we know that DFSV in all its forms is gendered in nature, and because NO MORE is supposed to be focused on preventing men's use of violence. The staff member's insistence that the program-participant use '*him or her*' implies that men and women commit DFSV at similar rates and implies that men are not responsible for their use of violence. Moreover, a gender lens would have helped the staff member to see that reiterating the male role as one of 'breadwinner' and as the decision-maker who determines whether a woman can earn money or not, is inadvertently reinforcing gender roles which give rise to violence (World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010).

⁴⁴ Colloquial term used in Indigenous communities and within the Northern Territory to mean excessive and repeated demands or harassment, usually from family members.

Figure 41 Annotation of an exchange between a NO MORE staff member and training participant about financial abuse



The 'Perpetrators' code captured the frustration of many stakeholders who felt there were not enough interventions that focused on perpetrators and changing their behaviour.

'Ineffective intervention because of male behaviour. Put things on ice. Mums being penalised for remaining with perpetrator who's drinking.' [ES27]

'Apart from Indigenous Family Violence Offenders Program, I don't think there's any work being done with perpetrators. You can't have behaviour change focused on victims.' [ES11]

Interestingly, despite NO MORE staff members reiterating that they were '*not a men's behaviour change program*' [SP11], the program plan shows that the target group of NO MORE is:

'Men who engage in domestic, family and sexual violence' [Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan].

Moreover, Objective Two is to

'Work effectively to change men's behaviour and to build the capacity of men to take a leadership role to develop strategies to reduce domestic, family and sexual violence.' [Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan].

I believe this lack of understanding and clarity about the program's target group and objectives is due to the disconnect between the CatholicCare NT staff writing program documentation and those managing and delivering the NO MORE program. Given the need for a perpetrator program in the Katherine region, there is considerable scope for NO MORE to meet this need at least in part, providing that staff are appropriately trained and the program is underpinned by relevant frameworks and theory.

The 'Physical Violence' code captured some of the most extreme stories of violence and their prevalence, which again reinforce the dire need for effective primary prevention and perpetrator-based interventions in the Northern Territory.

'I remember we had one woman come in with a huge haematoma on her vulva. She initially said that a chair had been thrown, but she eventually admitted that

he kicked her ("with steel-capped boots" [ES30]). It was huge, it needed to be surgically repaired.' [ES29].

'Prevention' captured the many different ways participants felt that violence could be prevented – but they all agreed that solutions were long-term and needed to begin with interventions with young children.

'There's some social determinants of health that would help: gainful employment; housing; and education - school that is culturally and regionally appropriate. It's girls knowing and learning what a healthy relationship is. Learning not to put up with it. It's women knowing what their rights are.' [ES23]

'Scale' and 'Severity' codes reveal an alarming rate of DFSV and VAW in the Katherine region, both in its frequency and severity.

'Between 17% and 23% of victims are male. The average is 17% but I've seen it as high as 23%. Between 77% and 83% are female victims.' [ES29]

'I believe it's significantly more common [in Katherine] than the rest of the Australian context...It's so common, I'd almost say it's entrenched, it's a significant proportion of Katherine's population's reality.' [ES27]

'Most, if not all, of our clients – around 99.9% are subject to, receiving of, or perpetrators of DFSV. Both men and women.' [ES20]

The 'Self-harm' code captured multiple instances of severe self-inflicted injuries and death, as well as how self-harm is intimately linked with DFV.

'And it's not just violence against other people, it's violence against yourself. Self-harm. There was a young fella from [remote community] who tried to kill himself with an axe. Now he's severely brain damaged...You know the song Strange Fruit? Well we had a spate of that here. People hanging themselves from the trees. One fella found his cousin hanging from the tree, and he's trying to lift him up, whilst screaming for help.' [ES17]

'[You've got to ask] Are you okay? How you going today? Suicides. Way too many suicides going on.' [SP11]

‘But non-Aboriginal perpetrators and the danger of murder-suicide, what do you do with them?’ [ES23]

The ‘Sexual Violence’ code covered rape and sexual assault, but it also captured references from the child codes of ‘Consent’, ‘Prostitution’, and ‘STIs’. However, this code also revealed an incomplete understanding of sexual violence on the part of NO MORE staff. For instance, in three separate training sessions, the story of a young man groping women in a bar was told, and how eventually the young man was confronted by a husband. The young man punched the husband and the husband was killed. The NO MORE staff then emphasised that the young man is now in jail. At no point did NO MORE staff identify, clarify, or highlight that the inappropriate touching of women is sexual assault.

‘He touched her bottom and her husband saw. The husband came up and fronted him. He punched him, he hit his head, and he spent the next few years in jail.’ [SP12].

‘That was his life for 7-8 years, but because of one action – he touched his wife’s bottom, they tried to hold him back, but he wanted to confront him. One punch, dead.’ [SP12].

On another occasion, a NO MORE worker spoke about how men should be allowed to go out and get drunk with their friends. He said that when men are together, they talk about women:

‘Some woman walk past this window and we’ll look that way and say “mmmmmm” [SP12].

The large group of men present in that session laughed, cat whistled, and made lewd comments in response to this comment. I was surprised by this story and the men’s reaction, despite my being in the room – the only female – there seemed to be no thought to moderate behaviour. There seemed to be little to no recognition that this encouraged sexual harassment of women. This suggests to me a complete lack of understanding about sexual harassment and its impacts upon women.

The NO MORE worker followed this story up by saying that if men can go out to get drunk with their friends, then their female partners should be allowed to spend time with their

sisters and cousins. There seemed to be no recognition that women being allowed to spend time with their family is not parity with men being able to associate freely and it is not all that is required to achieve social equality. The literature tells us that when rigid gender roles are enforced, violence against women increases (World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010; Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005). Therefore, NO MORE workers should avoid encouraging and reinforcing attitudes which demean women.

The 'Types of Violence' code captured references from DVAPs that acknowledged that violence takes many forms, and it also captured training sessions which sought to educate men about the different types of violence. NO MORE workers articulated that the aim of their program was to:

'uplift men and teach them about the different types of violence' [SP11].

This was primarily done by reading through a list of definitions of various types of violence then providing examples – often this was met with laughter and jokes from participants, particularly in response to financial abuse and stalking. The laughter and inappropriate comments went unchallenged by NO MORE staff. The 'Verbal' code captured verbal abuse, and most references also came from the training sessions – program-participants seemed to be able to understand this type of violence much more easily, and were able to identify that it included threats as well as shouting and insults.

Finally, the 'Violence' theme also included 'Women's Violence'. This code captured references to women's use of violence. Whilst several external stakeholders referred to instances of women using violence, it was interesting to see how women's use of violence was a focus in the observed training sessions.

'Women are just as bad' [SP12]

'Women are just as bad hey? But our stats say women get abused more...we'll get a NO MORE worker to talk to the women' [SP12]

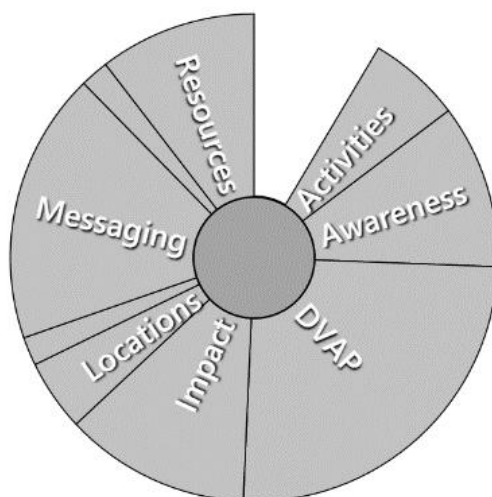
Also, when teaching about the bystander approach, NO MORE staff gave the example of men breaking up a 'catfight' [SP12] or 'two girls knuckling up' [SP11] – which both staff-participants and program-participants found amusing – rather than focusing on intervening in intimate partner violence. A NO MORE worker also spoke about how role play was used in

a training session wherein a NO MORE worker would put on a purple wig and a dress, then chase the other NO MORE worker around with a toy axe – the NO MORE worker described this as *‘fun’* and a *‘good laugh’* [SP11] for the program-participants. NO MORE did not adequately recognise and respond to the evidence which shows that violence against Indigenous women is disproportionately frequent and severe (Manjoo, 2012).

Overall, the ‘Violence’ theme shows the extreme nature and frequency of DFSV and VAW in the Katherine region where NO MORE operates. It shows that VAW is ongoing, severe, and commonplace, and that this violence takes many forms, and is perpetrated by Indigenous and non-Indigenous men. However, it also revealed a disconnect between NO MORE’s stated aims and objectives to challenge men’s use of violence and harmful attitudes towards women, and their execution of the training programs which often colluded with men’s use of violence. There was also a disconnection between the nature of the violence reported by external stakeholders compared to that reported by NO MORE staff, especially in terms of the gender of perpetrators. There was an emphasis by NO MORE staff on the violence perpetrated by women against men when NO MORE program documents show that NO MORE’s objective is to change men’s attitudes towards women and to help men to change their behaviour.

Aims and Activities

Figure 42 Breakdown of references assigned to the theme of 'Aims and Activities'



As shown in **Figure 43**, the theme 'Aims and Activities' comprises the codes 'Aims and Activities', 'Awareness', 'DVAP', 'Impact', 'Locations', 'Merchandise', 'Messaging', 'Presentations', and 'Resources'. These codes were grouped together because they all reference the core occupations and objectives of the NO MORE program. 'Aims and Activities' captured many references because of its generality, whilst the codes 'Awareness', 'DVAP', 'Messaging', 'Presentations', 'Resources' are specific activities or aims, although there was some cross-over. 'Merchandise' referred to the products and signage created by the NO MORE program to create visibility of the NO MORE message. 'Impact' referred specifically to how NO MORE was received by participants, its reach, and whether it was considered to be making change. Finally, 'Locations' captured references to NO MORE's reach and specific places where they undertook their activities.

The 'Aims and Activities' code reveals the key concerns of NO MORE. The theme also reveals that NO MORE is primarily engaged with raising awareness and delivering the message, as articulated by NO MORE staff, that 'violence is not okay'.

'I'm not here to look at anyone or judge anyone, I'm just here to raise awareness.' [SP12].

However, the mission of NO MORE, as stated in evaluation documents, is to promote

'gender equality and safety, through changing men's behaviour and attitudes towards women and violence' (Louth, Mackay, & Goodwin-Smith, 2018).

This code also showed the various activities of NO MORE, including running training sessions in schools, with CDP groups, and other community forums such as town councils, as well as engaging with sporting clubs and helping them to develop their own DVAP.

'Inclusion' revealed how often women – or the CDP managers organising the training - wanted to be included in the NO MORE training sessions (and on two occasions that I observed, a couple of women did sit in on the session) but were told that NO MORE is only funded to run sessions for men – despite some program documents stating the NO MORE's target group is 'Indigenous communities' (NO MORE CatholicCare NT, 2018). This code also touched on the inclusion of Indigenous people in society in general, one participant reflected on how uncommon it is to see countrymen⁴⁵ in the cafes in Katherine. The theme of 'Strengths' revealed a couple of key strengths of the NO MORE program – these were the ability of NO MORE staff to make connections with program-participants through family ties or Sports. Also, the use of the CDP program and its managers to access large groups of men was another key strength of the program as it gave NO MORE access to venues, participants and formed relationships with external stakeholders. The men likewise benefited from participating in the training session as it was recorded as a CDP activity.

The 'Awareness', 'Messaging', and 'Merchandise' codes show how NO MORE spreads their anti-violence message, and they achieve this primarily by raising awareness about the different types of violence; making the message 'NO MORE Violence' visible, and through the creation of merchandise such as signage, hats, and shirts which add further visibility to that message.

⁴⁵ In the TopEnd, Aboriginal people are often referred to as 'Countrymen'.

‘Design and commence the installation of appropriate signage aimed at increasing community awareness of family violence at the entrance to all our communities’ [Barkly Regional Council DVAP].

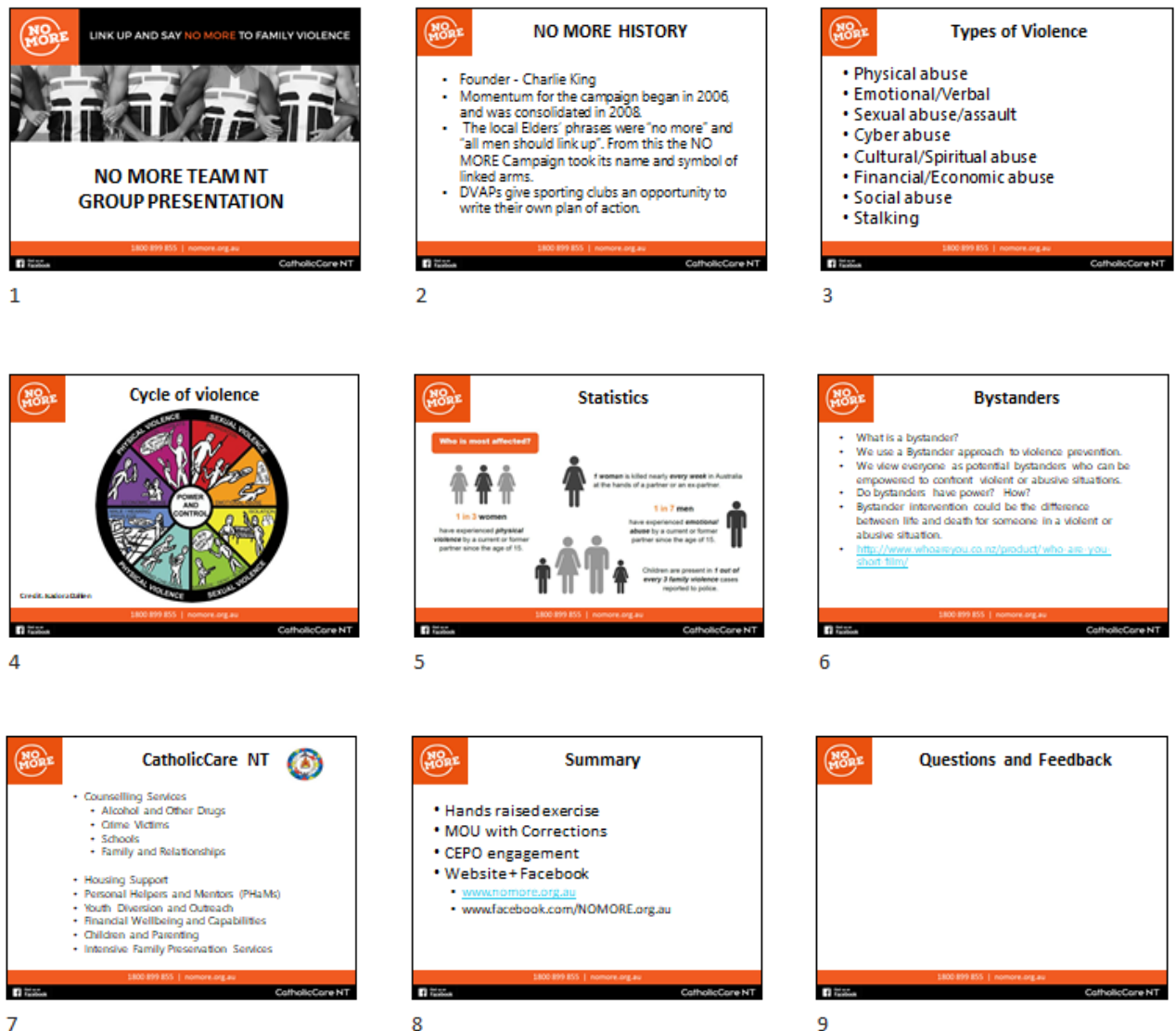
The ‘Presentation’ and ‘Resources’ codes showed the means by which NO MORE attempts to create awareness and educate community members about the different types of violence. This is primarily achieved through delivering presentations and the use of various externally made resources. The presentations involve presenting several slides on a PowerPoint (see **Figure 44**) which introduce men to the NO MORE program and its history, give a few statistics about violence, then briefly go through the definitions of different types of violence and the bystander approach, before suggesting internal referral pathways to participants experiencing any financial or housing problems. The teaching of the bystander approach in training sessions was very brief and lacked nuance – with examples focused on intervening in physical violence between two women, rather than in IPV. Moreover, in these training sessions, where many of the men are perpetrators of DFSV, the men need strategies to help them when they are directly involved in conflict.

The presentation also made use of a few externally made resources such as YouTube videos about consent and the power and control wheel⁴⁶. However, the presentations was often hampered by the low literacy levels of participants who struggled to understand the complex terminology in the definitions of violence. Moreover, the resources were not always contextually or culturally appropriate. For example, on two separate occasions, a ‘Tea and Consent’ YouTube video⁴⁷ was shown to a group of men. On the first occasion, men found the video funny, whilst the second group watched it passively, largely being unable to understand the language or humour.

⁴⁶ This is a tool that helps explain the different ways a perpetrator can use power and control to manipulate their partner (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017).

⁴⁷ The video can be found at the URL <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZwvrxVaynQ>. The video uses tea metaphor for sex and making tea for consent. It is supposed to be a humorous way to teach people about consent.

Figure 43 NO MORE Training presentation slides



The NO MORE program would benefit from the creation of a set program of training sessions with planned content and delivery, as well as by developing their own context-specific and culturally appropriate resources which are suitable for linguistically diverse participants.

The 'DVAP' code captured the references to the development of domestic action plans by sporting teams with the assistance of NO MORE workers and AFL NT. Some DVAPs, such as Barkly Regional Council's, were detailed and context specific. However, the vast majority were simple templates with the same objectives of 'raising awareness', 'respecting women',

and 'education'. However, the DVAPs have no specific sanctions when team members contravene the DVAP – which was a primary criticism by external stakeholders and sporting clubs. NO MORE workers also reported that some clubs view them as *'just a piece of paper'* [SP11].

The 'Location' code showed the large geographical spread of the NO MORE program. NO MORE is working right from the Tiwi islands in the north of the Northern Territory through to Alice Springs in Central Australia. NO MORE staff drive or fly to remote locations, which means that NO MORE has huge reach and the potential to impact upon vast areas of the Northern Territory. This geographical reach is a major asset and strength of the program – if this reach could be combined with a strong message, framework-supported content, and well-delivered sessions, the potential to have a strong positive impact on community attitudes to violence is considerable.

The 'Impact' code revealed the visibility of the NO MORE program and its effect on community attitudes towards violence. Much of this impact was largely anecdotal, with NO MORE workers reporting a drop in DFV after training sessions and marches. For example, a NO MORE worker relayed the story of a participant who said that he went to hit his son but he didn't because:

'[he] was coming here [to group]. [But I said] no, it's not because that you're coming here – it's because of what you've learnt.' [SP11].

Another staff member recounted how the captain of a football club stopped a mass brawl that was about to erupt mid-game saying 'no more'. In terms of visibility, at the beginning of each training session, participants were asked if they had heard of NO MORE – in all training sessions at least one person had heard of the program. In interviews with external stakeholders, most participants had heard of the NO MORE program but couldn't say what the program entailed. They knew it was to do with football and were familiar with the program's founder.

The 'Aims and Activities' theme revealed the various activities of the NO MORE program and the anti-violence message they aim to deliver. However, these aims are often at odds with their practice as evidenced in the theme of 'Violence' above.

Gender

Figure 44 Breakdown of references coded to the theme 'Gender'

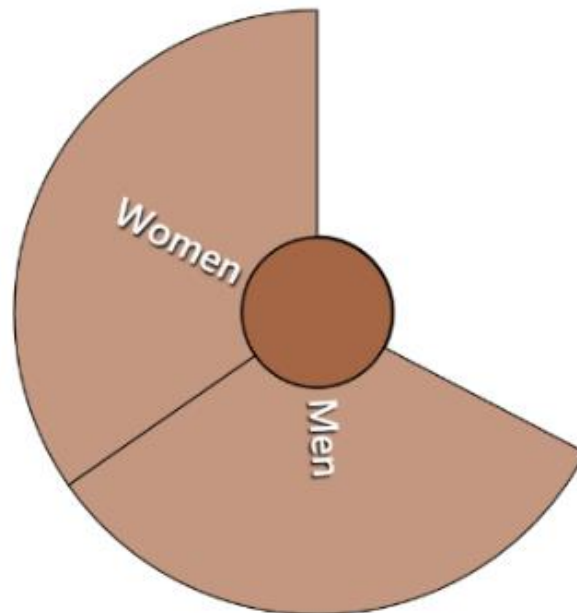


Figure 45 demonstrates how the references assigned to the theme 'Gender' comprise the codes 'Gender', 'Men', and 'Women'. 'Gender' refers to the gendered nature of DFSV and VAW, whilst 'Women' and 'Men' codes capture specific references to female and male genders.

The 'Gender' code revealed some DVAPs, such as Barkly Regional Council's, demonstrate an understanding of the gendered nature of DFSV.

'Cultural change is required in gender roles and relationships and in attitudes to violence. By role-modelling gender respect and equity, supportive work environments and a zero tolerance approach to violence against women, Council can take a lead role and send a strong message to community partners.' [Barkly Regional Council DVAP]

This understanding is also evident in NO MORE program documents, which list the medium term outcome:

'positive change in men's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours relating to gender and violence' (CatholicCare NT, 2018).

However, this same understanding was lacking in NO MORE training sessions and among its staff. There was a tendency to reinforce gender roles and treat men's and women's use of violence as equal.

'I draw planets on the board. Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus. We're different and we'll never be the same. But just because they're smaller than us, doesn't mean you can push them around.' [SP11]

'It's not only men. Women are perpetrators too and we're working on getting some sessions for the women.' [SP12]

'Men are leaders – we set the example.' [SP12]

'He works with all women down in that office and they are always distracting him and asking him to do stuff, like lift stuff and that.' [SP11]

'She was hiding everything from him. It can happen the other way around, man to woman. We got to be careful about what we're doing to our partners – physical hurts but emotional goes on for a long time.' [SP11]

'Jealousy's not love. It's unconditional – sometimes works out, sometimes doesn't. Technology abuse - end up finding out [about infidelity], find a way to get out or confront it. Don't explode. Sort it out with counselling or with a friend. If you explode, you go to jail. 86% of prisoners in jail are Indigenous. It's a big issue both [genders] way.' [SP11]

A NO MORE worker also asserted that a gender lens was not applicable in the Katherine region because there had been an instance of a woman stabbing their male partner to death. This attitude permeated training sessions where there was a repeated focus and emphasis on women's use of violence against men reinforcing the attitude that *'women are just as bad'* [SP12] despite the evidence saying otherwise. These attitudes were in stark contrast to the majority of external stakeholders who felt that challenging gender roles and beliefs around gender was key to addressing DFSV and VAW – a view which is also

supported by the literature (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005; Manjoo, 2012; Our Watch , n.d.; World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010)

The 'Men' and 'Women' codes captured specific references to each gender. Whilst several DVAPs showed an understanding that men are the primary perpetrators of DFSV against women and children, and that changing attitudes towards women was necessary to address violence, NO MORE training sessions largely reinforced gender roles of men as leaders, the head of the family, strong, powerful, and decision-makers, whilst women were presented as small, fragile, manipulative, and as family-oriented. Additionally, other harmful gender stereotypes were reinforced by staff to large groups of men during training sessions:

'[Wife] made me little [in front of friends by making me spend too much time at home] and I started being called housey. My wife wouldn't let me go out with my mates. Wouldn't let me go out and be a bloke. She said go out and get drunk.'
[SP12]

'Women aren't as big as us. They can throw things. But we've got to be careful. We've got to control ourselves.' [SP11]

'[Men need to] be careful of our heads and hearts so we don't snap and react.'
[SP11]

'We [men] like a good catfight' [SP12].

These attitudes were in stark contrast to the stated aims and objectives of the NO MORE program as expressed in program documents which state that NO MORE seeks to challenge men's attitudes towards women.

The code 'blame' revealed how women are often blamed for the violence perpetrated against them. The statement 'she put him in jail' in the adapted TTM model resonated with many participants who reflected that they had heard this on numerous occasions. One participant also reflected that often defence attorneys blamed the woman when defending their clients against domestic violence order (DVO) breaches. The 'Challenging' code revealed how several participants thought that challenging culture and core beliefs was instrumental to creating positive change. They also discussed the difficulty of this and the reluctance, particularly of decision-makers, to do this.

‘Challenging their beliefs – and their gender beliefs – it’s cultural and it’s such a deep vein. It’s very much that “men do this and women do that, and that’s how it is.”’ [ES20].

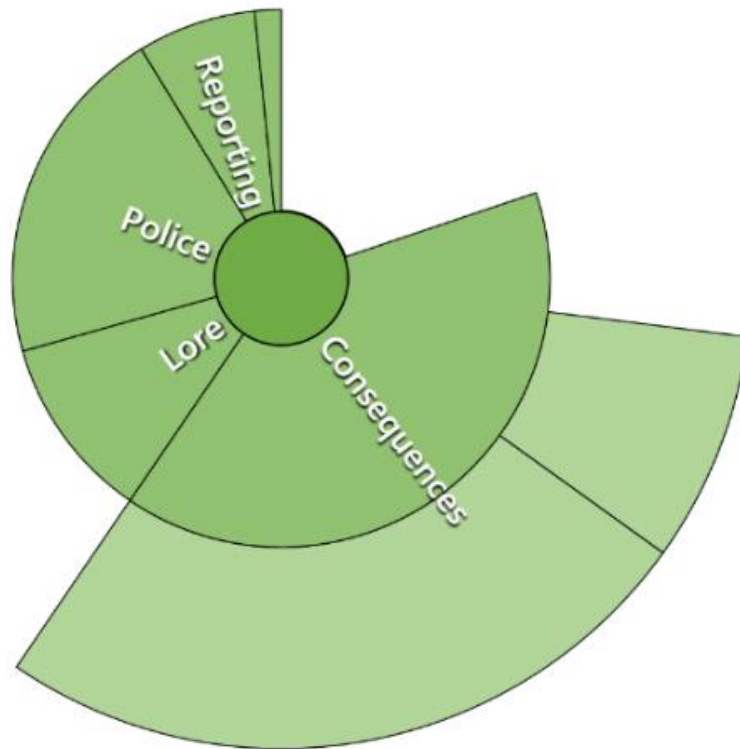
‘Parenting’ focused on the role of NO MORE participants as fathers and leaders of their families – this showed how being a father could be a key catalyst for some men to make change. However, it also revealed a sharp gender divide in that men were ‘the head of the family’ and children were possessions of their fathers. In one training session, a participant recounted a story of a man who attacked his partner whilst she was holding their newborn baby. The man grabbed the baby by the arm in an attempt to drag the baby away from the mother, saying ‘that’s my baby’, until the participant intervened to stop the conflict. These views were also expressed in training sessions by NO MORE staff :

‘Men are leaders – we set the example...Monkey see, monkey do’ [SP12].

There is an inherent danger in reinforcing gender roles which devalue the position of women and children to followers and possessions. To prevent violence, programs must promote equality between men and women, rather than reinforce existing power dynamics which can contribute to a culture which condones violence (Our Watch, 2018).

Law

Figure 45 Breakdown of references assigned to the theme 'Law'



As shown in **Figure 46**, the theme 'Law' comprises the codes 'Law', 'Consequences', 'Lore', 'Police', 'Reporting', and 'Rights'. These codes were grouped together because they are all legal responses to DFSV – either judicial, penal, or cultural.

References assigned to the code 'Law' reflected that the Western law often seems to be in conflict with the safety of women and children – often being seen as a threat rather than a help to women experiencing DFSV and VAW. Whereas the 'Lore' code revealed that often law and lore are in conflict – that lore at times promoted certain behaviours which were penalised under law; and that at other times lore was diminished by law, for example when traditional punishments or ways of resolving disputes were not recognised or were overridden by law. Some external stakeholders felt that lore should be respected by law in order to create respect and cultural parity:

'Lore got lost. And not really understanding white man's law.' [ES15].

However, three Indigenous female participants raised their concerns about the abuse of lore and how this can manifest in DFSV and VAW.

'The men will say "she's the right skin" and sexually assault her.' [ES16].

The overriding sentiment however was that law and lore must work in tandem by examining what parts of lore still serve the community and through integration or having this recognised by law.

The 'Consequences' code revealed how often women seem to bear the consequences for DFSV and VAW in the form of child removal, stigma, payback, and isolation.

'Women are locked up. Like they're in prison. Then he's given bail and goes back to the woman. DVOs are not worth the paper they're written on' [ES16].

However, there was also a focus on the consequences for men which were primarily penal consequences, like DVOs and incarceration. Participants, largely without exception, felt these responses were ineffective.

'[DVOs are only] helpful for prosecution [but they may be] setting people up to fail [because communities are such small places]. It's definitely not a deterrent.' [ES24]

'Most of our male clients are on DVO, either partial or full.' [ES20]

'One punch and you're sitting in jail' [SP12]

The 'Consequences' code also captured the absence of consequences in the DVAPs created by sporting clubs. DVAPs are mostly a statement, and have yet to have been developed to include any sanctions.

'There's no penalties as such [for breaking DVAP] but we're hoping to work with clubs so they implement their own. We'd try to keep them involved [men who break DVAP] but maybe they have to run the water instead of play – it's about supporting them... There was a report that women were fighting in one town camp. I went around there and there were two different teams' supporters and around 50 cars, I just speak to them about consequences. We have banned a few

spectators for 10 weeks this year and that made a difference. We've got to make an example so that the others stand up.' [ES25].

The 'Police' code demonstrates how often Police are viewed as a threat to women's safety, but that developing the relationship between Police and community is crucial. This was closely linked with the 'Reporting' code which demonstrated that women need to be empowered so that they can report. However, both showed that alternatives to reporting and Police are often sought in order to keep women safe.

'If she discloses to us – we call Police – but she might not be ready to speak to the Police. And it's the risk to her and children if he finds out that she's reported. The big thing is that it's one thing to report it but sometimes that's the worst thing you can ever do. So we have to think: is there another way around this that isn't the Police?' [ES23]

'[Some patients will say] "No police". We just discharge them – a lot of hurdles and negativity to overcome. There's the attitude "she's going back to him" – that's not okay. We need education.' [ES29]

'Mandatory reporting is great because your hands are tied.' [ES27]

References to the 'Rights' code also reveal that women need to be educated about their rights so they can be empowered to report DFSV and VAW. Participants also felt there was a particular role for grandmothers and aunts in being educated about rights so they can take on a support and advocacy role for women.

'It's girls knowing and learning what a healthy relationship is. Learning not to put up with it. It's women knowing what their rights are.' [ES23].

The 'Risk' code revealed the risk of violence to women, particularly if they choose to report, and how service providers attempt to manage this risk.

'If she discloses to us – we call Police – but she might not be ready to speak to the Police. And it's the risk to her and children if he finds out that she's reported' [ES23].

It also showed how after prolonged periods of abuse, women fight back against their violent partners, but this too can put them at risk of further harm.

'I've never once come across a woman who just decided to hit someone. We hear that "I've just had enough of him hitting me." But it enrages men them [women] hitting them back. It puts [women] at risk of homicide.' [ES29].

The 'Law' theme reveals how the relationship between communities and particularly women experiencing DFSV and VAW, is often fraught. It also shows how the law, police, and reporting are not viewed as offering safety for women, and that there are considerable barriers to women reporting violence.

Sports

The theme 'Sports' captured all references to sporting teams, clubs, and codes. It contained no sub-codes. This theme reveals the prominent place sports holds in the NO MORE program.

The primary way NO MORE engages in sports is through the development of sporting club DVAPs (see **Figure 47**) and placing signage at sporting grounds. NO MORE workers sometimes present before sporting matches and the staff also have a strong sporting background, either as players, coaches, or managers. In many of the training sessions with men, sports came to the forefront as NO MORE workers talked about their sporting backgrounds, respecting umpires, and even organising future sporting events. However, at these times, the anti-family violence message of NO MORE seemed to drift.

Figure 46 Imalu Tigers Football Club Domestic Violence Action Plan Cover



Additionally, several stakeholders raised their concerns about such a heavy focus on sports, particularly football. Although at the NO MORE symposium, presenters were very positive about sports being used as a way to drive an anti-violence message, other service providers (and some Indigenous women) stated that not everyone was into football, and others expressed their concern that many kids could not access sports because their shoes were constantly being stolen. However, others said they were saddened by the tremendous loss of sporting talent in communities due to suicide and substance abuse, and that sports can offer a strengths-based approach for engaging with community, particularly youth.

Whilst engaging with sports is a positive way to engage with community, sports cannot be the only basis from which workers are selected, especially without any background in DFSV and VAW. Anti-violence should come to the forefront whilst sports remain the vehicle. At present, the message of NO MORE seems to slip between saying 'no more family violence' to being about respecting umpires and officials, to organising sporting competitions, to schoolyard bullying, and to spectator behaviour.

Evidence of impact

The following sections use a variety of evaluative tools to assess the impact of NO MORE on changing community attitudes, and to recognise where it meets key good practice indicators developed in a variety of different contexts.

Stages of Change

Sixteen stakeholder-participants were asked to use the adapted TTM to assess change in their community⁴⁸, but because of the nature of group interviews only 14 participants responded. Four participants were Indigenous females, one was a female other First Nations, and the remainder were non-Indigenous (five males, six females). However, some participants gave multiple answers – this was because most participants chose to break ‘community’ down into smaller groups then assess them separately – so a total of 20 responses were given. As shown in **Figure 48**, all references to the later stages of the model were specific to the actions of services. The majority of the responses (14 of 20) placed the community in the earlier stages of the cycle between ‘don’t see it as a problem’ and the transition to ‘talking and starting to act on the problem’. Only one participant said that community was stumbling, and this same participant said other community members ‘don’t see it as a problem’ but that services ‘saw it as a problem’. Of the Indigenous female participants, one said community was divided between ‘don’t see it as a problem’ and ‘stumbling’; one said community was between ‘see it as a problem’ and ‘talking and starting to act on the problem’; one said community ‘see it as a problem’; and one said community was ‘talking and starting to act on the problem’. Due to the small number of responses, there is not enough evidence to assess attitudes towards community change.

As shown in **Figure 48**, the adapted TTM model shows the NO MORE program is focused on the initial stage of change – getting the community to see domestic, family, and sexual violence as a problem. The Stages of Change model was also used to assess whether there was any evidence that NO MORE was engaging and/or assisting with the processes of change (see **Table 13**).

⁴⁸ Some participants assessed Katherine, whilst others assessed Tennant Creek and/or remote communities. This depended on the location of the interview and/or where the stakeholder-participants were based. For example, two stakeholder-participants who were interviewed in Katherine assessed Katherine as well as Borroloola where they had worked for many years.

Figure 47 Participants' assessment of community change using the Stages of Change Model

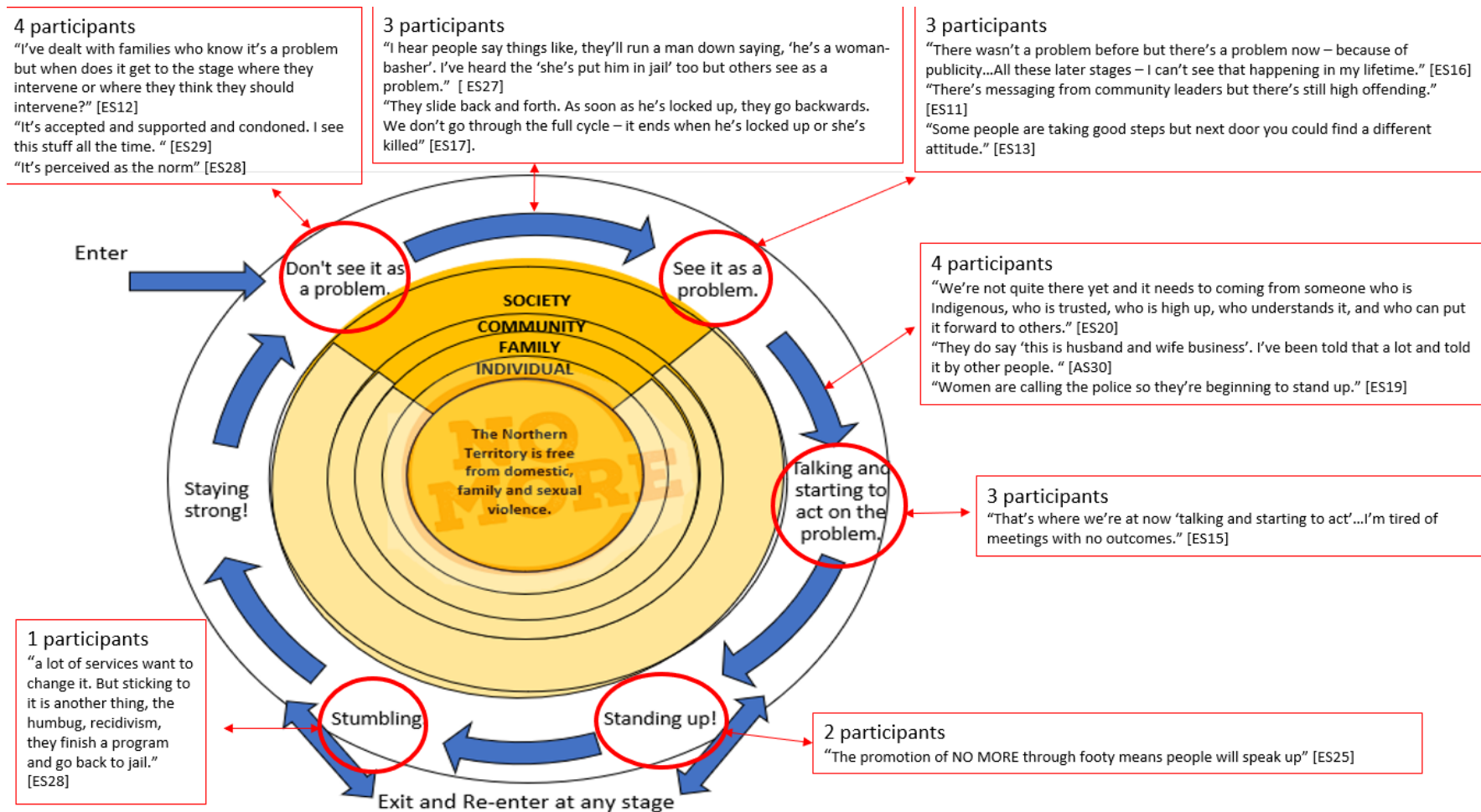


Table 13 Processes of Change and NO MORE engagement

Processes and Ideas of Change	Criteria	Evidence					
		Meets all criteria	Meets most criteria	Meets some criteria	Meets little criteria	Meets no criteria	Not Applicable
Consciousness Raising 'Get the facts'	The program can provide information and training.	NO MORE engages in this process by organising events like the NO MORE march; engaging with the Media; and providing training. However, NO MORE must be careful to ensure accurate information is being distributed to community.					
Re-evaluation 'Create a new self-image'	The program can help to highlight that DFSV/VAW does not fit with cultural values and/or working to change culture which condone DFSV/VAW.	NO MORE to some extent challenges culture that condones violence by sending an anti-violence message and reaffirming that violence is not part of Indigenous cultures, however, the minimisation of violence and collusion with men's violence undermines this message.					
Dramatic Relief 'Pay attention to feelings'	The program can start dialogue, listen deeply and hear stories of violence and promote stories of resistance, courage, and healing.	NO MORE could strengthen their engagement with this process by drawing upon survivors' voices and listening to women.					
Environmental Re-evaluation	The program can acknowledge the impact of violence, talk straight, and	NO MORE teaches people the Bystander Approach of intervening in conflict although this training could be far more detailed and practical. NO MORE should					

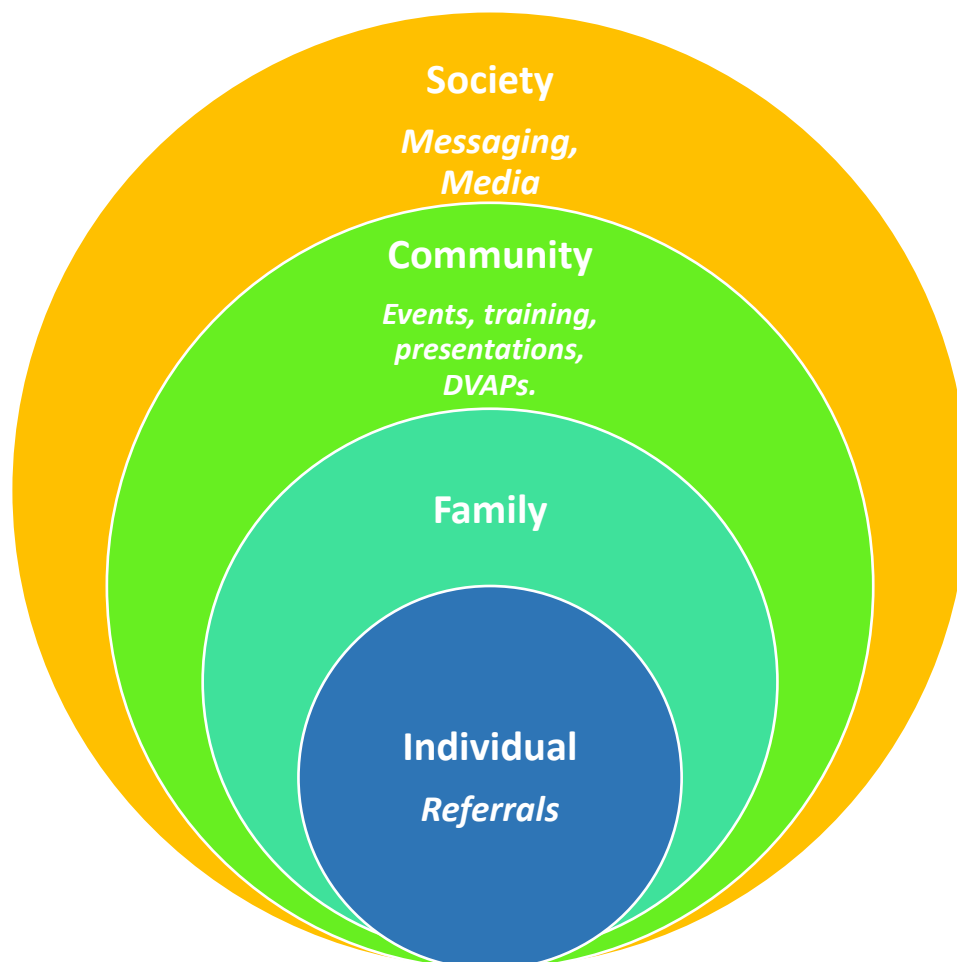
'Notice the effect on others'	show ways that violence can be challenged.	endeavour to talk straight about men's use of violence in training and its impacts on women and children.
Social Freedom 'Notice public support'	The program can strengthen respect and promote alternative behaviours through messaging and sharing of resources.	NO MORE could work more with men to educate them about the difference between healthy and unhealthy relationships. The training could also include practical guidance on peaceful conflict resolution. Perhaps NO MORE could develop resources that promote alternative behaviours to encourage individuals to seek help and change – and to challenge attitudes that minimise or dismiss VAW.
Helping Relationships 'Get support'	The program can develop relationships over time, find ways to stand together against DFSV/VAW, and support the community to keep violence away.	NO MORE has good connections with individuals in community, with community groups, and some external stakeholders. NO MORE should develop its referral pathways to connect individuals with services that can support them to make change.
Counter-conditioning 'Use alternatives'	The program can model healthy relationships, provide the tools for peaceful conflict resolution, and supports community members to keep their families safe and happy.	NO MORE training currently lacks practical tools to help men make different choices in conflict. There is considerable scope for NO MORE to include peaceful conflict resolution in their training. Currently, the brief overview of the bystander approach assumes that the men in the group are not participants in the conflict.

Reinforcement management 'Use Rewards'	The program can celebrate successes and build on the strengths of the community. They can celebrate and share stories of hope and healing.	NO MORE shares some anecdotal stories of success, such as the football player stopping a brawl at a game. However, there is scope for NO MORE to include the stories and experiences of men who have successfully changed their behaviour, as well as the voices of women and children who have survived DFSV/VAW.
Self-liberation 'Make a commitment'	The program can support and reinforce the community's commitment to change through positive messaging, capacity building, and empowerment.	NO MORE could engage more with community leaders and with individual members in the group to empower them to report violence and seek help. NO MORE could also engage in capacity building so individual communities can take ownership of the anti-violence message.
Stimulus Control 'Manage your environment'	The program can educate about the triggers and underlying causes of DFSV/VAW and help to develop community action plans to address them.	NO MORE can engage with this process by developing resources in partnership with communities, which illustrate the underlying causes and triggers of violence, such as stress. It is also critical that NO MORE adopts a gender framework so that the program can begin to address the gendered drivers of DFSV/VAW. DVAPs could also be more detailed and personalised to clubs, with specific actions and sanctions.
Decisional Balance 'The benefits outweigh the negatives'	The program can educate, train, and promote the benefits of living free of DFSV/VAW for all community members. The program can train community members and groups to	Although NO MORE engages in training in various communities, this could take a more strength-based approach and begin educating about the benefits of a violence free community. NO MORE also needs to develop its program so that it is a sequence of sessions which helps participants to make better choices in high risk situations.

	equip them with the tools to sustain behaviour change in high risk situations.	
Community Efficacy 'Have confidence'	The program can take a strengths-based approach to build the confidence of the community and share positive stories of change. The program reinforces the message that change is possible and that an alternative DFSV/VAW free life is accessible.	NO MORE could work with community to develop localised strategies to minimise risk and triggers. Perhaps core community strengths could be identified and elevated to encourage confidence in the ability to change. NO MORE could also make use of individual stories of healing in order to promote and encourage change among its participants.

