Technology-facilitated abuse:
A survey of support services stakeholders

ASHER FLYNN

ANASTASIA POWELL

SOPHIE HINDES

ΛNRØWS

Please note that there is the potential for minor revisions of this report.
Please check the online version at www.anrows.org.au for any amendment.

Technology-facilitated abuse:
A survey of support services stakeholders

DR ASHER FLYNN
Associate Professor, Criminology, Monash University

DR ANASTASIA POWELL
Associate Professor, Criminology, RMIT University

SOPHIE HINDES
Research Assistant, Criminology, Monash University

Contents

List of figures

Executive summary

Background

Nationally and internationally, technology-facilitated abuse (TFA) has garnered increasing policy, program and research attention. The term is wide-ranging and inclusive of many subtypes of interpersonal violence and abuse utilising mobile, online and other digital technologies (Department of Social Services [DSS], 2019). These can include stalking and monitoring behaviours, psychological and emotional abuse (including threats), sexual violence and image-based abuse (IBA), as well as sexual harassment (Henry et al., 2020). The term also sometimes refers more broadly to forms of general online harassment and cyberbullying, however to date, Australian policy and emerging research has typically focused on gendered violence, in particular the ways that technologies are implicated in family and domestic violence (see for example Dragiewicz et al., 2018, 2019; Harris & Woodlock, 2019; Woodlock et al., 2019; Woodlock, McKenzie et al., 2020), as well as IBA or what has been referred to colloquially as "revenge pornography" (Flynn & Henry, 2019a, 2019b; Henry et al., 2017; Henry et al., 2020; McGlynn & Rackley, 2017; Powell et al., 2018, 2019, 2020). Indeed, Australian research has shown that TFA is a growing problem, especially in regard to a digital extension of coercive control behaviours employed by perpetrators of family violence to monitor, threaten and restrict partners or ex-partners (Dragiewicz et al., 2019).

This report presents findings from Stage I of a larger national project examining the extent and nature of, and responses to, TFA within the Australian community. Consistent with the current Australian policy focus of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (Council of Australian Governments, 2011), the project focuses on TFA in gendered, partner and sexualised violence. Stage I of the project, on which this report focuses, seeks to inform the development of Stages II and III through recognition of the vital practice-based knowledge that is held by those who work directly with clients experiencing TFA within the support services sectors, including domestic and family violence, sexual assault, health, legal services and specialist diversity services. In this report, we discuss the results of a national survey of support services stakeholders in which they reported their experiences in responding to

or preventing TFA, as well as the barriers and challenges to responding to or preventing TFA, and priority areas for future professional development and policy change. These important insights will be utilised to develop Stages II and III of the research, which comprise in-depth interviews with victims and perpetrators of TFA as well as a representative national survey of TFA victimisation and perpetration.

Aim and objectives

This national study addresses an overarching aim to examine the extent and nature of, and responses to, TFA within the Australian community. It comprises three discrete research stages across a two-year period (2020 to 2022). Stage I, the focus of this report, aims to understand, from the perspective of support services workers, the nature and impacts of TFA, the adequacy of current responses to TFA, and areas for further development in both responses to and prevention of TFA. In pursuit of this aim, we undertook a national survey of workers in the community, domestic and family violence, sexual assault, health and legal services, specialist diversity services and allied sectors regarding their insights into TFA.

Method

In consultation with a project advisory group (PAG; see Appendix A), and with adaptations from existing instruments utilised in related sector-led and government research, an anonymous, online survey instrument was developed for distribution among sector stakeholders. The instrument received human research ethical clearance from Monash University's Human Research Ethics Committee in August 2020 (project no. 25605). The final instrument comprised six question modules, including 1) participant demographic and career information; 2) client experiences of TFA; 3) TFA in the context of the Australian bushfires and the COVID-19 pandemic; 4) perpetrator characteristics and motivations; 5) adequacy of support, legal and policy responses; and 6) worker confidence, training and resource needs. The survey was distributed via a combination of direct email invitations,

newsletter postings and social media advertising. We received responses from 338 support services workers across Australia.

Key findings

The study found that in the experience of support services workers, foremost comprising domestic and sexual violence services, TFA is a significant and gendered problem with victims facing significant impacts and barriers to help-seeking. Support services workers described TFA as a growing issue for their clients, particularly with the ever-expanding and vast landscape of digital technologies. However, they also identified that there are significant obstacles to helping clients who are experiencing TFA, and expressed concerns over the adequacy of current responses. These include difficulty in finding up-to-date information, TFA not being taken seriously by police and courts, and inadequate responses from technology providers. Support services workers called for these key areas to be improved. They also identified areas in which they need additional support and training, including responding to perpetrators, meeting the needs of diverse clients and strategies for preventing TFA. Overall, the vital, practice-based knowledge from support services workers in this study has allowed us to demonstrate tangible ways in which we can more effectively disrupt, prevent and respond to TFA.

