



Australian
National
University

Background to the ANU Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy

*A supporting document to the ANU Sexual Violence
Prevention Strategy 2019-2026*

Respectful Relationships Unit

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INTRODUCTION

All forms of violence are unacceptable and have no place at the ANU. Violence can manifest in many ways, including interpersonal violence that occurs between two strangers, between students or staff, or in crowds in public spaces. The ANU Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy only seeks to address certain forms of violence which occur at the ANU: sexual violence and all forms of violence against women. In doing so, it does not suggest that the other forms of violence are not important, or that violence does not occur against men, but rather acknowledges that different approaches are required to prevent and respond to these other forms of violence.

The Strategy covers ANU staff and students and is designed to be comprehensive in that it addresses both the prevention of and response to two different but often overlapping forms of violence.

The first is **sexual violence**, as defined by *Change the Story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women in Australia* developed by OurWatch. In line with the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) – *Change the Course: National Report on Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment at Australian Universities*, and research by Australia’s National Research Organisation for Women’s Safety (ANROWS), the Strategy approaches sexual violence as a deeply gendered issue.

The second is **violence against women**, as defined by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) and *Change the Story*.

While much violence against women is of a sexual nature, violence against women is broader than what is covered by the term ‘sexual violence’ and includes acts of domestic and family violence. The recognition of this point becomes important in considering the ANU as a place where people live, work, study, socialise and more.

Further, while both these forms of violence can stem from gender inequality and discrimination, inequalities resulting in racism, ageism, ableism and heterosexism can also on their own, or in combination, influence the patterns of violence perpetrated in the ANU community.

The recognition of both these points underpins the use of gendered language throughout this document as well the ANU’s commitment to addressing other forms of discrimination and inequality. For ease of reading, this document uses the term ‘violence’, interchangeably and as an umbrella term, together with both ‘sexual violence’ and ‘all forms of violence against women’.

THE URGENT NEED FOR CHANGE

WHAT DOES THE DATA SHOW?

Violence can and does happen in our community. It affects people of all genders and sexualities, both online and offline. While all violence is unacceptable, there are distinct differences in the ways in which men and women perpetrate and experience violence. The vast majority (95%) of violent acts – whether against men or women – are perpetrated by men¹. Men are more likely to experience violence from other men in public places, while women are more likely to experience violence from men they know, often in the home².

In Australia, almost one in four women and almost one in 20 men have experienced sexual violence since the age of 15³. In most of these cases, for both men and women, the perpetrators are known to the victim-survivor. In a study of Australian workplaces, two in five women and one in four men aged 15 years and over reporting having experienced sexual harassment in the workplace in the past five years⁴. In Australia, four in five women and over half of men aged 15 years and over have experienced sexual harassment at some point in their lifetimes⁵.

In Australian universities, the 2017 AHRC *Change the Course* report found that violence is experienced differently by different student communities, with LGBTIQ+ students, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, Higher Degree Research (HDR) students, and students with a disability reporting disproportionately high levels of harassment and assault⁶. Further, the report found that violence frequently occurred in online spaces, including sexual harassment via technology and image-based abuse. Both these findings are supported by similar findings in the 2018 AHRC study⁷ and a national survey of National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) members regarding sexual harassment, sexism and gender bias in universities⁸.

In the ANU, the 2017 AHRC *Change the Course* report (the best available ANU-specific data as of 2019) found that almost one in eight female respondents and one in 27 male respondents experienced sexual assault in 2015 and or 2016. Almost one in 19 female respondents and one in 28 male respondents experienced sexual assault at the ANU. On sexual harassment, almost eight in 11 female respondents and two in five male respondents experienced sexual harassment in the past 12 months. Almost one in two female respondents and one in four male respondents experienced sexual harassment at the ANU⁹.

The impacts of violence are far-reaching and can include deteriorated physical and mental health, loss of housing, loss or limited access to employment, precarious financial security, isolation and alienation of social support, and in extreme cases death¹⁰. In addition to those

women who experience violence directly, the high prevalence of violence against women affects all women: the threat of violence limits many women's activities in one way or another, which reduces their participation in social, civil and economic life¹¹.