As shown in **Figure 49**, the adapted TTM also reveals that most of NO MORE intervention occurs at the community level, but with some work occurring at the society level, whilst only referral occurs at the individual level and nothing occurs at the family level – largely because of the lack of partner contact and exclusion of women from the training.

Figure 48 Level and activity of NO MORE intervention



Although NO MORE engages with some processes of change, there is considerable scope to expand and to go into more depth – this will require program and resource development. At the time of fieldwork, only one training session existed, and was often delivered multiple times to the same group. It is difficult to cover the content and equip participants with the tools to make healthier choices without the support of contextually and culturally appropriate resources and a strong program foundation. This being said, ‘Consciousness Raising’ and ‘Helping Relationships’ are the strongest points of the program. Some

processes NO MORE could target more could include 'Re-evaluation', 'Dramatic Relief', and 'Counter-conditioning'.

'Good Practice Indicators'

As with the TFVPP case study, this section makes use of Humphreys et al.'s (2000) good practice indicators to assess whether the NO MORE program is working according to external frameworks and/or the evidence base of good practice. These indicators and any evidence of NO MORE meeting them is detailed in **Table 14** below. The evidence refers to the data collected from the initial period of fieldwork – it may be that data has not been collected on some criteria; this does not mean NO MORE is not meeting the criteria, it may just be that it is not known.

Table 14 Successes of NO MORE as measured against Humphreys et al. (2000) 'Good Practice Indicators'

Indicator ⁴⁹	Criteria	Evidence					
		Meets all criteria	Meets most criteria	Meets some criteria	Meets little criteria	Meets no criteria	Not Applicable
1: The use of definitions of domestic violence.	- Definitions should acknowledge diversity and the gendered nature of domestic violence, and include different types of abuse - Definitions should acknowledge the issue of power and control.	- NO MORE does not use a definition of 'domestic violence' or 'family violence' in its trainings or DVAPs. However, the training does include a component where generic definitions of the different types of violence are read aloud then supported with examples, although the examples are not always fitting. These definitions do not include the gendered nature of abuse. Although knowledge of the gendered nature of DFSV and VAW can be found in high level program documents, this knowledge does not underpin the work of NO MORE. [Fieldnotes; Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation] - The aforementioned definitions do not acknowledge the issue of power and control. However, the Power and Control wheel is included on a slide of the training presentation, but this was only explained in 1 of 5 observed training sessions, and the explanation failed to acknowledge the gendered nature of DFSV/VAW. [Fieldnotes; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation]					

⁴⁹ Indicators and criteria taken from Humphreys, Safer Communities Scotland, Scottish Community Safety Network , 2000.

2: The use of monitoring processes and screening	• Systematic screening using a protocol of questions • Mechanisms for recording • Guidance and supervision • Training	• NO MORE does not ‘screen’/risk assess its participants, but this is perhaps because they are delivering training sessions to large groups of men. However, several men in the group are known perpetrators of DFSV/VAW so a method for risk assessment should be developed so referrals can be made. NO MORE should also seek to remain engaged with participants over an extended period of time. [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE collects generic data on participants, such as name, date of birth, and language group. However, no data specifically about violence is collected. Humphreys et al. (2000) recommend collecting data as research has shown that programs with screening and monitoring are aware of a much higher level of incidence of violence among their clients. Data collected could include: history of violence, gender of victim; gender of perpetrator; relationship to perpetrator; frequency of violence; type of violence, and qualitative tools could help to establish prior knowledge of violence and/or attitudes towards women to allow NO MORE to assess their impact. [Fieldnotes]. • Few mechanisms are in place at NO MORE for guidance and supervision. No debriefings were observed, but several conflicts between a supervisor and staff were observed [Fieldnotes] • NO MORE staff have little knowledge or training in DFSV/VAW, and several NO MORE workers reported feeling they lacked confidence when delivering training sessions and repeatedly expressed a desire for additional professional support and training [Fieldnotes].

	Feedback mechanisms	Catholic Care NT has monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place, but no tailored feedback mechanisms exist for NO MORE. Humphreys et al. recommend ‘realistic and useful evaluation questions to be devised’ (2000, p. 27) – NO MORE could make use of open-ended questions in its feedback mechanisms and develop pre/post surveys to begin to measure their impact. [Fieldnotes]
3: Good practice guidelines and domestic violence policies	- Safety and confidentiality - Involvement of the survivors of domestic violence and their representatives in refuge and advocacy services - Attention to diversity and equality	- NO MORE have not been observed discussing the limitations of confidentiality, and the free informed consent statement on their data collection sheets is often skipped over – I observed this being read aloud in only 1 of 5 training sessions, and it was clear the participants did not understand the statement. It is critical NO MORE undertakes a review of its free informed consent policies and ensures transparency about data collection and its usage. NO MORE has not been observed to discuss mandatory reporting requirements. It is unclear what information is kept confidential and what is not [Fieldnotes]. - Some NO MORE workers have personal experience of DFSV, and their stories are used in the training sessions. However, no voices of women and children have been drawn upon in the observed sessions [Fieldnotes]. - Equality is not embedded in NO MORE discourse, although it can be found in some high-level documents and some DVAPs. Diversity is acknowledged, however, as this program is Indigenous-specific, diversity of ethnicity and nationality is not prevalent. NO MORE discourse does acknowledge that people of different socio-economic groups, and ethnicities

	• Working together within a wider strategy • Development of a broad range of policies, guidelines and clarity in the referral system • Building on policies which have already been well developed in other areas	experience DFSV, but has not been seen to discuss sexual orientation. [Fieldnotes; Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation; Barkly Regional Council DVAP]. • Whilst it is not known whether Catholic Care NT developed its policies in partnership with other services in the Northern Territory or as part of a wider strategy, NO MORE does have good connections with several other services. NO MORE works well with Police and AFL NT, and draws upon their knowledge and connections in communities [Fieldnotes]. • It is unknown whether NO MORE has developed policies which cover perpetrators; have practice guidelines for frontline workers; or provide information about other services to program-participants. In the NO MORE training sessions, one slide is devoted to internal referrals within Catholic Care NT, but in all observed training sessions this was rushed and I only observed one participant filling in a referral form. Humphreys et al. (2000, p. 30) state 'good practice is indicated by areas and organisations which have given attention to the broad scope of policy development' – it is not known whether NO MORE has policies which cover the breadth Humphreys et al. advocate: child protection; vulnerable adults; housing; education; policing; and interagency coordination. There is considerable scope for NO MORE to develop its referral pathways [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE makes use of individual resources developed by agencies such as Our Watch, but makes no use of policies, frameworks, and practice which have proven successful in other contexts. There was also considerable resistance to this suggestion. Such frameworks could

	• Policies embedded within the organisation • Detailed guidelines about barriers.	guide NO MORE practice, and be strengthened by adapting them to the Northern Territory context. [Fieldnotes; Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation]. • NO MORE policies or guiding statements (which are found in high level program documents) are not embedded through training and supervision and are not present in every day discourse and activities [Fieldnotes; Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation]. • Detailed policies, practice, and discourse around the barriers faced by Indigenous people, and particularly Indigenous women, is largely absent from much of NO MORE's work. Several Northern Territory specific resources have been developed by other programs which could be drawn upon to inform NO MORE's work. [Fieldnotes; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation].
4: Safety measures and safety-oriented practice	• Safety planning • A range of organisational measures: safety measures in place for	• NO MORE has not been observed undertaking safety planning with clients, although this may be because the program targets men. However, external stakeholders have requested safety planning for women on community. Additionally, there is scope for NO MORE to train men about how to safely intervene in conflicts, how to resolve conflict peacefully, and how to report violence [Fieldnotes]. • It is unknown how NO MORE makes use of clients' data or how confidentiality is ensured. NO MORE currently has no partner contact, or links with women's services, - developing such a partnership could strengthen the program considerably. The lack of partner-contact

	premises, attendance, confidentiality, provision of information and links with other agencies. • Supporting mothers as a response to child protection • Workers' safety	makes ensuring confidentiality more important as it is often unknown which men in the groups are perpetrators of DFSV. NO MORE has strong relationships with Police, Corrections, and AFL NT, although how information sharing is conducted and monitored is unknown [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE does not work specifically with women and children, although it does seek to engage with men as fathers. Participants have reported that it was a huge concern of women that their children would be removed if they reported DFSV – the historical context of stolen generations and the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care must be acknowledged here. It is not known whether NO MORE has a specific mechanism to support parents in response to CPOs. [Tangentyere Fieldnotes; Fred Case Study 2018]. • Catholic Care NT and NO MORE has safety measures in place for workers, with the use of mobile phones, recording whereabouts, trackers in vehicles. It is unknown whether NO MORE has safety measures for community to ensure workers act in a way that is culturally safe, although Catholic Care NT does provide workers with detailed information about each of the communities they will visit [Fieldnotes; Community Profiles].
5: Training– raising awareness, exploring values,	• Training large numbers of employees	• It was reported by management that NO MORE staff are given some basic initial DFSV training, but this could not be evidenced in the observed training sessions. NO MORE staff have requested additional training. NO MORE undertakes training of council workers and school students in addition to the training sessions it runs in community – however, the quality of the content, sequence, and resourcing of this training needs thorough review. NO

developing skills	• Training beyond initial awareness- raising leading to a range of specialist courses • A rolling program of domestic violence training • The integration of the training strategy into operational planning for domestic violence services • A strategy for financing and providing ongoing training	MORE workers would also benefit from training in strategies to deliver sessions to low-literacy and linguistically diverse groups [Fieldnotes; Year 7Z Tennant PowerPoint]. • NO MORE does not offer any specialist training, but given the context, awareness raising is of primary importance. NO MORE training covers the history of NO MORE; definitions of different types of violence; a few basic statistics; a brief overview of the bystander approach; and internal referrals. Training sessions typically last one hour. Rather than focus on developing specialist training, NO MORE should focus on developing their current program so that it includes a sequence of resourced sessions. [Fieldnotes; NO MORE training PowerPoint Presentation]. • NO MORE training sessions last one hour, and there are supposed to be follow-up sessions but these were not observed. On two separate occasions, the same training session was delivered to a group of men for the second time. There is a need for ongoing training and the development of appropriate resources to facilitate this. Despite the intention for rolling training, NO MORE training tends to be a one-off session. [Fieldnotes]. • Catholic Care NT participates in several inter-agency contexts and it was reported that NO MORE had participated in these meetings. It is unknown if this has resulted in service coordination. [Fieldnotes]. • Whilst it is not known if NO MORE has a specific strategy for financing training, staff-participants have reported that NO MORE is well financed and has considerable scope for training. [Fieldnotes; Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan].

	• Training quality, equality issues and service users' voices.	• NO MORE training content does not include the voices of survivors of DFSV/VAW, although personal experiences of the workers and their families are sometimes included. There is no woman's voice in the content or sessions. [Fieldnotes; Tennant Training doc].
6: Evaluation—ensuring effective responses	• Independent evaluation • Building the voice of survivors • Follow-up • Feedback loop	• NO MORE partnered with Flinders University to undertake a report examining their community mobilisation. However, this was not an evaluation, but rather a report on the various strategies and activities of the program. Catholic Care NT does have independent monitoring processes [Fieldnotes; FDV final draft report 8a October]. • NO MORE has not been seen to advocate on behalf of survivors or include their voices in their feedback and reporting mechanisms. [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE can engage with men over sustained periods, once a rapport has been established. However, this engagement is infrequent and occurs mostly in large groups [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE has not been observed to use feedback to improve the program or make it more context-appropriate. [Fieldnotes; Tennant Training doc]
7: Multi-agency integration and coordination	• Consistency of service across and within agencies	• Whilst NO MORE cannot control or coordinate multi-agency integration on its own, it can demonstrate a willingness to engage and participate in this approach. Catholic Care NT attends several DFSV-specific multi-agency meetings, and it has been reported that NO MORE has attended these meetings, although this was not observed during the period of the

– working together	• Confidentiality, permission and agreement • The full and active involvement of women’s refuge, outreach and support services • Equality issues and active consultation with abused women and children • Clarity of response & Monitoring of effectiveness and evaluation of inter-agency coordination	fieldwork. The development of a partnership with a women’s service would strengthen the program considerably [Fieldnotes]. • It is unknown how confidentiality is ensured in the multi-agency meetings NO MORE participates in, however, mandatory reporting laws means confidentiality is limited. [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE has not been observed to be actively engaged with women’s refuge, outreach, or support services. Staff who worked in other CatholicCare NT programs often facilitated connections between myself and women’s services, as NO MORE had not developed these connections [Fieldnotes].. • NO MORE has not been observed to be informed or governed by survivors’ views, nor have participative mechanisms been observed in their work. NO MORE could seek to advocate on behalf of survivors in multi-agency meetings, but it cannot control the extent to which consultative and participative mechanisms are used to ensure multi-agency efforts are informed by survivors’ views – although they could advocate for their inclusion [Fieldnotes]. • Lines of accountability are not always clear in the Northern Territory context, although the FSF has perhaps given this some direction. NO MORE cannot be alone in ensuring a multi-agency response meets best practice indicators, but there may be scope for Catholic Care NT to advocate for them and promote the development of ‘mechanisms ... needed to ensure clarity about decisions made, actions to be taken, lines of accountability, financial

	Improved resources	responsibilities and so on, where many organisations with different briefs and responsibilities are attempting to work together' (Humphreys, 2000, p. 39). NO MORE has not been observed to contribute to develop and share resources in a multi-agency setting, although they have access to other programs' resources, though their use has not been observed. [Fieldnotes]
8: Specific working with women and children	- Attention to the voices and expressed needs of women using the service (and their active involvement where possible). - Attention to children's needs and views and recognition that these may overlap with, but not necessarily be the same as those of their mothers. - The empowerment of abused women and children.	- NO MORE targets men and is not a specialist service for women and children. However, NO MORE could seek to draw upon the voices and expressed needs of women and children to inform their work with men on communities [Fieldnotes]. - NO MORE could partner with a women's service in order to include women's voices in their work, and could also use this as a vehicle to spread their message to the whole of community and contribute to the empowerment of women and children. [Fieldnotes]. - NO MORE has been observed to promote the empowerment of abused women and children [Fieldnotes].

	• Attention to equalities issues and anti-discriminatory practice. • Attempts to mainstream the service within multi-agency provision.	• NO MORE has not shown to give attention to equalities issues. NO MORE's work would be strengthened by engaging in anti-discriminatory practice [Fieldnotes]. • NO MORE has not been observed to support gender mainstreaming or of mainstreaming women's services within multi-agency provision [Fieldnotes].

It is clear through the use of ‘Good Practice Indicators’ that at the time of fieldwork, NO MORE met few of the requirements for good practice. Key successes include the engagement of large groups of men in different contexts over a large geographical area, as well as the development of good relationships with several external stakeholders and services. However, the main priority for NO MORE should be the specialist training of their staff and the development of the program to include a sequence of sessions which cover content, challenge men’s use of violence, challenge sexist attitudes towards women, and teach peaceful conflict resolution and cooling-off strategies.

Our Watch – Changing the Picture

As with the TFVPP case study, NO MORE’s work has also been evaluated using the Our Watch (2018) ‘Changing the Picture’ resource. Our Watch recommends states that to prevent violence against Indigenous women, programs must challenge misconceptions about this violence (detailed in **Chapter Two**).

On NO MORE’s website, they specifically state that DFSV is not just a problem in Indigenous communities which is why they also deliver content to the wider public. However, NO MORE was not observed to challenge these misconceptions in their training programs or in their events or messages – in fact, they were not seen to engage with these misconceptions at all. This may be due to a lack of familiarity with external frameworks and theories, such as the Changing the Picture framework. It is perhaps within the scope of NO MORE to explicitly challenge these misconceptions when they deliver their training sessions, but also in their messaging, particularly in the media.

As detailed in earlier chapters, Our Watch points to three drivers of violence: the impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people; the impacts of colonisation on non-Indigenous people and society; and ‘gendered factors’ (Our Watch, 2018, p. 13). To address these drivers, Our Watch recommends three actions which are outlined in **Table 15** below which are also used to evaluate NO MORE’s activities according to Our Watch’s recommendations. However, some of these actions are outside the operational level and scope of the NO MORE program – which reinforces the need for multiple interventions working concurrently at different levels in order to address and prevent DFSV/VAW.

Table 15 Successes of NO MORE as measured against Our Watch (2018) recommended actions

Action ⁵⁰	Strategies	Evidence					
		Engages all strategies	Engages most strategies	Engages some strategies	Engages few strategies	Engages no strategies	Not Applicable
Action 1: 'Address the legacies and ongoing impacts of colonisation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, families and communities'	1. Heal the impacts of intergenerational trauma, strengthening culture and identity	1. NO MORE uses men's identities as fathers, leaders, and football players to engage them with anti-violence messaging and in training sessions. However, it has not been observed to do any work that specifically targets intergenerational trauma or strengthening of culture. There was some discussion of the NO MORE worker on the Tiwi Islands leading fishing trips with men's groups, however, this was not supported by other NO MORE workers nor was it clear whether these trips would be healing in nature [Fieldnotes. NO MORE Training PowerPoint presentation. TF Report]					
	2. Strengthen and support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families						
	3. Implement specific initiatives						

⁵⁰ Actions and strategies taken from Our Watch: Changing the Picture, 2018.

	for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and girls, boys and men, and children and young people	about violence. However, these are one-off sessions, and NO MORE have no measures for these specific groups, especially women [Fieldnotes; Year 7Z Tennant PowerPoint].
	4. Challenge the condoning of violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities	4. NO MORE challenges condoning violence in Aboriginal communities in some ways – it does send an anti-violence message. However, in training sessions, staff members were routinely observed colluding with men’s use of violence, minimising or trivialising violence, and joking about violence. Whilst the program may aim to send a message that family violence is unacceptable, this message has been inconsistent and undermined by the collusion of staff with men’s use of violence [Fieldnotes. NO MORE Training PowerPoint presentation. TF Report. Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan].
	5. Increase access to justice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	5. NO MORE has the capacity to increase Aboriginal people’s access to justice owing to the organisation’s strong relationship with police. NO MORE was not observed facilitating this bridge, but it is certainly within their scope and potential [Fieldnotes. Conference Proceedings. TF Report].

Action 2: 'Address the legacies and ongoing impacts of colonisation for non-Indigenous people, and across Australian society'	1. Challenge and prevent all forms of racism, indifference, ignorance and disrespect towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and cultures 2. Address racialised power inequalities and amend discriminatory policies and practices 3. Challenge the condoning of	1. NO MORE was observed discussing racism at several training sessions – always those led by an Indigenous staff member. These discussions were used to link to the definition of verbal and emotional abuse. Whilst the discussions were only in relation to men (particularly football players), they did discuss the impacts of racism. However, this discussion with groups of Aboriginal men and I did not observe any having been done with non-Indigenous people (NO MORE has given speeches and shown the training slide to non-Indigenous people, such as Alice Springs Town Council) [Fieldnotes]. 2. To some extent, NO MORE attempts to address racialised power inequalities by aiming to employ Indigenous men as staff members. However, the program management is non-Indigenous and there are not community controlled or community-driven aspects of the program. Moreover, NO MORE is embedded in the power structures of CatholicCare NT which is a non-Indigenous organisation which may make meeting this strategy more difficult. CatholicCare NT's internal evaluation mechanisms were also problematic as they lacked free, prior, and informed consent (data was collected about individuals as well as programs) – as did a number of NO MORE's training sessions; the CDP context meant that men were not free

	violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	to withdraw. NO MORE was not observed to have discriminatory policies or practices towards Aboriginal people [Fieldnotes]. 3. NO MORE challenges condoning violence against Indigenous people to a certain extent in that they promote an anti-violence message that extends to all people. In one observed training session, the NO MORE staff member challenged the idea that violence was a part of Aboriginal culture. However, the trivialising of violence by staff to external stakeholders and within training sessions undermines this [Fieldnotes].
Action 3: 'Address the gendered drivers of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women'	1. Implement intersectional approaches to preventing violence against women across the Australian population 2. Challenge the condoning of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait	1. NO MORE has no gender lens and no intersectional lens or framework. There is little to no understanding in NO MORE literature, program documentation, or practice of the understanding of the intersection between race, gender, and/or class. NO MORE staff also repeatedly denied the gendered nature of DFSV and promoted this belief in training sessions [Fieldnotes. NO MORE Training PowerPoint presentation. TF Report. Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan]. 2. Although NO MORE is supposed to challenge the disrespect towards women and create a culture of respect, particularly within sporting clubs, NO MORE staff were repeatedly observed to collude with men's violence, and minimise and trivialise violence, often in ways with sexist overtones, for example, saying in a training session that men enjoy a '<i>good catfight</i>' [SP12]. They also colluded by encouraging the sexual harassment of women in a

	Islander women by challenging both racist and sexist attitudes and social norms	training session, and making jokes about violence in training sessions and in meetings with external stakeholders. [Fieldnotes. DVAPs].
	3. Support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's participation in leadership and decision making	3. At the time of fieldwork, NO MORE had no provisions or mechanisms for the inclusion of women's voices. Women were not included in the training sessions, and Aboriginal women are not included in the governance and leadership of the program [Fieldnotes. NO MORE Training PowerPoint presentation. TF Report. Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan. Flinders Report].
	4. Challenge gender stereotypes, and the impacts of colonisation on men's and women's roles, relationships and identities	4. NO MORE was not observed to challenge gender stereotypes, but was observed to actively reinforce them by asserting that men were leaders, decision makers, and the head of the family. NO MORE's portrayal of women was often as submissive caregivers but also as irrational aggressors. NO MORE was also not observed to challenge the impact of colonisation on relationships or identities. Strategy four cannot be found within NO MORE program documentation or literature [Fieldnotes. NO MORE Training PowerPoint presentation. TF Report. Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan].

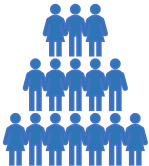
	5. Strengthen positive, equal and respectful relationships between women and men, girls and boys 6. Engage both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men to challenge harmful and violence-supportive ideas about masculinity and relationships	5. NO MORE was not observed strengthening relationships. NO MORE spoke about unhealthy relationships but not about what a healthy relationship looks like, or how to maintain one with communication and peaceful conflict resolution. NO MORE undertakes some work in schools, but this is largely around bullying, rather than healthy relationships. NO MORE has not been observed to engage with this strategy. 6. NO MORE engages with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men. However, the work often actively reinforced harmful ideas about masculinity and relationships; for example, by equating being a man with drinking, and being a woman with staying at home. NO MORE is supposed to challenge men's behaviour and harmful attitudes, and this is documented in their literature, but this was not observed in practice – it was observed to reinforce gender stereotypes. Moreover, the program documentation also reflects a lack of understanding about the gendered drivers of violence against women, and also reinforces the idea of men as providers, leaders, decision-makers who have the power to look after their families. Nothing in NO MORE's practice or literature has been observed to promote gender equity. [Fieldnotes. NO MORE Training PowerPoint presentation. TF Report. Catholic Care NT 6 Month Program Plan].

NO MORE is engaged with very few of the actions and strategies recommended by Our Watch 'Changing the Picture' (2018). Action 3 (addressing the gendered drivers of violence) is a particular weakness of the program and is this because NO MORE is not underpinned by appropriate frameworks and theory. The lack of staff training compounds this, as staff have no background in DFSV and so are left vulnerable to collusion as they do not have a solid foundation of theory to guide their practice. NO MORE is seemingly unaware of the evidence-based approaches or of best practice models, and this means they are employing few effective strategies to prevent VAW, and also means they are sometimes actively reinforcing attitudes and beliefs which drive violence. With the right training and frameworks, there is considerable scope for NO MORE to make positive impact considering their reach, resourcing, and partnerships. However, at the time of fieldwork, the NO MORE case study highlights how necessary principles of good practice and a shared understanding of DFSV is – without this, programs at best will be ineffective, but at worst, can be harmful, and even dangerous.

Principles of Good Practice identified in NO MORE

Despite the limitations of NO MORE, several principles of good practice can be identified in their work. **Table 16** below communicates the principles of good practice that emerged from the NO MORE case study.

Table 16 Principles of Good Practice identified in NO MORE

Principles	Indicators	Example
 Community Mobilisation	- Engaging and bringing community members together for the purposes of creating visibility and spreading a message - Accessing large groups of people - Creating community events	NO MORE uses a variety of avenues to bring people together, such as sporting matches and CDP groups. NO MORE brings large groups of community members together in order to deliver training sessions. NO MORE has also organised community marches to spread an anti-violence message.
 Accessible	- Uses assertive outreach - Assists people to overcome barriers to access - Takes the program to where people are	NO MORE workers travel large distances, by car and plane, to deliver training sessions on remote communities. NO MORE staff make use of the facilities on hand to deliver the program where participants are located.
 Partnerships	- Partnering with other agencies and groups to access participants and spread the message - Engaging with a variety of different community groups to spread messaging - Creating and drawing upon established relationships with individuals and agencies to facilitate the program	NO MORE fosters partnerships with various agencies, including the Police, local councils, schools, sporting clubs, and CDP groups. NO MORE uses these partnerships to facilitate their access to participants as well as to organise community events.

Lessons learnt from program

NO MORE was a less effective model as evidenced in the data collected in this case study, however, many lessons were still learned. In many ways, the NO MORE case study highlighted how necessary those good practice principles are that were absent from their work. Given that fieldwork with NO MORE immediately followed that with TFVPP (which was identified as a best practice model), the contrast helped to draw out the principles TFVPP was using that were underdeveloped or lacking in NO MORE's work. This case study

therefore became about ‘what doesn’t work’ in terms of the three evaluative tools used in this research, as well as what does.

1. The importance of appropriate and relevant frameworks and theory

This principle of good practice – which was selected as part of the workshop process detailed in **chapter seven** – was not one I had formerly considered. However, it became apparent after observing TFVPP engage continuously and iteratively with various literature, frameworks, and theory, then observing the lack of the theoretically-informed and evidence-based practice in NO MORE, just how vital this principle is. The complete lack of a gender lens, or intersectional lens, or decolonisation framework has not only meant that NO MORE is less effective, it has meant that they often colluded with men’s violence and reinforced harmful attitudes which create the conditions for VAW. To be effective, and to prevent collusion, programs must have a strong foundation and be informed by relevant and appropriate frameworks and theory.

2. Programs that work with men must centre the safety of women and children, and elevate their voices.

In addition to the proceeding lesson, it is vital that programs are based on principles of good practice, and upon the central tenet that the program must centre the safety of women and children. Prioritising the safety of women and children must be at the forefront of everything the program does – and this includes elevating the voices of survivors. The ignorance of the gendered drivers of violence, in particular, means the program is embedded with the same misconceptions and harmful attitudes which are found in wider societies, particularly because the program has no scope or provision for the inclusion of women’s voices. The inclusion of women in leadership and in programs that engage with men that use violence has been identified as an indicator of good practice, not only in the NT framework detailed in **chapter seven**, but in international literature as well. When women’s voices are not included, there is no chance to model gender equitable relationships and this also means the opportunity for risk assessment has been lost. Moreover, it makes a program vulnerable to collusion as only the man’s assessment of risk is heard – there is no way to tell if risk is escalating and can lead to staff minimising a man’s use of violence, as in the case of NO MORE by claiming ‘*women are just as bad*’ [SP12]. Any

minimisation, condoning, justification, or collusion puts women and children at risk of violence – it is imperative that programs centre the safety of women and children and elevate survivor's voices for accountability and as a safeguard against collusion.

3. The importance of ongoing specialist DSFV training

If non-DSFV specialist staff are employed, they must be given appropriate, comprehensive, ongoing training. This is to minimise the risk of collusion and coercion, but also to enable the staff to respond appropriately and empower them to be able to challenge men's use of violence. It is also important to imbue staff with the confidence to facilitate groups and answer challenges and queries from participants. Ongoing training is equally important for all non-specialist agencies, including police and actors in the criminal justice system. Without the necessary theoretical foundations, interventions are less effective and they are at risk of reinforcing harmful misconceptions and attitudes which drive violence.

4. The value and importance of a community-driven approach

Programs must be community-driven, including from the inception and development of the program. Not only does the program stand to benefit from community knowledge and expertise, but this will increase community engagement and assist the program to access participants. The governance of the program is particularly important: it must be informed and led by community. Without community ownership, programs are less effective as they are viewed by the community as externally imposed and ignorant of the cultural and social context. By having inbuilt mechanisms for community governance and by taking community-driven approaches, the program can draw upon this expertise to develop culturally and linguistically appropriate resources which are necessary to engage with linguistically diverse groups and make impact. Community leadership will also ensure the program is culturally safe which will promote engagement, and ensure the program is developed according to the priorities of community. It can also be beneficial for programs to be developed and run by grassroots organisations, as in larger organisations there can be a disconnect between the funding application and the practice of the program – as in the case of NO MORE. It may be that the place of large organisations is in partnership and support of effective programs in place within communities, that are community driven and governed.

Conclusion

Although this research project set out to learn ‘what works to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory’, it is also important to learn ‘what doesn’t work’. These lessons can ensure that less effective models are not replicated elsewhere and are not continually repeated – as has been the case in DFSV interventions for so long. The intent of this research was to conduct several case studies of ‘good practice’ models, but NO MORE emerged as a less effective program than TFVPP working to address and prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. The NO MORE case study illustrates what happens when programs are not guided or informed by evidence, frameworks, or principles.

Despite the data showing that NO MORE meets few criteria of good practice, this case study was helpful in highlighting and validating the necessity of principles of good practice to guide program design, delivery, and practice. It was helpful to compare the NO MORE case study to TFVPP – as there were principles that I could find and observe in TFVPP’s work, but not in NO MORE’s, and this often highlighted the importance of that principle and how its practice had beneficial impact in changing community attitudes. This case study also allowed me to see the importance of principles – such as ‘framework and theory informed’, ‘holistic’, ‘community-driven’, and ‘accountability for men who use violence’ as these are some of the key principles absent from the NO MORE program. These principles are vital to ensure the effective impact of the program in preventing violence against women, but also in ensuring that the program prioritises the safety of women and children, and does not inadvertently reinforce harmful attitudes and beliefs which underpin and drive violence. The NO MORE case study also highlighted the importance of a shared understanding of DFSV – without this shared understanding, programs can undermine each other and negate the positive impact of work elsewhere. A shared understanding and integrated response is pivotal in preventing violence against women in the Northern Territory.

Although NO MORE was a less effective program working in the prevention space in the Northern Territory, I was still able to identify several principles of good practice in their work, such as their accessibility, community mobilisation capacity, and partnerships. If NO MORE’s huge reach could be combined with a more detailed program, appropriate content

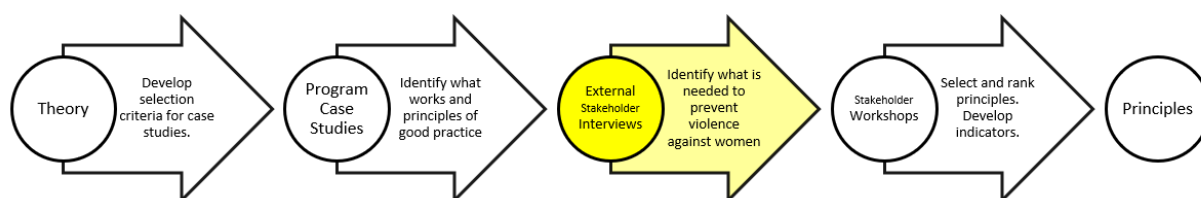
and resources, and by engaging with a more diverse range of external stakeholders, the potential impact is unparalleled in the Northern Territory.

The NO MORE case study was pivotal to the findings of this research as it often illustrated 'what doesn't work' according to the evaluative tools used in this study, particularly the adapted TTM. It also exemplified why a shared understanding of DFSV in the Northern Territory based on principles of good practice is so vital to prevent violence against women.

Chapter Six: Interviews with external stakeholders

'I can see it as hopeless, but there is hope. You have to see hope somewhere.' [ES31]

The Research Process



Introduction

Initially, the semi-structured interviews were designed to assess the partner programs, but also came to harness much wider practice-based knowledge. The seventeen semi-structured interviews with stakeholder-participants allowed me to collect data on stakeholders' practice-based knowledge about what is needed to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. Stakeholders who participated in the semi-structured interviews were people working in the DFSV sector in the NT, in specialist and non-specialist DFSV services. The semi-structured⁵¹ interviews evidenced stakeholders' views on effective interventions in place in the Northern Territory, as well as service provision gaps and showed that VAW is commonplace and severe in the Northern Territory. The thematic analysis of the interviews revealed five dominant themes: violence, the law and court system, services, community owned and led [interventions], and challenges.

⁵¹ I will periodically refer to the semi-structured interviews as 'interviews' for brevity, but all the interviews that were carried out were semi-structured.

The interviews also made use of the adapted TTM to allow the stakeholders to make an assessment of community readiness to change, and their stage of change. This assessment was independent of the two case study programs, as the stakeholders were asked to judge the stage of change they believed their community⁵² to be in - they were not asked about the case studies program role in creating that change. Although the sample size is too small to be representative, stakeholders' answers to this question yielded some interesting insights.

The interviews also provided other key learnings and validated the principles of good practice emerging from the partner-programs. The interviews with external stakeholders further highlight the contextual differences and additional challenges faced in the DFSV sector in the Northern Territory and give weight to the need for context-specific grassroots-developed frameworks and practices.

This chapter begins by briefly describing the interview method and purpose, and gives an overview of the participants, before discussing the cumulative results of stakeholders' assessments of change using the adapted TTM. The chapter continues with an analysis of the five key themes in the data set, before presenting additional findings and key learnings gleaned from the interviews.

Method and Purpose

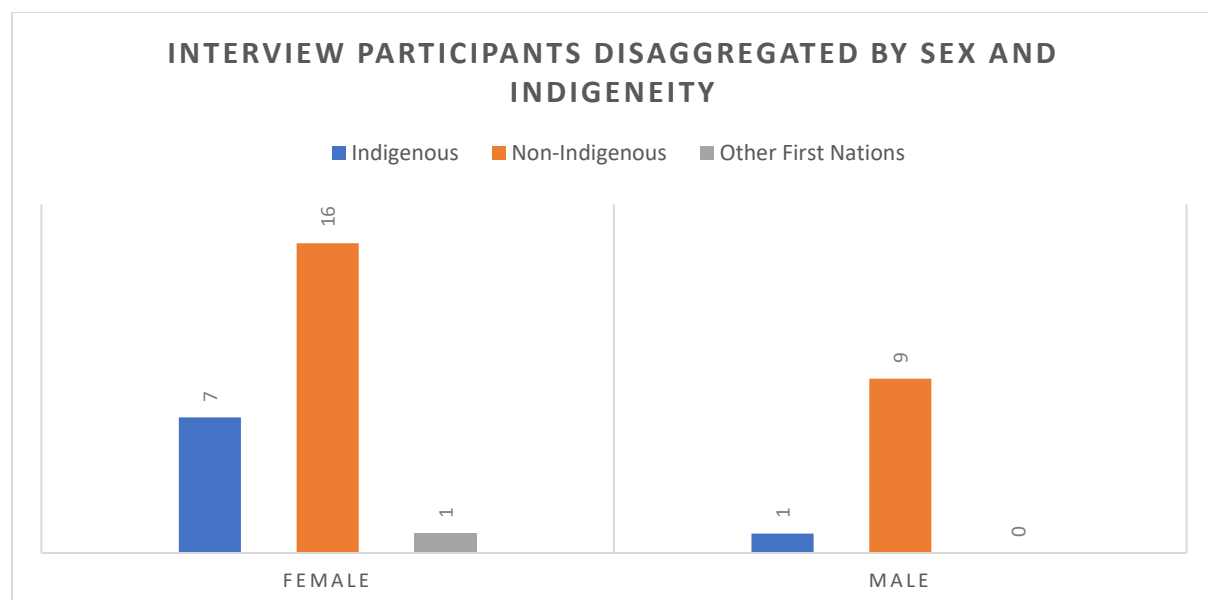
The interviews typically lasted between one hour and one and a half hours, but some interviews lasted up to three hours. External stakeholders were asked about DFSV in their context which often led to discussions about the extreme frequency and severity of violence in the Northern Territory, which will be explored in more detail in this chapter's key themes. They were also asked about what support services were on offer, and this was largely designed to see if stakeholders volunteered the name of the partner program without prompting. They were then asked about what would work to prevent violence in their context and many of the answers to this question came to be considered as principles in the workshop process. They were finally asked directly about the partner program which was

⁵² The geographical scope of the assessed communities included the main fieldwork sites (Alice Springs, Katherine, Tennant Creek), as well as a range of remote communities and Town Camps where stakeholder-participants had lived and worked.

discussed in the case study chapters. Finally, they were asked to use the adapted TTM to assess community attitudes towards violence and whether their community was moving through the stages of change. These interviews, particularly in response to the question about prevention, helped frame the principles that were presented in the workshops. There was only one question that was specific to the case studies, whilst the others were more general and hence the research was able to benefit from the practice-based expertise of stakeholders who had a range of DFSV experience.

Participants

Figure 49 Semi-structured interview participants disaggregated by sex and Indigeneity



As shown in **Figure 50**, there were 34 participants in the seventeen semi-structured interviews, and the vast majority of these were female. This may be because there is a tendency for more women to work in the DFSV sector and in social services generally. The stakeholders came from many different fields that surround DFSV: police officers (including entire DV units⁵³), teachers, corrections officers, lawyers, social workers, Aboriginal liaison workers, sexual assault counsellors, politicians, community elders, CDP coordinators and

⁵³ There are specialist Domestic Violence (DV) police units in each of the regional centres in the Northern Territory.

night patrol workers. This vast array of participants revealed much knowledge, not just about the state of violence in the Northern Territory, but about the frustration in the sector about the lack of a coordinated response, and the hope that things could be different.

Seventeen semi-structured interviews were conducted, sometimes individually and other times in groups (the largest group had six participants). The interviews took place in three different locations: Alice Springs, Katherine, Tenant Creek; in many different places: offices, homes, police stations, and restaurants. The stakeholders also came from and/or worked in many different places, including remote communities throughout the Northern Territory. In their answers, stakeholder-participants often reflected on different communities in their responses.

After the interview, the written notes were typed and sent back to the stakeholder-participants for review. Only two participants chose to edit their transcripts, and these reflected minimal changes for clarity. The interviews were then coded using NVivo software until themes emerged in the data set which are explored in the key themes section of this chapter.

Transtheoretical model – Stages of Change

The adapted TTM was used in the semi-structured interviews to ask the external stakeholder participants to identify where their community was in the stages of change, *if* they believed the community was in the cycle. 43 responses were recorded because, as previously discussed, some participants chose to give multiple answers and some participants considered multiple communities in their responses. This section discusses the cumulative weight of these answers to explore whether the community, particularly in the three main locations where I carried out the research, in the Northern Territory is in a process of change.

As can be seen in **Figure 51**, only one participant believed their community was not yet in a stage of change, and this particular participant was only referring to non-Indigenous people who they believed thought VAW to be an Indigenous problem. This attitude that non-Indigenous violence was being ignored, minimised and dismissed was a key finding of the

interviews with external stakeholders and of the research itself, and this is explored in more detail in the findings section of this chapter.

Figure 50 Cumulative stakeholder assessments of community change using the adapted TTM



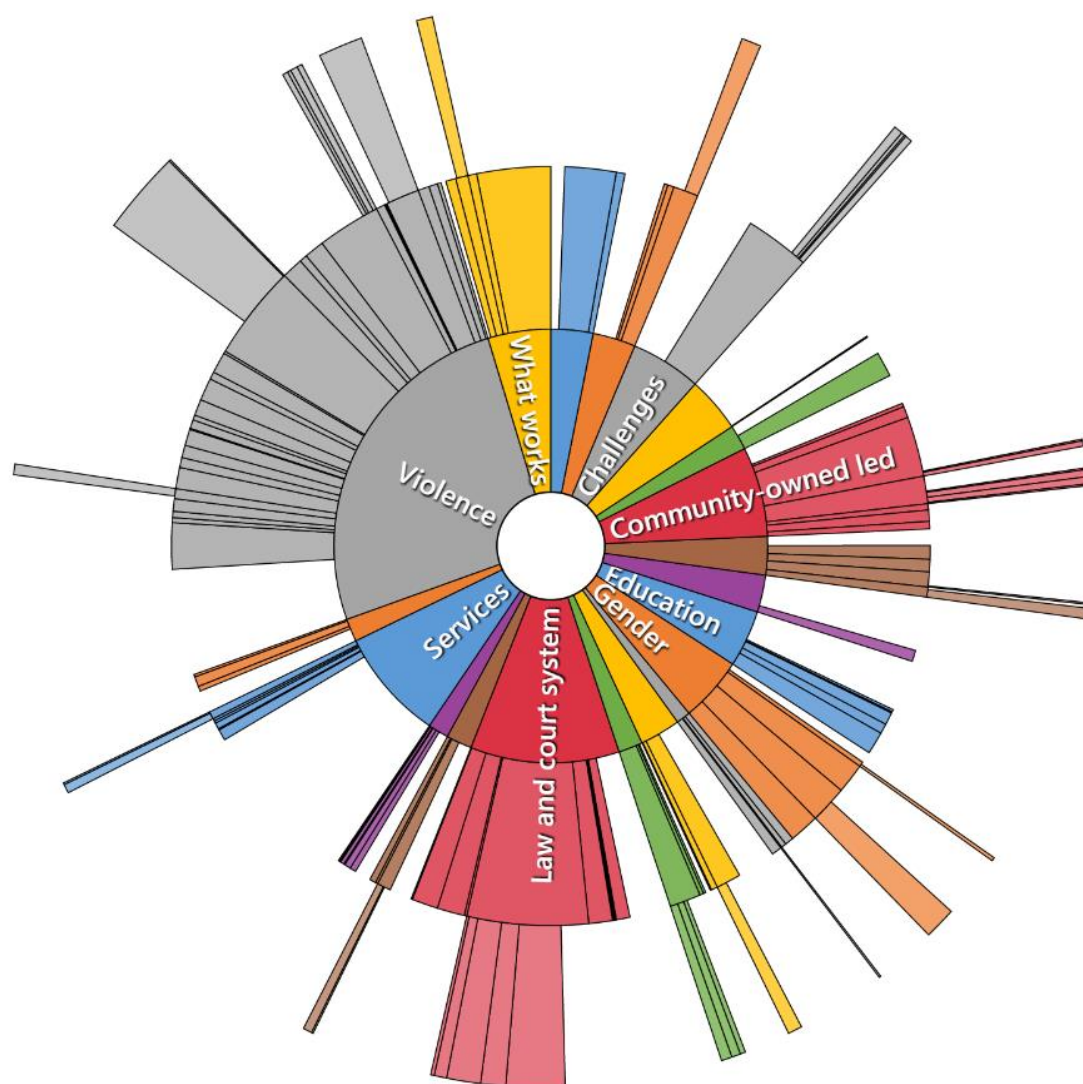
All other stakeholders who responded to this question placed their community context somewhere within the stages of change. Nearly all stakeholders chose to break the community up into smaller groups – and this resonates with the literature that tells us that no community is homogenous group (Price-Robertson & McDonald, 2011; Moore, McDonald, McHugh-Dillon, & West, 2016) – within each community, there are smaller groups that are further along in the cycle of change than others. However, almost 70% of responses placed their community within the early stages of change. Seven respondents thought the community did not see violence as a problem, but most responses placed the community somewhere from beginning to see DFSV as a problem to the transition to

beginning to talk and act on the problem. Nearly all respondents identified a leadership group within their community – or core group – who was leading the conversation and beginning to take a stand. All the references to later stages of the TTM were in reference to specific groups, most notably the Tangentyere Women’s Family Safety Group who govern the TFVPP.

Although 43 is too small a sample size to determine a definitive statement about community attitudes and to assess community change, the responses indicate that there is still a lot of work to do to shift community attitudes in the Northern Territory. However, 70% believe that the community at least sees DFSV/VAW as a problem. Acknowledging the problem is a pivotal first step in the creation of change, and this means that there are willing partners in community to begin to take action to prevent violence.

Key themes

Figure 51 Pie chart of breakdown of themes in the semi-structured interviews with external stakeholders



The following is a thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews with external stakeholders. There were nineteen themes identified in the data set and **Figure 52** shows the breakdown of these themes. The nineteen themes are also listed in **Table 17** below in order of dominance. In this chapter, there is only the scope to explore the five most commonly referenced themes as they point to the primary concerns identified by stakeholders in the interviews. This is followed by an individual analysis of each theme.