Implications for policy and practice

- TFA comprises a range of behaviours and relational contexts in which violence, harassment and abuse occur with the aid of online and digital technologies.
- Nonetheless, in the view of support services workers, there remains a substantial gendered nature to TFA, demonstrating a clear need for focused policy efforts that prioritise TFA as a subtype of men's violence against women.
- Policy, training and education on TFA in relation to service responses, justice responses and prevention should recognise TFA as an extended form of gendered violence.
- Key areas for training of support workers (for victims and those assisting with behavioural change of perpetrators) include:

  ○ how to recognise TFA and respond to disclosures of TFA
  ○ improving understanding of the nature and seriousness of TFA and the range of response options available to address TFA and to support victims of TFA
  ○ how to identify experiences of TFA that victims may not themselves recognise as abusive behaviour
  ○ how to safely plan prevention techniques with victims of TFA.

Overall, the findings indicated three priority areas for service sector development in response to TFA, namely: working with diverse clients experiencing TFA (including those with disability; those from CALD, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, and LGBTQ+ and intersex communities; and sex workers); working with perpetrators to intervene in TFA; and working to prevent TFA before it occurs through community and education settings.

Conclusion

This report provides a summary of the findings from a survey of 338 support services workers across Australia on their experiences supporting victims and perpetrators of TFA. It reports on the views of support services workers regarding the nature and impacts of TFA; the contexts and motivations of TFA perpetration; challenges for workers in responding to TFA; obstacles to preventing, responding to and addressing TFA (both in relation to support services workers and within the justice context); and reflections on TFA during times of crisis.

In light of ongoing support services developments and policy and legislative reforms to better respond to and prevent TFA, the insights from workers provided in this report highlight the need for continued resourcing and implementation of such reforms. In particular, while proposed legal frameworks and civil remedies such as those addressed through the Online Safety Bill 2021 (Cth) are important, what this research demonstrates is that there remains an urgent need for training and resources directed to frontline support services to better respond to TFA. Furthermore, while laws may be changing, there remains a perception among support

services workers that police and legal responses remain inconsistent in meeting the needs of victims of TFA, and in holding perpetrators to account.

While this report presents some further insights into the range of abuses associated with TFA, further research is required to more deeply understand the extent, nature and contexts of TFA in Australia. This will be the focus of Stages II and III of this ongoing national project.

Introduction

Nationally and internationally, technology-facilitated abuse (TFA) has garnered increasing policy, program and research attention. The term is wide-ranging and inclusive of many subtypes of interpersonal violence and abuse utilising mobile, online and other digital technologies (Department of Social Services [DSS], 2019). These can include stalking and monitoring behaviours, psychological and emotional abuse (including threats), sexual violence and image-based abuse (IBA), as well as sexual harassment (Henry et al., 2020). The term also sometimes refers more broadly to forms of general online harassment and cyber bullying, however to date, Australian policy and emerging research has typically focused on gendered violence, in particular the ways that technologies are implicated in family and domestic violence (see for example Dragiewicz et al., 2018, 2019; Harris & Woodlock, 2019; Woodlock et al., 2019; Woodlock, McKenzie et al., 2020), as well as IBA or what has been referred to colloquially as "revenge pornography" (Flynn & Henry, 2019a, 2019b; Henry et al., 2017; Henry et al., 2020; McGlynn & Rackley, 2017; Powell et al., 2018, 2019, 2020). Indeed, Australian research has shown that TFA is a growing problem, especially in regard to a digital extension of coercive control behaviours employed by perpetrators of family violence to monitor, threaten and restrict partners or ex-partners (Dragiewicz et al., 2019).

TFA can be gendered in its nature and impacts. For example, recent research suggests that women are more likely to experience IBA harms from partners or ex-partners and more likely to experience repeated abusive behaviours with greater impacts on their mental health and feelings of safety (McGlynn et al., 2020; Powell et al., 2019, 2020). In addition to disproportionately impacting women, it is also increasingly apparent that TFA presents greater impacts and barriers to support for those in the Australian community who experience multiple marginalisations, such as sexuality and gender diverse people, people with disability, and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) women (Henry et al., forthcoming; Powell et al., 2018).