In a university context, the impacts of violence are felt by victim-survivors when they no longer feel safe to participate in their university experience. For example, victim-survivors no longer feeling comfortable attending their lectures or tutorials, living in their residential hall, working in their office/lab, or participating in work functions. Further, these impacts are felt by victim-survivors when they feel their best (or in some instances, only) option is to leave the university, whether that be their place of work or study – such decisions can have life-long effects and influence a person's career trajectory. This can be particularly challenging for research students and academic staff who may have been working for years pursuing a career in a specific discipline.

NATIONAL ATTITUDES

Despite increasing information about the prevalence of sexual violence in Australia, too many Australians are willing to excuse violence as part of a 'normal' gender dynamic in a relationship. The 2017 National Community Attitudes Survey¹² found that while most Australians have accurate knowledge of violence against women and do not endorse this violence, several concerning trends were observed, including:

- 2 in 5 Australians believe that women make up false reports of sexual assault in order to punish men;
- Nearly 1 in 3 Australians believe that 'rape results from men being unable to control their need for sex' and believe that, when sexually aroused, 'men may be unaware a woman does not want to have sex';
- 2 in 5 Australians believe many women exaggerate how unequally women are treated in Australia;
- Nearly one quarter of Australians see no harm in telling sexist jokes; and,
- 1 in 3 think it is natural for a man to want to appear in control of his partner in front of his male friends.

THE CAUSES OF VIOLENCE

Violence is complex and no two experiences are the same. Violence takes many forms and is experienced in different ways, but abuse of power and the exercise of coercion and control are at the heart of all violence.

GENDERED DRIVERS

The social conditions that lead to violence are referred to in the Strategy as 'drivers' or 'causes' of violence: these often reflect underlying inequalities in social or economic power among the different groups of people. Understanding the drivers of violence is key to knowing how to prevent it.

While sexual violence and violence against women is not caused or determined by any single factor, gender inequality creates the necessary social environment that enables violence against women to occur. Research has found that factors associated with gender inequality are the most consistent predictors of violence against women and explain its gendered patterns¹³. These factors are termed the gendered drivers of violence against women. These gendered drivers arise from the broader gender discriminatory institutional, social and economic structures, social and cultural norms, and organisational, community, family and relationships practices that together create environments in which women and men are not considered equal, and violence against women is tolerated and even condoned.

Change the Story outlines the following four gendered drivers which reflect the expressions of gender inequality that have been shown in the international evidence to be most consistently associated with higher levels of violence against women:

- Condoning of violence against women;
- Men's control of decision-making and limits to women's independence;
- Rigid gender roles and stereotypical constructions of masculinity and femininity; and,
- Male peer relations that emphasise aggression and disrespect towards women.

Descriptions of each of the gendered drivers are outlined in the ANU Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy.

REINFORCING FACTORS

A range of additional factors can increase the frequency or severity of violence when they intersect with the drivers discussed above. They do not, on their own, predict violence, but they do play a role, and need to be considered in any holistic prevention strategy. These reinforcing factors are better understood for violence against women but are likely to play a

role in other forms of violence too, including violence against men.

Change the Story outlines the following five reinforcing factors of violence against women:

- Condoning of violence in general;
- Experience of, and exposure to, violence;
- Weakening of pro-social behaviour, especially harmful use of alcohol;
- Socio-economic inequality and discrimination; and,
- Backlash factors (when male dominance, power or status is challenged).

Descriptions of each of the reinforcing factors are outlined in the ANU Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy.

OTHER SOCIAL CONDITIONS THAT LEAD TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

While gender inequality is always influential as a driver of violence against women, it cannot be considered in isolation of other forms of social discrimination and disadvantage. *Change the Story* notes that when other forms of systemic social, political and economic discrimination and disadvantage —such as racism, ageism, ableism and homophobia— intersect with gender discrimination, they can increase the likelihood, frequency or severity of violence against particular groups of women. Further, it can increase service barriers for these groups of women to accessing the appropriate support following incidents of violence.