Table 17 Themes in order of dominance

Ranking	Theme	Amount of References	Ranking	Theme	Amount of References
1	Violence	486	11	Alcohol and other drugs	59
2	Law and Court System	209	12	Government	57
3	Services	157	13	Context	54
4	Community owned and led	117	14	Culture	52
5	Challenges	98	15	Safety	38
6	Gender	91	16	Relationships	36
7	What works	88	17	Sharing	32
8	Education	80	18	Child Protecting	35
9	Change	78	19	Health and Mental Health	34
10	Attitudes	60			

Violence

As with both case studies, Violence was the most commonly referenced theme. This is because stakeholder participants were directly asked about DFSV in their context, but it is also because of the severity and frequency of the violence in the Northern Territory. It was clear that VAW is extremely common in the Northern Territory.

‘[Violence is] pretty common. Almost regarded as normal behaviour.’ [ES25]

‘I have DFV come through to me everyday. As a community member, I see it a lot.’ [ES28]

‘We talk about it because there’s that myth [that violence is normal or accepted]. The women will say “I don’t want him to hit me. I want him to stop. I’m scared.” There’s a question on the tool about why they’re afraid and they might say “I’m worried he’s going to kill me.”’ [ES29]

‘These are horrible stories. But it’s like living near a train station – “Oh it’s the next one.” it’s just one [horrible story] after the other.’ [ES17]

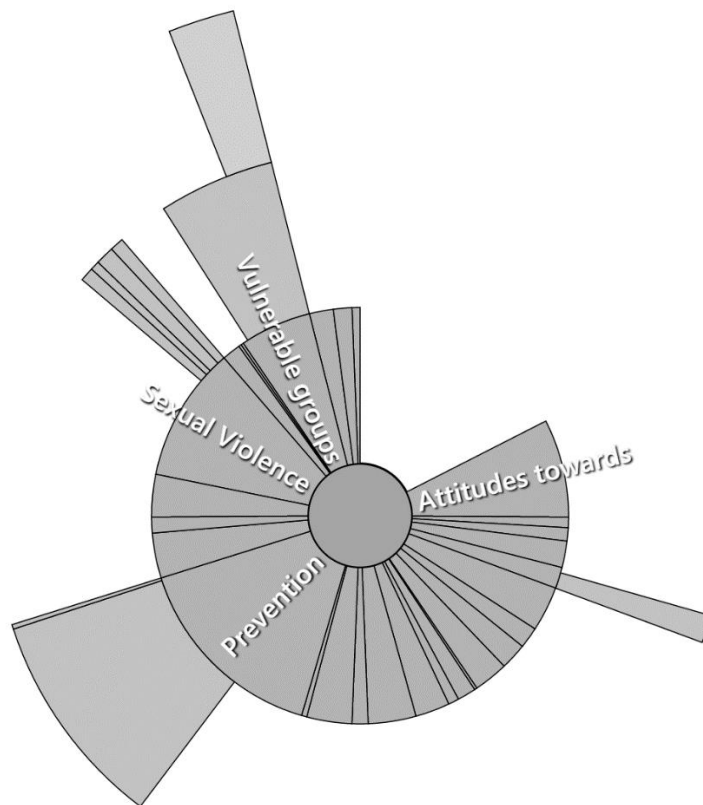
'I come from Victoria but the violence here is like being on another planet.' [ES27]

'There's a lot of it. You see it on the street.' [ES19]

'I would say it's an epidemic, it's a massive cultural problem, it stems from alcohol abuse, you can attribute it to the socioeconomic status of the communities. The values of the communities itself is skewed, it's not normal. I'm from a different culture, it's not normal.' [ES33]

The violence theme comprised the different types of violence, such as sexual and physical violence, but it also included attitudes towards violence as well as some of the consequences of violence such as blame and shame. The theme also covers stakeholders' ideas about how violence can be prevented. External stakeholders were largely exhausted by the extremity of the violence, but they were also frustrated by what they saw as an ineffective government and judicial response. External stakeholders also had many ideas about what was needed to prevent and address violence, and these were largely consistent between all the interviews.

Figure 52 Breakdown of references coded to the Violence theme



The scale and severity of DFSV/VAW in the Northern Territory is captured in the numerous harrowing stories that external stakeholders shared in the interviews. This also highlighted the importance of trauma-informed practice, and the need for vicarious trauma training, particularly for frontline services but also for non-specialist services, such as night patrol and police (this is discussed further in the 'Services' section of this chapter).

'Also, on the extreme end, one man used a star picket, and impaled her – she still had it in her when she was admitted – she died. We've also seen a lot of electrical cords being used for strangling or whipping. We have a high number of attempted strangulations. Electronic kettles, frozen water bottles, house bricks – not so much traditional weapons. We see a lot of fractured jaws, broken wrists and arms, a lot of defence injuries here. Dislocated fingers. We had one woman who was kicked in the head and it partly scalped her.' [ES29]

Much of the severity of this violence can be linked to the use of weapons which was captured in the 'Weapons' code. Participants reflected that women were more likely to use a weapon in self-defence, but that weapons were also used frequently by male perpetrators:

'I'd say there's an 80% incidence of weapons being used. Rocks, sticks, fry pans...' [ES29].

Sexual violence was also repeatedly raised in the interviews, and many of the stakeholders expressed concern that there was large amount of unreported sexual violence. The 'Sexual Violence' code captured alarming reports of forced and underage prostitution as well as the transmission of STIs, particularly to children.

'We've also had instances of young girls selling themselves, in exchange for food or a roof over their head.' [ES15]

'We've had one client, for example, who was the victim of forced prostitution by her partner, amongst other forms of violence.' [ES20].

'We've got a family of siblings, some as young as five years old, who tested positive for syphilis. Two of them had to be hospitalised and one young fella almost died. But they're back with their families so it can happen again.' [ES16].

'The women told us stories about the night patrol, which was all men, who were taking intoxicated women to the gravel pit and raping them. After that, a women's-only night patrol was created. When you have men who are sober, women who are drunk, and the men are in a group, not good stuff happens. We need to get female police officers and engagement officers. I've been here for 20 years working. We need women working with women. Not exposing women to interventions with men.' [ES29]

The theme of violence captured many different types of violence and one particular form in addition to physical, sexual, and verbal violence – was financial abuse. The 'Financial Abuse' code largely captured references to humbug and the theft of basics cards. Basics cards were often seen as a trigger and catalyst for violence. Stakeholders disclosed many incidents of women being assaulted for their basics cards, by their partners, children, and extended families. It seemed that the lack of access to cash and disposable income meant that people who had available funds on basics cards or otherwise, were targeted.

During the fieldwork, I witnessed several incidents of women being assaulted for their basics cards: on one particular occasion an Indigenous woman sought the help of a security guard in Alice Springs' town mall and asked him to call the police because she was being threatened and her granddaughter was trying to steal her basics card. The security guard replied that this was not his job. Stakeholders also talked about 'payday' when the ATMs will be surrounded by men waiting for people to withdraw money so they can humbug – this often results in violence.

'I do think Centrelink benefits need to be reviewed again and Basics Card, how much money they get. Both get misspent and result in a lot of humbug. That's a part of DFV. Family members pressuring for money.' [ES28]

'Financial services are really important. Money is such a loaded thing, DV is about money and alcohol.' [ES27]

'People can't say no either. Why would you go to work if you're going to get humbug all the time. At least when you've got nothing you can say "got nothing".' [ES17]

'The women get the baby money, and you see them at the ATM to get the money out, and you see them being hit.' [ES19]

The impacts of the different types of violence were numerous. Stakeholders talked about violence as setting in motion a ripple effect that intersected with and impacted on so many other issues such as housing, and mental health.

'You've got the Minister talking about how terrible it is that some people at community don't have doors on their houses. But there's no door because brother-boy kicked it down. There's no good putting another door there, in fact it may be worse because they could hurt themselves. But they are still going to kick the door down and bash grandma just like they were always going to and steal her basics card.' [ES17]

'No sense of how frequent or appropriate DVOs are but DV circles around other matter types: –usually child protection; victims of crime compensation; there's a significant proportion of DV injuries; homelessness because they've been a victim of DV; Centrelink debt because they've stopped reporting because of DV; Big consumer debts and that's linked to financial control side of things. Sometimes clients have run away so they've stopped making repayments, and so have significant debts.' [ES11]

Stakeholders also reflected on the reluctance of women to report violence, this was largely due to fear: of child removal; of reprisal violence; of homelessness. Stigma and shame were also barriers to women reporting, as well as cultural and linguistic barriers. Love for their partner was also reported as a key reason why many women do not report violence.

It was also clear that stakeholders know DFSV/VAW, in all its forms, is under-reported, and they expressed particular concern about the under-reporting of sexual violence. Some stakeholders talked about some women who are now seeking legal assistance to prosecute historical cases, which they linked to the empowerment of these women. However, for the most part, sexual violence was hidden, and stakeholders discussed the high rates of reported IPV and how in other regions this usually pairs with high rates of reported sexual violence – they questioned why the Northern Territory has comparatively lower rates of reported sexual violence in comparison to high reported rates of IPV.

Participants felt reprisal violence is the primary reason why much DFSV and VAW goes unreported. Stakeholders often talked about women being reluctant to report or trying to 'drop' charges because they feared payback. A number also talked about how women suffered through their partner's use of violence because his violence was known and

familiar to them, whereas the risk of reprisal violence from unknown sources in unknown forms was considered a far greater risk and a frightening proposition.

'A lot of strong women there who will fight back. But they worry about the family. If he gets sent away, they will terrorise her.' [ES29]

'A lot of Aboriginal people won't ring Police because of payback so they rely on other people to do it. So it's not so much about addressing anti-social behaviour, but empowering them to take action and report.' [ES23]

'Payback has changed too. They're doing payback but doing they're also doing it [DFV] to their own women. For example, I could be flogged up by my friend's brother - but it's not okay to send him to jail.' [ES15]

'There's also payback from family, one of my friends is still having trouble from her ex-partner's family and she's now got a new partner and has kids to him.' [ES20]

Women also do not report because of their perception about the ineffectiveness of judicial responses. Both DVOs and jail are considered to be ineffective in changing men's behaviour. This will be discussed further in the Law and Court System theme.

'These women have experienced a lot of violence at the hands of men. So violence is underreported and masked –clients sometimes don't have the language to talk about DV. They might say "he rang me up at night and humbugged me" instead of "harassment". Sometimes these women put up with it because they have nowhere else to stay.' [ES23]

However, it must also be acknowledged that for some women, jail time for the offender offers a reprieve and it is the only time a woman is safe. Many stakeholders, particularly those working within the criminal justice system, reflected upon this in a number of their cases.

'[Girl] is 20 weeks pregnant at 16 years old, she was beaten up by her 19 year old brother at [community 1] after he came home from Ceremony. She didn't get him food, so to exercise his new manhood, he beat her up. So she's being beaten up by her family and by her partner. When she was 14 years old, she gave birth to a child who was

conceived through rape, and the child died 2 days later. She's now pregnant again, she's been stabbed through the arm by her partner. Stabbed in, and it came out the other side. She tried to downplay it, but she's now a surgical patient on the maternity ward. We picked up this case through cooperation with the Maternity Unit. The partner had 5 DV alerts on him from previous assaults, arrest alerts, from kicking, assaults on her and other women. He had a DV Order with two other women, he's 22 and she's 16. One of his previous partners is in town to give birth. This is bad. Team needs to locate him, he's high risk. [Community 2] police have been looking for him, [Community 1] is one of those communities where you can hear them coming, I used to park 5km back and walk in, but the new guys don't do that. The night shift went to [Town Camp 1] at 5AM and 7:30AM and got him inside the house with her, arrested him on the Friday, served a 41⁵⁴, he appeared in court on Monday and received three months, pleaded guilty for kicking her in the head. Would never have known about it without Maternity. She'll get to a point where she'll get the confidence to tell us. Social workers and police, they're all telling her the same thing. Now that he's locked up, she's feeling safer.' [ES31]

However, the mandatory reporting aspect of the Northern Territory Domestic and Family Violence Act 2009 was also discussed at length and stakeholders were consistently in support of mandatory reporting. There were fears before its introduction that women would stop reporting because of fear of police. Although there remain issues with the underreporting of VAW, service providers have said that providing they were transparent about limited confidentiality and mandatory reporting with their clients, this had not stopped women and children from disclosing violence to them – even their own use of violence.

'There's so many different forms [of violence] – environmental factors – but we do see power and control being played out here. Mandatory reporting is great because your hands are tied.' [ES27]

⁵⁴ A '41' refers to section 41 of the Northern Territory Domestic and Family Violence Act (2009). Section 41 allows an authorised police officer under certain circumstances to make a DVO on behalf of the victim against a defendant.

'There's been a cultural change with mandatory reporting of DV. Medical [workers] were fearful that people will stop coming, but that's been proven not to be true. People are coming and disclosing.' [ES31]

Stakeholders also talked about their concerns that non-Indigenous violence was being largely ignored and minimised in the Northern Territory.⁵⁵ They often reflected that this grew from the attitude that DFSV/VAW is an Aboriginal problem. Many external stakeholders said that non-Indigenous perpetrators of DFSV and VAW make more use of psychological forms of abuse and control, which they considered to be far more insidious and cunning. The concern of many stakeholders was that Indigenous DFSV and VAW was easily identified because it was usually physical, explosive, and public, whilst non-Indigenous DFSV and VAW was difficult to prosecute because it was more likely to involve intimidation and emotional abuse.

'The RAAF base... has spiked DFSV – that's more the economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, and bullying. That's difficult too because Dad is the perpetrator but he's also the serving member – if they split up – Mum has 28 days to get out of town. RAAF will move them once – they can stay in town or move interstate. But they've got to pay rent, find a job, he's the one with the money, he says he'll pay rent but then he'll use that economic leverage. It's that domination of the family. That's a common one... Non-Indigenous perpetrators are smart here. There's no texts. No calls. Nothing like that. They get in the ear of the person and send the message that way. It's hard to fight in court. Put it into context, Aboriginal relationships are really easy to deal with because it's a punch to the face – there's hospital records. There's paperwork. Non-Indigenous – it's subtle. You have to work really hard to prove it and to get help. If they've got a DVO, and they call Police and say 'he's driven past 5 times', the cops won't come. The advice given to non-Indigenous families is to go interstate – get in the car and go. If he later makes a lodgement through the court to reclaim the kids, we'll deal with that then. Just go.' [ES23]

⁵⁵ Although I and my mother are both non-Indigenous women who have experienced and survived violence, non-Indigenous victim/survivors have arguably not had a big voice in this thesis. There is a need for further work to see how adequately the principles presented in **Chapter 7** would translate for non-Indigenous mobile populations. For example, how applicable are they to the American women stationed in Alice Springs to work (or their husbands/partners to work) at Pine Gap?

'It's also mental abuse. I know of families where the women are kept under control and are not allowed out. I know of one woman who was locked in a room – that was a mixed-race marriage: Australia and Filipino marriage.' [ES19]

'Here in Alice, I think people are exposed to DV, people often see acts of DV happening in public. Sadly, people have become [desensitised] to it. See it specifically as a problem that only affects ATSI people... I don't see it as a problem that's only affecting ATSI people. I think for a lot of Aboriginal women and men, they only see it as their problem, possibly. I talk from experience when women at the shelter would see non-Aboriginal women accessing the service, they would assume that it was a worker, and I would say 'No, that's someone getting help', and they would be shocked. A lot of feelings of them being isolated.' [ES37]

The racist and destructive idea that DFSV/VAW is an Indigenous problem has two primary consequences: the first is that it makes the general public less likely to report violence against Aboriginal women; it also allows non-Indigenous violence to fly under the radar and for this violence to be minimised.

Some stakeholders talk about how non-Indigenous violence is often minimised, sometimes by police, because it is regarded as 'not as extreme enough'. Non-Indigenous violence tends to be more hidden, and stakeholders reflect this may be because of the generally higher literacy of non-Indigenous men who use violence. They understand that DFSV is illegal, and that it needs to be kept secret. They understand that they need to attend the hospital if they injure their partner so they can control the situation. The obvious signs of violence are overlooked by agencies and service providers because of their own perceptions of DFSV being an Aboriginal problem – they perhaps do not screen non-Indigenous women the way they would Aboriginal women. Many stakeholders have expressed these concerns for CALD women, for migrant and refugee women, and for white women. Some stakeholders refer to the number of men's behaviour change programs on offer elsewhere in Australia for non-Indigenous men, yet there are very few non-Indigenous men attending in the Territory (because few have been charged and/or convicted of DFSV related offences) – the concern, which is supported by the evidence that VAW is underreported in all contexts, is that this violence is being ignored, dismissed, or minimised. One stakeholder working in a women's legal service said that the advice they give to non-Indigenous victims is to leave the

Northern Territory because they know there is little support for non-Indigenous women experiencing violence.

Stakeholders also repeatedly discussed the cyclical nature of violence in the Northern Territory. They were concerned about youth violence, which they saw as having a direct link with DFSV. Stakeholders believed that the primary reason that youth were on the street was because it was often unsafe for them at home. They also discussed how witnessing DFSV as children and the victimisation of children, has led to a culture where violence is perceived fatalistically – as inevitable. Many stakeholders and staff participants reject the idea of ‘normalisation’ because violence is not normal to women and children, they do not accept it as normal, but it is ‘every day’.

Stakeholders felt the only way to break the cycle of violence was through early intervention programs with young children, and this is explored in more detail in the findings chapter.

‘The pattern we see is that you’ve got a child 12 to 13 years old out of foster care, he’s taken out of foster care and sent to community, and then they get into property offending, at 16 years old they get youth violence, then at 17 to 18 years old they get into alcohol, and then it’s that drift from property crime to DV. That’s the cycle we see. Cash leads to alcohol, leads to drift into DV and sexual abuse. It’s the same pattern.’
[ES36]

‘Of our Indigenous clients: 100%. I don’t know how you could come up with a figure other than that. 100% exposed to DFV as children – Indigenous offenders are victims and perpetrators of DFV.’ [ES3]

‘We’ve got the sexual assault of young girls – and people complain about these youths on the street – but it’s safer for them to roam the street than to go home.’ [ES15]

‘It’s cyclical violence but the ways we combat it aren’t cognisant of that.’ [ES7]

Finally, the ‘prevention’ code revealed that stakeholders know what is needed to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. There was a lot of consistency about what was needed to prevent violence and this reflected four central themes: the empowerment of women;

education for young people and early years; programs for men who use violence; and community owned and community driven approaches.

The empowerment of women was identified by external stakeholders as being critical to prevent violence and address violence. This empowerment was largely about teaching women and girls about their rights – that it was their right to safety and security. This empowerment occurred through education and arming women with the tools to identify, intervene, and respond to violence. Stakeholders particularly identified grandmothers, aunts, and sisters as key people to employ in an intervention (this was also highlighted in the safety mapping detailed in **Appendix A**). Many stakeholders talked about teaching women and girls not to expect, tolerate, minimise or condone the violence they experience, by teaching them about their rights and empowering them with knowledge, resources, and skills necessary to respond and seek help.

Stakeholders also repeatedly identified the need for education, particularly of young people. Stakeholders discussed the need for intervention with adolescents, but also repeatedly identified the need for early education programs – for children five years old and younger. Children this age are already being victimised by DFSV, and so it is necessary to educate them about consent, healthy relationships, and engage them in safety planning. This also provides an opportunity for schools and service providers to identify the first signs of trauma and engage with the child through trauma-informed practices. Stakeholders reinforced that without early interventions with children, the cyclical nature of intergenerational violence would continue. People who experience or witness violence as children are at risk of being revictimised or becoming perpetrators of violence (World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical, 2010).

‘27 years ago the seat belts came in – because it was an issue, people were dying. All the deaths were occurring – it got to a point where government was saying we got to do something. I worked out we could have stopped 54000 women from being murdered with the same strategy. Seatbelt campaign model and AIDS are similar. You’ll still hear “buckle up”. It takes time. Same as smoking – but we’re getting there. My grandchildren would see me smoke and say “what ya smoking for?”. Same with the violence. It’s not a model, it’s a program. It’s got to be part of the national conversation.’ [ES26]

Stakeholders also repeatedly identified the need for programs that engage with men. Programs for men who use violence are needed, as well as programs that support men with fathering, mental health, AOD services, and counselling. These programs need to acknowledge violence can be prevented by addressing the risk factors that create the conditions for violence. At present, there are only two men's behaviour change programs in the Northern Territory, and a short men's program run by Cross Borders. Corrections also has a five-day program. In many regions, for example in Katherine, there are no programs for men who use violence. This is a glaring and dangerous gap in service provision. Stakeholders repeatedly called for programs that engage and work with men.

It's community-wide public condemnation and shame for perpetrators. It's well-resourced and accessible behaviour change. [ES23]

Finally, stakeholders talked about the need for community driven and community owned responses to address and prevent VAW – and this is discussed in further detail in the 'community owned and led' section of this chapter.

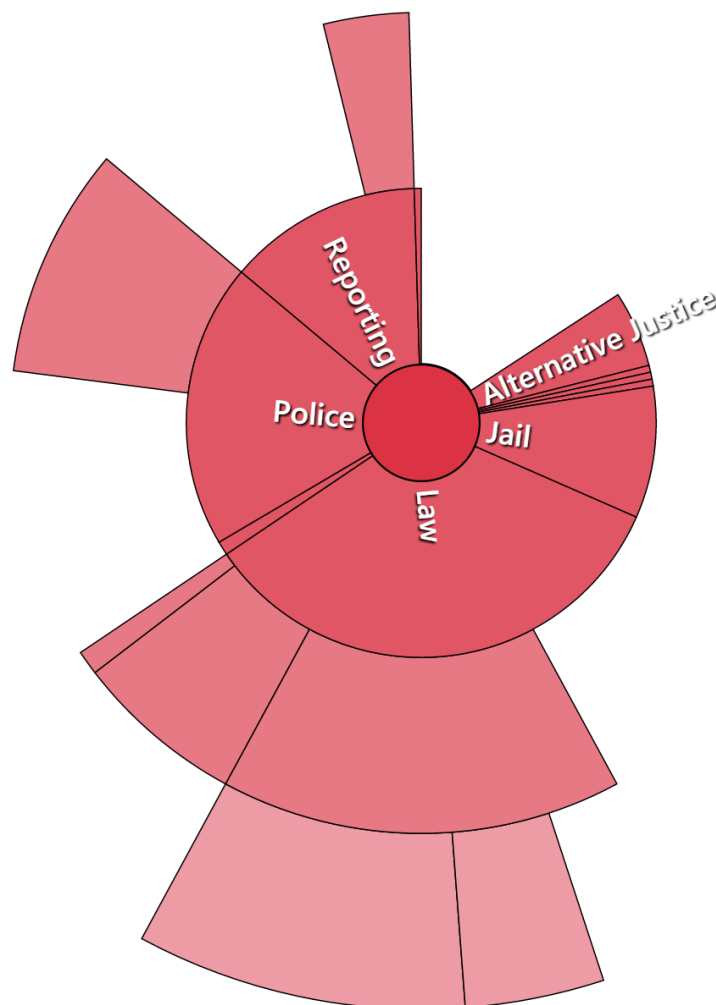
Violence was obviously raised throughout the interviews with external stakeholders, as these stakeholders work in and around the DFSV sector, and they were directly asked about DFSV/VAW in their communities. However, what this theme revealed was the different forms of violence stakeholders are dealing with and just how extreme, severe, and frequent this violence is. It is clear that DFSV/VAW is largely under-reported in the Northern Territory – which is consistent with other geographical locations – and that Indigenous women in particular are reluctant to report violence due to fear and stigma. Although mandatory reporting was considered favourably by stakeholders, other judicial responses were regarded as ineffective and this is considered later in the Law and Court System theme.

Law and Court System

The second most commonly referenced theme was the Law and Court System, which includes police, law, jail, and reporting codes. The codes in this theme were grouped together because they were all about the judicial responses to DFSV/VAW. There tended to be a consensus that the judicial responses to DFSV/VAW in the Northern Territory – particularly DVOs and incarceration – were ineffective and disempowering to women. There

was agreement that interventions to DFSV needed to be in place much earlier, and that DVOs and/or incarceration is not an effective deterrent or intervention. The area of greatest disagreement was the role and response of the police to DFSV. Stakeholder participants agreed that the criminal justice system was not an effective response to DFSV/VAW so other alternative justice forms should be explored and used more. Of central concern to all participants was the reporting of DFSV.

Figure 53 Breakdown of references assigned to the Law and Court System theme



As explored briefly in the 'Violence' theme, stakeholders state that women do not report violence for a number of reasons, mostly revolving around fear. However, when they do report, stakeholders suggest that after the initial report is made, this process is very disempowering for women. This is because once the report is made, they have no control or

agency around how the matter will or will not be pursued. Stakeholders suggest that one of the reasons women will come forward to report is the need for validation and vindication – something to say that the violence they experienced is not okay. They reflect that the system will not often give that to these women – and this is yet another reason why alternative justice could be made use of, which will be explored later in this section.

‘Thinking about the cycle of violence – a woman may come in after the explosion phase but by the time of prosecution, the woman may be in a different phase and is therefore reluctant to pursue legal recourse.’ [ES5]

‘DV is so dangerous and pervasive but what happens when they report? It’s in the hands of the prosecution.’ [ES7]

‘The intervention⁵⁶ was a step backwards because it scarred people. They won’t come in [to seek a service because of fear of consequences]. They’re closed-off.’ [ES6]

‘The biggest problem is that there is an indifference about the reporting of DV in Town Camps than there is in the suburbs. Suburbs will report quicker. Some of the violence will continue a lot longer. People across the road [from me], I intervene every night. If that was a Town Camp, only one of ten would be reported. There’s an indifference or normalizing by the general population, but I still think they would report far more earlier than a Town Camp.’ [ES31]

Some stakeholders, however, did report incidents of women reporting and being validated by the court process.

‘It’s good to see some Aboriginal women in their 20s and early 30s now finding their voice to talk about what happened to them as children. Some have even gone through court and have been successful too.’ [ES38].

Current judicial responses to DFSV can often serve to revictimise women and children. The interviews provided multiple cases of the revictimization of women by judicial acts that were intended to support victims.

⁵⁶ This is a reference to the Northern Territory Emergency Response.

The Northern Territory Domestic and Family Violence Act 2009 and the Care and Protection of Children Act 2007 are supposed to support women and children, however, both of these acts have had unintended impacts which cause harm. As communicated by stakeholders, the harms associated with these acts include child removal. Women often do not report violence because they fear child removal – and DV is the most common reason for child removal in the Northern Territory. This not only traumatises children and families but punishes women for experiencing violence. Women are expected to put an end to the violence they experience, and if they do not, this is seen as jeopardising the child and results in childhood removal. Rather, the response should be to support the mother. Stakeholders communicated several instances in which women became homeless as a result of DV and consequently had their children removed. They then have no right of access to their children. However, weekly visitations were arranged for the children's father who was in jail for assaulting their mother. The father therefore is able to maintain contact and a relationship with his children, whilst the mother has no such rights.

'Territory Families is another example, we have mandatory reporting for child protection. Everywhere has that. It spreads across government agencies, still the onus is on the woman to make the change. In child protection, there are these ridiculous safety plans which actually say it is mum's job to keep baby safe. Mum must call the police if such and such does this, and won't acknowledge any other practices she may have, may already be using to keep her and her baby safe.' [ES37]

Although stakeholders were unified in saying that DFSV is underreported and that many women never report the violence they experience, a number of stakeholders reflected on a huge cultural shift within Indigenous communities in that women are expecting and demanding a service from police. Although distrust remains and drastic improvement is still needed, there has been an increased willingness to report to police, even openly reporting to police. This was also reflected in the safety mapping (in **Appendix A**) in which women often discussed making reports to police and felt safe and happy to call police, even in the presence of other people, although that did sometimes put them at risk of violence. Their preference was to be able to report to police privately and often, anonymously. Some stakeholders also discussed how by keeping DFSV/VAW in the public consciousness, this should result in increased reporting and particularly through encouraging men to report the

violence they see perpetrated by women. The more empowered women are, the more likely they are to identify and report violence, so a fall in reports of DFSV is not necessarily a positive indicator that violence is going down within a community. Rather an increase in reports can point to a more empowered and proactive community.

'The topic [DFV] staying in the public forum means people will report more. Men will stand up and say we will not accept this for our mothers, sisters, daughters. See a huge increase in sexual violence (reports).' [ES3]

'There's a lot more open reporting, which is a culture change.' [ES34]

However, it is important to note that although stakeholders report an uptake in willingness to report to police, reporting is still very low and many barriers to reporting still exist. Aside from fear, women also face barriers of phone service, access to credit, and access to phones to report. At this point, it must also be noted that many remote communities have no police, and in many areas, there are extremely few police – in some geographical areas (100 000km² in size) in the southern part of the Northern Territory, there are only two police officers, for example.

Some stakeholders, particularly those working in the criminal justice system, expressed frustration with the lack of reporting and information sharing by service providers. They said there needed to be more education among the general population about the legal obligations and protections of mandatory reporting.

'Most reports come from ED. Nurses are getting it, doctors are more precious about it, you gotta sit somewhere for a while and absorb it, regardless of my beliefs and ideologies, there's a frustration that medical practitioners are resistant to reporting. Nurses aren't, they'll report everything. They're worried, when police come, about giving information. But legislation is clear, it protects you from criminal, civil, and professional liabilities. They're protected by the DV Act...There's a lack of understanding of legal protection particularly in health. That's slowly changing, but it's a constant frustration. We need timely and accurate information on when and what happened.' [ES31]

Among the general population, stakeholders reflected that the normalisation of violence due to frequency, presented an additional barrier to reporting because people were less likely to report. The perception that DFSV is an Aboriginal problem is an extreme barrier to reporting as this racist perception led the general population to normalise, condone, and dismiss this violence.

'That's what I reiterate, don't normalise this stuff. We see it at shopping and at work, but it's not normal. Don't minimise, don't normalise, then people don't report, because they think it's not enough. The legislation is so damn low, you should report everything...[Alice Springs' general community] see [DFSV] as an Aboriginal problem, from seeing violence as a problem, there's seeing a long way off. Talking about it on one level, Rosie Batty got it to the public face but average Joe Blow doesn't see it as a problem for them. It's a big mindset that's got to change for things to become better. People still report, some bogans don't. Enough communication, people are willing to report, but not hang around. They're not going to report it if they don't see it as a problem, but the general population think of it more as an Aboriginal alcohol problem. If you think it's normal, you've got to get out. You've got to get out of the NT. I don't want to see any more black misery. It's the only way to see it.' [ES31]

What was key in the reporting code was that DFSV continues to be underreported, but that there has been a huge attitudinal and cultural shift within Indigenous communities, particularly among Indigenous women to report to police, but this narrative was countered by low reporting of violence by the general population. Some stakeholders believed that suburbs would be more likely to report than town camps – or report more quickly – when they heard a disturbance. But that this was not true of the violence witnessed in public and on the streets. Stakeholders felt this violence was rarely reported by the general population as they dismissed this violence as a normal part of Aboriginal life but also due to a lack of willingness to become engaged in this situation. Some stakeholders talked about the lack of willingness of the general population to give the time to reporting, because it is a long process which can involve giving a statement and potentially giving evidence. The concern here is that violence has become normalised to such an extent within the community, that it is minimised and is likely underpinned by racism. Participants often discussed the difference in response to public violence against Aboriginal women versus against white women – many

participants believe that it is unlikely members of the general public would step over the beaten bodies of white women as they do Aboriginal women.

‘One time there was a woman getting bashed in the carpark. I drove over, to the point where if I went any further, the car would be over the top of her. All these people in the bottle shop just drive past. I got out the car and told them to leave her alone. If these [assaulted women] were all white women, the government would have the fucking army in here and we’d be under martial law.’ [ES29]

In addition to stakeholders’ discussions about reporting to police, the stakeholders also talked about the role of police in DFSV. From the police’s perspective, they are the ‘end of the line’ and a crisis response, but a number of stakeholders wanted to see police taking a more proactive approach to DFSV. This desire was also reflected by some senior members of police who want a more proactive approach to DVO compliance – just as there are bail compliance checks, they would like to see DVO compliance checks. Stakeholders also wanted to see improved relationships between police and communities – and this was something that also arose in the safety mapping, that good relationships with police would help ensure the safety of communities because they would encourage reporting and contribute to better response times, and better responses when police arrive at an incident.

‘Similar to sexual assaults, I think there’s six to seven hundred reports a year. As education improves around that [women are reporting more freely], women are not so fussed about giving information to men. That’s a real cultural change. [Criminal forensic interviews] with males, older women will make a statement to a male officer. That change has been in the last five to ten years, it used to be women only. They might say “he did that wrong thing for me”, but that’s not all the time now. Vulnerable witness legislation, we’re seeing more assaults and sexual assaults get up, it’s way better than what it was. In the past it felt like it [the Court process] re-victimised them all over again. It’s about building relationships, sharing information but in the right manner. I’d like to start doing a lot more proactive things around DV, like DVO compliance checks. We have 6 to 10 couples who regularly show up on Operation Haven, so we should actively go and check on them, that’s one area we can improve.’ [ES31]

Stakeholders also reiterated the disempowering element of the judicial system for women, but they reflected that this was in contrast to the roles and responsibilities of police who are there to ensure people's safety.

'Police won't drop it [charges], they're accountable for a person's safety. For example, they would never drop charges against someone who had committed armed robbery, so I guess from their perspective, why should they drop charges for DFV?' [ES5]

This is the lack of control and agency over what goes into DVOs, and over the court process. This is difficult because often women are pressured by extended family to 'drop' charges against their partner and they are vulnerable to reprisal violence if they do not. However, victims do not decide or choose to 'drop' charges, it is the police who bring charges. Some people think this can offer a measure of protection for women because it is not them bringing charges, and they can therefore deflect blame onto police. However, because the community knowledge base about the criminal justice system is so low, this effect has not been observed because people are unaware of this. External stakeholders report women showing up at the police station and court requesting for charges to be dropped. Women also then have to go through court processes. One positive report is that police do not need a victim's statement in order to bring charges, but they do need a witness' statement.

One of the most critical and helpful multi-agency collaborations and service coordination is run by police in Operation Haven. Operation Haven⁵⁷ is a meeting that takes place every Wednesday, led by the Domestic Violence Unit, in which the police invite all the services working with DFSV to attend. In this meeting, police lift confidentiality and share information with the services present by going through all the DFV incidents for the week prior, prioritising repeat and escalating offenders. Case by case, the services present will decide who will engage with the parties in each incident. They then communicate the engagement back either through SupportLink (referral software) or at the next meeting. The meeting also gives services the opportunity to share information and raise concerns about particular people. In the meetings, welfare checks are organised. This also allows police to make direct referrals, as SupportLink does not allow police to see if a service has engaged the client, only if the referral has been closed (responded to). The stakeholders were

⁵⁷ Since this thesis was drafted, Operation Haven has ceased operating from May 2020 due to lack of funding.

extremely supportive of Operation Haven – more so than the Family Safety Framework, which they believed needed greater coordination and concrete actions – but that this multi-agency meeting was only as strong as the services attending. Some stakeholders expressed frustration that some key DFSV services did not attend Operation Haven or refused to share information when they attended. It is a hugely positive step forward that police are willing to share information and work in partnership with services – as siloing of information has been identified as a key concern by many research participants – so this needs engagement from all relevant services. In the quote below, the stakeholder-participant talks about one prominent service in town which refused to participate in Operation Haven and how the siloing of information contributes to lack of service coordination in Alice Springs.

‘The law covers reporting, but it’s not clear about giving information, it’s subject to amendments right now to cover information sharing, similar to child abuse. There’s still the silo-ing effect, this idea that it’s ‘my’ information. [Service] will make a report, but no other information. [Director], it’s come from the head [of the service] not to provide information when we’re asking “how do we find these people?” But apart from an initial response, [the service] won’t give any. [The service] wants information, but when we ask, we’re stonewalled. This is [the service’s] way of saying no to perceived institutional racism? ...I would’ve liked to see NGOs working together. Operation Haven breaks down these silos.’ [ES31]

It should be an expectation of services to attend multi-agency meetings and to collaborate with other services – this should be reflected in KPIs given by funding bodies. Services must attend these meetings and share information so that silos can be broken down and services and agencies can provide a better and coordinated response to DFSV that prioritises the safety of women and children. As part of these meetings should be a joint case management approach, with regular multi-agency joint case management meetings and regularly sector meetings to workshop challenges and approaches to an integrated multi-agency response.

The police code also captured concerns about the lack of police in certain areas. The lack of police in some remote communities is a significant barrier to reporting and to safety. The lack of or reduced number of interventions on country was of extreme concern to stakeholders, who talked about how people often travel hundreds of kilometres to access a service. They also talked about how the lack of options meant that reoffending was likely

because people are placed back in the exact same situation without the tools to behave differently. Community policing can offer a circuit breaker and a recourse to justice for women experiencing violence, but police must be accessible and they must respond appropriately.

'We get more reports because there's 24 hour police here, whereas on the APY lands, there's only two police.' [ES34]

'20 years ago we started saying violence is not okay but we didn't equip anyone with what do to do in violent situations. What should they do now that they know it's not okay? They revert to violence. They've been witness to violence for their whole lives so they revert. We see how bad some of the beatings are. Violence isn't okay – what do I (they) do? Police aren't here, safe houses not manned, how many times [do you experience violence before reacting violently]?' [ES2]

Stakeholders also talked about the need to ensure police response is appropriate, timely, and non-shaming. Stakeholders talked about the destructive capacity of police if they responded inappropriately to a DFSV incident. Some stakeholders said it could mean that women would be unlikely to report future incidents, whilst others expressed that this could be seen to condone or minimise violence which had effects on the whole community. In the safety mapping, some participants said they were frustrated by what they saw as a lack of police response and a different response than what they would offer the suburbs or predominantly white communities. This perception has ramifications for the relationship between police and community as well as consequences for reporting. Stakeholders also talked about the role of police in serving DVOs, and how doing this would provide an opportunity for proactive policing, but current government policy is that the Bailiff role is contracted out. This is a system failure that continues to put women at risk.

'Their responses there's blockages to respond appropriately. Like dealing with the police, there's a real polarity in responses. There're some great police who attend, and speak to women, and there are revolting police, who victim-blame, and are obviously racist, and didn't take what the women were saying seriously.' [ES37]

'Police no longer serve DVO applications. We used to file it in court and Police would serve it. Now, the police said the applicant has to deal with it. The Client has to cover

the cost of the service – we [women’s legal service] can’t deliver it, the danger to the worker serving it is too great. We’ve since had a meeting – you’ve got one branch of the NT government promoting a reduction of DV strategy for 10 years, yet law enforcement won’t do it. We’ve got a Bailiff but he’s a private contractor – if he has to go out to [remote community 1], he charges by the kilometre. I got a quote from him to serve some documents – it cost \$2000 to get documents served at [remote community 2]. We now have to fill in a few waivers at the courthouse. Bailiff still has to do it but it’s more paperwork. If Police deliver it, it’s information gathering. Instead they want the local security guy to do it – they’ve just put it out to tender.’ [ES23]

The police code revealed that although there is a reported cultural and attitudinal shift to reporting, there is still a perception that the police response to DFSV needs to be improved. However, police are also leading proactive initiatives like Operation Haven which have the potential to break down harmful silos and offer a form of joint case coordination and information sharing. There is further scope for this approach through the introduction of DVO compliance checks.

The ‘Law’ code revealed further instances of severe violence and the failure of the criminal justice system in these incidents. The sentiment among stakeholders was that the law and the criminal justice system do not have the capacity to appropriately respond to DFSV:

‘I arrested [a man] when he killed his wife at [town camp 2], but he got manslaughter instead of homicide, because there was only one wound. He stabbed her with a breadknife and severed the aorta. It was a significant injury that showed intent and force, but he got manslaughter.’ [ES31]

Stakeholders once again reflected that women were often revictimised by this system, and that other alternatives should be explored.

‘So much focus on child protection. I have to add that the way DV is treated in child protection issues has to change. The criminal justice system as well. Women are penalised for being victims.’ [ES27]

‘As a lawyer, I’m trained to think about the solution through the law but in this area, you’ve got to take the lead from the client. You’ve got to explore opportunities and how

to be safe. You've got to think: 'how does it stop?'. It's not just jail – how can this lady and her kids be safe? And once they're safe, then it's about giving control and agency back to the woman.' [ES23]

Stakeholders also referred to the potential for legal pluralism, which was in place in the Northern Territory to some extent prior to the Northern Territory Emergency Response in 2007. However, judges can no longer take into account traditional forms of justice in their sentencing. Some stakeholders would like to see more appreciation for lore and for it to be drawn upon as a strength to help to prevent DFSV/VAW. Other stakeholders, however, are cautious about this approach as they state that lore is sometimes drawn upon to justify sexual violence.

'They think the mainstream way is superior, but it hasn't worked for 200 years. You need to change law to include lore – nothing will change otherwise. The attitude is: "how dare you do it your way?". It's not okay to do it the blackfella way.' [ES16]

Similar to the Law code, stakeholders raised the flawed nature of DVOs as an ineffective response to DFSV. In other parts of the world, DVOs were conceived as an empowering tool for a woman to have some agency over how she responded to DFSV as she could dictate the terms of the DVO (Goodmark, 2018). In the Northern Territory, most stakeholders report that DVO applications are usually successful, but that a woman has little agency or control over the DVO once it is in place.

'DVO can be a very blunt instrument. Criminal law is a fairly blunt instrument. Women who access us are on a journey, they might make an application, but then change their mind, but then they can't get rid of it. What about empowerment? It's about the wishes of the victim to a certain extent but ultimately it is in the hands of the police.' [ES5]

Stakeholders also report that the protected person or the respondent do not understand the conditions of the DVO because they are written in complex terms. In addition to this, the DVOs do not reflect real life situations or conditions. Stakeholders feel they need to be explained in very concrete terms, for example by giving scenarios such as 'you are sitting in a park drinking then your partner arrives, what do you do?'. In remote communities, DVOs cannot work because it is virtually impossible to avoid contact with another person in such

small settlements. The interconnected relationships, and kinship, in these places also makes this especially hard. As such, stakeholders expressed concern that DVOs were setting people up to fail, and that this was contributing to the overrepresentation of Indigenous males, in particular, in the criminal justice system.

'Important to work with women at their own pace. A lot of women want to stay with their partners. Are we contributing to mass incarceration through the full non-contact DVO because third breach is automatic jail time. It's needs to be allowed for women to say "this behaviour is not okay" but I still want to be in the relationship.' [ES3]

'It's like you can get both a man and a woman, and they both like to drink, and then police do a non-intox DVO⁵⁸, it's worse because they're both drunk, and then the moment the victim becomes sick of their company, setting them up to fail because it's conditions they can't cope with.' [ES35]

However, some stakeholders have reported some innovative uses of the law to prioritise the safety of women and children.

'Historically [Territory Families] have been about welfare, so removal of the child, but since the Royal Commission there's been some changes. There's improvements. Their focus is on child wellbeing but they've started to take out DVOs on behalf of the child. Section 29 of the DVAct, Territory Families can apply for a DVO against the parent which is a really useful tool – we can call them and say 'mums a victim of DV. Mum cant take one [DVO] out because of the risk to her'. We speak to Territory Families and get them to do it. That way the woman can blame them. And they're happy to do that role and take on that blame. It's a very unique use of the Act that keeps people safe.' [ES23]

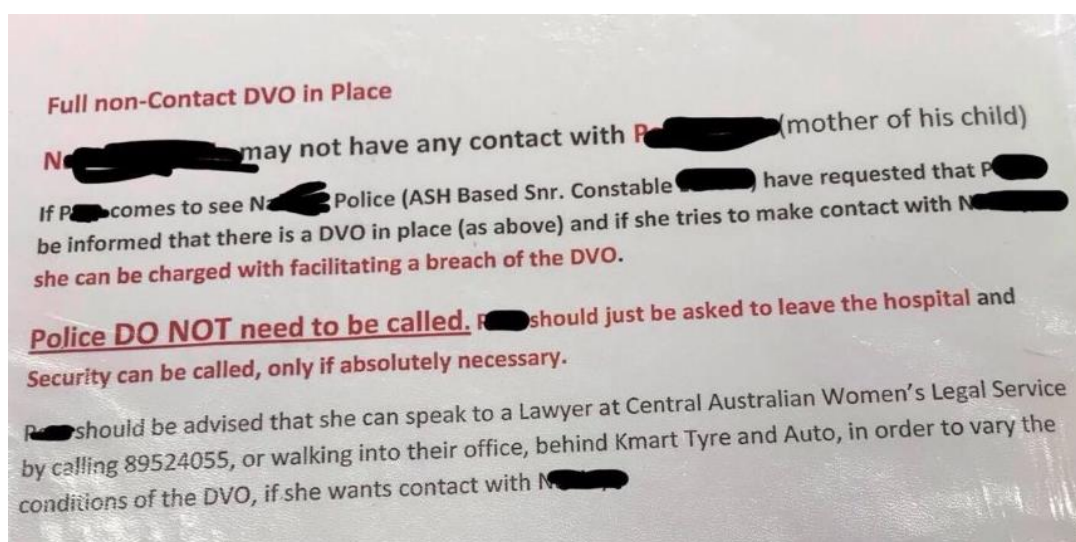
However, a number of stakeholders have also reported a disturbing trend in which women are being charged with facilitating a breach of their own DVO. This is because a full non-contact DVO is in place, but the protected person contacts her former partner – this is then reported to police who in some instances charge the woman. Stakeholders have reported

⁵⁸ There are differently types of DVOs. A 'non-intox DVO' means the protected person and the defendant cannot be in each other's company when they have consumed alcohol.

that police have identified the need to pursue these charges as a priority – and this is reflected by some notices found in Northern Territory hospitals (see **Figure 55**)

'Police can take a DVO out but then there's a return date to court. The criminal lawyers can then argue 'Dad's hard done by – this is just a he said she said case – she's just as much to blame'. The naivety by criminal lawyers... we have a lot of lawyers who are new to the N.T. and new to practice, and they portray blame onto the victim. They argue 'why does she keep going around?' Well she keeps going around because she's got kids and he's the father and she needs some help. The criminal lawyer will say 'Your Honour, she keeps calling him up'. Yes, because she wants help with the kids. Later on, they realise and use this [victim blaming] as a defence. They still have to go home and sleep at night. Criminal defence lawyers, they've got to defend a breach of DVO and assault, the client is facing three months, make a plea for 2 months, they've got him a month off. That's a win. It comes back and it's the same people all the time. It's one thing to defend them, but changing the behaviour, where's that?' [ES23]

Figure 54 Photo of notice at the hospital to advise a woman she could be charged with facilitating a breach of her own DVO. The names have been blacked out.