This report presents findings from Stage I of a larger national project examining the extent and nature of, and responses to, TFA within the Australian community, with a particular focus on TFA in gendered, partner and sexualised violence, consistent with the current Australian policy focus under the *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (the National Plan; Council of Australian Governments [COAG], 2011). Stage I of the project seeks to recognise the vital, practice-based knowledge that is held by those who work directly with clients experiencing TFA, in particular within the domestic, family and sexual assault and specialist diversity service sectors. In this report, we discuss the results of a national survey of support services workers regarding their experiences in responding to, or preventing, TFA, as well as the barriers and challenges to responding to or preventing TFA, and priority areas for future professional development and policy change.

Policy context

In Australia, reducing violence, particularly violence against women, has been set as a national priority. In 2009, the *Time for Action* report was presented to the Australian Government arguing for a sustained level of investment in preventing and responding to violence (DSS, 2009). The government committed $42 million to address urgent recommendations, including the establishment of telephone and counselling services, respectful relationships programs and a social media campaign directed at young people and parents. The government also referred the report to the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in order to secure cooperation between all levels of government, leading to the development of the National Plan (COAG, 2011). The National Plan aims to improve how governments work together, increase support for women and their children, and create innovative and targeted ways to bring about change. Under this plan, Our Watch was established as the national centre of excellence for primary prevention. The organisation has since released *Change the Story*, a framework for preventing violence against women and their children (Our Watch, 2015). The *Change the Story* framework also recognises the need for a national approach with cross-sectoral collaboration to drive and sustain the social change needed to prevent violence. Additionally, in 2019, the *Partnership Agreement on Closing the Gap 2019–2029* came into effect, with one of its key targets being a sustained reduction in violence and abuse against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and children in Australia (COAG, 2019).

Australian states and territories have committed to various efforts in response to these national plans. In 2016, Victoria held its Royal Commission into Family Violence, with the state committing to implementing all 227 of the Commission's recommendations. Victoria has also invested more than $3 billion as part of the *Family Violence Reform Rolling Action Plan*. New South Wales has committed $431 million over four years to implement the *Domestic and Family Violence Blueprint for Reform,* aiming to prevent domestic and family violence, intervene early with individuals and communities at risk, support victims, hold perpetrators to account, and improve the quality of services and the system as a whole. Queensland has committed to a 10-year reform program, but also has separate and targeted programs for domestic and family violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and against people with disability. The Northern Territory and Western Australia have both committed to 10-year action plans and, in 2019, South Australia released its framework of response. Tasmania undertook a comprehensive review of its family violence service systems in 2018–19. This review informed the state's second action plan, *Safe Homes, Families, Communities: Tasmania's Action Plan for Family and Sexual Violence 2019–2022,* a $26 million commitment to respond to family and sexual violence in Tasmania by enhancing crisis and recovery services, strengthening the service system and increasing investment in primary prevention (DSS, 2019).

Violence and abuse online and through technology has also garnered national attention. In 2015, Australia established the Office of the Children's eSafety Commissioner, a national independent regulator of online safety. In 2017, the agency's remit was expanded to promoting and enhancing safety for all Australians and its name was changed to the eSafety Commissioner. Through its eSafety Women program, the eSafety Commissioner works with all sectors who play a role in assisting and supporting women at risk of, or experiencing, online harms, including various forms of harassment, fraud and IBA. National peak body WESNET (the Women's Services Network) has also been working since 2011 on examining the intersection of technology and violence against women. It provides training, technical advice and policy guidance on TFA, including training for frontline domestic and family violence workers. Indeed, nationwide, domestic and family violence services have long recognised the problem of TFA

and have been advocating for action (see e.g. Family Violence Response Centre, 2020; Women's Legal Service NSW, 2020).