For this reason, both gender inequality and the other systemic and structural inequalities in our community must be addressed if we are going to succeed in preventing violence against women. It will take a systematic and whole-of-university approach, and the Strategy will play a key role.

ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER COMMUNITIES

Violence is perpetrated against Aboriginal people by both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people, and is experienced within intimate relationships, families, extended families, kinship networks and communities. Violence against Aboriginal people encompasses a wide range of abuses and can include physical, sexual, emotional and economic abuse as well as inter- and intragroup violence and lateral violence.

The impact of white settlement, colonisation and the violent dispossession of land, culture and children continue to reverberate across Aboriginal communities today, as a result of deeply rooted structural inequalities. These inequalities affect the daily lives of Aboriginal people, with detrimental impacts on self-determination, health and wellbeing, self-identity

and self-esteem, sense of belonging and connectedness, and ability to seek support and assistance. The cumulative effects of individual, institutional and societal violence and racism over the generations have contributed to the pervasiveness of sexual violence and the severity of its impact on Aboriginal people today.

As Australia's National University, one of our defining roles has been to contribute to the advancement of Australia's Indigenous peoples. In so doing, the Strategy recognises the need to draw on the unique experiences and expertise of Aboriginal people and researchers at the ANU, including those from the Tjabal Indigenous Higher Education Centre, the National Centre of Indigenous Studies and the Gender Institute, to ensure our efforts are culturally-appropriate and benefit from the positive capacity-building approaches developed by Aboriginal communities.

LGBTIQ+ COMMUNITIES

Violence is perpetrated against LGBTIQ+ people and can be experienced within all types of intimate relationships, including long-term or casual and monogamous, open or polyamorous, and in relationships between people of the same or different genders. Violence can also be experienced within families, extended families, and communities.

The forms of discrimination and violence perpetrated against people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans (and gender diverse), intersex or queer (LGBTIQ+) at an individual and community level reflect the broader societal-level acceptance and condoning of discrimination and violence against LGBTIQ+ people. Where heterosexuality and rigid gender roles and identities are the social norm, these factors can exacerbate and compound the likelihood of perpetration against LGBTIQ+ people, both in relationships contexts and elsewhere. Further, such norms can increase service barriers for LGBTIQ+ people to access the appropriate support should violence occur.

The Strategy recognises the need for specialised approaches to preventing violence in diverse relationships, including same-sex relationships, which means we need to explore and research this to get a better understanding of what drives it, and update the Strategy as new insights emerge. We will work with our local partners such as A Gender Agenda, Aids Action Council, and the ACT Office for LGBTIQA Affairs to strengthen our LGBTIQ+ communities.

CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

In Australia, structural and systemic race and gender inequality and discrimination contribute to a social environment that condones violence against members of culturally and linguistically diverse communities. This includes international student, immigrant, asylum,

and refugee communities. These social conditions perpetuate rigid ideas about what it means to be a man or a woman, as well as racial stereotypes and racist attitudes that influence and drive the perpetration of violence and service barriers to accessing support when violence occurs. Where racial discrimination intersects with gender discrimination, we can see compounding impacts on women's experience of violence.

In ANU, our diverse community is to be celebrated and underpins the ANU value of committing to better outcomes for our community, the environment, our nation and the world. It is through the diverse connections people make while at ANU in which original thinking and ideas are advanced. As such, the Strategy recognises the need to partner with our multicultural and international communities to ensure our prevention and response efforts are culturally appropriate and tailored for the relevant communities.

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

For people with a disability, including people experiencing mental ill health or a mental illness, the leading causes of violence are the social norms, structures and practices that continually reinforce and encourage attitudes that privilege people without a disability, while discriminating against people with a disability. The intersection of these societal factors creates a social environment where it is acceptable to discriminate against and marginalise people with a disability. This can affect their ability to participate in everyday life and can socially isolate them. This can mean that people with a disability are more likely to be subject to the perpetration of violence than others and to experience increased service barriers to accessing the appropriate support when violence occurs. For women with a disability, the intersection of these different factors means they continue to be undervalued, and their experiences of violence are ignored or poorly understood.