Stakeholders report that police are prosecuted for facilitating a breach of their own DVO because they want to prevent women from contacting their partners and the automatic jail sentences that occur after a third breach. It is supposed to be about fairness, however, this

fails to take into account that women are often contacting their partners for assistance with children, and also that women, particularly Indigenous women, can have just as little understanding and clarity about the DVO as their partner. Therefore, DVOs which are supposed to offer a measure of protection for women are being used in some instances to revictimise them.

Stakeholders consistently spoke about jail as an ineffective response to DFSV. Jail is not a deterrent nor is it an intervention. Participants talked about the cyclical nature of men going into jail for DFSV for short periods, only to return later after reoffending. Jail is seen as a revolving door, with men coming in and out of prison. Because no intervention or behaviour change has taken place, many men quickly reoffend upon release. Moreover, stakeholders talked about the rage and jealousy that would build up in men whilst in prison, as they heard rumours about their female partners activities on the outside, and this would result in a violent incident upon release.

'Arresting someone for DV is right at the end of the line. Those services have failed them. We're [police] the last line. Those services have failed them, and we're back to square one, like jail. I've spoken to a number of people, they like to go to jail, they get healthy, they get medical, they get three meals a day, they're safe, they get to see family. Jail is not a deterrent.' [ES36]

'Going further, jail is not the right option. From our point of view, jail is the only thing stopping them from re-offending.' [ES33]

'These are not police issues, but far too often, government uses police as a band-aid to plug the hole of what's going on. Locking people up is not going to stop it. It's going to increase the stats, but change needs to be two steps back.' [ES31]

'We're expecting a spike in violence before the wet season. They'll go to jail which is fine because they've got family in jail, they'll get clean, have a good feed, then they'll come back out in 3 months.' [ES17]

Stakeholders also talked about jail as a missed opportunity. Stakeholders say that whilst in jail, men who have used violence are healthy and are hungry for interventions because they now have regular meals, time to reflect, are bored and wanting to make a change. However,

the period of the sentences is usually too short for any kind of therapeutic work and there are few programs on offer for men in prison. Stakeholders repeatedly stated that jail is a great opportunity for interventions to take place – men are easily accessed and engaged – but that there is little on offer.

‘More people in jail possibly because of mandatory sentencing – but you cannot achieve anything in 6 months - short sentences as a result of mandatory sentencing. Not much therapeutic work can be done in this time so sometimes “it’s respite” for the offender and their families. Preference is for non-jail alternatives, but jail can be a time for intervention.’ [ES2]

‘More work needs to be done in the area of [Fetal alcohol spectrum disorder] FASD, and jail is the perfect place for it. It’s routine, it’s quiet. The issue for FASD is focus and lots of noise. They assault someone, police or ambulance, because of the flashing lights.’ [ES31]

However, it is important to reiterate that for some women, they are only safe when he is in jail:

‘Sometimes partners just need time-out. Saying that, some women the only time they’re safe is when their partner is in jail.’ [ES5]

Once more, stakeholders discussed alternatives to jail and alternative forms of justice. Stakeholders reflected that community-based orders which offer extended periods of engagement are also significantly cheaper.

‘Have a residential DV office. It costs \$320 a day to have someone in prison. \$44 or \$80 on a community-based order per day depending if there is electronic monitoring. There is an automatic 7-day sentence for the third breach of a full non-contact DVO. Custodial sentences not always the best way – there are other options.’ [ES2]

‘Community based orders mean there are consequences for non-compliance. Have long contact with perpetrators over a period of time.’ [ES3]

Stakeholders talked about the need for alternative forms of justice, including restorative justice and family dispute resolution. Currently family dispute resolution is only provided for separating families, and stakeholders wanted to see a wider arrange of options for people

and families experiencing DFSV. These alternatives would acknowledge that in many Indigenous contexts, relationships are considered permanent and that ending a relationship can carry social and cultural consequences for women. These alternatives would also acknowledge that many women do not leave their relationships and do not want to – this is reinforced by stakeholders’ reports of women and men continuing to live together despite having a full non-contact DVO in place. Stakeholders believed there is significant scope for alternative forms of justice to provide victims with the validation and vindication that they will not necessarily receive from the criminal justice system. Stakeholders also believed this could help restore families, and offer an intervention to prioritise the safety of women and their children when they chose to remain in their relationship.

‘Mediation is needed.’ [ES7]

‘The community justice centre does mediation for [personal violence orders] – there should be more of that and it should be available for DFV matters.’ [ES9]

‘There’s no specifically tailored family mediation in Alice Springs.’ [ES5]

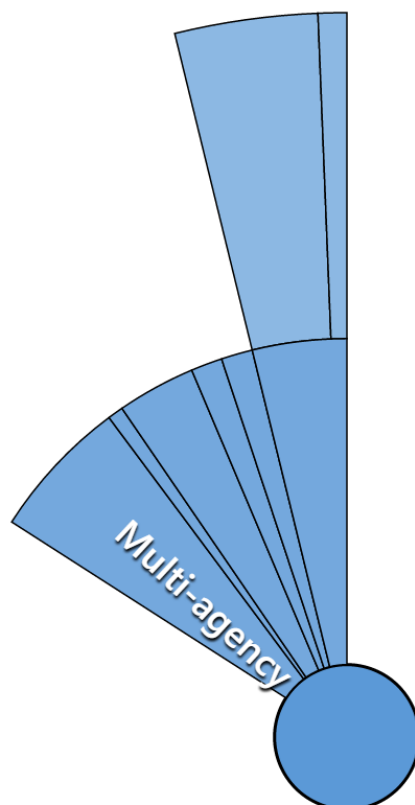
‘See a shift with the DV court towards alternatives to jail.’ [ES2]

Many external stakeholders expressed frustrations with the criminal justice system as a response to DFSV/VAW. Whilst stakeholders reported significant cultural shifts in that Indigenous women are more open and willing to report directly to police, there remains the need for improved relationships between community and police. . Moreover, this theme revealed a consensus that traditional criminal responses to DFSV – DVOs and jail – are ineffective and are not deterrents. The unintended impacts of judicial approaches to DFSV - women being pressured to give statements, often in unsafe environments, and the lack of control and choice the woman has over the process - mean there is significant scope to explore restorative justice, which is victim-led and at the victim’s request, in contrast to the criminal justice system. Stakeholders report that often women want a DVO because they want someone to tell their partner that his use of violence is not okay and it is not his right, and they want the validation of having someone listen to their story. Women need processes which empower them and give them agency and control over the responses to DFSV. Stakeholders pointed to the need to explore alternative forms of justice and to use jail time for interventions.

Services

The Services theme comprises 'multi-agency', 'referrals', 'siloining', and 'staffing' codes. These codes were all grouped together because they were all about service providers, how they operated and how they worked together. Stakeholders were directly asked about what support services were offered in their community, so a number of references arise from answers to this question. But this theme also reveals the importance of multi-agency coordination and collaboration, and the significant scope for joint case management. It also reveals stakeholders' concerns about siloining which is compounded by services regarding each other as competitors due to funding restrictions. This theme also revealed concerns around staffing, particularly retaining qualified staff, which participants linked directly to funding insecurity.

Figure 55 Breakdown of references assigned to the Services theme



Stakeholders often talked about the importance of services that were not necessarily DFSV specific but helped address the risk factors that underpin and compound violence. Such services can also be strong partners in supporting people experiencing DFSV. One example is

the Hub in Katherine, which provides people with a space to relax, paint, watch TV, as well as wash their clothes, take a shower, and have some food. It also provides a space for services to do outreach and form relationships with people making use of the Hub (who are often homeless or referred to as 'long-grassers'⁵⁹). Such services are extremely important in helping DFSV services to access clients and perform welfare checks and conduct safety planning.

'[The Hub] do such a good job. You can call them up looking for someone and they'll find them – they're good for that too. They have a great relationship with homeless people.' [ES30]

A concern for virtually all stakeholders, especially those working in social services, was staffing and particularly retaining staff. Participants reported that staff retention was difficult due to funding insecurity but also because incoming staff from elsewhere in Australia were unprepared for the cultural shock and the extreme nature of violence they would be working with and be witness to. Stakeholders repeatedly commented that relationships and connections are very important when working in the Northern Territory, particularly with Indigenous communities, so staff instability impacts this and affects the operation and success of programs.

'The turnover in staff is also a huge problem.' [ES2]

Another driver of staff instability and poor retention is vicarious trauma. Many stakeholders reported burnout among their own service as well as others. Some participants talked about their own experiences with trauma and compassion fatigue. Several stakeholders were actively seeking vicarious trauma training for their services, and reported that this was a huge problem in the DFSV sector and amongst police, to the extent that it was affecting staff retention.

'Work we do is very confronting – we work with murderers, with rapists, perpetrators of extremely violent crimes...[coming to Alice Springs] is like landing on Mars.' [ES2]

⁵⁹ Homeless people are called 'long-grassers' in the Top End, particularly the Katherine region, because they sleep in the long grass. These people are often homeless for extended periods of time and have limited access to services. They are also at heightened risk of experiencing violence.

‘One of the things that stays with me, from leaving the shelter, the majority of my burnout and feeling powerless, was the lack of or poor responses from services that should be taking charge, and change how they operate, mostly government agencies. As a worker, feeling overwhelmingly powerless.’ [ES37]

Vicarious trauma training is vital for frontline services and agencies working with DFSV/VAW, including police, night patrol, social services, and community organisations. After a workshop with police⁶⁰, for example, a detective approached me and asked if I knew anyone who could provide vicarious trauma training. The detective explained that they had been placed in the Northern Territory from Victoria immediately after her initial training. She said she found the first six-twelve months shocking and overwhelming because she had not realised people lived in such poverty and that there was such extreme violence in Australia. Clearly, workers need to be given the tools to have resilience with the severe violence which they witness. Vicarious trauma needs to be taken seriously as an occupational health and safety matter. With adequate ongoing training, this will also hopefully have the additional benefit of impacting positively on staff retention.

Trauma-informed practice and vicarious trauma training is crucial, not only for services but also for men who have used violence. It is evident in the interviews with external stakeholders that the vast majority of men who use violence were previous victims or witnessed to violence as children. The effects of trauma on the brain (Tsavoussis, Stawicki, Stoicea, & Papadimos, 2014) make it clear that the approach to addressing and preventing DFSV/VAW must be cognisant of this fact. Stakeholders advocated for the inclusion of a restorative element to programs that engage with men who use violence, and trauma must begin to be addressed as a risk factor for violence.

Also in the ‘services’ theme, stakeholders discussed the importance of multi-agency coordination and information sharing. The most discussed multi-agency forums were Operation Haven and FSF, although there were other multi-agency meetings and consortia. Stakeholders talked about the need for multi-agency coordination and collaboration, but

⁶⁰ Police were invited to participate in the workshops detailed in chapter seven. However, the police in Alice Springs were unable to attend the workshop so requested that I hold one especially for them. Approximately twenty police officers attended, including members of the DV unit, general duties officers, and auxiliary police officers.

also talked about the reluctance of some services to engage. Perceptions of the reasons varied, some stakeholders talked about the competition factor and reluctance of some services to share information. Some talked about it being a time, staffing, and coordination factor, that some services undergoing transitions or periods of flux did not have the capacity to attend. Often it came down to the management of those services prioritising and valuing those meetings. Stakeholders agreed that services and agencies could be working better together, that the sharing of information and resources in a coordinated response would increase their collective impact:

'It's like youth crime, if we arrest a child on the streets at 3AM, services have failed them. It's the same people on FSF⁶¹ and on Operation Haven, it's continual.' [ES36]

'Multiple agencies come together to discuss this. 10 other agencies. Put safety measures in place. A lot of mandatory reports and there are a lot of good services.' [ES28]

'Operation Haven will ask for a welfare check, and that cycles back to police, and then the family thinks that person is in trouble, or that there's a warrant out for their arrest. Sometimes it's more powerful for organizations to do welfare checks because they're a non-police presence, they might be more open to talking. For example, one lady, we went to three different addresses looking for her.' [ES34]

'FSF is about immediate risk – and they meet once a fortnight. It's for people where no agencies are engaged with them [victims/perpetrators]. We have to do something right now, it's urgent and immediate and no other engagement with other agencies. Operation Haven is a daily grind, we recognise that DV intervention is the only way to prevent homicides, we can only crystal-ball so much, we can't stop homicides, but IPV homicides we can.' [ES31]

Stakeholders also talked about the need for services to make referrals, which they largely did, although the mechanisms for making these referrals could be improved. SupportLink,

⁶¹ FSF uses an assessment tool to gauge the risk of harm for families experiencing DFV. The measurement tool ranges from 1-11, and once a family is on FSF, there are fortnightly meetings in which an action plan is made for the family.

for example, does not allow police to see if a service has engaged a client after the referral has been made. Some services, like Night Patrol, are recording on paper and are supposed to make referrals to Territory Families in some instances when young children are picked up from public places late at night. However, given the number of clients and amount of paperwork, it is rare these referrals are made. Many stakeholders also expressed frustration that in some instances, there was no one to refer to, particularly for men. This is because of the lack of programs that work with men who use violence, and lack of programs that accept self-referrals – including AOD services.

'There's also the frustrating contributor that it's all under resourced. We would love more resources here. It's insane that we don't have [resources/funding/services] ... the most astounding one is Men's Behaviour Change Program, counselling, and support. So much we are dealing with is resulting from that [men's violence]. I used to work for NAAJA⁶², mostly around child protection, and we'd have cases where a child has been removed because of DV and AOD – Dad wants to make a change. She's been put in hospital, he's been to jail – this is all around male behaviour. Dad gets it, wants to change – and that's when change will happen, to get the kid back. It's a small portion but a critical portion. Then we think, okay who are we going to refer? Where is men's support? There's [local organisation], but they're under-resourced and they don't have any counsellors. That's a key problem, why don't we have counsellors? Pay them whatever – buy them a house like they do for the doctors and teachers. It's not a question of whether [violent men] deserve it, they need it – all of these things. Everything we deal with is because of this [male behaviour]... We need programs that are appropriate and well resourced, instead of one or two not very effective ones.' [ES27]

The Services theme evidenced the frustration of stakeholders about siloing, the difficulties of retaining staff in a challenging environment and expressed the need for multi-agency coordination. Most of these problems were linked to the under-resourcing of services, and

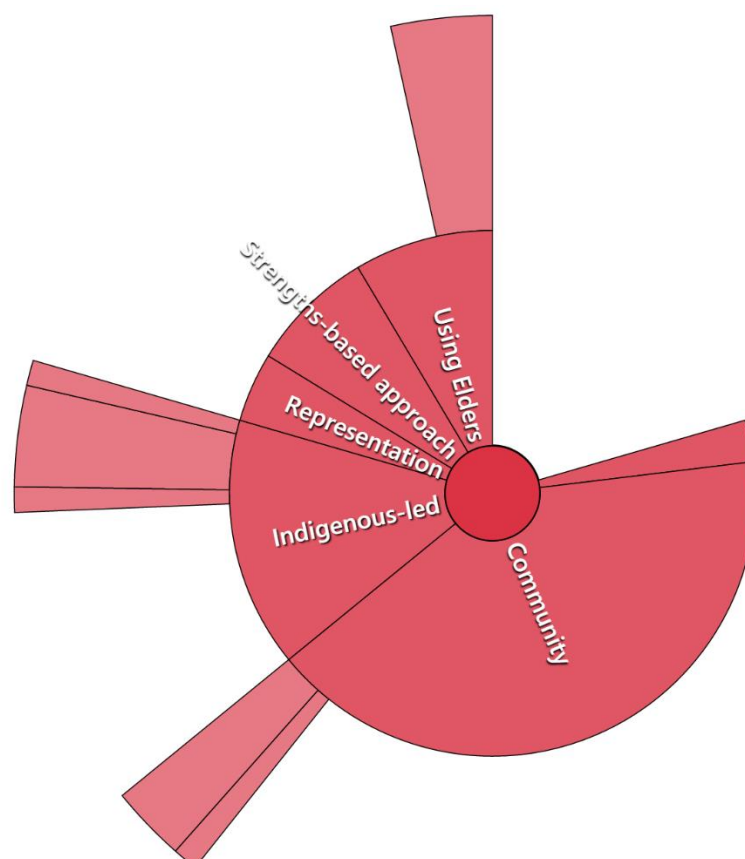
⁶² North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA) is a legal service for Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory.

the competition between services for funding and a limited capacity to offer a service or engage in joint initiatives with other services.

Community owned and led

The 'Community owned and led' theme grouped together codes that were solution-focused on the premise that communities need to steer and have control over interventions designed to prevent DFSV/VAW. The key community-driven approaches included capacity building to enable the transfer of skills; programs being Indigenous-led so that Indigenous people are at the forefront of conception, design, and delivery of the program; strengths-based to utilise community assets; and using Elders within programs for their cultural authority and capacity to offer direction, knowledge, and guidance.

Figure 56 Breakdown of references assigned to the Community owned and led theme



Stakeholders emphasised the importance of capacity building to allow community to take ownership of the program. Capacity building was also seen as key to empowering

communities with the necessary skills to lead and govern the program, which was also seen as necessary to ensuring the long-term sustainability of the program. The role of non-Indigenous people was clear: to provide training, support, and organisation where needed, but not to lead. By training key community members and imbuing them with the confidence to lead programs, stakeholders felt this was key to making long-term change.

‘Need community ownership. Up-skill Aboriginal people to own, develop, and grow the program. We do this very badly at the moment’ [ES2]

‘The key is empowering grandmothers and aunties – they hold all the power with kids. Fathers don’t have a great deal to do with raising kids. Have a handful of grandmothers and aunties who understand whitefella law, I think they would have chased off a lot of these problems. Upskilling those women – that’s the key.’ [ES23]

Stakeholders believed that in order for programs working in communities to be successful they must be Indigenous-led. Having Indigenous people at the forefront of all stages of the process, could ensure local knowledge and expertise were embedded into the program, as well as ensure a culturally safe and appropriate program design. One example of a program benefiting from local knowledge, is the STAND UP! film produced by TFPVP. External stakeholders in Alice Springs regularly noticed objects on the roofs of houses in Town Camps - these could be planks of wood; star pickets; bricks; or logs- and would often query why the objects were there, but dismissed it as incidental. Throughout the development of their anti-violence film, TFPVP involved senior Aboriginal women in the project, so learned that women and children throw these objects up on to the roofs to prevent them being used as weapons when a violent incident occurred. The project was able to then embed this information into the film to facilitate a deeper conversation around safety with their participants.

By having Indigenous people deliver the program, this also had the added benefit of encouraging and facilitating community engagement in the program. This avoided the attitude that the program was externally imposed, and thus rejected by community.

‘You need to put it fairly and squarely at the feet of Aboriginal people. You [Aboriginal people] get Education, you go off to university, you come back here and you deliver it [program].’ [ES17]

'It's about the workers too. Getting appropriate staff, culturally competent staff, and preferably Aboriginal.' [ES23]

'It's dangerous for a non-Indigenous model to be put in.' [ES11]

'it has to come from community. So, not provided from a whitefella...Strategies can be passed on but it must come from a community level.' [ES20]

Interestingly, however, several Aboriginal women believed that it was not necessary for the program to be led or managed by an Aboriginal person, but that the person must have connection with community. However, such a non-Indigenous role must have inbuilt capacity building expectations so that eventually community could take over – and that Aboriginal people must be involved throughout the design process.

'Aboriginal people need to design and manage the program...We need people who care. We need a powerful person to lead community – to build community – so they can takeover. Not necessarily an Aboriginal or not necessarily from that mob. Someone to offer governance and to teach them to lead. Have a five year plan and at the end, hand it over. Two laws combined to make them work.' [ES16]

In a similar vein, stakeholders reflected that it could not be any Aboriginal person to lead programs – it had to be the 'right person'. Someone who was respected, who had connections and relationships, and was trusted by community to be a voice.

'There needs to be championing by some really respected people – strong voices from community – to speak up against DFV: they are key. At the moment there are a lot of external voices who don't speak for community and who are not respected.' [ES5]

'You need the right people to deliver these programs. A lot of people from down South come up here fresh out of university thinking 'I've got the answer' and they're going to save everyone. There is not one answer.' [ES17]

Stakeholders also talked about the need for a strengths-based approach in community-driven initiatives to capitalise on community assets – especially in respect to family and relationships. Stakeholders felt that by drawing upon these community strengths, programs were far more likely to be respected. Shame drives violence, so a strengths-based approach

allows the community to create initiatives that address and prevent DFSV in a way that is non-judgemental.

‘We need to harness family connections and ties and talk about how families can support each other. Makes these young ones realise their wife is a partner.’ [ES1]

Stakeholders consistently talked about the need to involve Elders in programs, not necessarily just as leaders, but to offer support and guidance to young ones. Elders could provide cultural authority, but also act as an accountability measure. They commented on Elders as a key strength of the communities. The respect for Elders could help with compliance, but also assist with positive engagement with the program. Stakeholders also talked about Elders taking the lead in education initiatives.

‘You’ve got to have the willingness to take the next step. Education and seminars – free stuff around the parks where they hang out. Maybe use elders, and stories, a spokesperson.’ [ES28]

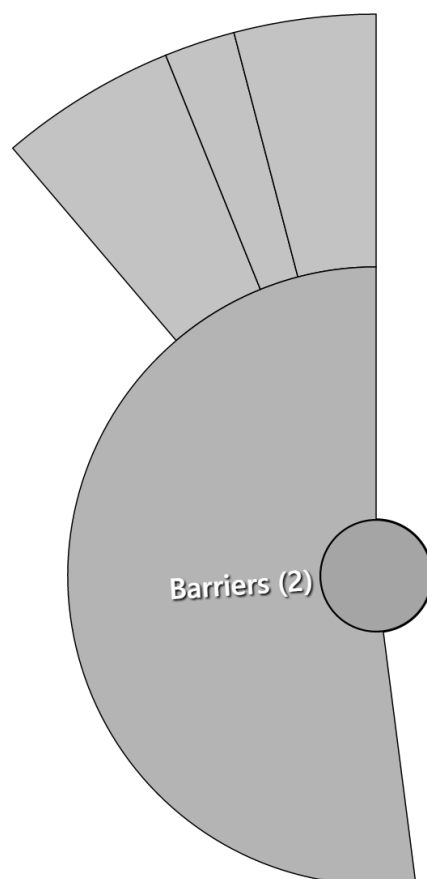
The community owned and led themed was one of the most dominant solutions offered by stakeholders in the semi-structured interviews. Stakeholders said that any intervention must come from community. Anything externally imposed – especially that run by non-Indigenous people and organisations – would struggle to have validity and engagement from community. Community owned and driven responses can promise a level of engagement and participation. They are also informed by local knowledge and expertise that is missing from mainstream services and responses. Community driven responses will be imbued with cultural authority and cultural safety which will maximise uptake and impact. Stakeholders say that co-design and working in partnership is acceptable, but programs must be led by community, with the right people delivering the program. Stakeholders often said programs must be delivered by locals, and respected people with connections and relationships that can be drawn upon as an asset. Externally imposed ideas can be paternalistic, inappropriate, and have little connection to the lived experience of community members. Stakeholders proffered many solutions and principles that they know are needed to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory, but the need for a community-driven approach was by far the most common. To enable programs to be authentically community

owned and led, they discussed capacity building, Indigenous leadership, and strengths-based approaches as key strategies.

Challenges

The fifth most commonly referenced theme was 'Challenges'. This theme comprised challenges and barriers: these were obstacles that services confronted in service delivery; intersecting factors that made addressing and preventing DFSV/VAW complex; and barriers confronted by women seeking help. These codes were grouped together because they reflect the additional complexities programs and people face when working alongside people experiencing DFSV in the Northern Territory.

Figure 57 Breakdown of references assigned to the Challenges theme



Among the challenges in the Northern Territory are all the intersecting risk factors which accumulate to make people more vulnerable to experiencing or perpetrating violence. This

particularly included housing: overcrowding of houses presented particular challenges when combating VAW (many houses included in the safety mapping had more than fifteen people in a three-bedroom house, and one had over thirty). This environment impacts on and compounds so many areas: school attendance; health; and safety, and it makes preventing DFSV particularly difficult, as any pressure on the household increases the likelihood of violence occurring. Moreover, in the Northern Territory, the waiting list for public housing is currently eight years, four years for priority housing, and there is little to no transitional or emergency housing. In the quote below, a stakeholder discusses how victims will sometimes be moved out of Katherine as there is limited housing, and the town is so small that the perpetrator and their family will likely still know where the victim lives.

'A lot of services will ask if they have limited family in Katherine – there's a concern if they are secluded. It often comes from them [the decision to move out of Katherine] There's four years wait list for priority housing in Katherine, eight years for normal waitlist. DV victims don't get a lot of say. A lot of payback here.' [ES28]

Other challenges included poverty, especially financial insecurity and food insecurity, which makes safety planning more complex as women have fewer resources available to them to help them report and seek safety. Moreover, unemployment and economic disempowerment are risk factors for the perpetration of violence – and rates of unemployment are high (over 26% unemployment rate among Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory, compared to 6% unemployment rate in general in the Northern Territory (Northern Territory Government, 2020)). Another intersecting factor is alcohol and substance abuse. Although alcohol does not cause violence, many participants expressed frustration with the government's tendency to conflate alcoholism with violence. However, substance abuse is a risk factor for violence, which presents an additional and significant challenge in the Northern Territory (Skov, Chikritzhs, Li, Pircher, & Whetton, 2010; Northern Territory Government of Australia, 2019). In this environment, services are attempting to respond to and prevent DFSV, but find themselves providing other services unfunded or struggling to find a 'beginning point', as they may consider the DFSV to be the most pressing problem, but their client might consider otherwise, especially in cases of food insecurity involving children.

‘There was a lady this morning who was assaulted overnight – she’s been referred to [local program] – she’s homeless, her partner beat her up – I asked her where’s she’s going to go, and she said ‘back to my camp in the long grass’ and I said ‘I need you to go somewhere safe like [women’s shelter]’ and she said ‘no, I’ll move my camp a long way’. So she’s now been referred to [local program]. I asked her about food and she said she’ll get it from the ‘coffee shop’. That’s another thing, they call the Hub⁶³ the ‘coffee shop’ and the Hub takes care of a lot of that.’ [ES29]

Some of the barriers women face when seeking help and reporting, include lack of access to services and resources. However, it is also a lack of awareness about what services are on offer and how to access these services, that was raised in the safety mapping (**Appendix A**).

Another barrier is lack of access to phones. This has been discussed elsewhere, but many women have no access to a phone, or to credit to make a phone call, or a working pay phone in a safe location. Many remote communities have no phone services. This is a key barrier to seeking help, which was discussed at length in the safety mapping (**Appendix A**).

Another barrier is accessibility of services for many women living on remote communities. Most services are town-based, with very few options on country, especially for men who use violence. In order to access services, people from remote communities therefore travel hundreds of kilometres off country, away from their land, culture, language, and mob to access a service. The cost involved in this travel is an additional barrier. This reinforces the need for appropriate services to be accessible and available on country.

‘There’s no choice. There’s only one shelter. What happens to that woman [who can’t come to the shelter]? These shelters have high fences and barbed wire.’ [ES16]

‘Women don’t want to stay there [community shelters].’ [ES15]

Another, as discussed above, is the lack of housing options, especially transitional and emergency housing. The key driver of homelessness among older women is DV (Heath, 2017). Lack of housing options is a huge barrier to reporting and help-seeking. It is also worth pointing out that government initiatives in other areas emphasise keeping women in

⁶³ The Hub was referred to in the services section. The Hub is run by the Salvation Army in Katherine and offers food, showers, activities, and washing machines for local people, who are mostly homeless Indigenous people.

their homes and removing the partner who has used violence (Starick, 2018). This is something that can and should be explored in the Northern Territory. This being said, the problem of housing is then moved onto the shoulders of men who have used violence. However, given that women are the primary victims, and more likely to have children in their care, shifting the focus and emphasis to making homes and wrap around services safe enough so that women can remain in their homes if they choose is an important and necessary step to addressing and mitigating some of the impacts of DFSV on women and children's lives.

'We've got women from community who have been sexually assaulted and now they're living in the long grass. If they go back to community they're exposed to payback. So they start drinking.' [ES15]

Other barriers are culture and language, which reinforces the need for culturally informed and culturally safe services.

'One organisation was funded to train kids at schools about protective behaviours but they didn't deliver it. They did workshops with other organisations for them to deliver it – they go out for a day – but there's a language barrier. What they're being taught isn't sinking in because they don't understand.' [ES16]

Currently all government services must undertake cultural awareness training, however, cultural safety training should be rolled out to all service providers working with Aboriginal families experiencing DFSV.

The thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews revealed some of the core concerns, priorities, and solutions as identified by external stakeholders in the Northern Territory. Many of these were largely driven by the interview questions, but the semi-structured method allowed me the flexibility to ask follow-up questions which yielded greater insight into what stakeholders know to be necessary to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. As such, these interviews assisted with the identification of principles of good practice which were then considered in the workshops. In addition to the key themes to emerge from the data, several other lessons were learned from the semi-structured interviews and provide additional key findings.

Principles of good practice identified through the interviews

Through the interviews with external stakeholders, several principles of good practice were identified. These principles largely stem from stakeholders' responses when asked about what they believe is needed to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. Their ideas allowed me to identify and assess whether these principles were present in the two case study programs. The semi-structured interviews also produced many of the principles of good practice considered in the workshop process detailed in **chapter seven**.

Table 18 Principles of good practice identified through interviews with external stakeholders

	Principles	Indicators	Rationale
	Educational	• Trains the community to identify, intervene, and report VAW/DFSV • Challenges attitudes which condone DSFV/VAW • Models equal and respectful relationships	Stakeholders believed early intervention is needed with children young people to disrupt cyclical violence and educate them about equal healthy relationships.
	Holistic	• Caters to women, men, and children • Works to strengthen families • Takes a whole-of-community approach	Stakeholders highlighted that VAW is inseparable for other issues. Multiple concurrent interventions are needed to address risk factors and the cyclical nature of violence in the Northern Territory.
	Community-driven	• Indigenous people involved in conception, design, and delivery • Community owns, leads, and governs • Engages and mobilises Indigenous community	Stakeholders reiterated that programs should be owned and driven by community, or they will lack the necessary knowledge, participation, and authority to be effective.
	Accountability for men who use violence	• Challenges men's use of violence • Focuses on changing behaviour • Integrates and elevates survivors' voices	Stakeholders highlighted that there were few programs for men who used violence; that these programs are needed and should be adequately resourced; and focused on holding men accountable for their use of violence.
	Multi-agency coordination	• Shares resources and information • Refers and follows-up with other services • Participates in multi-agency meetings and contributes to integrated responses and strategies	Stakeholders reinforced the importance of information sharing and multi-agency coordination. They believed opportunities for case management should be explored. They considered information sharing to be vital to risk assessment.

Conclusion

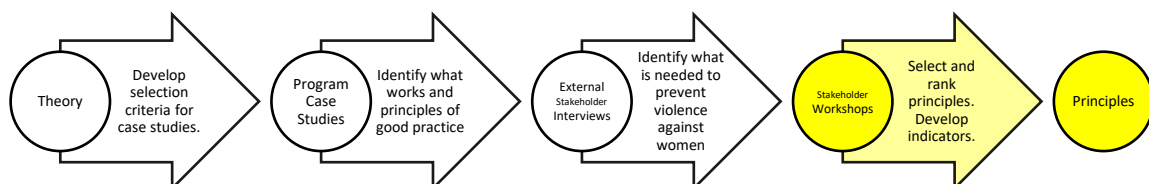
The semi-structured interviews with external stakeholders revealed key themes of concern amongst the DFSV sector in the Northern Territory. These are: the severity and scale of violence; the inappropriateness and ineffectiveness of the judicial responses to DFSV; the inadequate coordination and insufficient resourcing of services; and the additional challenges and barriers which present further obstacles to service provision and help-seeking. The interviews also crucially highlighted necessary strategies to prevent and address DFSV in the Northern Territory, the primary one being community-driven approaches, but also education, the empowerment of women, and programs for men who use violence. The views and expertise of the stakeholder-participants became invaluable in both identifying the principles of good practice in the case study programs, but also informing the workshop process where these principles were validated – discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven: Principles of good practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory.

'Still hopeful! Still optimistic! Feeling tired.' [ES29]

'Inspiring optimism for the generations ahead' [SP7]

The Research Process



Introduction

This chapter details the series of collaborative workshops held throughout the Northern Territory in mid-2019. Five workshops were held in four different regions: Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Katherine, and Darwin. The workshops brought together stakeholders from specialist and non-specialist agencies working in the domestic, family, and sexual violence (DFS) sector to identify principles of good practice to guide program design to prevent

VAW in the Northern Territory. These principles are not the 'what' but the 'how' work is done to prevent VAW. They underpin, inform, and guide program design and delivery. The workshops also developed context-specific indicators to assist putting the principles into practice. Indicators are the practical evidence that signifies the program is underpinned by that principle.

The workshops aimed to provide a forum for the grassroots development of a Northern Territory specific framework and assessment tool to guide the design and delivery of DFSV prevention programs. The workshops also aimed to develop Northern Territory specific frameworks, and monitoring and evaluation tools to be advocated to government and funding bodies.

This chapter begins by describing the process of organising the workshops, then gives the details of the participants in the workshops. It goes on to indicate the results for each region. It then presents the ten principles of good practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory, then goes on to outline the justification and indicators for each principle. It then gives recommendations for implementation and hopes for the framework's application.

The process of the workshops

As detailed in chapter three, originally it was my intent to hold a collaborative workshop with the three partner-programs used in case studies to identify the principles. However, after difficulties in finding a third program which met the selection criteria, as well as the NO MORE case study turning out to be a less effective program, I decided to open up the workshop process. This decision was made to bring a wider range of expertise and because I realised that without the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders, there would not be sufficient buy-in to the framework, which would then have little credibility with funding bodies. Although it was not the original intent of this research, the collaborative workshop process transpired to strongly contribute to the research design as it was able to harness knowledge and expertise of stakeholders throughout the Northern Territory.

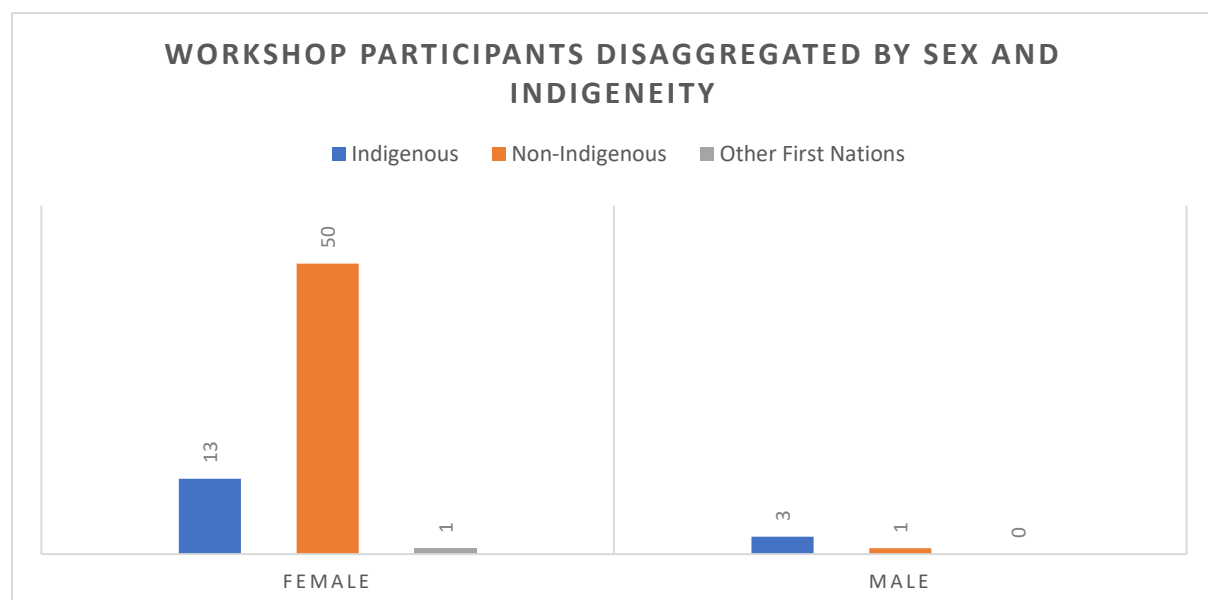
The principles of good practice were therefore identified in a series of workshops held throughout the Northern Territory with stakeholders working in specialist and non-specialist

agencies that work with people experiencing DFSV. A total of five workshops were held in August and September of 2019: two workshops took place in Alice Springs, and one in each Tennant Creek, Katherine, and Darwin. There was an open invitation to these workshops – any stakeholders engaging with people experiencing DFSV were invited to attend. The invitation was sent out using regionally-based email networks; it was also sent via regional contacts and networks that I had gained throughout the fieldwork; and they were advertised in the Northern Territory Council of Social Service (NTCOSS) bulletin. Everyone who responded to a workshop was encouraged to distribute the invitation throughout their networks in an attempt to cast the net as widely and inclusively as possible.

Participants

There was a total of 76 total participants in the workshop process. The breakdown of the workshop participants by sex and Indigeneity can be seen in **Figure 59**, but 72 women and four men participated, 33% of participants were First Nations people, and almost 95% were female.

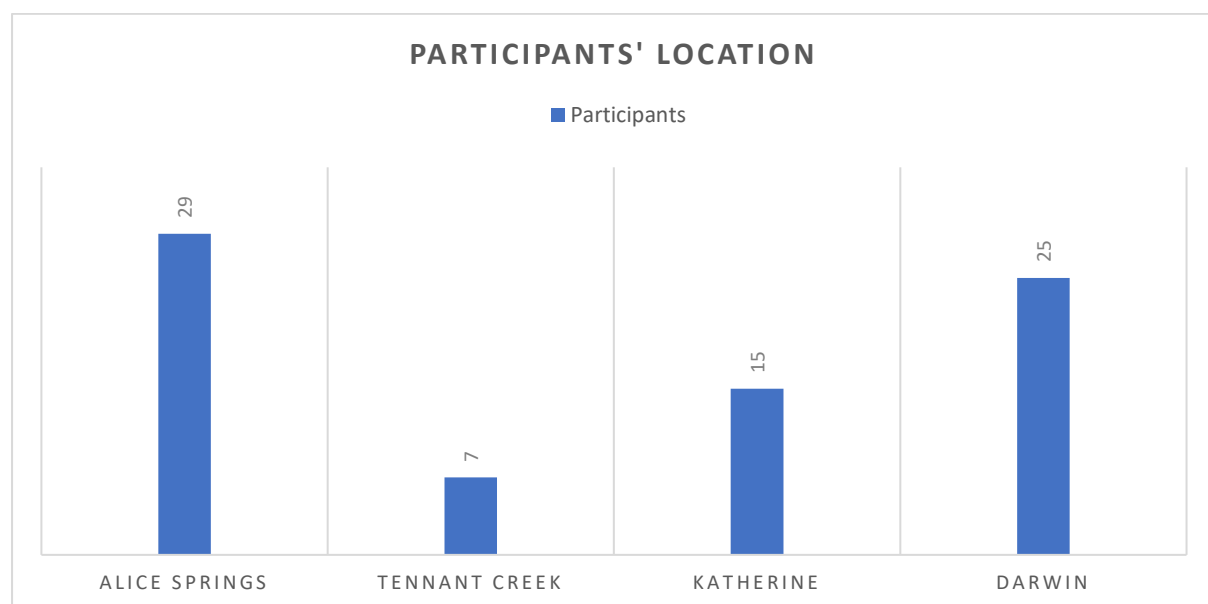
Figure 58 Breakdown of workshop participants by sex and Indigeneity.



As discussed previously, the disparity between the male and female participants can be explained by there being a tendency for more women working in the DFSV space, but the few male participants could be one limitation of the workshop process.

Figure 60 shows the breakdown of participants by location. Alice Springs had the highest number of participants with 29, and this is because two workshops were held in Alice Springs: the initial one with TFVPP, which had 14 participants; and a second with stakeholders, which had 19 participants (four of the same TFVPP participants also took part in the second workshop). Darwin had the second highest number of participants with 25, which likely reflects population size – Katherine and Tennant Creek workshop sizes also possibly align with population size, Katherine having 15 participants, and Tennant Creek being the smallest workshop with seven participants.

Figure 59 Breakdown of workshop participants by location



The participants included stakeholders from advocacy groups, police, social workers, counsellors, lawyers, health workers, refuge workers, nurses, community development practitioners, and educators, among others. Thirty-one organisations in the Northern Territory were represented.

Workshop method

The structure of all five workshops followed the same format: I gave an initial presentation about prevalence of violence against women and theories about the causes of VAW, as well as key issues emerging from the research to date: these were contextual factors and challenges in the Northern Territory, as well as harmful attitudes and misconceptions (see **Appendix F** for the presentation slides).

Throughout the research, many harmful attitudes and misconceptions had arisen in interviews with stakeholders, with program participants, and even with some staff participants. I found these damaging attitudes and misconceptions among police, judges, politicians, and staff working in child protection, corrections, and social services. Some examples can be seen in **Figure 61**, which were then built into the workshop presentation to discuss how such attitudes can be challenged. These attitudes and misconceptions focus on the woman experiencing violence as though it is her harmful behaviour that needs to change. The research indicates the choice to use violence must be challenged within a holistic response that prioritises the safety of women and children, and these were discussed at the beginning of the workshops. Instead of ‘why doesn’t she leave?’ ask ‘why does he choose to use violence?’. Instead of ‘why doesn’t she report?’ ask ‘how can we address his violent behaviour?’. Instead of assuming ‘she’s safe if she has a DVO’ give her control and respect her agency; women know when they are unsafe, and they are still the most effective way of monitoring risk and his escalation. Instead of assuming ‘she’s safe if he is in jail’ respect and support her safety planning, and consider the additional risks, such as reprisal violence. Instead of assuming ‘she’ll be safe if they stop drinking’ challenge the conflation of alcohol and violence and push back on initiatives which seek to address violence solely through alcohol management - alcohol does not cause violence, even if it sometimes triggers it. Instead of dismissing violence and arguing ‘she’s abusing the DVO system to get her way’, challenge the misconception that women lie about violence and cannot be trusted. Instead of propagating the myth that women report violence to obtain custody of children, centre and prioritise the safety of women and children in the family law court system which can be another arena of power and control – rather than dismiss violence and spread the dangerous idea that women are lying about experiencing violence.

Instead of perpetuating the racist idea that violence is a part of Aboriginal culture, challenge this and reinforce that violence is not a part of traditional Aboriginal culture. During the workshops, the best way to challenge these harmful attitudes and misconceptions was discussed and stakeholders expressed that a reframed approach that fundamentally shifted to a response which challenged the use of violence, whilst prioritising the safety of women and children, was best practice. There was collective agreement that it could no longer be women's responsibility to end the violence they experience.

Figure 60 Slide from the workshop presentation when I outlined some of the misconceptions and problematic attitudes to arise in this research.