There are currently four primary legal avenues that can be utilised to respond to TFA in Australia. These vary between each state and territory and include some criminal offences which may be applicable; legislation around surveillance devices (when they can be used and the information that can be shared); obtaining a protection order; and laws around IBA (when it is an offence to record or distribute images, and in some states, to threaten to distribute images; WESNET, 2019). In the case of IBA, legislative changes to the *Enhancing Online Safety Act 2015* (Cth) have given the Office of the eSafety Commissioner the power to help victims have intimate images removed from online platforms (Yar & Drew, 2019). Tasmania is the only jurisdiction, at the time of writing, to have criminal laws that protect against forms of coercive control such as economic abuse and emotional abuse or intimidation (McMahon & McGorrery, 2016). There is currently debate forming as to whether coercive control should be criminalised in the other states and territories, with the New South Wales Labor opposition proposing a bill with a 10-year maximum penalty (Fitz-Gibbon et al., 2020). At the federal level, the Online Safety Bill 2021 (Cth) was introduced into Parliament on 24 February 2021 and, if passed, will strengthen the powers of the eSafety Commissioner to direct technology providers to remove harmful content (including content harmful to both children and adults), and impose higher penalties for both companies and individuals who do not comply. While this is arguably a positive step, the law has traditionally been slow in keeping pace with the changing technological landscape, and some TFA behaviours still fall outside of legal avenues, contributing to the minimisation of these harms (Flynn & Henry, 2019a; Powell & Henry, 2018).

There have also been prevention efforts in Australia. The Office of the eSafety Commissioner has developed Young and eSafe, a program aiming to encourage young people to have respectful online relationships. It has also developed a range of classroom resources to help teachers incorporate online safety into their teaching. Yar and Drew (2019) argue that the additional power given to the Office of the eSafety Commissioner to have social media platforms remove IBA material is also a prevention effort, as it will compel online platforms to prioritise duty of care to users. It is also

becoming increasingly recognised that technology platforms should play a part in prevention of online abuse and have a responsibility in designing platforms in ways that mitigate abuse, as well as having mechanisms in place for moderating abuse (Amnesty International, 2020; Salter, 2018).

As the *Time for Action* report found a decade ago (DSS, 2009), the ways that service systems are set up to respond to violence against women and their children are complex and hard for people to navigate. There is also a lack of cross-collaboration between services creating problems in responding to the diverse needs of victims. Response services may include rape crisis services; specialist domestic and family violence services; homelessness services; government and legal services, including police; hospitals; general practitioners; and mental health services (DSS, 2019). For TFA, the Office of the eSafety Commissioner, with its reporting mechanisms, is an additional response service. In the last decade, there has been a significant increase in women accessing formal services, which is argued to be due in part to an improvement of availability and quality of services. However, it is recognised that there is further work to be done (DSS, 2019).

Digital forms of abuse have increased the complexity of the response sector's work, making it more difficult to assist victims (Woodlock et al., 2020). Notably, the lack of clarification in criminal law on TFA behaviours and lack of training and support has been identified as an issue for police in responding (Henry et al., 2018; Powell and Henry, 2018). Service providers also report a major dilemma in helping protect women from TFA while simultaneously enabling the safe use of technology to remain connected to support networks (Woodlock et al., 2020). Agencies such as WESNET and the Office of the e-Safety Commissioner are working to bridge this gap by providing training to frontline workers on identifying TFA and how they can support women experiencing TFA to gain back control of their technology.

Understanding technology-facilitated abuse

Overall, research has identified that digital media not only extends and amplifies the impacts of existing patterns of violence, harassment and abuse, but arguably has created

new forms of abuse (such as in the case of IBA). Technologies also present particular challenges, allowing abuse to be anonymously perpetrated in some instances, and giving perpetrators twenty-four seven access to victims as well as their extended communities (Baker at al., 2013; Dragiewicz et al., 2018; Woodlock, 2017). Though not all TFA is perpetrated by men against women, there are nonetheless multiple studies indicating particular gendered patterns and relational contexts to various sub-categories of TFA (see e.g. Reyns & Fissel, 2020; Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020; McGlynn et al., 2020; Powell et al., 2019). Furthermore, some research suggests that women are more likely to report negative impacts as a result of some forms of TFA, such as greater emotional distress (Powell & Henry, 2019), and are more likely to fear for their safety (Henry et al., 2017) compared to men. The below sections further elaborate on the ways technology is shaping and extending sexualised, partner and gendered forms of TFA, as well as the impacts on victims.

Online sexual harassment

It is well documented that sexual harassment is a prevalent phenomenon in offline contexts, with women frequently the victims (Australian Human Rights Commission [AHRC], 2020). The 2018 national survey conducted by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) found that 39 per cent of women (and 26% of men) had experienced sexual harassment in the workplace in the preceding five years (AHRC, 2020), with the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) *Personal Safety Survey* (2016) finding that 1 in 2 women (and 1 in 4 men) had experienced sexual harassment during their lifetime. In Australia, sexual harassment is legislatively defined as any unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature in circumstances where a reasonable person would have anticipated that the person harassed would possibly be offended, humiliated or intimidated (see AHRC, 2020). Sexual harassment might include unwelcome touching or unnecessary familiarity, starting or leering, sexually suggestive comments or jokes, unwanted invitations and sexual requests, sexually explicit communications (including images, emails or SMS), and insults or taunts based on sex (AHRC, 2020). Such conduct is unlawful in many settings of public life including in workplaces; in educational institutions; in providing goods, services or accommodation; and in the delivery of Commonwealth laws or programs.