The Strategy recognises the need to partner with our disability community to ensure our prevention and response efforts are relevant and accessible to people of all abilities. In so doing, we will draw expertise from local and internal partners such Women with Disabilities ACT, ANU Access & Inclusion and ANU Work Environment Group.

VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN

We know that men are also survivors of sexual violence. It is not difficult to appreciate that if unhealthy and rigid gender roles and stereotyped constructions of masculinity and femininity create social norms and conditions that drive violence against women, they can also drive violence against men. It is also important to acknowledge that these same social norms contribute to other negative outcomes for men, including high rates of premature death from preventable diseases, suicide and incarceration¹⁴. We know that violence against men is

often perpetrated by other men; however, women can and do perpetrate violence against men. Why and in what circumstances this happens needs to be better understood. In fact, it is critical that we better understand and directly address all the social conditions that lead to sexual violence in our community, or we will continue to be burdened by the trauma of this violence. As such, the Strategy recognises the need to work with men not only as participants and facilitators of prevention, but as people who can and do experience sexual violence.

OTHER FACTORS FOR CONSIDERATION

In addition to the reinforcing factors for violence against women, there are other factors to consider in a university context which can influence the frequency and severity of violence and whether particular communities access support. While we work to address the drivers of violence, it is critical that our efforts also address the factors below and limit the ability of these factors to make violence even worse.

HIGHER DEGREE BY RESEARCH

It is well recognised that there is a power imbalance between research students and their supervisors. While many supervisors view their role as training the next generation of academic leaders, it is still far too common for supervisors to view research students as 'cheap labour' and a means to increasing publications. When poor experiences are challenged, supervisors often reference their own poor experiences completing their PhD as justification. This only serves to continue the cycle of violence. Where a sexual or romantic relationship occurs within this power imbalance, serious questions are raised about capacity for consent and academic integrity. As a result, Higher Degree by Research (HDR) candidates are particularly vulnerable in relation to sexual violence due to the fear that a disclosure may have long term impacts on their career. This vulnerability also applies to Honours students and undergraduate students doing individually supervised research projects.

The Strategy recognises the need to partner with and draw from the expertise of HDR colleagues across the ANU, including those from Research Services and Training, Graduate Research Office, and Office of the Dean of HDR, to ensure our efforts are tailored to the HDR context, target both research students and supervisors, and work to stop the cycle of violence by promoting respectful supervisory relationships.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

International students are an important part of the university community and contribute to the diversity that enriches the experience for all at ANU. It is important to note that the only

commonality among international students is their non-domestic student status. International students at the ANU come from all over the world and speak many different languages (English often being the second, third or fourth language spoken). While this diversity is to be celebrated, it is worth acknowledging there are additional challenges to overcome in engaging this cohort in prevention and response efforts. For example, while all international students are required to meet minimum English standards, some still struggle with English proficiency. This can undermine the effectiveness of prevention education and training on topics such as consent, sex, sexual health and sexual violence. Language can also be a barrier for international students when it comes to accessing information about available support and reporting options should violence occur, particularly when there is also a lack of appropriately translated resources. This becomes particularly problematic for international students from countries with different health and or legal systems, who fear that accessing medical, forensic or counselling support will impact their visa status and be reported back to their parents and or government. As such, as noted for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Communities, the Strategy recognises the need to partner with our multicultural and international communities to ensure our prevention and response efforts are culturally appropriate and tailored for the relevant communities. This includes the International Students' Department, Postgraduate and Research Students' Association and the Council of International Students Australia.

INTERGENERATIONAL HARM

Both *Change the Story* and the UN Women's Framework to underpin action to prevent violence against women highlight evidence that suggests that children and young people who witness or experience violence are at greater risk of perpetrating or experiencing violence later in life. With this, it is important to acknowledge that members of our community may have previously experienced or witnessed violence prior to their relationship with ANU. As such, the Strategy recognises the need for our prevention and response efforts to be trauma-informed and inclusive of historical experiences of violence.

GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL ISOLATION

Geographic isolation can be exploited to control people, making people more vulnerable to violence. Social isolation can also exacerbate the drivers of violence as it can, for example, put women in the position of being dependent on male partners, which can reinforce men's sense of power over women. While geographic and social isolation can be an issue for any member of our community, it can become an issue for students who go on exchange to other universities, staff who go to international conferences and for students or staff who undertake field work remotely. In such situations, support can be limited or difficult to access, if not available at all, should violence occur.

OUR VISION FOR CHANGE

Our ultimate vision is to create an ANU free from violence, where all who are part of our community:

- Experience equality and respect in all their relationships at ANU, both personal or professional;
- Are empowered and respected while they live, learn, work and socialise at ANU; and,
- Are supported in their relationships at ANU to reach their full potential.

Our community, including all students and staff, will live free from violence and the fear of violence at ANU. All levels of the ANU will foster equality, inclusion and respect, including our residences, sporting and faith communities, clubs and societies, academic colleges, business units, research centres, event spaces and support services. Our systems will ensure accountability for violence and discrimination and address social inequalities and discrimination.

Every member of the ANU community will understand that violence is a result of gender inequality, combined with multiple forms of discrimination, power and control. People will have the knowledge and skills to recognise and speak out against controlling behaviours, victim-blaming, sexism and justifications for violence, with the support of our Vice-Chancellor, ANU Executive, Deans, Directors, Residential Heads, and Student Leaders. Everyone will be active in challenging these inequalities where they exist, and in creating a better, and more equal, ANU for all.

Achieving this vision will take time and requires a holistic approach, consisting of mutually reinforcing strategies to:

- a) address the complex social conditions that drive violence in the first place;
- b) intervene early for those at higher than average risk of perpetrating or experiencing violence; and,
- c) support victim-survivors of violence and to hold perpetrators to account.

This approach should be delivered in everyday settings where people live, learn, work and socialise, with a momentum that counteracts the size and scale of the problem.

THE ROLE OF THE STRATEGY

The call to end sexual violence and all forms of violence against women must come from within the ANU community, and all in the community will need to work collaboratively to deliver meaningful and lasting change. The ANU's prevention efforts must target the

structures, norms and practices which drive and reinforce violence at a whole-of-university, community, and individual level, to ensure that prevention messages reach everyone and are consistently reinforced in all settings. This will build the recognition in the ANU community of the urgent need for change to address sexual violence and violence against women.

The Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy builds on the long-term work of the sexual violence and prevention sectors, prevention advocates and activists, student organisations, local and national governments, and academics and other research organisations.

In recognition of the ANU as a place where people live, work, learn, and socialise, the Strategy takes a comprehensive and holistic approach to preventing and responding to violence. While stopping violence from occurring in the first instance is the goal, the road to achieving this is long. As such, until the ANU (and society) can prevent violence from occurring at ANU, it must also focus on intervening early for those at higher than average risk of perpetrating or experiencing violence and supporting victim-survivors and holding perpetrators to account.

For prevention, the Strategy principally draws from *Change the Story*, developed by Our Watch, ANROWS and VicHealth and released in 2015 and *Counting the Change – a guide to Prevention Monitoring*, developed by OurWatch and ANROWS and released in 2017.

The *Change the Story* framework consolidates the evidence on this issue and provides a conceptual model and practical approach to the prevention of sexual violence and violence against women. The *Counting the Change* guide consolidates good practice and provides advice on how to consistently collect and report on the progress of primary prevention efforts.

For responding to violence, the Strategy draws from the AHRC *Change the Course* report released in 2017, *On Safe Ground - A Good Practice Guide for Australian Universities* developed by UNSW and released in 2017, and the various ANU reviews and audits conducted as part of the implementation of the AHRC *Change the Course* recommendations.