Challenging misconceptions and problematic attitudes	
Why doesn't she leave?	Some relationships are permanent. Women are most at risk of being murdered at this time. Homelessness.
Why doesn't she report?	She may not be safe enough. She may not have access or opportunity.
She's safe if she has a DVO.	DVOs are often misunderstood. DVO's not a deterrent. Increasing number of women being charged for facilitating a breach.
She's safe if he is in jail.	Jail is not an intervention – it can offer reprieve. Often women are in danger of reprisal lateral violence.
She'll be safe if they stop drinking.	Alcohol or other substance abuse does not cause violence.
She's abusing the DVO system to get her way.	Women need to be safe to report.
She's taking his kids away.	The Family Law Court can be another arena used for power and control.
It's a part of their culture	It is not a part of traditional Aboriginal culture.

Participants were then asked to work in small groups for the remainder of the workshop – the groups were of mixed sizes, usually around three participants in each, and participants were encouraged to form groups with stakeholders from different organisations. An example of the groupwork can be seen in **Figure 62**.

Figure 61 Participants prioritising principles of good practice in Alice Springs



The first workshop was held in Alice Springs in late August 2019 with 14 participants from TFVPP. TFVPP was invited to undertake this initial process because they had already been identified as a good practice model, and so are positioned to advise on what is needed to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory. Prior to the workshop, a longlist of 64 principles was compiled which drew on research and literature mostly from Australia, including Our Watch (2018), Memmott et al. (2006), Olsen & Lovett (2016), the Northern Territory Government (2018), as well as from one international source: Humphreys (2000). The longlist also included the principles of good practice identified in the TFVPP program (detailed in **chapter four**) and drawn from the interviews with external stakeholders (detailed in **chapter six**).

The TFVPP participants were divided into four groups. They included program managers, staff members working in the Men's Program, staff working in the Children's Service, and members of the Women's Group. In this workshop, the participants were asked to work in their group to refine the 64 principles down to twenty that they considered the most important in the Northern Territory – participants were also told that they could write their

own principles if they chose, and several groups elected to write and include their own principles. Participants were asked to rank the principles in order of priority and to write a justification for why they had selected that principle.

I analysed each group's product using the following method: each group produced an A3 document which listed the principles in order of priority. If a principle was ranked number one priority, I assigned this principle 20 points, if the principle was ranked number two, 19 points, and so on down to the principle that was ranked last at number 20 which was given one point. After looking at each group's product, I added the points together to see which principles had been selected and the number of points illustrated its level of priority. This process resulted in a shortlist of 32 principles (the full list can be found in **Appendix B**). The shortlist included some principles written by TFVPP as well as some principles that combined ideas from more than one source as TFVPP felt that certain ideas could not be separated or were best expressed in tandem. Each principle was referenced to show the sources from which the principle came. For example:

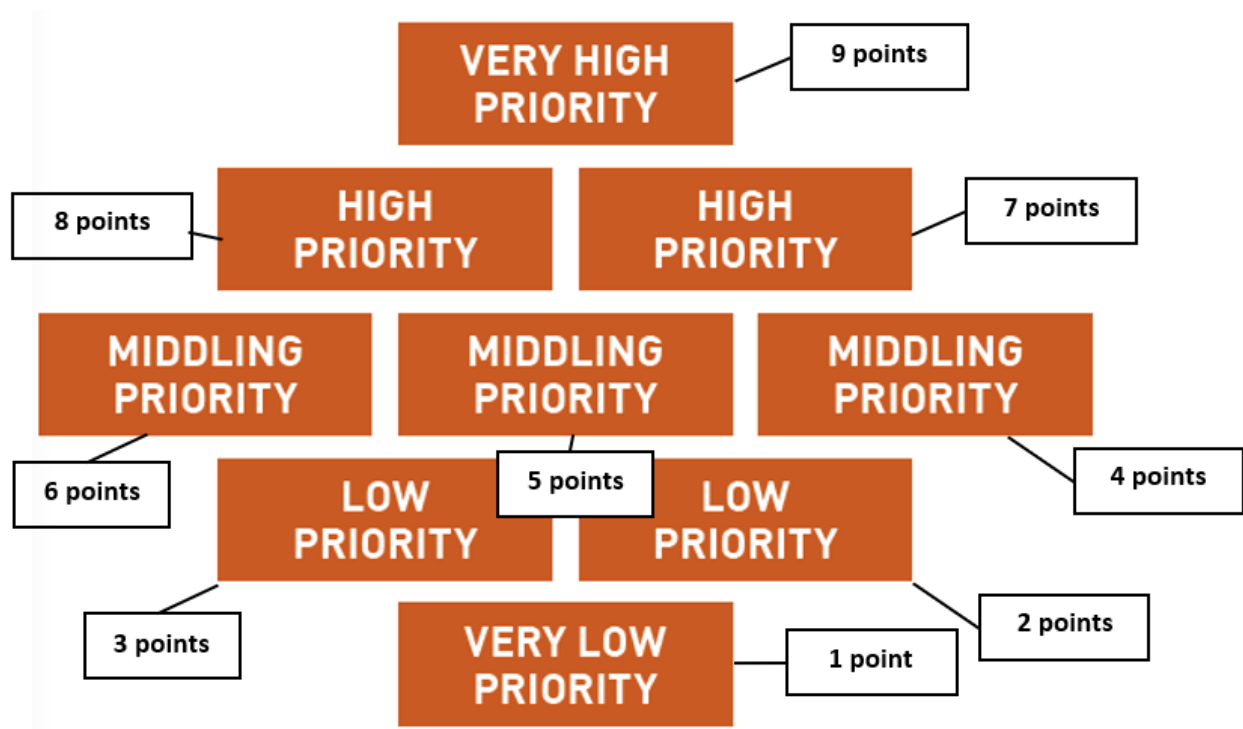
Multi-agency coordination: Sharing resources and information; Refers and follows-up with other services; Participates in multi-agency meetings and contributes to integrated responses and strategies (Brown, 2019); Collective care working as allies rather than competitors (TFVPP G2)

In the 'multi-agency coordination' principle, the part of the principle credited to (Brown, 2019) derives from the principles identified in the TFVPP case study, which was detailed in the final fieldwork report to that program. The part of the principle credited to (TFVPP G2) was written in the first workshop with TFVPP and is therefore named 'TFVPP' plus the group number: 'G2' refers to 'group two'.

The shortlist of principles was then given to stakeholders in the workshops in the subsequent workshops. In these four workshops, stakeholders were asked to work in small groups to refine the shortlist of 32 principles down to a list of nine which they were asked to set out in a 'diamond nine' (see **Figure 63**) to illustrate the priority of the principle. Groups were asked to clearly number the principle according to priority from one to nine, as this would determine how many points were allotted to each principle. Participants were advised that they could write their own principles if they chose, or that they could edit the

existing principles so that they more accurately captured what they felt was important in guiding program design, delivery, and monitoring in the Northern Territory – a number of groups chose to do so.

Figure 62 Diamond nine levels of priority



Once groups had selected and ranked their top nine principles, they were asked to write a justification to explain why that principle was important in the Northern Territory. They were then asked to write indicators for each principle by considering the following questions: ‘what would this principle look like in practice?’; ‘what evidence could we find that the principle is embedded in the program?’; and ‘how could we measure or assess the principle?’ (see **Figure 64 & 65**). Some groups were able to develop several indicators for each of their selected principles, whilst others developed just one per principle. Some groups focused more on outcomes than indicators, and some groups struggled to develop indicators for all of their principles. However, for the most part, what was produced by groups in each workshop was thoughtful and thorough. During the workshop, I talked to each group about how they were refining their principle, and on what basis, which often led to discussions about violence in the Northern Territory and current approaches.

For example, the group that produced the document in **Figure 65** decided to refine the list of principles down by individually reading the principles and selecting the ones they believed the most important; they then discussed their choices; then selected their final nine principles on the basis of that decision. The discussion became their justification for each principle which they recorded under the heading 'why' and listed their indicators under the heading 'how'. As shown in **Figure 65**, this group also elected to write their own principle seven (worth three points), and they edited two other principles (principle three worth seven points and principle eight worth two points). The group who produced **Figure 66**, also chose to make additions to the principle they selected as highest priority: 'but what does cultural change mean? Need to define it'.

[illegible]

I had a clear document of the priority principles as well as more detail on justification and possible indicators. All the group products were also recorded by photographing each group's product. All documents were coded using NVivo software.

Figure 64 Second example of group diamond nine and indicators

Principle	Justification	Indicators
7	Importance of supporting workers in the sector	- organisations to have vicarious trauma framework and policies - enough funding to have enough staff to meet demand - longevity of funding
8	If we don't address perpetrators behaviour + work with them we don't stop the occurrence of violence.	- MBC programs - whole family approach - presourcing multiple programs
9	ensuring orgs. work with each other embed coordination in funding arrangements.	
	reduce stigma, violence doesn't discriminate it can affect everyone.	provision of education programs targetted at all aspects of life - so men, women + children

At the end of all the workshops, all the results were tallied, allowing me to see which principles were most frequently selected and how they were prioritised across the Northern Territory. This culminated in a final list of ten principles mostly commonly selected and highly prioritised in all workshops. The findings were compiled into a framework of principles and indicators (discussed later in this chapter), a draft of which was provided to participating stakeholders to invite feedback prior to finalisation.

Findings by region

This section gives a breakdown of the results for each region, before giving the overall results for the Northern Territory which produced the framework (entitled 'Hopeful.

Together. Strong: Inspiring optimism for future generations. Principles of good practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory'⁶⁴) detailed later in this chapter.

Alice Springs

Alice Springs had 29 participants in total, but at the workshop with external stakeholders, there were 19 stakeholder-participants and eight different organisations were represented. **Figure 66** shows the frequency with which principles were selected: the five groups in this workshop selected a total of 22 principles. **Figure 66** is a pie chart: the innermost circle shows which principles have been coded and how frequently, whilst the outer circle shows the justifications and indicators coded to each principle.

⁶⁴ The framework was named by a member of the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group and two TFVPP staff members in response to the themes raised in the workshops.

Figure 65 Alice springs principles by frequency

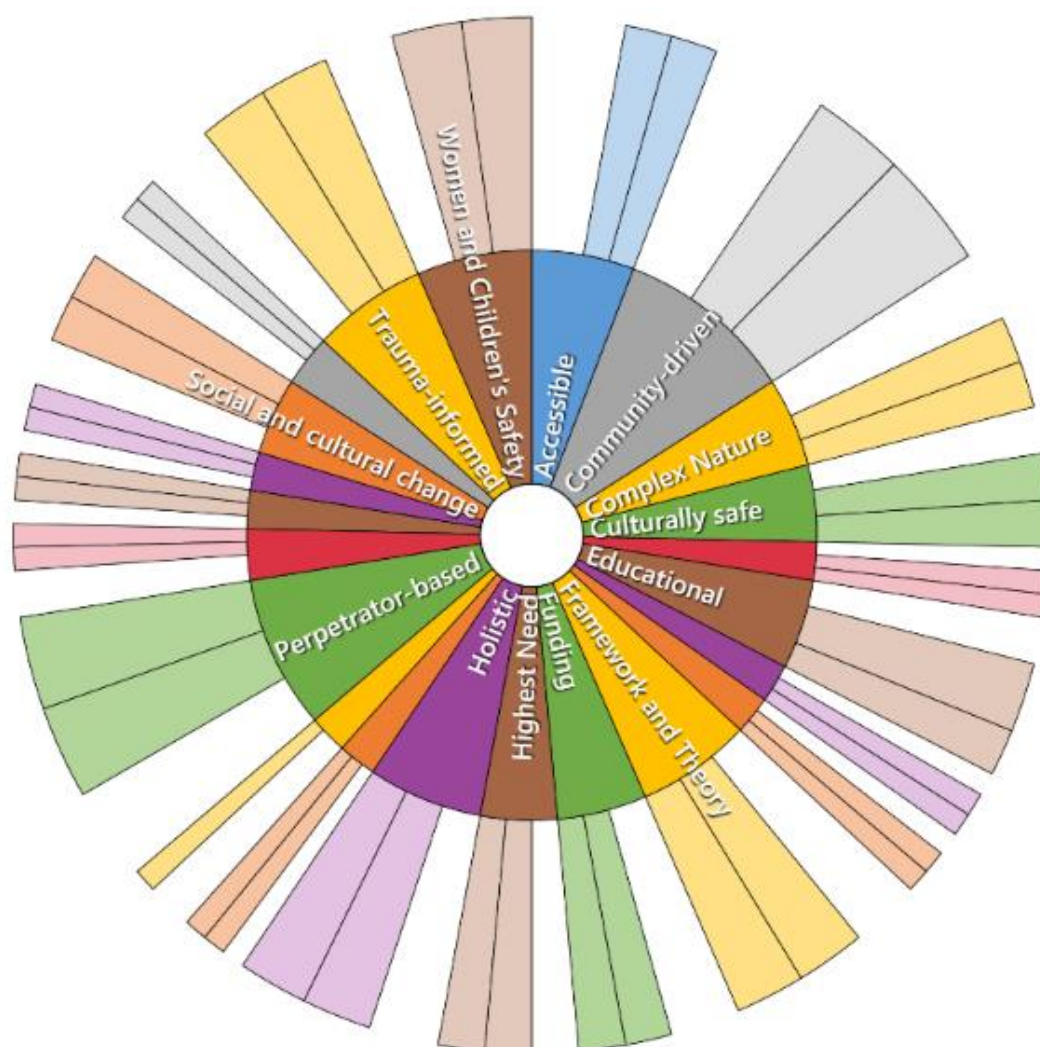


Table 19 below illustrates how Alice Springs participants prioritised the top-ranking principles (points) versus how commonly they were selected⁶⁵. The table illustrates that even though a principle, such as 'Trauma-informed', may be more frequently selected than others, it can be ranked low in priority. However, for the most part, those principles that were more frequently selected also scored higher and so are included in the top-ranking principles. Alice Springs is the only region to identify 'Is directed to areas of highest need rather than areas of largest population (Memmott et al., 2006)' as a top principle. This principle complements 'sustainable' as funding and resources must be accessible and distributed to areas of highest need, particularly remote communities, but also in terms of Federal funding allocation to the Northern Territory.

⁶⁵ The principles have been shortened for brevity. See **Appendix B** for the shortlist of principles.

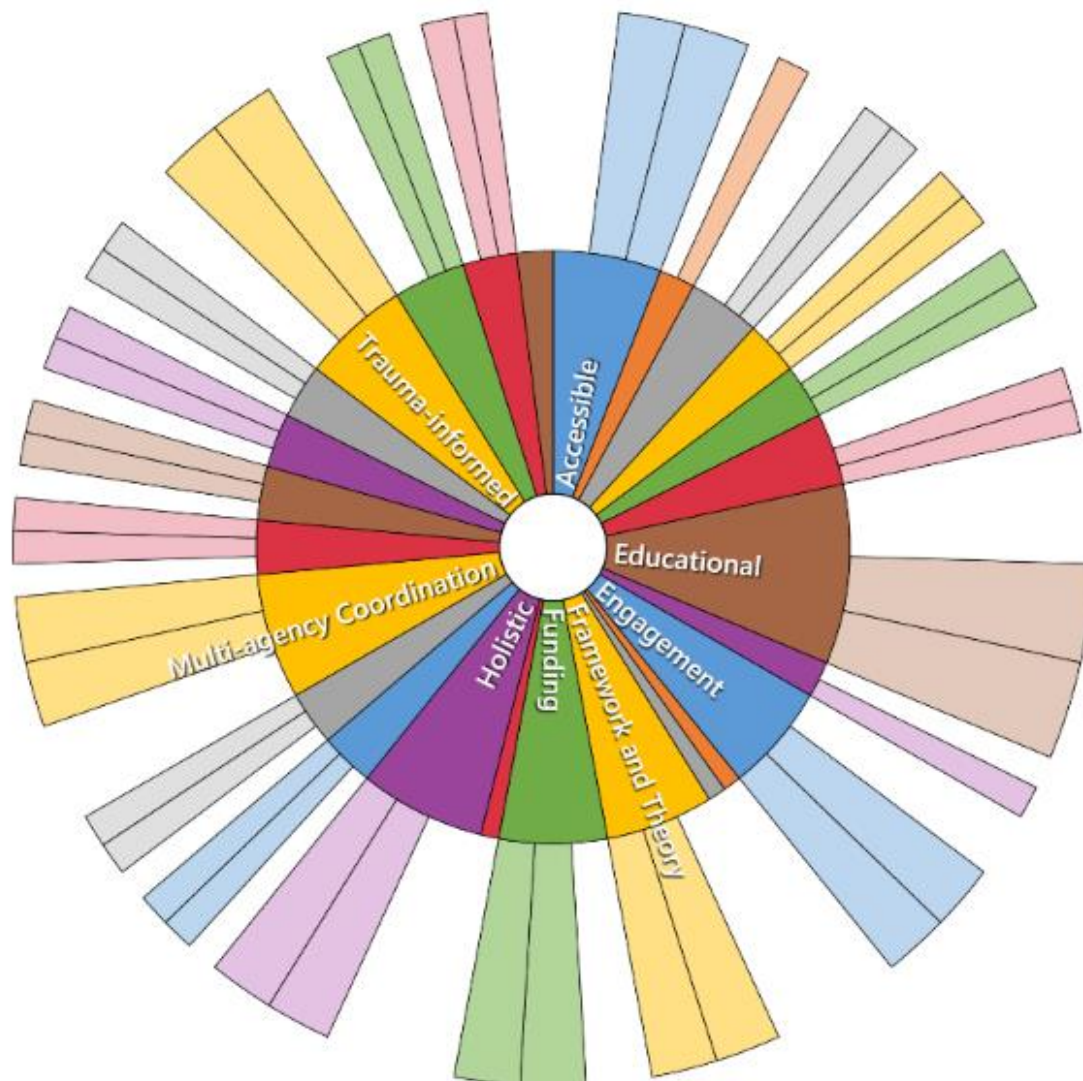
Table 19 Alice Springs principles frequency versus priority

PRINCIPLE	FREQUENCY	PRIORITY
Community-driven	5	29
Framework and theory informed	3	25
Holistic	3	22
Women and children's safety	3	18
Culturally safe	2	15
Sustainable	2	14
Recognising the complex nature of DFSV	3	14
Directed to highest need	2	12
Accountability for men who use violence	4	11
Educational	2	10
Deep listening	1	9
Trauma-informed	3	7

Tennant Creek

The Tennant Creek workshop had seven participants and three different organisations were represented. There were three different groups in this workshop, and **Figure 67** shows the frequency with which they selected the principles (Tennant Creek selected a total of 28 principles) whilst **Table 20** shows the frequency versus the priority of the most commonly-selected principles.

Figure 66 Tennant Creek principles by frequency



The final principle was written by Tennant Creek Group Two: ‘Adequate housing and transitional accommodation for victims and children’ which they assigned highest priority, earning nine points, so that it makes up the final principle in Tennant Creek’s top principles. The ‘housing’ principle reflects the fact that there is limited to no emergency and transitional housing the Northern Territory – and as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, lack of housing makes it extremely difficult for women to leave violent relationships, as they have nowhere to go. Often, the only choice for women in these situations, is to remain in the violent relationship or risk homelessness. Transitional housing is vital to support women once they leave shelters.

Interestingly, Tennant Creek was the only region that did not select ‘Accountability for men who use violence’⁴ but did select ‘Engagement’, as the overriding conversation in the workshop was that building long-term relationships with clients is pivotal in creating change.

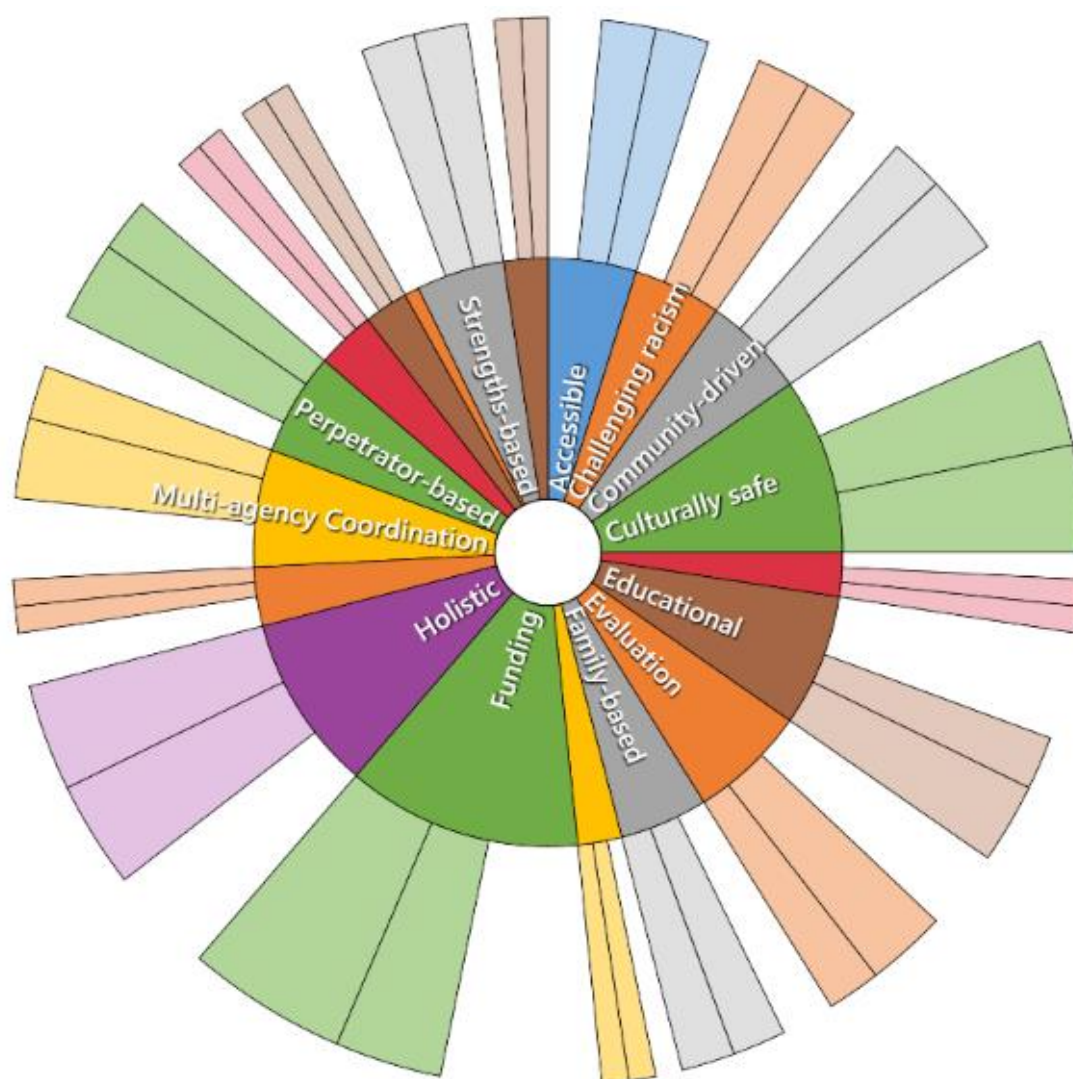
Table 20 Tennant Creek principles frequency versus priority

PRINCIPLE	FREQUENCY	PRIORITY
Holistic	3	24
Multi-agency coordination	3	19
Educational	3	16
Sustainable	2	16
Trauma-informed	2	14
Deep listening	2	10
Community-driven	2	10
Engagement	2	10
Culturally safe	1	9
Framework and theory informed	2	9
Accessible	2	9
Adequate housing and transitional accommodation for victims and children	1	9

Katherine

The Katherine workshop had fifteen participants and six different organisations were represented. There were five groups in this workshop. **Figure 68** shows the frequency with which they selected the principle (Katherine selected a total of 30 principles) and **Table 21** shows the frequency versus the priority weighting of the top-ranking principles.

Figure 67 Katherine principles by frequency



Katherine's results closely align with the overall Northern Territory results, but they were the only region to prioritise '*Challenging systemic racism and inequality (The Northern Territory Government, 2018)*'; and *systemic gender bias (TFVPP G1)*' as a top principle. Of all the regions, Katherine also highly ranked 'sustainable' which may reflect the concern that funding is distributed to areas of highest population rather than greatest need, as the conversation in this workshop often focused on the lack of programs and services available in remote places, and in Katherine. Many participants felt that too many programs and services were based in highly populated areas, such as Darwin, rather than where they were needed. Katherine participants particularly criticised the lack of programs for men who use

violence in Katherine – which currently has no men’s behaviour change program, despite high and severe rates of violence.

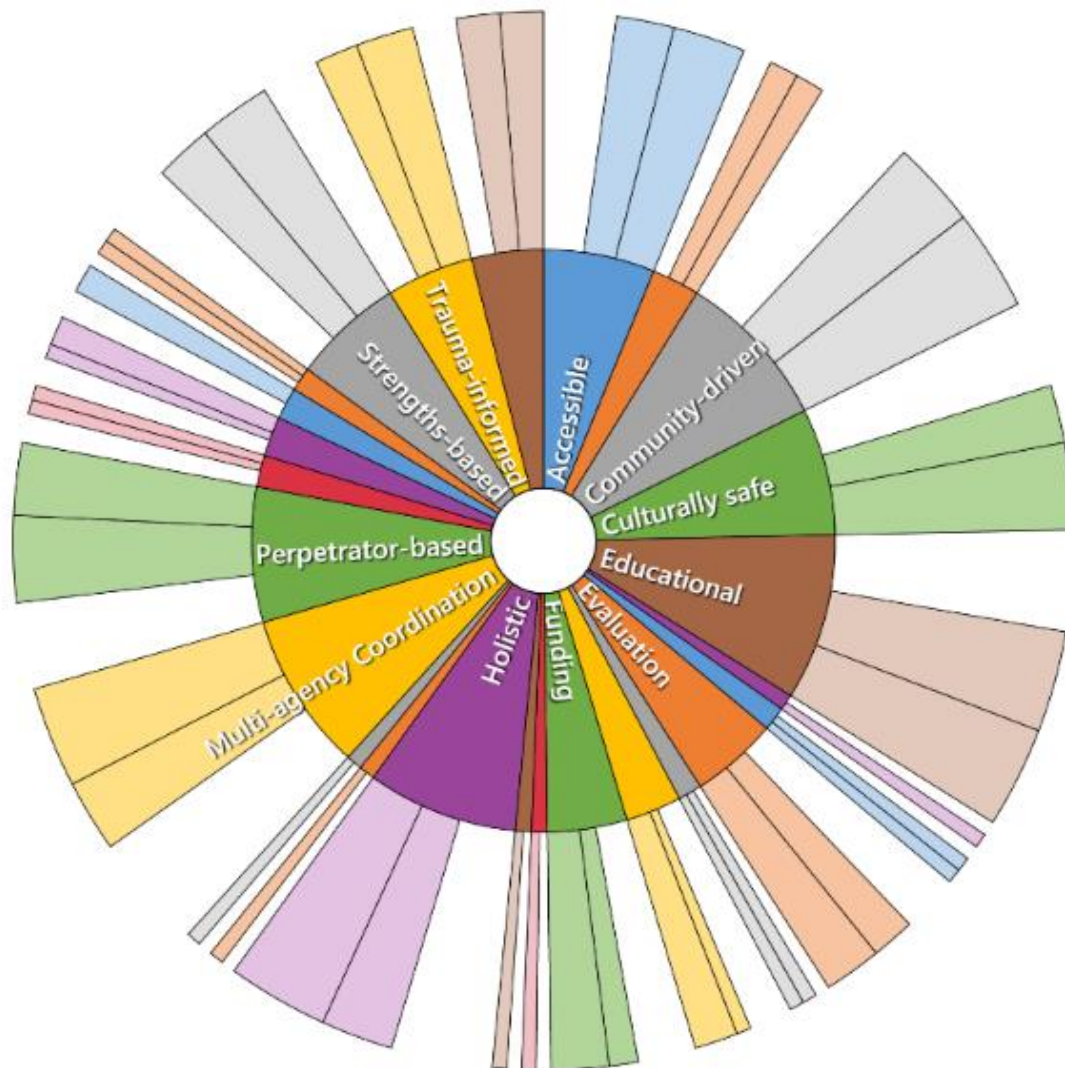
Table 21 Katherine principles frequency versus priority

PRINCIPLE	FREQUENCY	PRIORITY
Holistic	5	39
Sustainable	5	29
Community-driven	3	26
Educational	3	25
Culturally safe	4	23
Accountability for men who use violence	3	23
Challenging racism	3	21
Multi-agency coordination	3	19
Family-based	3	19
Deep listening	2	17
Accessible	3	17
Strengths-based	3	17

Darwin

The Darwin workshop had 26 participants and fourteen organisations were represented. There were eight groups in the workshop. **Figure 69** shows the frequency with which they selected the principle (Darwin selected a total of 26 principles) and **Table 22** shows the frequency versus the priority weighting of the top-ranking principles.

Figure 68 Darwin principles by frequency



The principles 'Accessible' and 'Multi-agency coordination' demonstrate how a principle can be selected a higher number of times yet be assigned lower priority than other principles selected less frequently. Alongside Alice Springs, Darwin prioritised the safety of women and children as a top principle – this is the central guiding principle of 'Hopeful, Together, Strong' framework as all work to prevent VAW must centre and prioritise the safety of women and children.

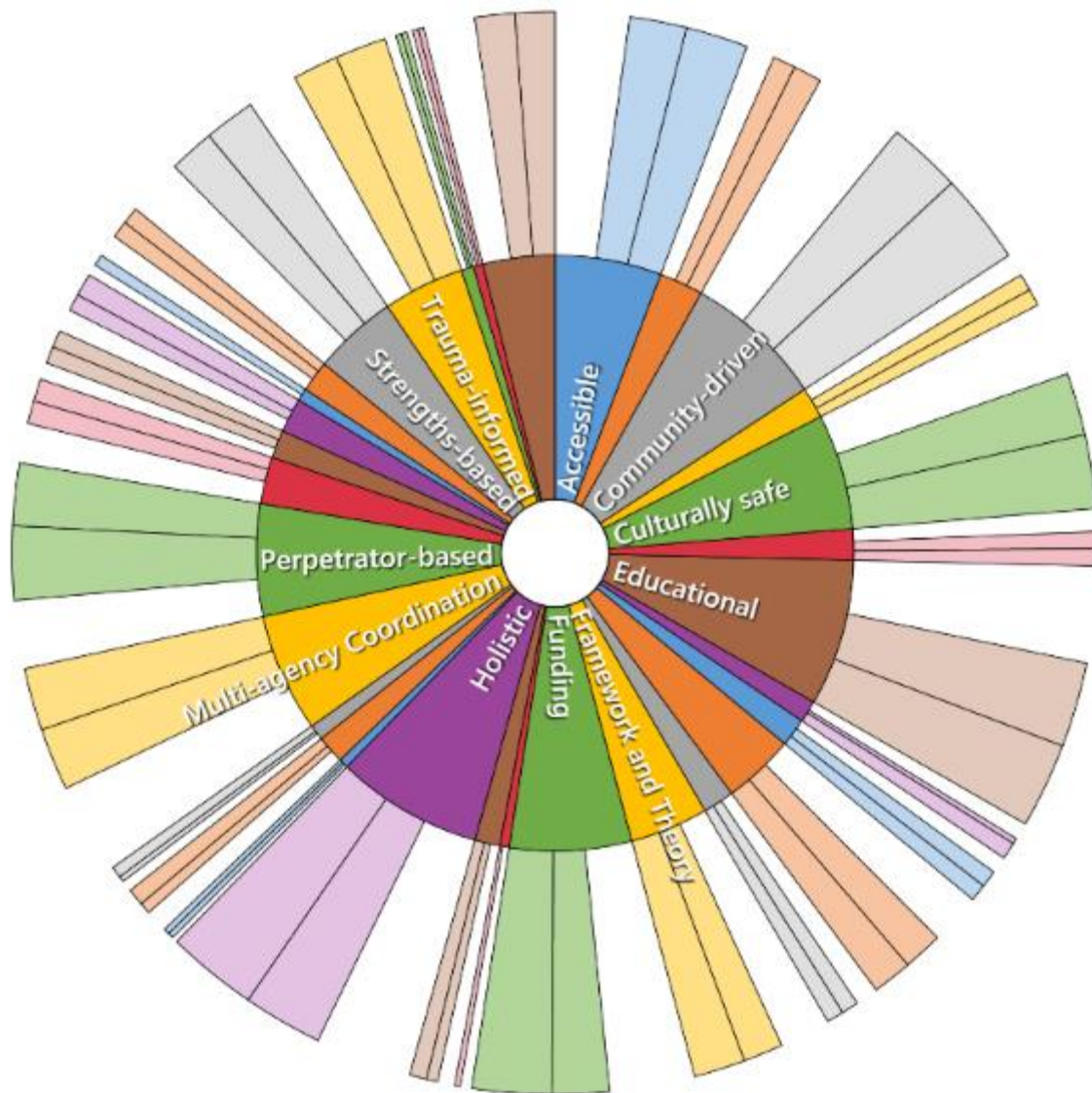
Table 22 Darwin principles frequency versus priority

PRINCIPLE	FREQUENCY	PRIORITY
Holistic	7	48
Community-driven	6	39
Accountability for men who use violence	5	36
Culturally safe	6	35
Educational	7	26
Strengths-based	5	24
Trauma-informed	5	23
Women and children's safety	3	21
Sustainable	4	20
Framework and theory informed	3	19
Multi-agency coordination	6	19
Accessible	5	19

Northern Territory results

There were 21 small groups in the workshops. Every principle in the shortlist was selected by at least one group in the workshop process. By adding the frequency with which they selected the principles (see **Figure 70**), plus using the priority point system (see **Table 23**), and triangulating these results, ten key guiding principles have been identified. In order of priority, these are: Holistic, Community-driven, Culturally safe, Sustainable, Educational, Accountability for men who use violence, Framework and theory informed, Multi-agency coordination, Strengths-based, and Accessible.

Figure 69 Northern Territory principles by frequency



Even though both 'Evaluation' and 'Trauma-Informed' were selected more times than 'Framework and Theory informed', this principle was ranked higher in priority. Moreover, often 'Trauma-Informed' was paired with 'Framework and Theory Informed' by groups who felt the two could not be separated. Furthermore, the 'Framework and Theory Informed' principle does include and make mention of trauma-informed practice, so it made sense to include this principle in the final ten above 'Trauma-informed' and 'Evaluation'. Evaluation was selected more frequently but ranked very low in priority by stakeholders – however, evaluation mechanisms were built into indicators for almost every principle, so in effect, monitoring and evaluation is embedded into the Northern Territory principles.

Finally, all work that seeks to address and prevent violence against women must continue to be underpinned by *centring women and children's safety*, as any guidelines to prevent violence against women must. This is a core objective and guiding principle of the framework detailed in the next section.

Table 23 Northern Territory principles frequency versus priority

PRINCIPLE	FREQUENCY	PRIORITY
Holistic	18	133
Community-driven	16	104
Culturally safe	13	82
Sustainable	13	79
Educational	17	77
Accountability for men who use violence	12	70
Framework and theory informed	9	62
Multi-agency coordination	15	59
Strengths-based	11	53
Accessible	12	51
Trauma-informed	11	50
Evaluation	10	28

NT Specific principles of good practice and matching indicators

Ten principles were identified by stakeholders in the Northern Territory as being the most important to prevent VAW. **Table 24** lists the principles in order of priority. Guiding all of these principles is the central tenet and collective agreement to centre and prioritise the safety of women and children in united work to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. The references within the table are the sources of those particular contributions to the final principles. As shown in the table below, nine of the ten principles were those that were identified in the program case studies, rather than those that came from elsewhere. Perhaps it is not surprising that stakeholders in the Northern Territory selected principles that derived from Territory programs.

Table 24 Principles of good practice to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory

Principles		Description
	Holistic	Caters to women, men, and children; takes a whole-of-community approach; addresses underlying gendered drivers of VAW/DFSV (Brown, 2019); adopts holistic approaches to the problem, enabling the implementation of a range of different concurrent activities... Where appropriate, different levels of service provision could be provided through a 'one-stop-shop' model (Memmott et al., 2006)
	Community-driven	Indigenous people involved in conception, design, and delivery; community owns, leads, and governs; engages and mobilises Indigenous community (Brown, 2019)
	Culturally safe	Works in a way that is respectful and celebrates Indigenous culture; builds relationships with community; listens to community and values their knowledge and expertise (Brown, 2019); cultural safety; non-Indigenous organisations working as allies in culturally safe ways (Our Watch, 2018)
	Sustainable	Long-term ongoing, well-funded government investment in community programs (TFVPP G2); has minimal layers of bureaucracy between the community-based project and the funding agency, and utilises regionally based contact officers who can advise on the development of program activities (Memmott et al., 2006); provides a small funding component to enable the development of a small core of people within the community who can take a long-term view of the problem (Memmott et al., 2006)
	Educational	Trains the community to identify, intervene, and report VAW/DFSV; challenges attitudes which condone DSFV/VAW; models equal and respectful relationships (Brown, 2019); training—raising awareness, exploring values, developing skills (Humphreys, 2000); capacity building and the transference of skills (Memmott et al., 2006)
	Accountability for men who use violence	Challenges men's use of violence; focuses on changing offenders' behaviour; integrates and elevates survivors' voices (Brown, 2019)
	Framework and theory-informed	Has a gender lens and acknowledges the gendered nature of VAW/DFSV; uses an intersectional framework; is trauma-informed and contextualises VAW/DFSV within ongoing colonisation. (Brown, 2019)
	Multi-agency coordination	Sharing resources and information; refers and follows-up with other services; participates in multi-agency meetings and contributes to integrated responses and strategies (Brown, 2019); collective care working as allies rather than competitors (TFVPP G2)
	Strengths-based	Non-judgemental and draws upon community assets; engages and strengthens social capital; strengthens and celebrates culture (Brown, 2019); prioritising and strengthening culture (Our Watch, 2018)
	Accessible	Uses assertive outreach; assists people to overcome barriers to access; takes the program to where people are (Brown, 2019); accessibility, equity and responsiveness (The Northern Territory Government, 2018)

Each of the ten principles for the Northern Territory is coupled with the justification and indicators. The justification explains why stakeholders consider the principle to be important to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory.

The indicators were also developed by stakeholders in the workshops. The indicators illustrate what evidence is required to show that the principle has been embedded in the program and are intended to reflect what the program could look like in practice. Indicators can offer one way of assessing whether the program is being guided by the ten principles of good practice, although they are not an exhaustive list, nor is every indicator relevant to every program.

Holistic



Holistic: caters to women, men, and children; takes a whole-of-community approach; addresses underlying gendered drivers of VAW/DFSV. (Brown, 2019); adopts holistic approaches to the problem, enabling the implementation of a range of different concurrent activities.... Where appropriate, different levels of service provision could be provided through a 'one-stop-shop' model (Memmott et al., 2006)

Justification

Violence against women is a complex problem which requires a multi-layered solution. The causes of violence are layered, with intersecting risk factors occurring at different levels⁶⁶ of influence that cannot be separated. Violence also impacts the whole community. Therefore, responses to violence should consider the safety and well-being of everyone affected, not just the immediate victim. Holistic responses provide a better level of support and care to individuals, as well as to the community. Holistic interventions address the whole person, rather than labelling them as a victim or a perpetrator, such responses acknowledge the cyclical nature of violence wherein some victims later use violence themselves and reiterate that people who use violence can learn to change their behaviour.

⁶⁶ See **Figure 4** of the ecological model in **chapter two** for different levels of influence.

Holistic responses address the root causes of violence against women, and avoid the overlapping or simplification of interventions, but rather are collaborative programs which recognise that violence impacts everyone in different ways. Holistic interventions give everyone affected a voice and understanding. Holistic responses acknowledge the complexities of families and communities and take a whole-of-community approach which includes extended family and other services. The development of holistic interventions ensures coverage and that underlying risk factors are addressed, in a multi-pronged approach that offers support to all individuals impacted by violence.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Identifies the gaps in service provision for different groups and provides specialist services that cater to different target groups that considers gender, age, race and sexuality;
- Caters to women, children, men, harmed persons, and people who have caused harm;
- Provides services aimed at reducing violence at all stages of life: aimed at children; aimed at women and men; aimed at older people;
- Takes a family-based approach: engages with the whole family and offers a point of support for each member of the family;
- Programs and services which meet each individual's specific needs: behaviour change programs, promoting well-being, and undertaking regular risk assessments;
- Collaborates with community elders and leaders to look at working programs and adapt for specific communities;
- Takes a multi-layered whole-of-community approach through the development and offering of a suite of support programs and/or activities: 'supports all parts of the whole';
- Builds relationships with and between other services and agencies so that all community members are supported;
- Has a multi-disciplinary team working in collaboration within an organisation that takes a coherent and coordinated community approach.

Community-driven



Community-driven: Indigenous people involved in conception, design, and delivery; community owns, leads, and governs; engages and mobilises Indigenous community (Brown, 2019)

Justification

For programs to be successful in preventing violence against women, they must be community-driven to ensure that they have the support of the community, and to ensure the program fits the context and meets the needs of the community it serves. Each community context is unique and requires contextually-specific program content and design – this can only be ensured when the program is driven by the community, which will promote ownership and real engagement. Agency and power must be placed with community to ensure a whole-of-community approach is effective. There is a need to avoid a history of intervention without community consultation which leads to few good outcomes, and is disempowering, ineffective, and expensive. Community voices can ensure existing programs can be adapted to meet local needs, and new programs can harness the strength of local knowledge and perspectives. This will also ensure the community is more aware of the program, meaning it will be more likely to be accessed and utilised.

Power must be placed back with community, particularly with Aboriginal people, and local decision-making, as communities have the solutions to the problems that affect them. Aboriginal people's voices need to be prioritised, and Aboriginal people must be recognised as being the experts in their own lives and in the lives of the community. Programs driven by Aboriginal communities will be more culturally aware and culturally safe which will make the program more effective – if community is not involved, the program will not work. Community-driven programs encourage participation and respect.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Builds relationships with the community and starts with deep listening to come up with and deliver solutions for the community;

- In Indigenous contexts, is led by Aboriginal organisations and collaborates with other stakeholders;
- Promotes Aboriginal leadership and participation;
- Has Indigenous staff and Aboriginal board members, with the ability to utilise existing programs;
- Aboriginal people are embedded throughout the whole process and community members, particularly community Elders, are involved in the program design, implementation, and delivery;
- The community governs and has oversight of employment in the program; and consults with communities, especially for remote community-based programs, to develop contracting and employment guidelines;
- Identifies people who need to be involved in the sharing of knowledge, education and upscaling;
- Involves a broad cross section of the community to encourage diversity of opinions and views;
- Facilitates regular community meetings, particularly with Elders, to report back the actions and outcomes of the program;
- Fosters ongoing collaboration with the community and incorporates cultural sensitivity and safety;
- Is accountable to the community and has mechanisms for the community to provide feedback to the program.

Culturally safe



Culturally safe: works in a way that is respectful and celebrates Indigenous culture; builds relationships with community; listens to community and values their knowledge and expertise (Brown, 2019); cultural safety; non-Indigenous organisations working as allies in culturally safe ways(Our Watch, 2018)

Justification

Cultural safety is linked to the community-driven and educational principles and is necessary because it allows people to feel safe, and have hope, strength, dignity, and support. It is the basic right of all cultures to have available and accessible services. Cultural safety promotes engagement and will foster an inclusive and supportive environment. Cultural safety is about respect and can be understood and developed through community consultation.

Without cultural safety, people will not access the program and it will be ineffective.

Women in particular will be less likely to use a service which is not provided in a culturally safe manner. Without cultural safety, the program will make little positive impact because of the lack of connection to participants. Lack of cultural safety can also cause harm and further traumatise people. Whereas, by incorporating cultural safety, an inclusive service with strong relationships to people, community, and other services can be created, which leads to effective two-way learning practice and good outcomes. Cultural safety promotes a process of change and removes the stigma of shame, by honouring the importance of culture and conducting work in a way that celebrates culture and is mindful of cultural difference.

Indicators. The Intervention:

- Makes use of cultural advisors in the ongoing development of the program;
- Starts with deep listening with Aboriginal people and community to build relationships and promote a culture of ongoing consultation and collaboration;
- Reflects the community and cultures it services in respect to board representation, staff, and client participation;
- Trains staff in cultural safety, and has a culturally competent and culturally appropriate workforce; embeds cultural safety in workplace practice, including policies and procedures;
- Provides culturally safe environments, both in physical safety and in relationships between staff and clients;
- Has mechanisms to allow people to provide feedback to the service;
- Celebrates culture, and promotes respect;

- Collaborates with community members to address needs and build strong relationships with individuals and the community;
- Mainstream programs are adapted for the cultural context through community collaboration;
- Produces culturally appropriate resources which fit the context;
- Is embedded in an anti-oppressive framework.

Sustainable



Long-term ongoing, well-funded government investment in community programs (TFVPP G2); has minimal layers of bureaucracy between the community-based project and the funding agency, and utilises regionally based contact officers who can advise on the development of program activities (Memmott et al., 2006); provides a small funding component to enable the development of a small core of people within the community who can take a long-term view of the problem (Memmott et al., 2006)

Justification

Sustainable programs are necessary to ensure long-term reliable high-quality service to people in the Northern Territory. The prevention of VAW is jeopardised by inadequate short-term funding streams – programs designed to prevent VAW can only be developed and effective if they are supported by adequate long-term funding. Short-term funding for programs creates service gaps and uncertainty, whereas long-term programs create consistency. Without appropriate long-term funding commitment, best practice cannot be achieved. Long-term funding cycles, with inbuilt funded monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, will ensure the sustainability of programs and increase their capacity to create generational change, plus increase people's confidence and trust in the service. Adequate funding provision for evaluation will ensure accountability and help services to share, learn, and develop.

Moreover, adequate and long-term funding commitments assist with the retention of qualified staff who can work effectively and appropriately with people, especially with victim survivors, particularly Indigenous women and children. Reliable funding will also

enhance programs' ability for capacity building and upskilling the community. The funding of community engagement and community representative bodies will also empower the community and assist in fostering community-driven approaches.

Long-term funding cycles will also ensure that there is continuity for people and communities, regardless of government change. Constantly reapplying for funding is a waste of resources, both in terms of time and money, and often means that smaller grassroots organisations are at a disadvantage. Reducing bureaucracy and taking a grassroots approach will simplify service response and empower communities and the programs that work alongside them. Prioritising grassroots organisations would also enhance accessibility, ensuring that programs can be delivered in remote communities. Sustained adequate long-term commitments will also foster multi-agency collaboration and encourage organisations to build their networks, as the competitive element over funding has been removed.

Indicators. The Intervention:

- Is long-term and focused on creating long-term sustained change;
- Is supported by adequate and accessible 10-year funding cycle from government and other funding bodies, so is able to provide program security for the community it serves;
- Has the means to build new facilities, and maintain and operationalise these facilities, or existing facilities, and increase the use of such facilities;
- Increases service and participants if funding is adequate;
- Sustains program development, and where appropriate, expands the program;
- Consistently provides a high level of service to the community over a long period of time;
- Retains skilled and qualified staff for long periods, enabling relationships to be built and maintained with the community;
- Has the capacity to upskill and train staff and community members;
- Reports on KPIs, which are negotiated and contextually appropriate, to funding bodies;
- Has an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process, that is used to strengthen and improve the program, and that is disseminated to all stakeholders in a transparent process.

Educational



Educational: trains the community to identify, intervene, and report VAW/DFSV; challenges attitudes which condone DSFV/VAW; models equal and respectful relationships (Brown, 2019); training— raising awareness, exploring values, developing skills (Humphreys, 2000); capacity building and the transference of skills (Memmott et al., 2006)

Justification

Programs designed to prevent violence against women should be educational in order to change culture, challenge attitudes, and improve awareness of VAW. Higher awareness increases visibility and the likelihood violence will be reported and increases the possibility people who use violence will be held to account. Education is necessary to plant the seed to challenge the normalisation, stigma, social conditioning and structures that allow VAW to thrive. Education will reduce stigma and empower communities to identify and respond to all forms of VAW, but particularly domestic, family, and sexual violence. Currently there is a low level of knowledge amongst the general population about the drivers of VAW; education can empower communities by increasing a shared understanding of gendered drivers, intersectionality, and the impacts of colonisation. A shared understanding will also lead to a shared language around VAW, which will reduce confusion for victim survivors and assist in the identification and reporting of violence. Education can also make people aware of intersecting issues, risk factors, and the nature of cyclical violence, which can help create greater understanding and awareness about the causes of violence. Greater awareness is the first step in creating attitudinal changes that are necessary to prevent violence. Furthermore, people can be educated about what support is available and how to access services, which will assist people experiencing violence. Education will also foster more conversations around VAW, and help to stop the minimisation, condoning, and justification of this violence. Such education should be directed at different age groups, but with a particular emphasis on primary prevention education programs from primary school.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Engages with young people;
- Delivers school programs which challenge problematic attitudes in young people, particularly between the ages of 15 and 18;
- Trains community members on how to identify and respond to domestic, family, and sexual violence;
- Informs community about the different support services and how to access them;
- Embeds education throughout the program model;
- Underpins educational content with appropriate frameworks and theory; creates specialist educational programs which unpack the drivers of gender-based violence with relevant theory, including gendered factors, the impacts of colonisation, the ecological model, and intersectionality;
- Offers targeted education programs for different groups: men, women, and children;
- Develops and/or delivers ongoing specialist training for support services and non-specialist agencies, such as police, child protection, and judicial bodies;
- Delivers primary prevention programs in schools, including programs about healthy relationships, particularly for primary school children;
- Embeds feedback mechanisms in all training;
- Uses a variety of formats for education, such as art, music, yarning circles;
- Creates educational resources which challenge the use of violence and demonstrates alternatives⁶⁷ to the community by developing and saturating the community with appropriate anti-violence messaging;
- Develops training modules for trainers to increase the knowledge-base and promote a shared understanding and language of violence against women.

⁶⁷ This originally read as 'counter-conditioning' (a process of change described in the Transtheoretical model, see **Table 6** in **chapter three**) but has been changed due to its negative connotations.

Accountability for men who use violence



Accountability: challenges men's use of violence; focuses on changing offenders' behaviour; integrates and elevates survivors' voices
(Brown, 2019)

Justification

Accountability for men who use violence and cause harm is necessary to challenge their attitudes and behaviour, and support them to make change. Currently, there is a lack of support for men in the Northern Territory. Men need support with fathering, mental health, AOD, and healthy relationships. For too long, the onus has been placed on women experiencing violence to flee a violent relationship. The focus must be shifted to address violent behaviour and work with men who use violence. Programs that help women and their children remain safe when they choose to remain in their relationship are also needed – programs that focus on challenging men's use of violence are a part of this necessary provision. Without including men, we cannot prevent VAW. It is crucial that men who use violence are held accountable, as well as support to help them make different choices and positive change. Without altering and challenging violent attitudes and behaviour, long-term change cannot be effected.

Accountability processes for men who use violence should be trauma-informed and set within holistic programs that support the entire family. Engagement with men who use violence should be ongoing and sustained, to support men in changing their behaviour, and to allow for ongoing risk assessment. There should also be support provisions for men leaving prison to help them reintegrate them into their communities upon release in a way that monitors risk and prioritises safety of the women and children, whilst upskilling and supporting men who have used violence to make better choices. Accountability processes for men should be transparent and allow for observation and feedback from community. Accountability processes for men should be non-shaming and non-judgemental, and place safety for women and children at the centre.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Centres and prioritises the safety of women and children, and includes and elevates their voices in their work with men who use violence;
- Frames their work with men with a gender lens and intersectional framework;
- Has women in leadership and governance roles, who oversee and feed into work with men who use violence;
- Has targeted and specific support for men who use violence that challenges their attitudes and behaviour;
- Includes a Men's Behaviour Change Program, that is developed and adapted using Minimum Standards (No to Violence, 2018), which includes male and female co-facilitation;
- Develops content, resources and messaging which challenges harmful language and attitudes towards women and gender roles;
- Educates men about the drivers of violence, the cycle of violence, the forms of power and control, the nature of cyclical violence, and the impacts of violence on women and children;
- Demonstrated alternatives through positive messaging about the benefits of changing their behaviour, healthy relationships, peaceful conflict resolution, and gender equity, especially within parenting and family roles;
- Models gender equity, in staffing, working practice, and policy and procedures;
- Accepts and encourages self-referrals and referrals by friends, family members, and other agencies into the Men's Behaviour Change program;
- Embeds programs for men within a family approach and holistic model, so that each person is supported and to allow for ongoing risk assessment and monitoring;
- Acknowledges the barriers experienced by some men so uses assertive outreach to help men to access the program;
- Fosters long-term engagement with men that lasts beyond the completion of a set program, that helps men to make, manage, and sustain change;
- Assists or refers men for additional support, including mental health services, AOD services, and counselling;

- Conducts safety planning with women and children, and develops support plans with men;
- Creates a non-shaming and non-judgemental environment⁶⁸ to work with men who use violence so that men feel free and able to share their stories whilst being encouraged to take responsibility for their violence;
- Allows for observation of the work with men who use violence by community members, and shares the content and resources openly and transparently;
- Engages with the community and encourages community input, including mechanisms for feedback from community as well as participants;
- Embeds ethical data collection within the program, including incidents of violence; reports [to police] of violence; type of violence; where violence took place; relationship 'offender' to 'victim'; and men's attitudes towards women and violence;
- Supports ethical research with men who use violence that focuses on how long-term change can be maintained.

Framework and theory informed



Framework and theory-informed: has a gender lens and acknowledges the gendered nature of VAW/DFSV; uses an intersectional framework; is trauma-informed and contextualises VAW/DFSV within ongoing colonisation.

(Brown, 2019)

Justification

Interventions to prevent violence against women must be underpinned by relevant frameworks and theory that recognise the source and causes of the problem, within the overarching framework of doing no further harm. This will help ensure the resulting programs are designed with a critical lens, are evidence-based and developed according to

⁶⁸ This is crucial to ensure men are not coerced into taking responsibility, but rather they feel able to openly share and name the violence they have used. Shame and judgement create stigma which prevents men from self-referring and from disclosing the violence they have used. The purpose is to challenge men's use of violence in a way that encourages them to take responsibility and support them in changing their harmful behaviour and attitudes.

good practice models. It is necessary for staff and non-specialist agencies, including police and judicial bodies, to understand the complexity of domestic, family, and sexual violence when providing assistance and support to both victim survivors and those who have caused harm. By engaging with the relevant theory and frameworks, this will help prevent staff from working from their own intuition and biases and help to prevent the re-traumatisation of people who have experienced violence. Without this, staff and agencies are vulnerable to collusive behaviours and harmful attitudes which can serve to re-victimise and blame women who have experienced violence. Underpinning programs with appropriate and relevant frameworks⁶⁹ and theory helps to keep women and children safe by ensuring programs are not colluding, coercing, condoning, or minimising men's use of violence.

Interventions should also look at good practice models from around the world and adapt for the Northern Territory context. By informing work with evidence from Australia and elsewhere, interventions will be founded in the necessary language and models which foster the right conditions for creating change. This will also help to develop a shared understanding and hence better communication between service providers and stakeholders.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Demonstrates how the program has been adapted from good practice models, and designed on a foundation of relevant frameworks and theory, in program documentation, content, and resources with references to appropriate and relevant frameworks and theory;
- A trauma-informed framework shapes all aspects of the programs and organisation, including vicarious trauma training for staff;
- Designs all programs with a gender lens, and uses an intersectional feminist framework in program development;
- Embeds definitions of domestic, family, and sexual violence which acknowledge the gendered nature of the problem in policy, procedures and training for staff;

⁶⁹ Relevant frameworks and theory should include intersectionality; trauma-informed practice; intersectional feminism; anti-oppressive frameworks; decolonising methodologies; Indigenist standpoints; complexity theory; the ecological model; the drivers of violence; the Men's Behaviour Change national minimum standards; transtheoretical model and theory of change.

- Provides ongoing training for staff and/or external agencies which unpacks the gendered drivers of violence against women, as well as intersectional factors, including the impacts of colonisation and other intersecting factors;
- Engages with the transtheoretical model, ecological model, and complexity theory when developing their program logic and theory of change;
- Continually engages with research and creates a culture of continual adaptation and improvement according to evidence – local, national, and global – and justifies actions with reference to evidence in a transparent process to community;
- Embeds ongoing monitoring and evaluation mechanisms into the program, which include examining how frameworks and theory have been engaged, adapted, and implemented within the program’s local and cultural context.

Multi-agency coordination



Multi-agency coordination: sharing resources and information; refers and follows-up with other services; participates in multi-agency meetings and contributes to integrated responses and strategies (Brown, 2019); collective care working as allies rather than competitors (TFVPP G2)

Justification

Multi-agency coordination is important to ensure a whole-of-community approach in which appropriate services are available to the people of the Northern Territory and to minimise service gaps. Collaboration between agencies, including police and judicial bodies, can also allow for information sharing that aids risk assessment and response. Agencies working together can also lead to shared advocacy and building better trust and relationships with individuals and communities, as multi-agency coordination and collaboration prioritises achieving the best outcome for individuals and their families.

Multi-agency coordination also speaks to a holistic approach, in acknowledging that people will need support in a range of different areas to address the intersecting issues which are associated with VAW. Moreover, shared case management and information sharing will prevent the re-victimisation of people. Multi-agency efforts should have a lead agency that engages other agencies to help them – this avoids people having to retell their story to

many different services and agencies. Multi-agency coordination recognises that all interventions are strengthened through communication and working together with other organisations, services, and agencies. Multi-agency coordination also produces a measure of transparency and accountability that prevents people from falling through the gaps. Alternatively, multi-agency coordination also allows for a more efficient use of resources and prevents over-servicing. Through working together, this also allows for agency specialisation and the development of unique and fresh approaches embedded in networks and collaboration between agencies. Working together can also provide opportunities for capacity building and staff development. Creating support within and between agencies can also assist in the retention of care workers.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Maps other service providers and has a plan for their engagement with other agencies, which is embedded in their program logic, and is periodically reviewed;
- Participates in multi-agency meetings and case meetings, and shares information appropriately;
- Refers people to other services and receives referrals from other agencies, set within clear and transparent referral protocols;
- Participates in shared advocacy to interested parties, including government;
- Participates in joint case management and joint service provision with other agencies;
- Collaborates with other agencies to produce resources, events, and messaging which raise awareness about VAW;
- Develops and participates in interagency capacity building, including specialist DFSV training, cultural safety training, and trauma-informed practice;
- Has feedback mechanisms in place to allow other agencies to feed into the work of the program;
- Creates a collaborative culture which supports the work of other agencies and ensures care workers are supported in their work;
- Works in partnership with other agencies to meet the needs of victim survivors, children, and people who have caused harm.

Strengths-based



Strengths-based: non-judgemental and draws upon community assets; engages and strengthens social capital; strengthens and celebrates culture (Brown, 2019); prioritising and strengthening culture (Our Watch, 2018)

Justification

A strength-based approach is necessary at both the community level and the individual level. At the community level, a strengths-based approach is hopeful, and recognises the strength, knowledge, experience, expertise, and leadership that already exists within communities and seeks to build upon these assets. It is important to identify, recognise, adapt, and build upon the work that is already being done and utilise existing successful programs in order to bring about long-term positive change: untested sweeping interventions can damage relationships and lead to hopelessness, burn-out and compassion fatigue. By focusing on strengths, the program can be designed in a way that acknowledges the wisdom of community and embed cultural awareness; it also means the program has already identified community assets which can be drawn upon to assist their work. This model allows for two-way learning and capacity building, where community strengths can feed into the intervention and the program continues to build upon these strengths through their activities and outputs. Hope is vital for staff, clients, and whole communities to drive sustained positive change, and hope can only flourish in a strengths-based model that focuses on recovery for individuals and their families.

At the individual level, a strengths-based approach is necessary to shift the focus from the deficit of the individual and rather to their strengths to provide the tools and conditions for making sustained positive change. Whereas a deficit or pathology model is shaming and reinforces stigma, so discourages people from self-referring and reporting, strength-based approaches empower and build participation. A strengths-based model is necessary in creating a safe, non-judgemental, and approachable environment where individuals can feel safe to disclose their experiences or use of violence.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Is developed within and by grassroots organisations working directly with communities;
- Maps and identifies social capital, community strengths, and existing good practice programs and incorporates these assets in their planning and builds from them;
- Creates content, resources, and messaging using language that comes from strengths rather than deficits;
- Has mechanisms in place to allow for feedback loops from clients to deeply listen and position them as experts in their own lives;
- Supports victim survivors as well as men who use violence to develop and have ownership over their own support plans;
- Celebrates culture and builds in cultural expressions, such as ceremonies, into the life of the program;
- Shares stories of hope and healing;
- Creates safe non-judgemental environments and trains staff in strengths-based frameworks;
- Has clear policy and workplace practices which outline how the intervention will express a strengths-based approach.

Accessible



Accessible: uses assertive outreach; assists people to overcome barriers to access; takes the program to where people are (Brown, 2019); accessibility, equity and responsiveness (The Northern Territory Government, 2018).

Justification

In order to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory, programs must be accessible. Presently, the majority of interventions are based in regional centres, and very little is available outside of these areas. That means many people must travel hundreds of kilometres to access a service. To prevent VAW, we must accommodate people's needs, and consider distance and remote locations, as well as other barriers to access including

discrimination, based on disability, LGBTQ, and/or mental health. Programs must be accessible, not only in location, but in terms of being flexible, safe and approachable services. Accessible services do not discriminate or unfairly exclude people, and they are tailored to meet the specific needs of their community. By making programs accessible on country and in communities, programs can be developed within the values of their communities and promote ongoing engagement and support capacity building of community members who are already in the roles of supporting others.

Programs within regional towns must also be accessible – people must be made aware of their services and how to access them. Therefore, the ‘accessible’ principle is closely linked to the ‘educational’ principle as it requires a particular type of capacity building in how to undertake training for communities about what services are on offer and how to access their services. Assertive outreach – which assists people to overcome the obstacles to access – is also a necessary part of making town-based programs approachable and accessible.

Accessible programs prevent isolation – of people experiencing violence but also whole communities as lack of access increases risk and perpetuates violence. This is particularly true when men who have used violence are released from prison and return to remote communities – often, the community has no awareness the man has been released until he returns, then there is little support for the man or the family to support him return to community safely. Everyone deserves access to support services. Accessible programs create more awareness and education. Accessible programs educate people on how to access their service as well as other services on offer, as part of a multi-agency coordinated approach. Accessible services in remote locations will also support the work of town-based programs by providing them with in-community partners and open up referral pathways.

Indicators. The intervention:

- Makes services physically and constantly available in remote locations and communities;
- Supports the work of programs in remote locations through referrals, information sharing, and the sharing of resources and content;
- Makes the community aware of the services available and how to access them;

- Develops partnerships with services in remote locations and builds strong relationships with stakeholders, including police and corrections, who work in small or remote communities;
- Has open channels of communication and networks with programs and services based in remote locations;
- Uses assertive outreach and assists people to overcome the barriers to access, including transportation and cost;
- Advocates for improved infrastructure and services in remote locations, including transportation and new sealed roads;
- Supports people experiencing violence to be able to remain in their own homes, particularly in remote locations; through on-going risk assessment, strengthening of support networks, and multi-agency collaboration, including housing;
- Has throughcare or supports the work of throughcare programs which work with incarcerated persons before and after they return to their homes and community to support them to safely reengage with their families;
- Develops training and capacity building for staff and community members in remote locations, including vicarious trauma training and building support networks, to minimise burn-out and improve staff retention;
- Has feedback and data collection mechanisms built into the program to assist in mapping service gaps in the Northern Territory and uses this information to advocate for more accessible programs to fill these gaps.

The workshops were the apex of the research project and were informed by the case studies, interviews with external stakeholders, and the knowledge of hundreds of staff, stakeholders, and program beneficiaries that fed into the research in various ways. The process was collaborative and grassroots in order to harness practice-based knowledge from people working directly with women experiencing DFSV and their families. This approach was necessary to ensure buy-in but also in order to create something that is fit for place and context, which can only be done by drawing upon local knowledge, expertise, and perspectives.

Application

This framework presents ten key principles of good practice to prevent violence against women drawn from each of the case study programs, those that were named in the interviews with external stakeholders, as well as a range of principles in national and international literature, that were then selected by Northern Territory stakeholders. Each principle, within its justification and indicators, calls for a shift from mainstream and traditional approaches to VAW to one that aims to prevent further harm by focusing on risk factors associated with violence. The framework prioritises the safety of women and children, but focuses on challenging and addressing men's use of violence within a non-judgemental holistic response. Only by redirecting efforts to focus on the use of violence – rather than placing responsibility on women to end the violence they experience - can VAW be prevented. It is the hope that through the application of this framework, programs will be developed that are directed at risk factors and aim to change violent behaviour.

The framework also provides a means for monitoring and evaluation of VAW prevention programs by assessing their activities; documentation; and practices against the indicators in this chapter. Although the indicators are not an exhaustive list – and some may not apply in certain contexts – they can be selected in consultation and used to develop program-specific KPIs by funding bodies. The indicators could also be used as evaluative or assessment tool by evaluators. The indicators offer a practical means for assessing whether programs have embedded or were founded on the principles participants know are necessary to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory.

It is the additional hope of this framework that it will help strengthen practice in the Northern Territory and may also inform practice elsewhere – and perhaps provide a model for the development of other localised frameworks.

Implementation

The following is a brief discussion about what is needed to implement the framework and get the principles happening in practice. Since the development of this framework, I have

met several government ministers and agencies, at both a Territory and Federal level, as well as key DFSV NGOs and services – these are the suggestions I have given them as to how the framework can inform practice in the Northern Territory.

The first suggestion is to develop specialist training for stakeholders in the Northern Territory. This specialist training would have two veins: the first, to inform stakeholders about the principles and develop ways of embedding the principles in program design, delivery, and practice. Such workshops could allow for capacity building, developing grant writing and funding application skills, as well as provide a forum to further unpack how the principles and indicators can guide program design, implementation, and delivery in the Northern Territory. The second vein could be to deliver specialist DFSV training to frontline non-specialist services within the Northern Territory, such as emergency services, healthcare services, and legal services. This training would acknowledge that although these frontline services deal with DFSV every day, staff rarely have the theoretical background and knowledge which could improve their response to DFSV. It also acknowledges that frontline services get little specialist DFSV training, and they are usually one-off trainings. For example, after the two-hour workshop I delivered to Alice Springs police, several detectives said it was ‘most comprehensive training we have ever had’. Since the development of the framework, I have discussed the development of ongoing specialist DFSV training for police with the Northern Territory Ministers. These discussions are ongoing.

The second suggestion to aid the implementation of the framework is to embed the principles into funding mechanisms. Government and funding bodies could include the principles of good practice as key criteria to be addressed in grants and funding applications. For example, tender applications could ask organisations to elaborate on how their program will be developed according to these principles. This will build the expectation that these principles must inform program design and delivery in the Northern Territory.

The final suggestion is to make use of the indicators for program key performance indicators (KPIs), as well as in other monitoring and evaluation processes. Funders already include KPIs in their funding agreements, but stakeholders reported that these were often inappropriate for the Northern Territory context and needed constant negotiation. For example, one stakeholder reported that they had to renegotiate their KPIs with Prime Minister and

Cabinet (PMC) every year as they were on a 12-month funding cycle. The KPIs PMC included in the funding agreement were setting the expectation that the program had to spend 20 weeks in each remote community throughout the APY lands in a 12 month period – these timeframes are unrealistic and not in line with the program’s objectives or capacity. The renegotiation of these KPIs could take up to three months and affect all subsequent timelines and deliverables.

Whereas, interventions and programs could assess their work and feedback their progress by reporting on the key indicators listed in the ‘Hopeful, Together, Strong’ framework. The indicators can be used internally to guide the practice of the principles and in their monitoring and evaluation processes. By reporting against the indicators, this can help the program to identify areas to be improved. The indicators can also be used externally through negotiating program specific KPIs with funding bodies. The indicators are targeted and specific which allows a program to provide evidence they are meeting an indicator in their reports to funding bodies. For example, document literature which reflects their understanding about the gendered nature of DFSV. This can overcome some issues around reporting, which tends to focus on outputs rather than outcomes, and focuses on quantity rather than quality of delivery. For example, in NO MORE’s reporting, they often highlighted the amount of training sessions they had delivered and the number of people they had delivered training sessions to, as these were the KPIs set by their funders. However, this kind of reporting says little about the content of the training sessions or the quality of the delivery. The indicators provide a bank of practical Northern Territory specific KPIs that are measurable and can form the basis of accountability mechanisms with funders.

These three suggestions are the basis of what is needed in order for the framework to be implemented in the Northern Territory. However, there will be a number of challenges and barriers to its implementation – the primary ones being funding and political will. In the meetings with NT Government Ministers, they reflected that 2020 is an election year, so any changes will need to be pushed through before the election. They have to selectively prioritise what they could achieve before August, hence the focus on developing training for police as this is achievable in the short-term. Discussions are ongoing with government, but at the time of writing this thesis, the framework has already been used in the development

of four primary prevention projects; has been included in two literature reviews by national DFSV organisations; and the principles are being used to drive the development of Central Australian specific practice standards for men's behaviour change programs.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

‘We open up the windows and the doors and let the violence out’

[TWFSG8]

This thesis – and its final product, the ‘Hopeful, Together, Strong’ framework – argues that is necessary to reframe our approach to addressing and preventing VAW in the Northern Territory. Domestic violence has been recognised as a crime in Australia since 1975 with the Family Law Act, and has gradually risen in the public consciousness as a public problem. Throughout this time, responses to VAW have been victim-focused and victim-led, in that it has been the expectation that the woman should flee a violent relationship and seek help from a refuge or shelter, apply for a DVO, and give a statement to the police. Who may or may not bring charges, which may or may not go to court, where the offender may or may not be sentenced to time in prison. This response to VAW has not had success, and DFSV continues at a steady level, with some forms, such as sexual violence, increasing (ABS, 6).

This cultural expectation that it is the woman’s responsibility to end the violence she is experiencing has reinforced harmful attitudes and misconceptions which further marginalise victims. It has created the conditions where women are revictimised or even punished by the system supposed to protect and support them – the examples most notable in the Northern Territory are child removal and being charged with facilitating a breach of a DVO. There are additional consequences for women, such as homelessness, stigma, and reprisal violence.

Women in the Northern Territory face considerable barriers to reporting violence, seeking help, and pursuing justice. The Northern Territory has the highest rates of DFSV in Australia, and Aboriginal women in the Northern Territory are the most victimised group of people in the world (The Northern Territory Government, 2018). The high rates of violence, in addition to lived experience, motivated the research presented in this thesis.

This research project aimed to find out what works to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory, whether community change could be measured using an adapted TTM, and whether some transferable principles of good practice could be identified that might have

broader application. Throughout this research, I aimed to undertake it in a way that was culturally appropriate and centred the voices of Indigenous women.

I set out to learn what works to prevent violence against women by harnessing practice-based knowledge from case study programs in the Northern Territory. I aimed to identify principles of good practice in their work by assessing it against an adapted Transtheoretical model. The two case study programs, as well as the semi-structured interviews with external stakeholders, yielded important insights and lessons which fed into the workshop process where stakeholders identified principles of good practice and developed indicators for each principle. This thesis therefore presents ten principles of good practice that stakeholders say are needed to prevent VAW in the Northern Territory. It is the hope of this thesis that the 'Hopeful, Together, Strong: Principles of good practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory' framework will be a resource to support service providers who persevere in their work despite the huge challenges, and that it will serve to strengthen the practice in the Northern Territory.

Initially, I planned to have three case study programs which I hoped to bring together at the end of the fieldwork in a joint workshop to identify principles that may have some transference to other contexts. In the end I had two case study programs because I found it difficult to identify a third program that met the selection criteria. Moreover, after three periods of fieldwork (one with NO MORE, and two with TFVPP), it was clear that I had more than enough data. Moreover, it had been my intention to undertake case studies that were good examples of programs working to prevent violence in the Northern Territory, but I ended up with strong case study that I identified as a good practice model through the research, and one that was less successful. Although the NO MORE program proved to be less effective in preventing VAW according to the three evaluative tools, this case study proved helpful in identifying principles of good practice because I was able to compare this program against the TFVPP. This highlighted certain dangerous practices as well as principles that were very clearly important because I observed what happens when those principles and practices were not present. I used three evaluative tools to assess the case study programs: Our Watch's Changing the Picture; indicators of good practice developed in Scotland; and the adapted Transtheoretical model.

As part of this reframed approach, this thesis presented an adapted TTM which reframed the model from individual decision-making to a community attitude model. It also shifted the focus from the victim-focused IPV application in the past (as detailed in **chapter two**) to focus on violent behaviour and community attitudes which condone, minimise, or justify violence. The model was further adapted to explore how programs can promote the behavioural and cognitive processes to help communities to move through the stages of change. This model allows for different measures of success, as it acknowledges that each stage in the cycle is a success, and that different programs can be directed at different stages. This offers one way of assessing and evaluating primary prevention programs which are usually very difficult to measure, because they are focused on long-term incremental change. It is not possible for a single program or project to solve a complex problem like VAW, but this model provides the possibility to assess whether success is occurring.

I adapted the Transtheoretical model to see if it could be applied to community change rather than individual decision-making processes. Both the ecological model (explained in **chapter two**) and the Changing the Picture resource state that community attitudes which condone, minimise, or justify violence are a key risk factor – so the adapted model redefines each stage of change in relation to community attitudes towards violence. The Transtheoretical model was also adapted to show how the program can help move the community through the stages of change by engaging with key processes and constructs of change. The model was used in interviews with external stakeholders to ask them to assess whether their community was in a stage of change, if so where, as well as to identify different levels of intervention, and as an evaluative tool to assess the impact of the program. The adapted TTM was helpful because it gave participants a reference and a model to talk about change and whether it was occurring. The direct quotes in the adapted definitions also proved quite useful when using the adapted model in the interviews as they helped stakeholders to identify the stage their community was in, for example in response to ‘she put him in jail’ many stakeholders commented ‘there’s a lot of that around here’ and ‘I’ve heard that so much’.

The model was also helpful because research participants often talked about the difficulty in evaluating prevention ‘how do you measure what didn’t happen?’ and about the need for different measures of success – how good is good enough? For example, is it enough to get

a man to stop using physical violence? The model allowed participants to identify partial or incremental change, which is still a success, and is still a part of making long-term generational change. At the end of each stage of fieldwork with the case study programs, I compiled the data and looked for evidence that the program was engaging or using processes and constructs of change which the Transtheoretical model tells us are necessary to help move through the stages (see **Table 8** and **13**). The use of the model offered a way to assess the impact of the program's activities within the sphere of prevention, as well as to identify gaps which became recommendations in the reports back to each case study program. This adapted model is already being used by the TFVPP partner program (**chapter four**) in their work in the Men's Behaviour Change and in the Women's Group. This model is also being used by other local anti-violence organisations. It is the hope of this thesis that the adapted model will continue to be used to promote and encourage programs to focus on challenging violent behaviour and changing community attitudes which provide the conditions for violence to occur - it will be interesting to see if the adapted TTM used in this research has any relationship or application to that used by the SASA! program discussed in **chapter 2**. The adapted model also helped to identify good practice models and specific principles within them that later came to be considered in the workshop process.

Instead of undertaking a single workshop with the case study programs, in the end I undertook a series of collaborative workshops in four locations in the Northern Territory with a range of stakeholders. I made the decision to invite all stakeholders in specialist and non-specialist DFSV agencies and services into the workshops. This was to harness more practice-based knowledge and promote buy-in to the framework of principles and indicators produced in the workshops. This decision greatly strengthened the research design, as I was able to draw upon the knowledge of a much broader group of stakeholders working in the DFSV sector in the Northern Territory to produce the ten principles of good practice.

The ten principles that were produced, alongside their indicators, offer a contextually-specific framework to prevent violence against women. The strength of these principles is in their complementary nature. This framework of principles and indicators may also contribute to the body of understanding about what works in other international contexts, particularly among Indigenous communities in other countries. For example, the lessons about accessibility in the context of remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern

Territory may have relevance to Indigenous communities in Canada and United States. Moreover, the community-driven approaches and importance of cultural safety may have application for kinship and community-based practices and cultural strengthening or revitalisation work in Indigenous communities in other regions of the world.

Whilst individual principles may have application and relevance elsewhere, these ten principles of good practice intersect and are intended to be used together. Nine of the ten principles were those that were identified in the program case studies, rather than those that came from elsewhere. Perhaps it is not surprising that stakeholders in the Northern Territory selected principles that derived from Territory programs. These ten principles, with their individual indicators, are the final research product: a framework to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory. The framework offers a shared understanding and guide to program design, practice, and delivery.

The 'Hopeful, Together, Strong: Principles of good practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory' framework draws upon the knowledge, expertise, and participation of the 297 people who fed into the findings in this thesis, either by contributing their ideas about what it takes to prevent VAW in interviews or focus groups, by allowing me to observe their work, or through the workshop process itself. The framework was developed in a collaborative workshop process designed to harness grassroots knowledge and promote engagement and buy-in. Stakeholders in the Northern Territory know that to prevent VAW, programs must be: holistic; community driven; culturally safe; sustainable; educational; promote accountability for men who use violence; framework and theory informed; invested in multi-agency coordination; strengths-based; and accessible. It is also necessary that interventions be evaluated. The guiding and central tenet of this framework is that all interventions must centre the safety of women and children, whilst addressing and changing violent behaviour. Of the final ten principles, NO MORE meets one – the principle of 'accessible'. Whereas, with the exception of the 'Sustainable' principle, TFVPP meets all of these principles, which reinforces that this program is a best practice model for the Northern Territory.

A contextually-specific framework for the Northern Territory was necessary and important for several reasons: the scale and severity of the violence; the additional barriers and challenges confronting people experiencing violence and also service providers in delivering

a service; and externally imposed frameworks and programs were often inappropriate, had limited application, or needed considerable adaptation.

Contextually-specific guiding principles and frameworks are important to prevent VAW. The best way to develop context-specific tools is through a collaborative process which engages stakeholders and promotes buy-in – the weight of the participation encourages funding bodies to come on board. The indicators offer an additional step because they offer a practical guide – the principles are abstract and reflect broader values and approaches, whilst the indicators cement and ground them in practice and in the everyday. Instead of being able to say ‘we are preventing violence’ or ‘we are sending the message that violence isn’t okay’ – funding bodies and stakeholders are able to ask ‘do you have a training package?’ ‘do your definitions acknowledge the gendered nature of DFSV?’ ‘how do you engage with men who use violence?’.

The final stage of this process is dissemination and advocacy. Through the process of this research, I have met with and shared my findings with both Territory and Federal government officials. Their reaction has been positive. I have been meeting with members of three tiers of government to advocate for this framework. I have disseminated the ‘Hopeful, Together, Strong’ report via email, via news bulletins, via news reports, and distributed printed copies in meetings, to government ministers and employees, program staff, organisations, and NGOs. Several primary projects have since been developed using the principles, and they have secured funding as part of the Northern Territory Government’s ‘Safe, Respected, and Free from Violence’ Prevention Grants. In meetings with Indigenous and Women’s Affairs advisors at Prime Minister and Cabinet, they have requested to share the framework with the advisory panel for the 5th National Action Plan to End Violence against Women and their Children and possibly use it as a model to guide the development of other localised frameworks. These discussions are ongoing, but I have reiterated that to address and to prevent violence the safety of women and children must be centred and prioritised; service providers must be supported; and programs must be funded in accordance with the principles frontline staff say should guide violence prevention in the Northern Territory.

In addition to the principles of good practice, this research has also made some other key learnings: currently there are few services for men who use violence – these men need

interventions which challenge their use of violence, make them accountable for this violence, and support them to make better choices in stressful situations. As one stakeholder participant said, it is not a question of whether men who use violence deserve support, they *need* support.

Another pertinent lesson presented in this thesis is that our current judicial responses to VAW are ineffective: DVOs and jail are not deterrents, nor are they interventions. Programs which help women be safe when they choose to remain in a relationship are needed, and alternative justice could be used more when the victim chooses. Every case is different, and many women will want the criminal justice system to be involved. On the whole, there needs to be greater agency and choice for victims, as women are the most effective in assessing the risk they are facing and knowing what they need to remain safe.

A third important lesson presented in this thesis is the importance of frameworks and theory to underpin and drive interventions designed to prevent violence against women. At the beginning of this research, such a lesson and principle was not at all in my consciousness, until I observed what happens when programs operate in the absence of appropriate frameworks and theory. Without a solid evidence-base and theoretical understanding, programs and program staff are vulnerable to the same prejudices and misconceptions that exist in the rest of society, and they are in a powerful position to inadvertently reinforce these attitudes among their program beneficiaries. At the very least this means the program will be ineffective, and at the worst, renders the program dangerous and places women and children at risk. Programs must train their staff and design their intervention on the basis of relevant frameworks and theory, and this should be demonstrable in all program documentation and practice – this is necessary to avoid collusion and/or coercion.

Finally, data collection among government and non-government agencies must be improved. The most notable example of this is the recording of ‘alcohol related domestic violence incidents’ which are subjective and at the discretion of individual officers, with no clear guidelines about how this is gauged. This also occurs at hospitals in the Northern Territory and has led to the Northern Territory government recording a fall in alcohol-related assaults and reporting that this is due to the success of alcohol restrictions because there has been a decrease in hospital presentations of assaulted intoxicated persons. This

fails to account for attribution; that this cannot measure whether violence has ceased; and finally, that whether a victim is intoxicated is irrelevant – again, the focus should be on the person who chose to use violence, whether their victim had been drinking or not has nothing to do with the perpetrator’s choice to use violence. This is similar to the attitude that a woman’s clothing can somehow invite sexual assault – whether a woman has been drinking is similarly irrelevant. The reports of women who have been assaulted being breathalysed at hospitals in the Northern Territory is shaming, adds stigma, reinforces negative stereotypes, and reinforces the attitude that women are somehow to blame for the violence they experience. These key learnings arose in the research, and informed and highlighted several gaps in the literature and avenues for further research.

The evaluations of MBC programs have yielded mixed results, and this is largely because these evaluations focus on recidivism as a measure and only gauge one outcome as success: individual behaviour change. In-depth longitudinal studies on successful behaviour change are needed to examine the factors that assist men to change their behaviour and maintain that change. Evaluations which explore the full scope of purpose for MBC programs are also needed: ongoing engagement; risk assessment; joint case management; and a coordinated multi-agency intervention. If recidivism is to be a metric, it must be contextualised and unpacked to acknowledge the limitations of this measure: that it only records a return to jail in the same jurisdiction within two years of release; and that recidivism cannot measure behaviour change and whether the use of violence has stopped or not. Moreover, further research is needed on primary prevention strategies, which requires long-term data collection, monitoring and evaluation. For that to be a reality, evaluations must be funded as part of funding agreements. On the whole, more research is needed about what works to prevent violence in different contexts to provide a solid evidence base for practitioners moving forward – it was this gap in the literature that this thesis aimed to fill, but this is written in acknowledgement that still more work is needed, particularly in place-based initiatives.

I want to finish with this message: the problem of VAW in the Northern Territory is urgent and severe, but there is some good work already underway – I remain hopeful, but government and funding bodies must move to take greater action against VAW. Government needs to take decisive action against VAW by committing to investing in

programs designed to prevent VAW. To prevent and address VAW requires societal and community attitudinal change to address the drivers of violence. Change must start with deep listening, then employ a reframed approach to challenge violent behaviour within a holistic response which prioritises the safety of women and children.

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Appendix A: Safety Mapping Report

Where are the safe places?

Safety mapping with Town Campers in Alice Springs.



What does 'safety' mean to you? Artwork by Louise Abbott

A report prepared by Chay Brown, PhD Scholar, CAEPR, ANU, for the Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program, Tangentyere Council Aboriginal Corporation, Alice Springs.

Acknowledgments

I would like to pay my respects to the traditional custodians and their Elders past, present, and emerging, on whose lands we conducted this safety mapping. I'd also like to acknowledge and pay my respects to all the Town Campers who participated in the safety mapping – thank you for your time, and for sharing your expertise in this research. I'd also like to thank all the community centre coordinators and youth workers who helped to organise the safety mapping sessions, and thank the Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program, particularly the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group, for their input and guidance. I'd also like to thank the Tangentyere Council Research Hub for providing the maps and their feedback and assistance throughout the safety mapping. It is my hope this report can be useful to Town Campers and those who work alongside them.

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Abbreviations

Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group	TWFSG
Central Australian Alcohol Program Unit	CAAPU
Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program	TFVPP
Alice Springs Town Council	ASTC
Tangentyere Council Aboriginal Corporation	TCAC

Purpose

The safety mapping was conducted on seven Town Camps and with one representative group (the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group) as part of the 'Good Practice in Indigenous-led interventions to prevent violence against women' research project. Eight safety mapping sessions took place between the 4th of April 2019 and the 12th of April 2019.

The purpose of the safety mapping was threefold: first to ascertain whether domestic and family violence was identified as a safety concern by Town Camp women; secondly to gauge the reach and

impact of the Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program⁷⁰; and thirdly to take a strengths-based approach to identify safe places on Town Camps and within the wider context of Alice Springs, and gather Town Camp women's views on what made these places safe. It is the hope of this exercise that if the 'ingredients' of safety can be identified, then they can be replicated to increase Town Campers feelings of safety on their Town Camps and within the wider community. The safety mapping exercise also aimed to identify safe people and safe relationships that could be drawn upon if Town Campers ever felt unsafe. This report collates the views of the participants to present the main safety issues according to participating Town Campers, and what needs to be done to improve safety in Town Camps and within Alice Springs.

The purpose of this report is to relay the views of the participants about the safety issues on their Town Camps and what is needed to improve Town Camp safety to stakeholders, including participants, community centre staff, and Tangentyere Council Aboriginal Corporation (TCAC).

Method

Safety mapping is a method that asks participants in focus groups to use maps to identify the safe places in their communities. This method was designed in response to a method which attempted to map crime 'hot spots' in Alice Springs by measuring how many times emergency buttons were hit in certain locations. Safety mapping flips this concept to a strengths-based approach by asking participants to identify the safe places in their communities and gather their views about what they consider 'safe' and why.

This safety mapping exercise with Town Camp women made use of the Alice Springs Transformation Plan maps of Town Camps, which were provided by Tangentyere Council Research Hub. The safety mapping took place in groups of varying sizes, the smallest had three participants, whilst the largest had over sixteen. Seven sessions took place on Town Camps at the community centre or learning centre, and one session took place at Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program's offices. The sessions typically lasted between 30 minutes and one hour.

The safety mapping was semi-structured: four questions were pre-planned, but the method also allowed the researcher the flexibility to ask follow-up or additional questions. The planned questions were made up of the following questions:

1. Can you tell me about your community?
2. What does 'safety' mean to you?
3. Using the map, can you circle the safe places? What makes these places safe?

⁷⁰ The findings for this objective will be reported as part of the TFVPP final report.

4. If we are ever unsafe, where would you go or who would you talk to?

These questions were designed to elicit Town Camp women's perceptions of their Town Camp; to understand their ideas of safety and what is most important; to identify the areas of safety on their Town Camp and why these places are considered safe; and finally to identify supportive services or relationships that Town Campers feel they can draw upon for safety. The questions were posed to the group, then a discussion between the participants would follow. The researcher would sometimes ask follow-up questions in response to the participants' answers, and at times, the participants would also ask the researcher questions – usually about what other Town Camps had reported in their safety mapping session.