Everyone in the ANU community has a right to live a life free from violence. To stop sexual violence once and for all will require all members the community – as individuals, as peers, as colleagues, and as members of schools, academic colleges, clubs, societies or networks – not only to say no to violence, but to challenge and reject the drivers of violence, and to uphold respect and equality for all.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH OF THE STRATEGY

The Strategy adopts a social-ecological approach to preventing and responding to sexual violence. This comprehensive multi-level approach is commonly used in public health and views violence as a product of multiple, interacting components and social factors, based on the understanding that actions undertaken at one level reinforce actions at another. Applied to the ANU, this approach conceptualises how the drivers of violence manifest across the personal, community and social level and demonstrates the value of implementing multiple mutually reinforcing strategies across these levels. While no other university in Australia has yet undertaken such a comprehensive and multi-faceted effort, experience from other areas, such as smoking and road safety, shows that a concerted effort can measurably lower the probability of violence against women and decrease future occurrences.

A socio-ecological model of sexual violence and violence against women from *Change the Story* is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

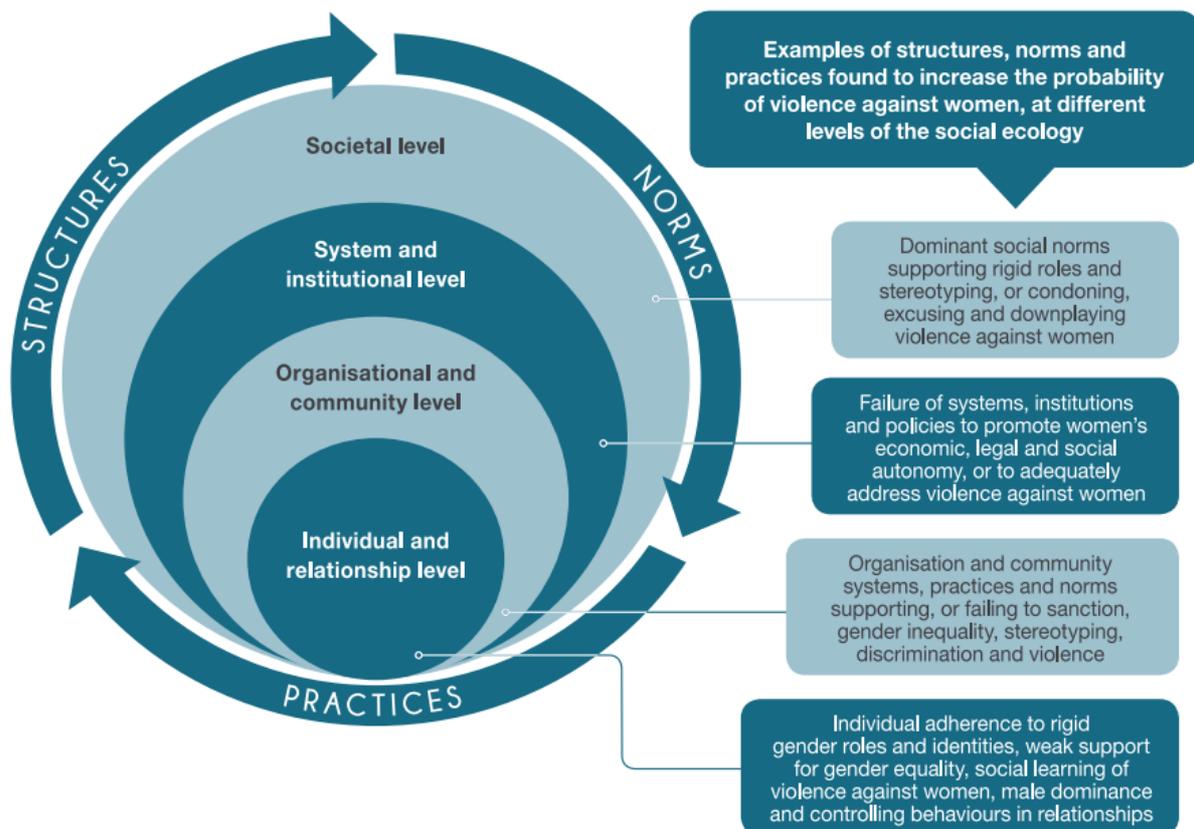


Figure 1 – Socio-ecological model of violence against women, *Change the Story*

THE STRATEGY WITHIN THE BROADER LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Gender inequality and violence against women are societal issues, and in turn, extend beyond the bounds of ANU. As such, it is important to acknowledge that the Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy sits as part of a broader context of efforts at the local, national and international levels to create safer and more equal societies. The Strategy complements several ANU specific, territory, national and international policies, strategies and reports as illustrated in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Broader context of ANU Sexual Violence Prevention Strategy