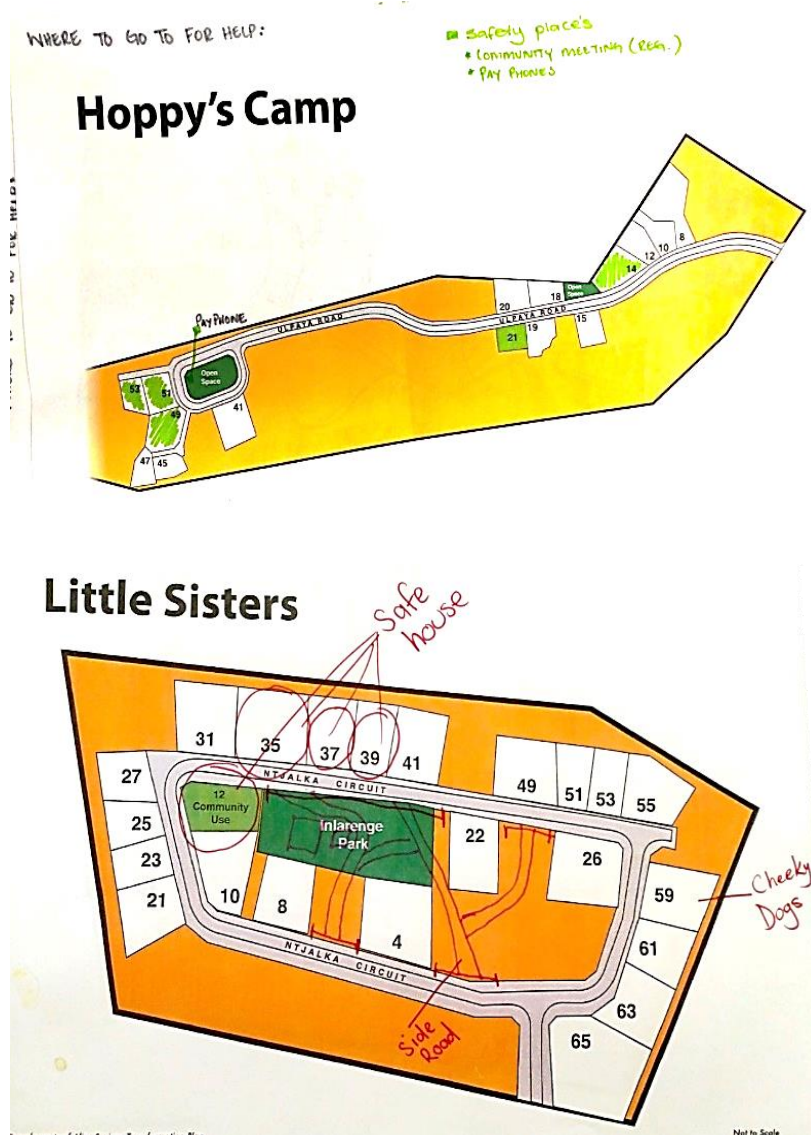
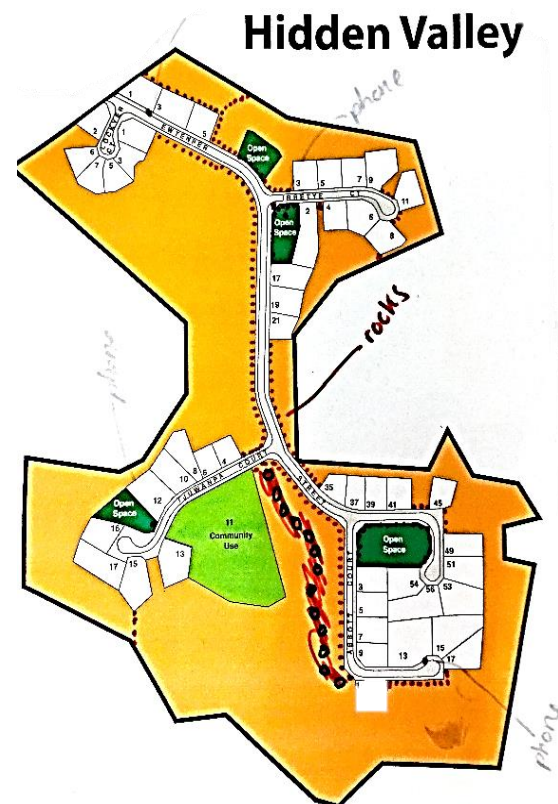


Figure 70 Examples of Individuals' Maps from safety mapping with Town Campers



Each individual was given a map of the Town Camp on which they were asked to circle the safe places – some participants did this, whilst others preferred to point and discuss. As can be seen in **Figure 1**, some participants added the safety features they would like to see implemented; some drew additional houses or side-roads; and many chose to label their maps. All participants used the maps as a focus for discussion and to illustrate their points to the researcher. Many participants commented that they had never seen a map of their Town Camp before, and many participants requested to keep their map after the session had ended, signalling a high level of engagement. Many participants also commented that they had found the session useful and that *“it was good to talk about safety”* [SM37] and *“you can come again [to do the safety mapping]”* [SM5].

The participants’ answers were recorded in handwritten note form, and photographs were taken of their maps. At the end of the session, the researcher would read back over her notes and ask participants if the notes accurately reflected their views – this would often lead to further details and discussion. The researcher would then summarise what she thought were the main safety issues to arise in the safety mapping and ask participants if they agreed – this would also usually lead to further discussion. After the safety mapping, the written notes were then typed into transcripts and emailed through to the community centre coordinator who was asked to check over the transcript and if possible, share with participants for review.

All the transcripts were then compiled into files using NVivo software. The researcher used NVivo to code words, phrases, sentences, and whole files according to what they were about – these are called ‘codes’. For example, a participant mentioned a visitor ripping the phone away from her when she tried to call the police, this was coded under the codes ‘phones’, ‘police’, ‘visitors’, and ‘violence’. As coding continued, if codes related to each other they were grouped together in parent-child relationships, for the example the child code ‘fighting’ was grouped with the parent code ‘violence’. In this way, overarching themes began to emerge, and the researcher was able to see the dominant codes by the amount of codes assigned to them. This allowed the researcher to distinguish the main safety issues of concern to participating Town Campers and the most commonly identified safe places.

The draft of this safety mapping report was also provided to TFVPP, Tangentyere Research Hub, and community centre coordinators so they could provide feedback before it was finalised.

Working in a good way

The method of safety mapping also required the researcher to work in a good way with Aboriginal people. 'A good way' meant following a consultation and engagement process prior to commencing the safety mapping, and also ensuring the method was appropriate for participants and that it allowed for a range of different voices to be heard.

The researcher firstly contacted the community centre coordinators via email to introduce herself but also to get feedback on the safety mapping method. Initially the researcher proposed using either maps or artwork with participants, the coordinators fed back that maps would be better. The community centre coordinator would then typically consult with community members about whether they were interested in participating, on some occasions the community centre coordinator directed the researcher to speak directly to particular community members. If it was agreed, the researcher then made a time with the community centre coordinator to attend the community centre to lead a session with Town Camp women, although men could also participate if they chose and if the women felt comfortable to include them. The community centre coordinator recruited participants by inviting local community members to the session.

On the day of the safety mapping, the researcher would bring lunch, which would be prepared and eaten prior, during, or after the safety mapping. The session would begin by the researcher firstly introducing herself and where she came from to establish positionality, everyone in the group would then introduce themselves. The researcher would then explain the safety mapping method, the purpose of the research, and how the data would be used. The researcher also asked to take notes throughout the session which would be typed up and sent back through to the community centre coordinator for checking. If the participants consented, the researcher would then ask if it was okay to begin. At the end of the session, the researcher would read out her notes to check their accuracy and would summarise the main issues raised in the session. This provided the participants with two opportunities to correct the researcher and to provide further details if they choose – it also reaffirmed consent and offered a level of transparency about what was recorded and how. The typed transcripts were also emailed through to the community centre for review.

The location of the safety mapping was also important, some sessions were held outside with all participants including the researcher sitting in a circle on the ground, whilst other sessions were held inside the community centre around art tables as participants painted. Some participants did not stay for the duration of the safety mapping, but came in or out of the session freely, participating as much or as little as they pleased. Other people chose to simply sit and listen rather than verbally participate in the session.

Going through this process ensured informed consent. The method was culturally safe and culturally appropriate as it ensured that not too many questions were asked, instead emphasising listening, and allowed people to participate in different ways as much as possible. For example, some participants had limited English, they would participate by communicating in language and another participant would translate for them, or they would participate by drawing on the map and pointing or making gestures. The process also ensured participants felt comfortable - the environment was familiar, relaxed, and informal.

Participants

The total number of participants in the safety mapping was fifty-nine. As shown in **Figure 2**, the participants were made up of forty-four Indigenous women, ten non-Indigenous women, and five Indigenous men. The ten non-Indigenous women include the community centre coordinators, youth workers, Tangentyere researchers, and program coordinators who were present at the safety mapping sessions and participated in them or contributed their comments as part of feedback on the draft report. All quotations indicate the kind of participant: SM (Town Camper, safety mapping participant); IS (internal stakeholder: community centre staff or youth worker); TWFSG (Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group member); SP (staff participant: program staff).

Although the safety mapping was designed to harness the views of Town Camp women, men were also welcome to participate and several attended the safety mapping sessions to give their views about Town Cam *Figure 71 Participants disaggregated by sex and Indigeneity* te verbally in the session - this explains the disparity between the male and female participants. There were also many more people present at safety mapping sessions than is reflected in the participant numbers. Many of these people did not participate in the session verbally and although the researcher tried to include as many views as possible through the use of individual maps and other participants acting as translators, only those participants who contributed to the session in a recordable way have been included in these figures.

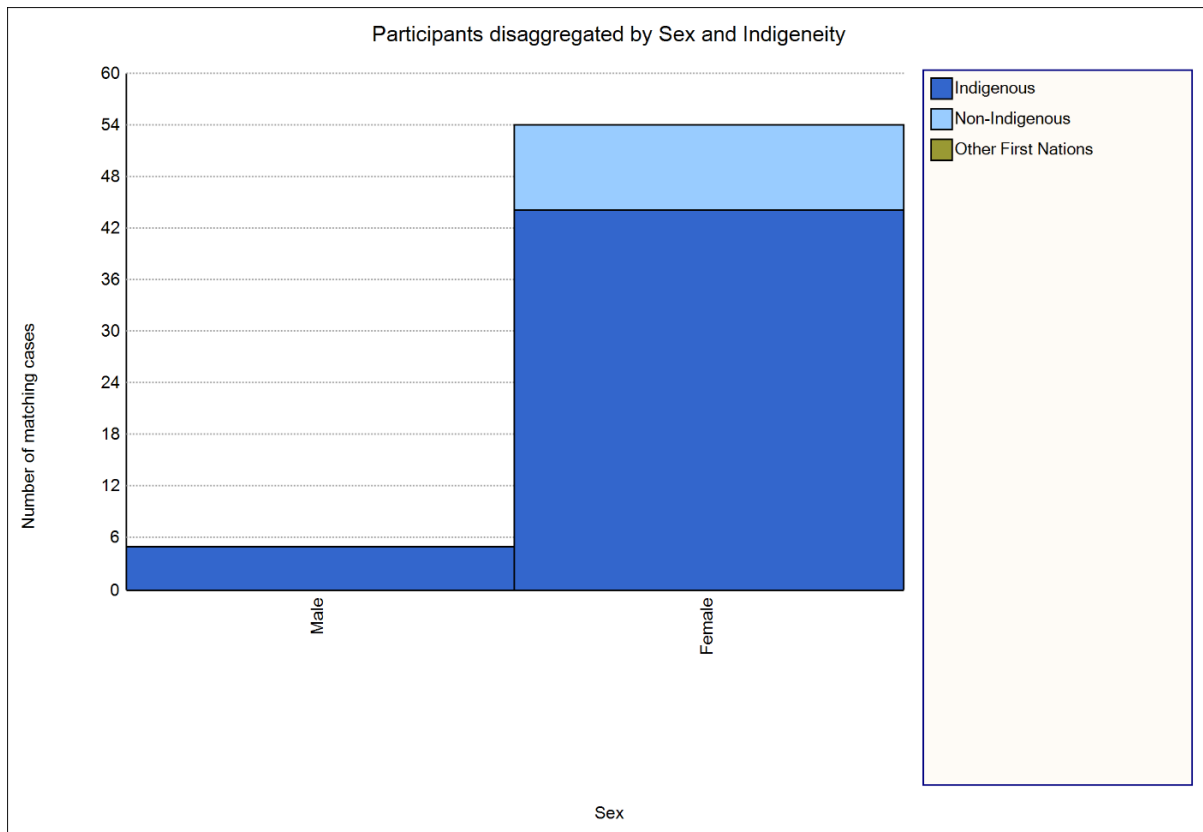
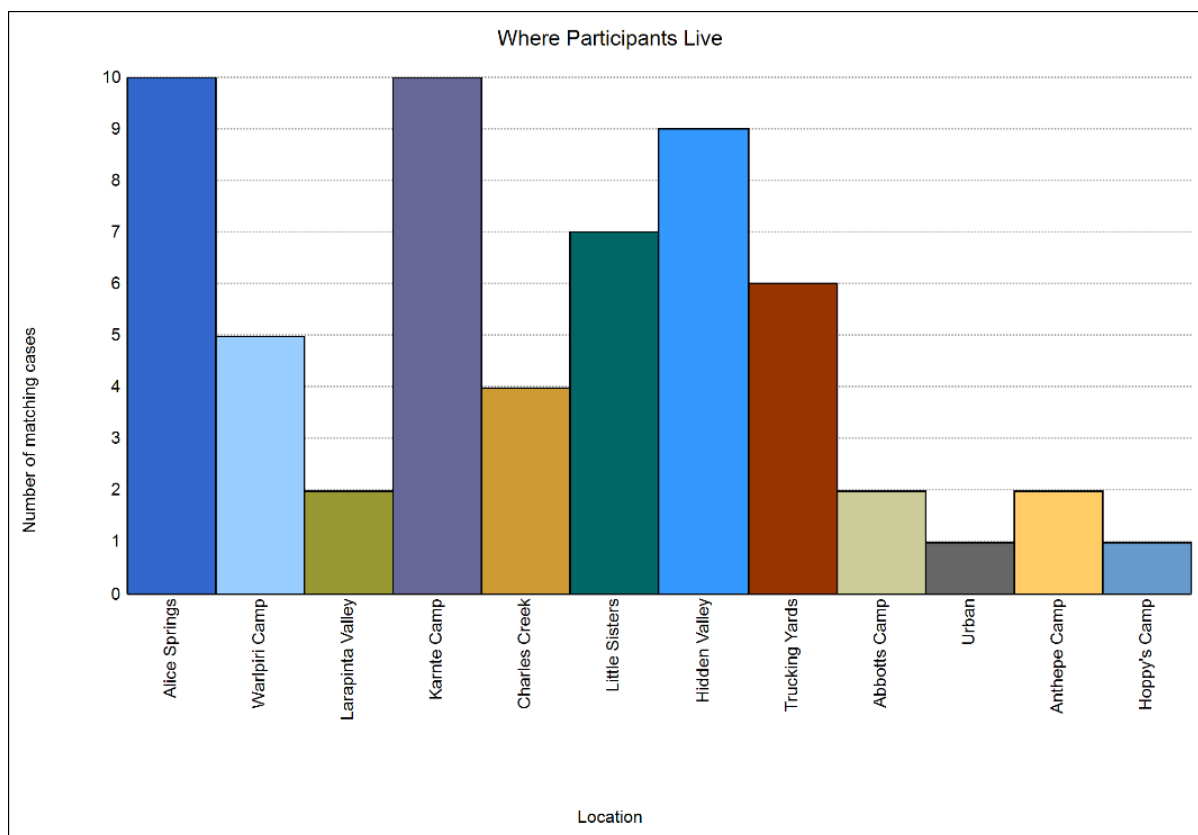


Figure 3 shows the breakdown of where participants reside. Seven of the eight safety mapping sessions were conducted on Town Camps. These Town Camps were Little Sisters, Warlpiri Camp, Charles Creek, Karnte, Trucking Yards, Hidden Valley, and Larapinta Valley. The size of the participant group in each session depended largely on what was happening at the community centre that day, although the community centre coordinators tried to mobilise participants beforehand. As such the safety mapping session at Karnte Camp was very well attended with ten participants, as was the session at Hidden Valley, whilst some of the other sessions were much smaller with only three participants.

One of the sessions was conducted with a representative group, the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group (TWFSG), whose members come from ten different Town Camps in Alice Springs. Some TWFSG members now live in urban housing but previously lived for many years on Town Camps. Seven members of the TWFSG participated in the safety mapping. The participants recorded as residing in Alice Springs in general is comprised of the community centre coordinators, program coordinators, and youth workers. **Figure 3** shows that 11 of the 16 Town Camps in Alice Springs were represented in the safety mapping.

Figure 72 Breakdown of where participants reside



Limitations

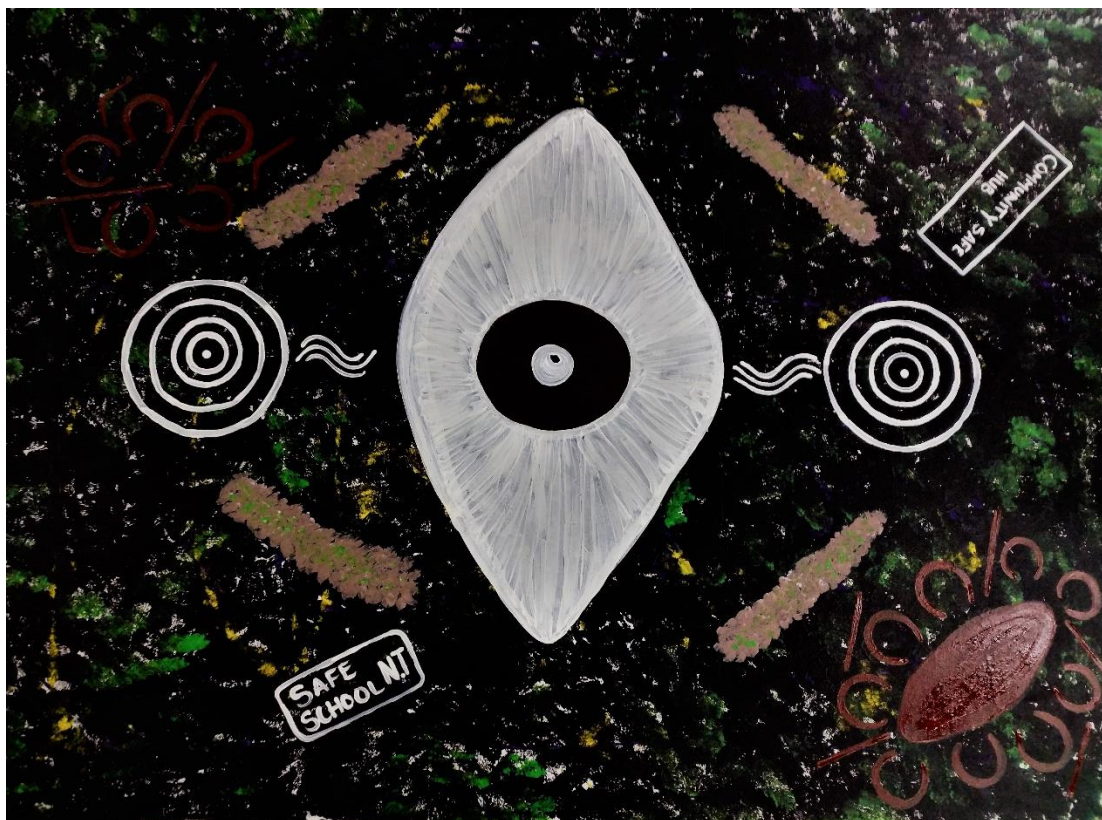
Although steps were taken to minimise them, there are several limitations to the safety mapping. Firstly, although the community centres were useful for recruiting Town Camp women, this preferred Town Campers who were already making use of the community centers, who were largely older women, artists, and those working in the community centre. This may mean the views of Town Campers not engaged with the community centre have been excluded.

Moreover, it's the nature of focus groups that some participants will speak more than others and tend to dominate the discussion. The researcher was aware of this and tried to mitigate this as much as possible by speaking with quiet members of the group and asking more reserved individuals about the places they had circled on their maps. Nevertheless, some participants were able to participate more, and these were usually the people who were more confident using English and more confident engaging with the researcher, usually older women.

Another possible limitation is that not all 16 Town Camps are represented in the safety mapping and this is because the participating Town Camps were selected based on whether they had a community

centre as a venue and point of mobilisation for the safety mapping. Also, Town Camps which had *not* received domestic and family violence training from TWFSG were selected as way to gauge the impact of that program and also to compare Town Campers knowledge and understanding of domestic and family violence before and after the training.

Another limitation is that although 49 Town Campers is a good sample size for Alice Springs Town Camps, this is still a small amount of participants given the population of Town Camps is around 2000, and can fluctuate and increase due to the significant mobility of people between remote communities and Town Camps (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik, & Williams, 2005). This may mean that the diversity of opinion, perspective, and experience of Town Campers and their ideas about safety have not fully been captured in this exercise. However, despite these limitations, there are still some interesting findings from the safety mapping, which include place-based responses and solutions for safety issues on Town Camps.



1 'Safe Places' Artwork by Shirleen Campbell

Discussion

What follows is a discussion of the key findings of the safety mapping exercise in terms of how Town Campers view safety; what they perceive as the primary safety issues; where they consider safe; and what is needed to increase safety on their Town Camps.

1. What safety means to Town Campers

Town Campers were asked what safety meant to them as part of the safety mapping exercise. This question was designed to elicit Town Campers understanding of safety and to ensure the researcher was not imposing her own ideas and values on Town Campers. Participants' responses to this question revealed that safety is important to Town Campers, particularly for children, but that they also considered it lacking in their Town Camps.

Town Campers gave their own definitions of safety in response to this question:

"Do everything without being interrupted by some kind of unwanted activity or conflict. Or violence."

[SM41]

"Secure. Everything secure. Good feeling." [SM7]

"How you're feeling when you're not feeling terrified or scared. Some people you can see they're scared in their body." [SM37]

"Family and kids." [TWFSG9]

"Safe home." [TWFSG1]

"Good feeling because we're around family." [SM23]

These definitions show how important family is to Town Campers' ideas of safety, and that safety was often defined as the absence of fear and conflict. 'Safety' was also often expressed as a collective idea rather than an individual one. It was clear that Town Campers regarded safety for the whole camp and the whole community to be of importance.

It was also revealed however, that Town Campers considered safety to be lacking in their community, and that they were particularly concerned for the safety of children. This was made apparent in the Town Campers responses to the first question "can you tell me about your community?" Their responses showed that they were proud of their Town Camps but that safety was a concern, and Town Campers often reflected that they had raised their concerns about safety in multiple forums many times before.

"Can you tell me about your community?" [Researcher]

"Safe during the day." [SM12]

"Not at night." [SM13]

"Night-time sometimes safe." [SM12]

"Sometimes. There is fights night and day, every other week." [SM13]

"Sometimes it's quite nice." [SM12]

"Can you tell me about your community?" [Researcher]

"Good because family here and amongst family. Don't know how safe you are with visitors because you don't know how they'll act or retaliate. There is no visitor control." [SM41]

"Can you tell me about your community?" [Researcher]

"Quiet." [SM5]

"Some days." [SM2]

"Sometimes drunks drive around, most days it's good. Nothing." [SM5]

"This area's good, too much noise on other end." [SM2]

"Noisy [drawing on map indicating noisy half of camp]" [SM5]

"Can you tell me about your community?" [Researcher]

"Pretty safe." [SM38]

"Good, safe. Mostly family, it's a family camp. People not coming in. Do have visitors in some houses. Visitors create problems. People who come in and speed, don't think about kids and residents who live here. Kids walk around at night because they feel safe, but on weekends people speed and they're not aware." [SM37]

"We've been talking about these things for a long time, and nothing" [SM33]

It's evident that Town Campers feel safe on their Town Camps much of the time, but there continues to be ongoing safety issues that concern them, especially for children. The responses to this question also highlight what Town Campers consider to be the main safety issues, which were fairly uniform across all participating Town Camps.

2. The main safety issues

Across all participating Town Camps, the following were raised as the main safety issues: visitors; violence; road safety; payphones; and parks. Some Town Campers also raised other issues of concern including cheeky dogs and the drinking of alcohol, but this report will focus on the five most commonly raised safety issues, which were shared across all participating Town Camps.

2.1 Visitors

One concern overwhelmingly listed by Town Campers was visitors and the lack of visitor control. This was regarded as a safety issue because Town Campers linked visitors to drinking, violence and trouble, as well as contributing to the overcrowding of houses. There was a strong belief that the local inhabitants of Town Camps were mostly quiet whilst visitors, who were coming mostly from remote

communities but also sometimes from other Town Camps or urban housing, would come to the Town Camps with a view to party and this in turn led to road safety issues and family fighting.

"Wasn't safe for me the other week. I got my pension, and people from other camps came in and there was a fight." [SM12]

"Visitors making trouble all the time, local people are quiet." [SM25]

"People come in, with money, and then drinking, and wherever, and they try to find space to camp around the Town Camp." [SM26]

"Mostly visitors cause problems." [SM32]

"When they come, get drunk and cause trouble." [SM34]

"Turns into a big issue at parties or anytime, and that front area is packed out with people looking for black market, looking for people selling grog. Recently my auntie, people came running through her front gate, and she got hit. Me and my other auntie went over there and stood around with her until the police came. She called the police. This happens a lot. It's sometimes peaceful." [SM11]

There was also a feeling that local bus services played a strong role in visitor influx because they would drop people from remote communities off at Town Camps. It was reported that policy change has provided the context in which funds have been redirected from Return to Country programs into the establishment of commercial bus services in Central Australia, which has resulted in significant visitor management concerns for Town Camps. Town Campers also felt the police and other services played a role in this as well by returning or dropping people off at Town Camps who didn't live there. Town Campers felt that non-residents should not be dropped off at Town Camps and if they are, that these services first speak with the house boss before leaving.

"[local bus service] has been an influence on visitor influx because they bring visitors in and out. We are about to send them a letter, not to drive through or bring clients here." [SM41]

"Live your life, and in your camp, it's good here but visitors come in and create problems, then we feel unsafe. People come in here, come into the camp, and have their fights. I call the police. Police come, and they don't speak to the house boss, they speak to the visitors, and the visitors say there's no problem, and the police go. They need to talk to the house boss." [SM37]

The link between visitors and overcrowding was clear. Visitors would often come from remote communities to town to shop and access services in town, but then they would not go home again for quite some time. This would mean that some people would have family members staying in their house for upwards of two weeks and longer. This would then place stress on the household as food and space was stretched thin, leading to conflict. Some participants reflected that the difference

between people living in a crowded house and those living in a non-crowded house was marked. They said that when there was no crowding, kids would go to school, everyone had enough to eat, and everyone was getting enough rest. Some Town Campers reported upwards of more than 15 people in a three-bedroom house. With this level of overcrowding it is clear how visitors staying for long periods of time can contribute to stress and conflict within the Town Camp. However, overcrowding and mobility are not uniquely Town Camp issues: this also affects urban and remote public housing.

"Yeah visitors, it gets packed out. Then there's arguments, disagreements between families." [SM11]

"Some come here for shopping, and get stuck from drinking, and then houses are overcrowded, then there's fighting." [SM9]

"[Address] is a crowded house. Everywhere is. Especially [address]. Young kids coming back there late at night." [SM27]

"I just wanted to bring up the crowded house, because when visitors go home, everyone is relaxed, everyone has food. But when it's crowded, everyone is tired, there's violence, and there's not enough food. You can see the difference immediately, when it's not crowded, kids are sleeping, kids are going to school, there's enough food." [IS10]

Town Campers also suggested many solutions to what they saw as a visitor problem. Some Town Campers proposed a two-week maximum stay for visitors, and it was clear that visitor control in some form was desired. Some Town Campers suggested having electric gates at the Town Camps with swipe cards that were only distributed to the residents of that particular Town Camp. Many Town Campers suggested that the bus services drop people from remote communities elsewhere in town but not to Town Camps. Several Town Camp Housing Associations have already made formal requests to local bus services to deter visitors.

2.2 Violence

Violence was raised by Town Campers frequently and it was couched in very different terms. Town Campers responses showed they believed there was an undeniable link between visitors and violence, as well as drinking and violence. This seemed to be because Town Campers believe that when visitors came to town they would engage in drinking which would both prolong their stay as well as often trigger violence.

"Other people come looking for fights. They came back Monday, I told them off, young fellas." [SM12]

"Fights start when people are drinking." [SM11]

"Put something up and say you can't be here and do that, not all day and night. Visitors bring a lot of other people. There's so many people drinking and having fights." [SM37]

Town Campers also consistently talked about what they saw as a poor response from police or a long response time. However, what was interesting to note was that Town Campers are now actively seeking a service from police and demanding a service from police. On several occasions the researcher asked participants whether they felt okay to call the police and this was consistently met with a positive response, participants said that they were not only happy to call police but that they called police regularly. To improve the response from police, Town Campers suggested that communication not go through Darwin but there be a southern command call centre, and some participants talked about the introduction of emergency buttons to all Town Camps. The poor response from police was mostly in regard to what Town Campers saw as police not speaking to the right people, by either speaking to visitors or not checking with the house boss. They also felt that police failed to move on large groups of people or visitors standing around in Town Camps, and Town Campers believed that had those groups of people been standing in urban centers, that police would be responding to them differently.

“And we don’t have direct number to the police station. It goes through comms in Darwin. It takes a while for police to get here. They have to wait for their job number. If they’re not here in time, someone could get hurt during the waiting time.” [SM26]

“When there’s a fight out of the camp, they come running into the camp.” [SM11]

“In an emergency, you want to call the fire, ambulance, or police, and people rip the phone away, especially when you want to call the police.” [SM27]

“Go to a house, the owner doesn’t even know, the police will talk to someone who doesn’t even live there.” [SM38]

“Speak to the house boss. Control your visitors. People go out and next minute, someone gets stabbed or half murdered.” [SM37]

“No. It’s not safe there. I’ve seen women getting half killed [on oval], I have to call the police.” [TWFSG8]

“Police come. Visitors come. And they make noise. Arguments and fights. We call the police straight away.” [SM25]

There were also many veiled references to domestic and family violence. Although Town Campers did not use this terminology, they made repeated references to ‘family fighting’ and to ‘noisy’ houses where there were ‘arguments’. This shows that Town Campers do regard domestic and family violence to be a problem in Town Camps, as it is a problem everywhere, but also shows that it is often the same houses and same families experiencing violence – and this is in keeping with patterns of abuse across all demographics. In several safety mapping sessions Town Campers were able to identify houses

where there was consistent fighting and arguments. Town Campers also spoke about how people involved in the fights or the arguments would call upon other members of their community to intervene by calling the police. This shows how domestic and family violence comes to impact upon the lives of the Town Camp as a whole, as Town Campers witness domestic and family violence.

“You got to be smashed up before you can go to the women’s shelter. When you get banged up. But otherwise no.” [SM27]

“Noise. Argument. They fight [identifying house on the map].” [SM25]

In addition to domestic and family violence, there is also the violence that occurs between families, camps, and communities. Two Town Camps that took part in the safety mapping session raised the inter-camp conflict between them as being a primary safety issue that concerned them. This is because the nature of that violence was large scale and multi-site, often occurring in different parts of Alice Springs and involving numerous families. This type of violence means there are multiple victims and multiple perpetrators. This also feeds into the issue of reprisal violence which was also raised by Town Campers as a safety issue that concerned them. Town Campers were aware that one violent incident could lead to further instances of lateral violence and reprisal violence.

“Most of the problems between [Town Camp 1] and [Town Camp 2], we need to sort that out, between the families here... [Town Camp 1] and [Town Camp 2] fighting. Last night, it happened again, at [local venue].” [SM27]

“It’s about the bigger picture, they just think it’s just fighting, but if people get stabbed or someone gets murdered, people will come from out bush and family will be coming. What will people say then? We’ll be terrified for the rest of our lives.” [SM37]

“When kids fight, families fight. We need resolution there.” [SM41]

Once more Town Campers proposed solutions for this safety issue. The most commonly offered solutions to violence were around visitor control and engaging with young people. Town Campers also desired an improved response from police both in the amount of time it took them to respond, as well as how they dealt with the incident once they arrived. Town Campers also raised concerns about the lack of intervention on the part of bystanders, and perhaps the bystander approach and similar training for Town Campers could also offer a solution. One Town Camp, in particular, repeatedly reinforced their desire for domestic and family violence training on their Town Camp.

“No one stops the fights, they just stand there and watch them.” [SM38]

“Young ones grow up around violence, when you’re young it’s like glue in your head and you get stuck in it. Do the course, learn about safety, and how to get help.” [SM37]

2.3 Road safety

Road safety was another huge safety concern of Town Campers who repeatedly linked their concerns around road safety to the safety of children. They reflected that children often like to play at the parks, on roundabouts, and other open spaces. Children would also walk to each other's houses and move freely about the Town Camps. Participants often said that children felt safe in their Town Camp and that children loved their Town Camp, but they remained concerned for children's safety when they were on the road. Town Campers said people would drive into the camp either without knowing or caring that there were often children on the road. One Town Camp talked about the lack of footpaths and they felt that children would be safer if there were proper footpaths so they would not have to walk on the road.

"Cars speeding around, it's not safe for kids." [SM11]

"It's not good hey? Need a speed bump, not safe for kids to play at the playground. Youngsters not safe here." [SM10]

"Little ones walking on the road." [SM29]

"Too much cars going past. Kids run around the road. It's dangerous with cars." [SM14]

"Kids don't walk on footpaths, they walk on the road, they think the road is safe. Its automatic to walk on the road." [SM41]

The main road safety issues reported by Town Campers in the safety mapping were drink driving and speeding. Again, Town Campers often linked this issue to visitors because they felt the people driving these vehicles were often unaware of other people, particularly children, using these roads. Their main concern was that the cars were driving so fast through the Town Camps that they would hit and seriously injure someone. They also raised back ways and the creation of side roads which people used to come in and out of the Town Camp. These drivers would also use these areas for what participants called 'spinning' or 'doing donuts'. Town Campers often said they believed people came into Town Camps to speed because they wanted to show off their new cars. Many participants however linked the speeding and dangerous driving very clearly to drunks and drink driving.

"Night-time and afternoon, cars driving around and drunks." [SM4]

"I finish work about 5:30-6:00 o'clock, and people are already down there doing donuts." [IS7]

"Cars speeding, drunks on the weekend." [SM9]

"When it comes to the weekends, it's like cars speeding. Most little kids are on bikes, scooters. They use the roads on the weekends. Sometimes when it's quiet, sometimes on the weekends, drunks want to take over the road." [SM27]

"Instead of using the main roads [referring to back roads]." [SM31]

"Be able to walk down the road without fear of a speeding vehicle. People like to exercise but cars speeding. No footpath to walk on. Kids on the roads, there no access to a bike park." [SM41]

"You got cars spinning and spinning around, speeding." [SM5]

Once more Town Campers offered a myriad of solutions to this safety issue, and many of these can be seen illustrated on the maps in **Figure 1**. Many Town Campers expressed a desire for speed bumps as there were either no speed bumps in their Town Camp or the speed bumps were far too low - for example in one Town Camp the speed bumps are lower than their driveways. Town Campers also suggested the use of rocks or barriers to block off open spaces and to be placed along the sides of the roads to prevent the creation of back roads. Town Campers also requested speed signs and warning signs, as well as signs that alerted drivers to the presence of children on the roads. They also suggested constructing footpaths so that children no longer walked on the road. To accompany these safety measures, Town Campers also suggested improved street lighting.

"Rocks on the sides of the roads because people are driving on the sides of the road and spinning." [SM31]

"Children's not safe in the park, because there's a little fence. They should put more rocks around, more rocks around the side roads, and kids just wander around with bikes. My main worry for the kids is cars. Cars and kids." [SM5]

"Lots of cars. Need to put speed bump" [SM1]

"There are the little side roads. We need to get them rocks, and kids will get sore eyes because of the dust, cars spinning around." [SM5]

2.4 Phones

Phones were unanimously raised in all sessions and it was clear that Town Campers regarded pay phones in particular as being crucial to Town Camp safety. Only one participating Town Camp felt that their pay phone was in a safe place and reported that it was in working order. Aside from this one Town Camp, the other participating groups reported that their phones were damaged, inappropriately located, or were in unsafe places. Many Town Campers spoke about the deliberate destruction of these pay phones and the implication was that pay phones had been purposely damaged to prevent their use in calling the police. One participant reported having the phone snatched from their hand

when they tried to call the police. Some Town Campers commented that phones were often located far away and where large groups of people would gather, so this means that when Town Campers need to phone for help, they must travel from their homes to the pay phone which also potentially places them at risk. This of course places further obstacles in the way of Town Campers who wish to use the phone to report violence or for any other reason.

"Policemen. Want to ring them, they [other people] come and pull the phone. One phone. [The phones] work when they're new." [SM27]

"Visitors smash the phone." [SM32]

"Yeah, two [phones]. But not working properly. They're in good places, but they're broken. Can't use them to call police or ambulance... No [phones are not in safe places]. There's too many people around there." [SM13]

"We need a pay phone this side." [SM6]

Town Campers considered the location of the phone, as well as the number of phones, to be important to safety, and reiterated that the phone must be regularly serviced. It was evident that Town Campers considered phones and pay phones to be crucial to their safety because they are necessary to call for help. Town Campers reflected that many Town Camp residents do not have mobile phones, nor have access to a mobile phone, nor necessarily the ability to purchase credit for the phone, or even know how to use a mobile phone - this was particularly true for vulnerable groups such as elderly and sick people.

"[Pointing to houses on opposite of community centre] These are family houses, they have phone. Can ring up the police if there's fight going on. Some people, they don't know how to use a phone, or they don't have a phone." [SM3]

"There are some that don't [have a phone], there was a phone but they cut the wires, and there's no phone anymore. If the centre's [phone] is not open, then they don't have access to a phone. We're trying to get one outside of the community centre." [SM37]

Town Campers also spoke about knowing who to call for help. Some Town Campers said that they felt confident in accessing services, but they felt that a lot of other Town Campers, particularly young people, wouldn't know who to call or how to access safety services. Awareness of services and how to access them was raised by several participants who felt that education and training was a crucial component to increasing safety within Town Camps and within Alice Springs in general.

"I know how to access health and safety. It's a matter of making other people aware and understand where you can get health and safety. Pick up the phone and call services." [SM41]

Once again Town Campers proposed a range of different solutions to this safety issue. To prevent the phones from being damaged, Town Campers suggested having the phones protected by cages, or housed in a locked phone booth, the key to which was held by a trusted community member. Many Town Campers also suggested placing pay phones at the community centre which were universally considered to be safe places by participating Town Campers. Other suggestions included having designated safety people with safety mobile phones who could be accessed in time of danger and who could call services on behalf of Town Campers. Another suggestion was that there should be charging stations for mobile phones in open areas like parks, and also on light poles within Town Camps so that people could easily charge their mobile phones in order to get help. One participant also suggested the installation of emergency buttons which could allow Town Campers to call for help anonymously.

"There is phone but need a cage to close them." [SM29]

"Someone with a key to the phone." [SM27]

"Put it here [indicating on the map, pointing at the park], but only if there's a fence around it." [SM19]

"Patrol. Arming our women with mobile phones with access to the services – all the numbers are already stored inside. People can access the women's in their houses or hubs and they'll call that safety service for you." [SM41]

"Somewhere they can charge the phone." [TWFSG8]

"What would make it safe is safety or emergency buttons. Normal little poles if people don't have phone, or don't want to use a phone. It's unidentified means, the perpetrator doesn't know. All people can use them." [SP7]

2.5 Parks and Open Spaces

A final safety issue resoundingly named by participants was parks and open places. Town Campers felt that parks were extremely important for their Town Camp, particularly for young people, but that they needed to be made safer. Children are using the parks on Town Camps at all hours, but no participants felt they were safe. Most Town Campers felt parks were made unsafe by their proximity to busy roads, but also by the cars driving around the parks on the dirt side streets. They also felt that the lack of fences contributed to parks being unsafe, particularly for small children. Town Campers felt that it was extremely important that children be able to make use of parks at all times of the day, and that through the introduction of a few key safety features, parks could be turned into safer places. Internal stakeholders report that, although the Alice Springs Town Council (ASTC) subdivision guidelines state that residents should be able to access a park within 15 minutes walking distance, no Town Camp currently meets this guideline.

"It's too far for the kids to come to this park [indicating park near community centre]." [SM31]

"That's [the park] not safe. Dangerous. Cars." [SM13]

"Children's not safe in the park, because there's a little fence. They should put more rocks around, more rocks around the side roads, and kids just wander around with bikes." [SM5]

Town Campers also spoke about the open spaces on their Town Camps. These spaces were considered to be extremely unsafe by participants, mostly at night but also during the day for different reasons. During the day the open spaces are where people would often do 'spinning' or drive dangerously in their cars. At night, open spaces are where large groups of people could gather to drink and to party. Visitors would also camp in the open spaces in and around Town Camps. Some Town Campers talked about the violence that would sometimes occur in these open spaces, which added extra impetus to making use of these open spaces in a better way. Internal stakeholders report that TCAC continues to hold responsibility for parks and playgrounds on Town Camps, however, they were unsuccessful in their funding submissions to upgrade parks to meet the ASTC subdivision guidelines, which include provision of crime prevention through environmental design. They report that current funding streams are insufficient to deliver this infrastructure.

"They use [the oval] as a recreation park, as a fighting ground." [TWFSG8]

"[Kids] don't use the main roads because there's drunks. So they use the dirt roads, they need the light." [SM31]

"Should have a park in the open area, because lots of little ones coming there, they like playing at that roundabout, and they use the roads [points at toddler walking in]." [SM27]

Once more, Town Campers had the solutions to what they perceived to be the safety issues around parks and open spaces on their Town Camps. To improve the safety of parks, Town Campers suggested the introduction of fences, and emergency buttons so that young people could call for help if they were ever unsafe. To improve the safety of open areas, Town Campers suggested turning these spaces into parks. They also suggested improving the lighting in open areas, particularly along those areas that are now being used as back ways or dirt side streets. These informal side streets are now being used by young people and other members of the community to travel between different areas of the Town Camp, so participants felt that improved lighting along these routes would increase safety. It was obvious that Town Campers valued parks and that these parks are being made use of frequently. Town Campers often felt there could be more parks by converting some of the open spaces into more family friendly environments, but that the design of these parks needed to include safety features. Town Campers also identified where they believed would be the best location for the parks on their Town Camps.

felt the only safe place was their own home. However, common amongst their answers was that it was generally the people at a place that made it safe. Many Town Campers felt that their Town Camp was safe or that areas of their Town Camp were safe because that was where their family resided. The need to be surrounded by family in order to feel safe was one of the most prominent themes in Town Campers' responses.

"People [make places safe]. People we're comfortable around. Lock the door if you're alone, but still feel panicking, 'cause people can force their way through, especially if there's a group." [SM37]

"Cause we got a lot of family surrounding, that'll make us safe." [SM23]

"Numbers. In the numbers, makes kids safe. It's always 5, 6, or 7 of them. Safety in numbers. Same with adults, even drinking mob, you'll see them moving around in groups, that's their safety as well." [SP7]

"Groups of men and women, 'cause bad things happen to them. Not just Aboriginal people, outsiders. Afraid of the dark." [TWFSG8]

The commonly identified safe places amongst all eight participating groups were the community centres, family homes, the women's shelter, and the hospital. The community centres were overwhelmingly considered safe, however this may be because the safety mapping exercise was conducted at the community centre and so may have been more targeted towards Town Campers who were already using the community centre and this familiarity is possibly what made it safe. Although, the safety mapping session with TWFSG also identified community centres as safe places. This seemed to be because this is where people would gather for meetings or to create art, the workers were considered safe, and moreover, the community centre is where participants could access a phone, as well as food and activities for the children in a safe environment. It was noted that the community centres were safe during the day but that people couldn't use them outside of working hours. However, community centres were still considered to be safe places at night because this was often the suggested location for payphones.

"You can be safe here [in the community centre] from danger." [SM1]

"Community centre. To make it so when you have a President in the camp, the President's house is a safe place... Safer here but people don't use this place [community centre] after hours." [SM41]

"A lot of these people wouldn't go into town, they go to family, nanna's, aunties', uncles' houses. If it gets out of hand then you can go to another organization, it depends on literacy. I go to the cousins', or to family, or to community centre." [SM37]

The other commonly identified safe place was individual houses, as Town Campers often circled their own homes or the homes of family members within the Town Camp. Some participants also identified

family members' homes who lived in urban housing or other parts of Alice Springs. Once again, it seemed to be the people that made these places safe, and participants often talked about being able to go to family members' houses if they needed to call for help. There were also some safety features identified by Town Campers that made their homes and family members' homes feel safe. These were: locks, fences, lockable doors and windows, and enclosed yards. Some Town Campers even suggested the installation of crim safe screens in the houses.

"Them houses got fence there." [SM6]

"No [I don't feel safe]. In my house. Yeah in my house, that's the only place." [SM11]

"Got my own house safety...Your [own] house. Gate and windows... Safe because I don't drink grog. I live by myself." [SM13]

"My house." [SM17]

"Go to a family member's place." [SM11]

"Family in town, lock your place up and just go." [SM2]

"Everywhere around here. We got family here. We can go to them, and the community centre. Other camps, because they're all mixed, might be unsafe. But for us we can run to any house and feel safe with them if something's happening. Main place is the centre and your home. No one home? Then you can go to family." [SM37]

Another issue that was routinely raised was that Town Campers and their young people needed to be aware of where the safe places were. Many participants talked about advertising and the need for there to be identified safe places where people knew that they could access help. Several participants mentioned the 'safety houses' and they talked about the little yellow sign that was used to identify these houses. Many saw this advertising not just alerting people to safe areas, but as part of constructing the safety, as they felt it contributed to making that place safe. This may be because they believed people would be less likely to engage in harmful behaviours in designated safe areas.

"Advertise safe areas – street signs. Ensure families know the safe places and people who can assist with calling the police or ambulance at any time, whether in the early morning or the middle of the night. Have safety Awareness programs or workshops." [SM41]

"Advertised. On the radio and television." [TWFSG8]

"Some people have them, those little signs that say 'This is a Safe House'." [SM5]

Outside of Town Camps, participants identified many safe locations, and these included the women's shelter, the hospital, and Gap Youth Centre and Brown Street for young people. Participants also

mentioned many services which they considered approachable and safe and these are discussed below. Common to these identified safe places within Alice Springs was the presence of security and/or patrols. Also common to them was the presence of approachable and culturally safe staff - these were workers and places that Town Campers trusted and felt safe accessing.

"Hospital is safe. All them security." [SM6]

"Where there is workers." [TWFSG9]

3.1 Safe people and services

As previously mentioned, Town Campers were asked if they were ever unsafe where would they go or who would they call. By far the most common response to this question was the police. Town Campers said they would call the police for help or when there had been a disturbance or fighting. The researcher followed these comments up by asking Town Campers if they were happy to call the police or if they felt okay calling the police, to which participants responded with 'yes'. It has been previously reported that there was often a reluctance by Town Campers to report and engage with police prior to and since the implementation of the Northern Territory Emergency Response (Brown, 2014). This represents a significant attitude change in that Town Campers are now expecting and demanding a service from police, and they often demand this service in the face of conflict and disagreement. However, many Town Campers were not happy with the response by police, they felt that police took too long to respond to their phone calls and that often police did a drive through of Town Camps without stopping to move along groups of people. Many participants also felt there could be better relationships between police and Town Campers, and that this would help police to identify visitors from local residents and encourage them to move groups of visitors along. However, Town Campers are making use of police service, and participants feel the police station is a safe place and that police officers are usually safe people. The Fire and Ambulance services were also routinely mentioned as safe services who could be called upon for help.

"Call the police. If there's something happening. Fighting or whatever." [SM9]

"The police." [SM31]

"Police come really late." [SM29]

"Lock the doors and windows. Ring the police when the drunks fight." [SM13]

"Call the police from a safe place." [SM16]

"Some people come to us for help, to call the police, or the ambulance, this is a safe place." [SM5]

Town Campers also identified other local services as being safe people and safe services. Multiple Town Camps identified Tangentyere Council and specifically TWFSG as safe people who could be called upon when they felt unsafe. However, opinion was split over the effectiveness of Night Patrol. Whilst some participants felt Night Patrol was 'doing a good job', others were critical of Night Patrol who they felt could be more proactive and conduct more patrols. These criticisms seemed to be based on a misunderstanding about the role of Night Patrol and what their powers are – some participants, for example, thought it was Night Patrol's job to control visitors. A similar criticism was leveled at community housing safety officers. Other safe services identified in the safety mapping included the women's shelter, NPY women's council, CAAPU, Aboriginal hostels, and Aboriginal legal services. Gap Youth Centre and Brown Street were also identified as safe services for young people.

"Ring the police, women's shelter." [SM13]

"Talk to someone, women's safety group. Legal aid." [SM5]

"Women's safety group. Speak to them. Women's legal service, someone outside the camps you're knowing." [SM37]

"DV Unit – call them to come and act responsibly. Police in general. Ambulance. Hospital. After hours lawyers. NT Families." [SM41]

What was common between all these identified services is that participants seemed to feel that these services and people were reliable and approachable. There was also the sense that workers at these places were culturally safe for Aboriginal people. However, participants again raised the ongoing issue of literacy and awareness - Town Campers need to know what and where the services are and how to access them.

"Access is a lot of problems - parents or grandparents find it difficult to access support when young fellas get arrested. How do they get to the lock up? Are there any processes for them to follow? Our kids get picked up without doing anything wrong and get caught or harassed by the police. Even when they getting to a safe place. They get pulled up halfway." [SM41]

4. What is needed to increase safety on Town Camps.

In all the safety mapping sessions Town Campers made it clear what they felt was needed to increase safety in Town Camps. The researcher also explicitly asked about this in a number of safety mapping sessions in response to many of the comments that Town Campers had made. Their responses fall into three broad categories: improved facilities and infrastructure; education and training for Town Campers; and improved relationships with services and awareness.

Throughout the safety mapping the most commonly suggested improvements were to do with improved infrastructure. It was apparent that Town Campers thought that the problems to do with road safety, such as speeding, could be solved with improved infrastructure including speed bumps and proper signage. Town Campers also felt that places like parks and open spaces could be made safer if proper fencing and barriers (often referred to as rocks) were installed. Some of these improvements have been made in some Town Camps, including the instalment of repurposed concrete slabs to block informal side roads, which was an initiative proposed by Tangentyere Design with students from the University of Newcastle, in consultation with residents of Karnte Camp. Town Campers felt that installing these features in all Town Camps would improve road safety and make Town Camps safer for young people. Participants also talked about ensuring there were working payphones so that Town Campers could call for help. Finally, participants also talked about how improved and increased lighting, especially in open areas, could improve safety at night. All the safety features mentioned by Town Campers are basic and clearly should already be in place. It was clear that Town Campers were frustrated by having to continually ask for these basic safety features to be installed. Internal stakeholders report that the Town Camps have not achieved the level of amenity outlined by the ASTC subdivision guidelines. They report that TCAC has sought additional funding for playground infrastructure and continues to resource insurance; cyclical maintenance; and municipal services. However, currently the Town Camps still do not meet the standards set by the ASTC guidelines. Town Campers felt that improved infrastructure would not only curb dangerous behaviours but would increase safety for the Town Camp as a whole.

"At that other camp we need a speed bump, make them slow down so they can't speed. I can't let my little one to go to camp." [SM9]

"Speed bumps." [SM27]

"Rocks on the sides of the roads because people are driving on the sides of the road and spinning." [SM31]

"Signs to slow down." [SM29]

"Playground not safe for kids, no fence." [SM20]

"They [referring to other Town Camps] got high fence. Talking about the speed bumps over and over again, and nothing is happening." SM13]

"[Pointing at map, indicating the barren land that surrounds bushland] Need to clean with tractor, too much grass, visitors camp there." [SM19]

"Inside the yard. They should put the telephone here." [SM6]

"We need more lighting, more lights around. A lot of these lights are out and it's really dark... We need better speed bumps. The gutters here are bigger than the speed bumps, the driveways here are bigger than the speed bumps." [SM37]

"They have card ones [payphones], you need coins [operated payphones]." [SM38]

Participants also felt that safety education and training would improve safety on Town Camps. Town Campers talked about specialist training in domestic and family violence, but they also talked about having safety workshops where participants could learn about the different services on offer and how to access them. Basic first aid could also improve Town Camp safety. Participating Town Campers felt that it was important that people be educated to identify safety risks, and also how to respond to different situations. Participants were advocating for a particular type of literacy: knowing what the services are, how to access them, and also knowing they have the right to make use of these services.

"It's a matter of making other people aware and understand where you can get health and safety. Pick up the phone and call services. Other people don't know. Services have to be available." [SM41]

"Education, and identifying bad behaviours." [SP7]

"We was trying to have the safety thing here because me and my sisters completed the safety training but we didn't end up joining. Some young girls don't know, but the course opens your mind...Young ones don't really know about safety and their right to safety. Do the course, it'll open your mind and change... Do the course, learn about safety, and how to get help." [SM37]

Town Campers also felt that improved relationships with services, especially police, would improve the safety on Town Camps. These improved relationships would also help to increase awareness amongst Town Campers of what safety services were available and how they can be accessed. Participating Town Campers also believe that improved relationships with police and services would also help to curb visitor influx and could positively contribute to visitor management. The strengthening of these relationships would mean that police and other services would know who lived on the Town Camp, and this could then address the commonly made complaints that visitors were able to cause trouble or bring their conflicts into Town Camps without fear of being moved on. Improved relationships could also increase Town Campers' feelings of safety in that they could have faith and confidence in services, especially police, who they felt were sometimes taking too long to respond to reports. It was clear that Town Campers desired a partnership with police and other services to improve Town Camp safety.

"We need more security cruising up and down... Some way to keep people out of here that don't live here." [SM11]

"We need a better relationship with affordable housing mob." [IS9]

“We need more security and patrols.” [SM9]

“Need more people who know how to speak to different groups, who can speak language.” [SM10]

“Get our own patrols, own women’s group. Main priority is community safety and safety of our kids. Our priority is for our camp. Have a strong women’s patrol.” [SM41]

“We have problems with the police but we spoke to them. Police dropping off people who don’t live here, don’t even know people who live here. We told them not to drop people off who don’t live here, we spoke about it at the AGM meeting. Police need to get out and ask people if they live here, it creates problems when they drop people off, yelling, and we don’t even know who they are.” [SM37]

“When you call the police, they don’t come for hours, and everyone is gone.” [SM38]

“Whole community needs to come up with programs for old people, like take them to yoga, once or twice a week.” [SP7]

Conclusion

The safety mapping exercise offered an inclusive and culturally appropriate way for Town Campers to share their views about Town Camp safety. Although the findings represent the views of only a small number of participants, they point to common safety issues on Town Camps as perceived by Town Campers. The main safety issues identified by Town Campers participating in the safety mapping were: visitors, violence, road safety, phones, and parks and open spaces. Town Campers were able to offer solutions to all of these safety issues. It is clear that Town Campers had already identified the safety issues impacting on their Town Camp, they are aware and invested in the safety of their Town Camp, and they have the solutions, as they are the experts on the problems that affect them. It was clear in safety mapping sessions that there was a level of frustration about not being listened to by council or government, or by those in positions of power to address these safety problems which Town Campers considered obvious. Infrastructure issues on Town Camps are complex and driven by confusion over which government departments or local government bodies are responsible for the operation and maintenance of certain provisions and services on Town Camps. Infrastructure upgrades are also inhibited by inadequate funding. Resolving these issues would go a long way in helping to improve infrastructure on Town Camps.

The safe places identified by Town Campers showed that it was not necessarily about bricks and mortar but more about people and relationships to make places safe. Town Campers readily identified community centres, family homes, police, and local services as being places of safety. By identifying the safe places and what makes them safe, these safety features can hopefully be replicated elsewhere to improve Town Camp safety. Town Campers know that improved and maintained basic

infrastructure, safety education and training, as well as improved relationships and awareness with services will improve Town Camp safety. Clearly, Town Camp safety, especially for children, is vitally important to Town Campers and they already have the solutions to the safety issues that affect them.

Appendix B: Shortlist of Principles

The shortlist of principles of below was selected in the first workshop with TFVPP (detailed in **chapter seven**). This shortlist was given to stakeholders in the workshops and they were asked to select and rank their top nine principles. They could also write their own principles, which are not included in this list.

- Self-determination: community ownership, control and leadership (Our Watch, 2018)
- Operates in a whole-of-community and whole-of family context that is sensitive to the wider family and social systems of people (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Deep listening (TFVPP G2)
- Healing focused (Our Watch, 2018); Hope and healing (TFVPP G2)
- Perpetrator-based: Challenges perpetrators' use of violence; Focuses on changing perpetrators' behaviour; Integrates and elevates survivors' voices (Brown, 2019)
- Evaluation—ensuring effective responses (Humphreys, 2000); Actively involves communities in the evaluation and assessment of program activities (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Focus on long term social and cultural change (The Northern Territory Government, 2018)
- Family-based: Works to strengthen families; ongoing risk assessment; supports and monitors risk to women and children. (Brown, 2019)
- Trauma-informed practice and practitioner self-care (Our Watch, 2018); Incorporates processes to prevent worker burn-out and provide continuing support for hands-on workers (including debriefing) (Memmott et al., 2006); Creating a culture of care that includes self-care, caring systems through justice-doing. Witnessing strength and resistance. (TFVPP G1)
- Uses models of service delivery and activities that are determined at the community level, rather than prescribing a centrally determined model or approach (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Long-term ongoing, well-funded government investment in community programs (TFVPP G2); Has minimal layers of bureaucracy between the community-based

project and the funding agency, and utilises regionally based contact officers who can advise on the development of program activities (Memmott et al., 2006);

Provides a small funding component to enable the development of a small core of people within the community who can take a long-term view of the problem (Memmott et al., 2006)

- Culturally-safe: Works in a way that is respectful and celebrates Indigenous culture; Builds relationships with community; Listens to community and values their knowledge and expertise (Brown, 2019); cultural safety; non-Indigenous organisations working as allies in culturally safe ways (Our Watch, 2018)
- Recognises the importance of protecting children and supporting them to break the 'cycles' of family and community violence (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Educational: Trains the community to identify, intervene, and report VAW/DFSV; Challenges attitudes which condone DSFV/VAW; Models equal and respectful relationships (Brown, 2019); Training– raising awareness, exploring values, developing skills (Humphreys, 2000); capacity building and the transference of skills (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Framework and theory-informed: Has a gender lens and acknowledges the gendered nature of VAW/DFSV; Uses an intersectional framework; Is trauma-informed and contextualises VAW/DFSV within ongoing colonisation. (Brown, 2019)
- Recognises the complex nature of family and community violence in Indigenous communities, including the importance of involving and targeting men as well as women and children in the solutions (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Multi-agency coordination: Sharing resources and information; Refers and follows-up with other services; Participates in multi-agency meetings and contributes to integrated responses and strategies (Brown, 2019); Collective care working as allies rather than competitors (TFVPP G2)
- Has a demonstrated track record and credibility within the community, and people delivering services through the program should be skilled and knowledgeable (Memmott et al., 2006); Long-time relationships (TFVPP G2)
- Has access to a regionally based Indigenous family violence worker whose role is to assist, coordinate programs and support services (Memmott et al., 2006)

- Accessible: Uses assertive outreach; Assists people to overcome barriers to access; Takes the program to where people are (Brown, 2019); Accessibility, equity and responsiveness (The Northern Territory Government, 2018)
- Addressing intersectional discrimination (Our Watch, 2018); Consider the intersection of race, gender, class (disability) and how these cause/impact on multiple layers/levels of risk/disadvantage (TFVPP G2)
- Two-way learning (TFVPP G2)
- Strengths-based: Non-judgemental and draws upon community assets; Engages and strengthens social capital; Strengthens and celebrates culture (Brown, 2019); Prioritising and strengthening culture (Our Watch, 2018)
- Holistic: Caters to women, men, and children; Takes a whole-of-community approach; addresses underlying gendered drivers of VAW/DFSV. (Brown, 2019); Adopts holistic approaches to the problem, enabling the implementation of a range of different concurrent activities.... Where appropriate, different levels of service provision could be provided through a 'one-stop-shop' model (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Community-driven: Indigenous people involved in conception, design, and delivery; Community owns, leads, and governs; Engages and mobilises Indigenous community (Brown, 2019)
- Community empowerment (Olsen & Lovett, 2016)
- Challenging systemic racism and inequality (The Northern Territory Government, 2018); and systemic gender bias (TFVPP G1)
- Shared awareness and understanding of domestic, family and sexual violence (The Northern Territory Government, 2018)
- Women and children's safety and wellbeing is at the centre (The Northern Territory Government, 2018); Safety for all people experiencing interpersonal and systemic violence (TFVPP (G1))
- Engagement: engages with community and individuals over long periods of time; builds and develops relationships and draws upon connections; operates in reasonable time frames. (Brown, 2019)

- Is directed to areas of highest need rather than areas of largest population (Memmott et al., 2006)
- Collaborates with and seeks input from policing and justice structures within the community (Memmott et al., 2006); Collaborate with and sharing our awareness with police and agencies (TFVPP G1)

Appendix C: Planned Questions

Semi-structured interview questions with external stakeholders

1. What can you tell me about VAW/DFSV in this context?
2. What are some support services in place? Are they having any impact?
3. What would it take to prevent VAW/DFSV here?
4. What, if anything, can you tell me about NO MORE/TFVPP?
5. Using the stages of change model, can you assess change in the community here?

Interview/Focus Group with TFVPP MBCP Program Participants questions

1. What do you think about the group [MBCP]?
2. Did you learn anything from the group [MBCP]?
3. How could the group [MBCP] be improved or made better?

NO MORE Focus Group questions

1. Can you describe your community?
2. What are the good things about your community?
3. Have you heard of the NO MORE program before? What do you know about it?

Safety Mapping questions

1. Can you tell me about your community?
2. What does 'safety' mean to you?
3. Using the map, can you circle the safe places? What makes these places safe?
4. If we are ever unsafe, where would you go or who would you talk to?

TWFSG Focus Group questions

1. Thinking about all the activities of TWFSG. What would you say your main successes have been?
2. What would you say are the challenges as you move forward?
3. What would you say your next steps are as a group? How will you move forward?
4. Looking at all of your activities. What would you say is your [TWFSG] main role?
5. Using the stages of change model, what stage do you think your town camp/community is at?

TWFSG Safety Mapping Questions

1. What does 'safe' mean?
2. What does being 'safe' feel like?
3. What do we need to be safe?
4. Using your maps, where are the safe places?
5. What makes these places safe?

Appendix D: Paintings and drawings from focus groups with the Tangentyere Women's Family Safety Group

The main themes in the paintings produced by the Women's Group were about women working together to educate young people about domestic, family, and sexual violence in order to break the cycle of violence. The paintings drew upon culture, such as dance and gathering bush tucker, as a means to teach young ones. The paintings were also very much centred in place, specifically Alice Springs' Town Camps, and reflected the change the women had seen in these places. However, they also show that the women acknowledge that more change is needed and desired, and that preventing violence is inseparable from other issues such as housing, improved infrastructure, improved education, and culture. The paintings additionally showed the crucial role of women – and Elders – in driving change.



This painting by TWFSG4⁷¹ shows two Town Camps connected by the Todd River, and two women meeting.



This painting by TWFSG6 shows three timelines: past, present, and future. The painting shows how housing has changed on her Town Camp: *'humpy long time ago down the creek... Nowadays staying in a house...In the future get biggest mob of trees... New house for grandchildren'* [TWFSG6]

⁷¹ The paintings are labelled according to the preference selected in women's consent instruments.

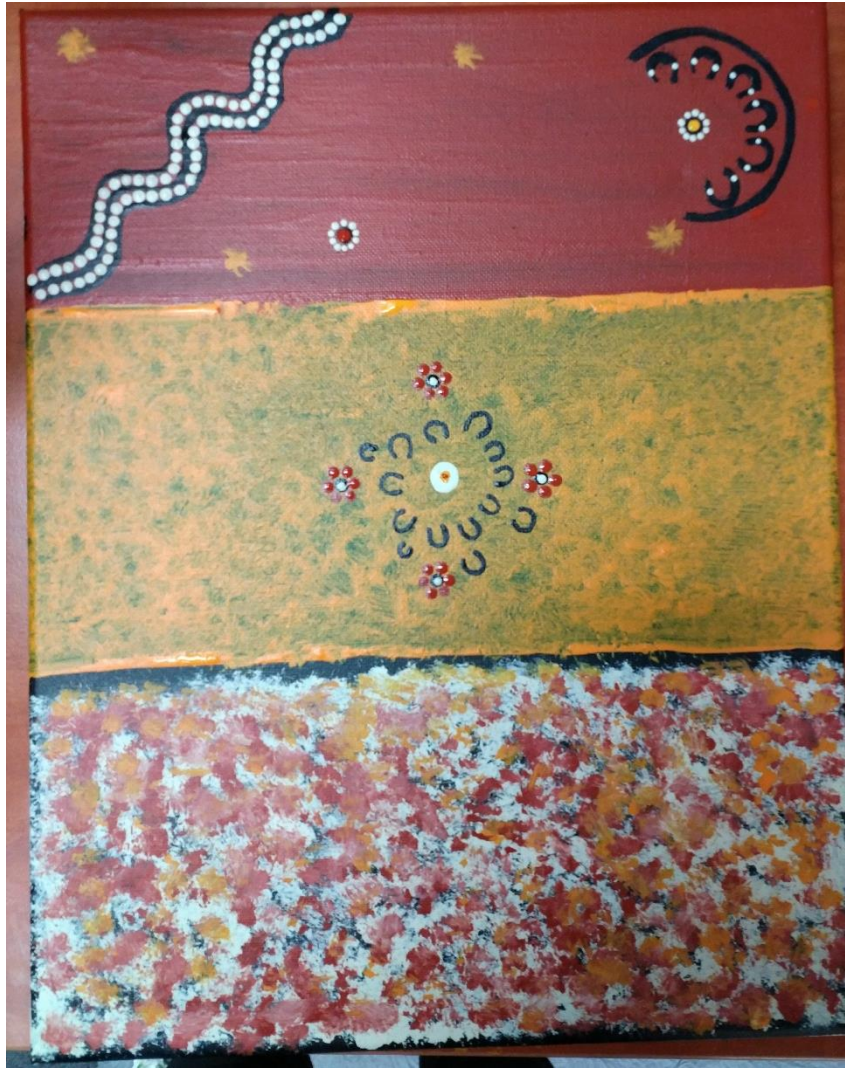


This painting by TWFSG8 shows women sitting down with young ones and teaching them about violence: *'women around the fire under the tree of knowledge talking about domestic violence...Us mob sitting down there'* [TWFSG8].



The painting on the top right of the photograph is by TWFSG6 and shows the new community centre at Little Sisters Town Camp, and shows young people coming to learn: *'kids come and learn...Elders talking to the young ones...Education...Women talking to the little ones about domestic violence...Talking about the future...older people to teach you and talk about the things what's happening around...[So the future can be] better and stronger...the old lady with the children talking about their lives...better future...Talking about domestic violence and learning more...Talking to the kids'* [TWFSG6].

The painting at the bottom is by TWFSG10 and shows women gathering witchetty grubs with the children: *'It's good to be with the woman's safety group'* [TWFSG10].



This painting is by SP7 and shows three timelines: *'these are my three timelines. Before Hoppy's Camp when I lived in a humpy and when I experienced domestic family violence...I moved into town and I lived in a humpy with my grandfather...My grandfather wasn't comfortable living in a tin shed... I seen things changing rapidly...How I used to experience family domestic violence. Thinking it was normal... Next timeline when I lost my three aunties and when I started getting motivated and doing something about [domestic family violence]. There was a Women's committee back then but they didn't have enough resources and funding. The young ones started a new one [women's group] but keep the old ones. Keep the old knowledge and mix it with the new one today. In the future to see everyone working together, walking in two worlds' [SP7].*

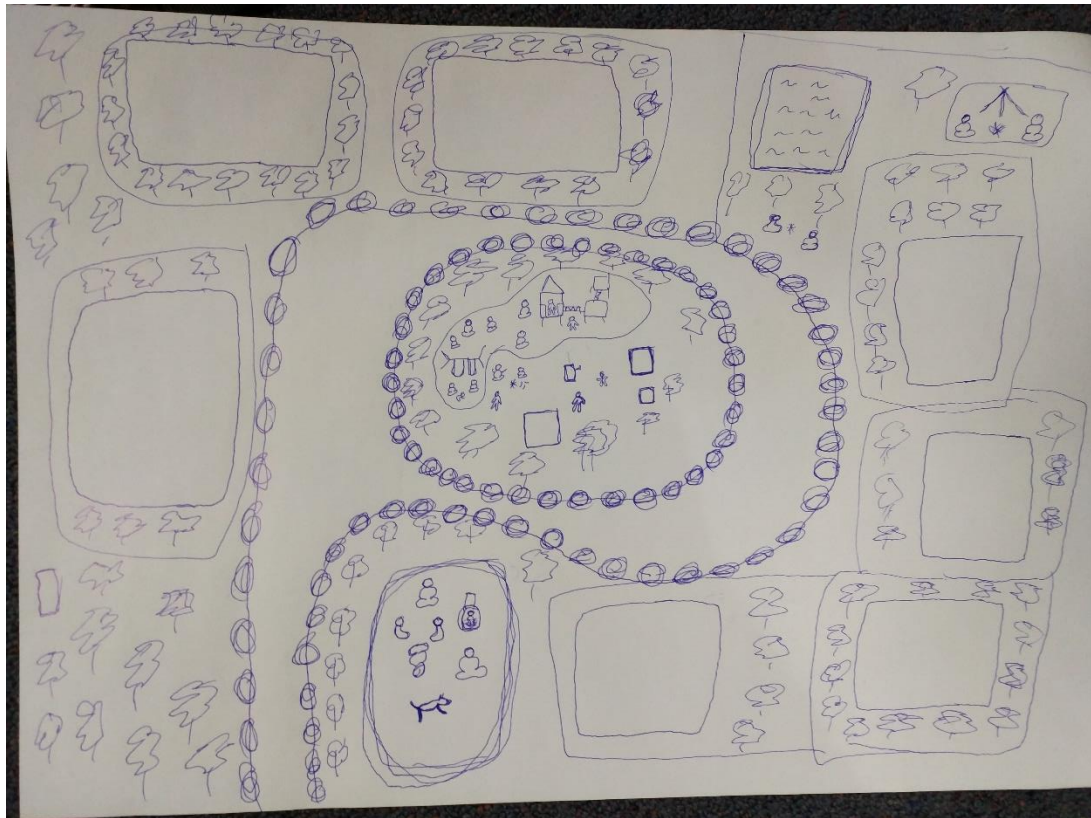
The main themes in the drawings produced by the Women's Group as part of the safety mapping showed women with children in safe houses, with fences, lots of lighting, trees and gardens, and properly demarcated roads with railings or bollards to prevent people from driving off-road. The drawings show the women considered safety by environmental design to be important and that improved infrastructure was vital to increasing feelings of safety on Town Camps.



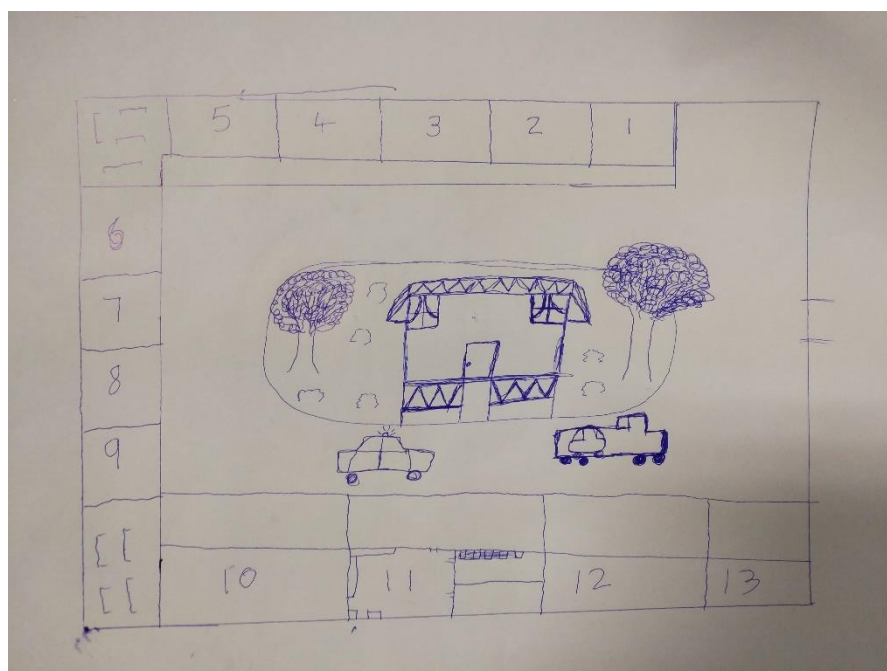
This drawing by TWFSG1 shows a grandmother with her children standing in front of their house in the Town Camp. There is a high fence, a garden, and dogs at the house, which has the lights on inside. TWFSG1 captioned her drawing with *'grandma looking after kids and the puppy dogs in safe place.'*



This drawing by TWFSG8 shows a safe house in the Town Camp. It is surrounded by a high fence and lots of lighting. There is also a children's playground and secure place to park the car. The road in is surrounded by trees, and there is a lockable gate leading into the yard.



This drawing by TWFSG10 shows their ideas to improve safety on their Town Camp. There are bollards surrounding the road into the Town Camp to prevent people from driving off road. There is a children's playground in the centre, and plenty of green areas for people to sit and talk with fires and dogs. Each house has its own fenced yard and garden. There is plenty of safe and secure outside space.



This drawing by TWFSG2 shows their vision for their Town Camp's safety. The road into the Town Camp is fenced, and each house has a fenced yard. At the centre of the Town Camp is the community centre which has a garden and playground.



This painting by SP7 shows what is needed for safety in Mparntwe/Alice Springs: all the community needs to be involved, everyone working together, keeping a watchful eye for each other, and regular community meetings to discuss any problems. There are community safety hubs and safe schools for children.

Appendix E: Consultation document

The researcher, Chay Brown, will complete this document by ticking the boxes and taking notes during the initial meeting with organisations. Your feedback will be used to inform the research design and the research methods. The research design, methods, and dissemination will continue to be adapted according to the feedback from the organisation and will continue to evolve if the organisation agrees to participate.

Organisation: _____

Key contact: _____

Reference group:

1. What would you (the project) like to find out about through the research?

- ☐ How to assess whether the project is working
- ☐ What is working
- ☐ How the project could improve
- ☐ The impact of the project on different groups e.g. gender, age (women/children/men)
- ☐ The impact of the project on the community
- ☐ How our project can help other people
- ☐ Ways research can strengthen future project design
- ☐ Different ways of researching e.g. different methods; different types of data
- ☐ Following up with project participants to determine the projects impact over time
- ☐ Other:

2. What are the best ways of finding out the successes and challenges of your project? (tick as many as applicable).

- ☐ Listening and speaking to project leaders/workers/participants informally e.g. chatting, yarning
- ☐ By 'shadowing' project leaders/officers and accompanying them in 'the field'
- ☐ By listening to members of the community informally
- ☐ By interviewing participants individually
- ☐ By interviewing participants in small groups of a single gender/age
- ☐ By interviewing project leaders individually
- ☐ By interviewing project leaders as a group
- ☐ By talking with the organisation's board
- ☐ By asking participants and project leaders to complete a written survey
- ☐ By asking for comments on a confidential website
- ☐ By spending time at the project and observing what happens on a regular basis
- ☐ Participating in the project e.g. by attending workshops, taking part in activities as a participant.
- ☐ By reading project documents e.g. reports, newsletters, publications, policy documents, brochures etc.
- ☐ By taking photos and captioning them
- ☐ By looking at and talking about what group members create e.g. paintings, dance etc.
- ☐ Other:

3. Who are the best people for the researcher to speak to about the project?

- ☐ Project leaders
- ☐ People who work with/in the project
- ☐ Board members
- ☐ Project participants
- ☐ Members of the wider community

☐ Other:

4. How can the researcher make sure they research in a way that is culturally appropriate and respectful to Indigenous people?

- ☐ Separate genders
- ☐ Separate ages
- ☐ Use of a cultural mentor
- ☐ Provision of a diverse reference group e.g. men, women, age
- ☐ Use of an interpreter

5. How can the researcher make sure the information gained from the research is of benefit to Indigenous organisation and to Indigenous people in general?

6. The research report is confidential to the organisation. However, if the organisation agrees, what would be the best way to feedback the findings of the research?

- ☐ Leave this to the organisation
- ☐ Share the research report
- ☐ Give an oral presentation to project leaders and/or stakeholders
- ☐ Create a visual presentation e.g. pamphlet, posters, artwork
- ☐ Create a more interactive presentation e.g. exhibition, BBQ, storytelling
- ☐ Other:

7. If you agree to this, who else does the researcher need to inform or get approval from?

- ☐ ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
- ☐ Other:

8. If you agree to this, how long should the researcher spend with your project? The researcher can spend a total of two months with the project, and ideally this would be in one-month blocks with breaks in between. Please consider how long you think it would take for the researcher to have a good understanding of your project, it's aims, and the community it works with.

- ☐ Two-week blocks
- ☐ Three-week blocks

- ☐ One-month blocks
 - ☐ Two-month block
 - ☐ Other:
-

9. If you agree to this, when is the best time for the researcher to visit your project?

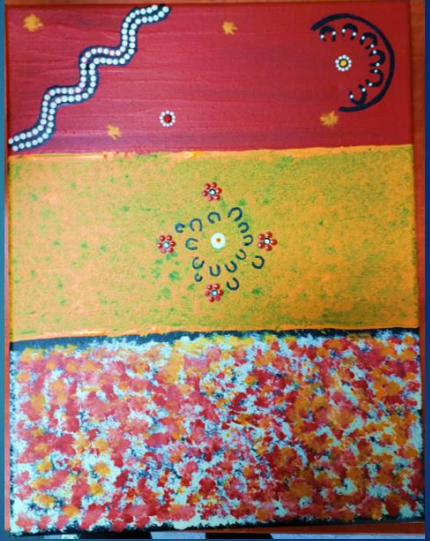
- ☐ Between August and December 2018
 - ☐ Between January and June 2019
 - ☐ Other:
-

10. If you agree to this, how do we let people in the organisation and the community/participants know that I am coming?

- ☐ By shadowing a member of the organisation/project
 - ☐ Newsletter
 - ☐ Email
 - ☐ Facebook
 - ☐ Word-of-mouth
 - ☐ Initial presentation/introduction
 - ☐ Other:
-

Appendix F: Workshop Presentation Slides

Identifying Principles of Good Practice to prevent violence against women in the Northern Territory



Structure & purpose of the workshop

1. Feedback initial findings & activities of the research project
2. Shortlist principles of good practice
3. Develop indicators



Consent

- ▶ This research has been approved by CAHREC (protocol CA-18-3169) and ANUHREC (protocol 2018/198)
- ▶ What is recorded
- ▶ How it is recorded
- ▶ How it is stored
- ▶ Who will be able to access it
- ▶ How you as a participant will be attributed
- ▶ If you are happy – the sign up sheet.



Violence against women

- ▶ “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993).

Women



- Experience abuse by an intimate male partner
- Have not reported experiencing abuse by male

Female Homicide Victims in Australia



- Murdered by male partner
- Murdered by other perpetrator



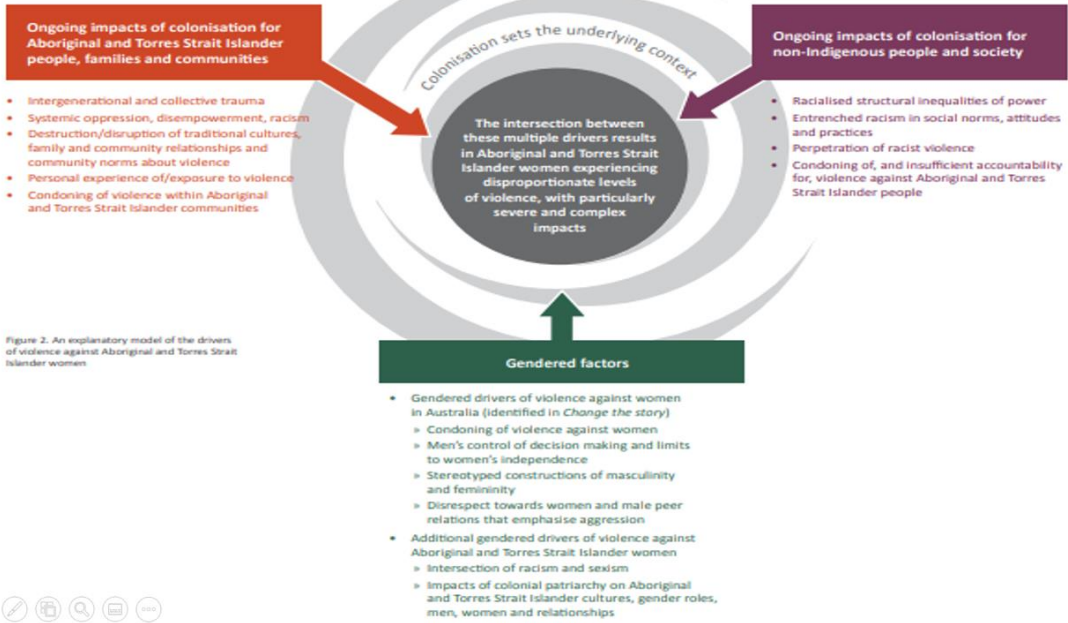


Violence against Indigenous women takes place within a matrix of historical, social and other risk factors. Globally, Indigenous women exist in a context in which racism, sexism and other prejudices intersect to make them vulnerable to violence, marginalise them when seeking justice, and present additional barriers when seeking help.

The ecological model

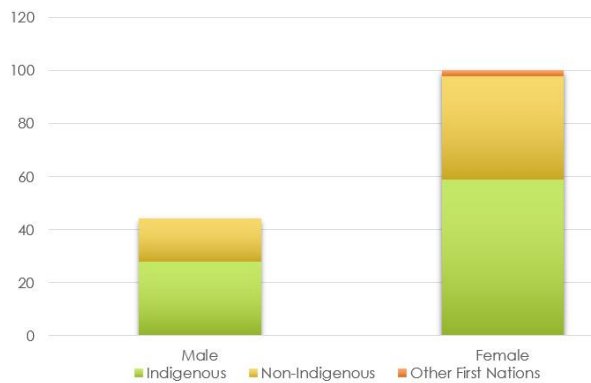


Figure 1 Figure from WHO/London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010, pg 18

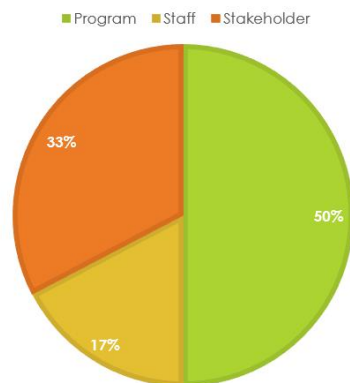


Research Project

Research Participants by Sex and Indigeneity



PARTICIPANTS



Why prevention?

- ▶ "There is still too much emphasis on women leaving. Sometimes women just want someone to say to their partner that it [DFSV] is wrong. Sometimes, that's all they want." [ES6]
- ▶ "Onus always placed on women. Everything generally left up to the women. I haven't seen many applications [for DVOs] from men. The emphasis always pushed back to women to deal with it." [ES9]
- ▶ "where are they going to go?" [ES21].
- ▶ "there's only one shop and one takeaway. Clinic. Police. That's it." [ES15]
- ▶ "We've got women from community who have been sexually assaulted and now they're living in the long grass. If they go back to community they're exposed to payback." [ES15].



Why prevention?

- ▶ "What would it take [to prevent violence]? Eliminate poverty and break down gender stereotypes" [SP9]
- ▶ "The severity is high. You'd have to hope it's at the highest end of severity... [DFV] is also shaped by financial hardship here." [ES8]
- ▶ "We're expecting a huge spike in violence around this time of year – because they usually get around 3 months jail time. So they're in jail for the wet season, with a roof over their head, guaranteed three meals a day. Jail is not a bad option." [ES17].
- ▶ "Men are coming out of jail, hurting their partner the same day, and they go straight back to jail to finish their sentence" [SP5].
- ▶ "It's helpful for prosecutions. It's definitely not a deterrent." [ES24]
- ▶ "Are we contributing to mass incarceration through the full non-contact DVO because a third breach is automatic jail time." [ES3].



Penal responses in the Northern Territory

► PRISON POPULATION:

► 92% male 8% female 84% Indigenous
19% Alice Springs

► OFFENCE TYPE:

► 47% Acts intended to cause injury
► 11% Sexual assault and related offences
► 58.6% Assaults domestic violence related

► RECIDIVISM: 58.3%

Common misconceptions and problematic attitudes

Why doesn't she leave?

Why doesn't she report?

She's safe if she has a DVO.

She's safe if he is in jail.

She'll be safe if they stop drinking.

She's abusing the DVO system to get her way.

She's taking his kids away.

It's a part of Aboriginal culture.

Why doesn't she leave?	Some relationships are permanent. Women are most at risk of being murdered at this time. Homelessness.
Why doesn't she report?	She may not be safe enough. She may not have access or opportunity.
She's safe if she has a DVO.	DVOs are often misunderstood. DVO's not a deterrent. Increasing number of women being charged for facilitating a breach.
She's safe if he is in jail.	Jail is not an intervention – it can offer reprieve. Often women are in danger of reprisal lateral violence.
She'll be safe if they stop drinking.	Alcohol or other substance abuse does not cause violence.
She's abusing the DVO system to get her way.	Women need to be safe to report.
She's taking his kids away.	The Family Law Court can be another arena used for power and control.
It's a part of their culture	It is not a part of traditional Aboriginal culture.



Key issues

DFSV/VAW is compounded by the unique intersection of contextual factors

- Mobility and transience
- Overcrowding and lack of housing
- Culture and attitudes

Perception of DFSV/VAW as an 'Aboriginal problem'

- reluctance to report or intervene by general public
- non-Indigenous DFSV/VAW 'flying under the radar'

The conflation of DFSV/VAW with alcohol or substance abuse

- Alcohol harm minimisation
- Drift of the conversation and funds

Training of non-specialist services and bodies

- Presence of harmful attitudes and misconceptions
- Judicial and policing bodies need specialist DFSV/VAW and trauma training

Inflexible and/or inappropriate responses

- Largely mainstream
- DVO/Jail not deterrents
- Town-based
- Largely victim-based and crisis responses



Key challenges for programs



Funding

Staff retention



Intersecting issues



Siloing



Remoteness



Lack of programs and services



Long-term engagement



Externally imposed contextually inappropriate KPIs



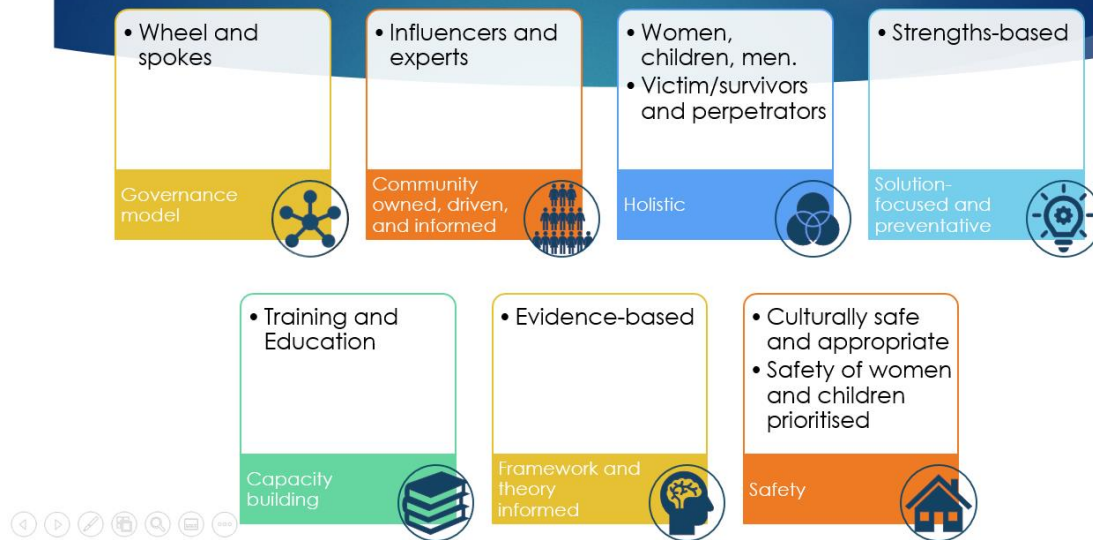
Case Study: Tangentyere Family Violence Prevention Program



- ▶ Tangentyere Women's Safety Group
- ▶ Marra'ka Mbarintja Men's Behaviour Change Program
- ▶ Men's Outreach Assessment Referral Service
- ▶ Domestic Violence Specialist Children's Service
- ▶ Mums Can Dads Can Project

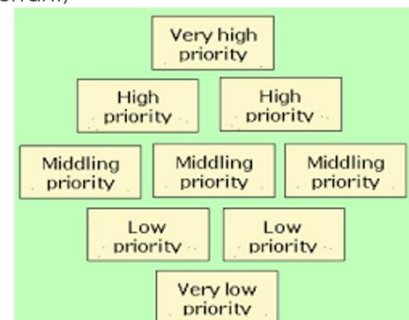


TFVPP: Strengths



What are principles?

- ▶ Principles are not the 'what' but the 'how'. They guide how we design, develop, and deliver programs. They underpin the program.
- ▶ "For prevention to be effective, it's not only what we do that's important, it's how we do it." (Our Watch, 2018).
- ▶ Activity: diamond 9 of principles
 - ▶ Why is this principle important to guide program design and delivery?



What are indicators?

- ▶ “Indicators are rapidly multiplying as tools for assessing and promoting a variety of social justice and reform strategies around the world. There are indicators of rule of law, indicators of violence against women, and indicators of economic development, among many others. Indicators are widely used at the national level and are increasingly important in global governance. There are increasing demands for “evidence-based” funding for nongovernmental organizations and for the results of civil society organizations to be quantifiable and measurable” (Merry, 2011)
- ▶ For example, an indicator of economic growth is GDP. An indicator of socioeconomic development is employment rate and education level.



Tools to measure our principles

- ▶ Two indicators for global level monitoring of post-2015 target on violence against women are
 - ▶ Prevalence of physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence in the last 12 months as measured by: the proportion of ever-partnered women (15-49) who experienced physical and/or sexual violence by a current or former husband/male intimate partner in the last 12 months; and
 - ▶ Prevalence of sexual violence by a non-partner as measured by: the proportion of women (aged 20-29) who have ever experienced sexual violence by a non-partner from the age of 15 on. (WHO, 2019)
- ▶ We want to develop indicators for our principles. If principles are supposed to underpin and guide the work, consider:
 - ▶ How will we know if the program is ‘living’ this principle?
 - ▶ What would this principle look like in practice?
 - ▶ What evidence could we find that the principle is imbedded in the program?



Indicators

Principle	Justification: Why is this important in the N.T.?	Indicator: What would this look like in practice? What evidence would we see? How could we measure or assess the principle?
1		
2		
3		
4 etc		



Next steps in the process

Principles	Principles
 Educational	 Accessible
 Holistic	 Perpetrator-based
 Framework and theory-informed	 Safety-focussed
 Culturally safe	 Strengths-based
 Community-driven	 Multi-agency coordination



September 11th - Alice Springs workshop

September 16th – Tennant Creek workshop

September 20th – Katherine workshop

September 25th – Darwin workshop

October 30th – Draft report is submitted to all participants

December 30th – Final report presented to participants and NT Govt

December 2020 – PhD Thesis presented to partner-programs