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

University-wide change and prevention of sexual violence efforts have not been undertaken at ANU at this scale before. As the Strategy aims to create long-term change in all parts of the ANU, it needs to consider that our community is dynamic, particularly our student community, with thousands of students commencing and graduating each semester.

While change will not happen overnight, we can expect that change will be gradual, punctuated with resistance and backlash, and require a steadfast and sustained commitment to ensure the prevention of violence in ANU in the longer term.

We will progress our efforts to prevent sexual violence in three phases, supported by rolling action plans (separate to the Strategy) developed by the Respectful Relationships Unit in consultation with the ANU community. These action plans will be made public and detail the actions and initiatives necessary to achieve an ANU free from violence.

The three phases of the Strategy will be implemented incrementally, so that phase one does not end as phase two begins, but rather each phase is added to the previous phase and builds on it, so that prevention efforts are strengthened and compounded. In order to ensure the quality of prevention and response efforts, each rolling action plan will be designed to be flexible and build on established efforts in sexual violence response and prevention, as well as refine, improve and develop new and innovative activities in line with new research, evaluations and evidence.

PHASE 1 – 2019–2020 – BUILD FOUNDATIONS

The first phase of the Strategy focuses on building the foundations for effective prevention in ANU. This phase includes establishing the Respectful Relationships Unit, recruiting a skilled prevention workforce, implementing an overarching Sexual Misconduct Policy, launching an online Sexual Misconduct Disclosure Form and expanding evaluation and monitoring efforts. This phase also includes engaging our community on the role of restorative practices and the need to address gender inequality and discrimination.

As more tangible signs of action and progress are visible, we expect that reporting of sexual violence will increase, as well as the satisfaction of the ANU's response, due to a greater awareness by victim-survivors and a preparedness of ANU to act.

PHASE 2 – 2020–2023 – STRENGTHEN WHOLE OF COMMUNITY EFFORTS

The second phase of the Strategy focuses on strengthening the foundations for effective prevention and developing a greater level of sophistication and saturation of prevention

activities across ANU communities. This means tools and resources will be more easily available, and people will be more able to call out and challenge violent supportive attitudes, behaviours and drivers.

During this phase, we expect to see attitudes that support violence becoming unacceptable and addressed in various settings and forums where members of our community live, work, learn, and socialise. Further, we anticipate that women will begin to feel an increased level of safety, and that victim-survivors will gain greater confidence in support service and reporting systems. Reporting on current, as well as historic, episodes of violence is expected to continue to increase.

PHASE 3 – 2023–2026 – MAINTAIN EFFORTS AND GET RESULTS

The third phase of the Strategy focuses on continuing to learn and innovate and maintain efforts in prevention. We expect to see noticeable gains in the third phase at individual, relationship, community and organisational levels. This includes greater representation of our community in prevention efforts, both as participants and facilitators.

During this phase, we anticipate that, as efforts build over the previous two phases, the social norms, attitudes, behaviours and systems contributing to violence will begin to shift. Further, we expect that incidents of sexual violence and violence against women will start to decline and that we will begin to reduce the load on crisis response services.

ENDNOTE

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¹² Australian National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, National Community Attitudinal Survey Findings 2017 at <https://ncas.anrows.org.au/findings/> (accessed 21 January 2019)

¹³ See Endnote 8

¹⁴ Australian Institute Health and Wellebing (2017), The health of Australia's males at <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/men-women/male-health/contents/who-are> (accessed 2 February 2019)