Though technology can facilitate social connection, digital platforms such as social media, messaging applications, dating platforms and online video games also present new ways for people to engage in sexual harassment (Fox & Tang 2017; Gillett, 2018; Powell & Henry, 2015). Online sexual harassment refers to any unwanted sexual behaviour via electronic means and can include unwanted sexual solicitation; unwanted requests to talk about sex; unwanted requests to do something sexual online or in person; receiving unwanted sexual messages and images; having sexual messages and images shared without permission; and revealing identifying and personal information about a person online (e.g. "doxing"; Barak, 2005; Powell & Henry, 2015; Reed et al., 2020). While online sexual harassment may be a strategy in the familiar settings such as workplaces and education, and may well be combined with face-to-face harassment against a known victim (see Scarduzio et al., 2018), much research has documented the scale, gendered nature and impacts of online sexual harassment in a wide range of online settings and often from unknown perpetrators (see e.g. Herovic et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2020; Thompson, 2018). Emerging research has also suggested that some online sexual harassment is collectively organised and perpetrated, with networks of male perpetrators working together to target women and minorities (e.g. Marwick & Caplan, 2018). Online spaces provide a unique environment for sexual harassment as perpetrators can reach multiple victims, across geographic and temporal barriers, all while potentially remaining anonymous; this in turn makes it very difficult to regulate (Powell & Henry, 2015). Indeed, while criminal offences exist in the Australian context for some forms of harassment (such as the *Criminal Code Act 1995* [Cth] s 474.17: "using a carriage service to menace, harass or cause offence"), in practice, such laws are very difficult to prosecute due to geographic and jurisdictional barriers, as well as perpetrator anonymity.

Online sexual harassment presents a serious social and public health concern as studies have found significant mental health impacts such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety and depression (Arafa, 2017; Cripps & Sterman, 2018; Nobles et al., 2014), as well as higher levels of substance use among victims (Ybarra et al., 2007). It also arguably presents a major obstacle to women's equal participation in, and functional use of, many online spaces (see e.g. Fox & Tang, 2019). In particular, much research has identified the potential silencing and exclusion of women from public life, with online sexual harassment and gender-based trolling targeting women politicians, journalists and other public figures (Akhtar & Morrison, 2019; Antunovic, 2019).

Stalking and monitoring

Stalking is one of the most common forms of interpersonal violence (Worsley et al., 2017). The ABS' *Personal Safety Survey* (2016) found that 1 in 6 women (and 1 in 15 men) had experienced an episode of stalking since the age of 15. All Australian states and territories have criminalised stalking and though legislation varies, the key elements are that the offender pursues a "course of conduct" (i.e. repeated or multiple behaviours) with the intention of causing physical or mental harm to a victim, or causing the victim to fear for their safety (see Australian Law Reform Commission, 2014). In-person stalking can involve repeated or multiple unwanted behaviours such as following a person; loitering near places that a person resides, works or visits; keeping a person under surveillance (e.g. documenting their whereabouts, contacts or routines); interfering with property; sending offensive material or gifts; or engaging in intimidating, harassing or other behaviour that might cause apprehension or fear. Both women and men are more likely to have experienced stalking from a male perpetrator, and women are more likely than men to experience stalking from a known male rather than a stranger (ABS, 2016).

Technology gives stalkers additional tools with which to infiltrate deeper into victims' lives, with new applications and technologies that can facilitate stalking released almost daily (Fraser et al., 2010; Reyns & Fissel, 2020). Perpetrators use an array of technologies to maintain unwanted contact with a victim; send or post online offensive messages, images or personal information; impersonate a victim online; or follow, monitor or track a victim's location and activities; and they also use social media to gather and/or post information about their victims (Fraser et al., 2010). Both online (internet-enabled) and offline technologies can be used, such as global positioning system (GPS) trackers, keyloggers (a type of monitoring software designed to log computer keystrokes), hidden cameras, webcams, audio bugs, microphones, telephones, location-based dating apps, spyware, mobile stalker apps, email accounts, social media,

maps, reverse image search, "find my device" services and bluetooth (Eterovic-Soric, 2017; Fraser et al., 2010). Much research suggests that online stalking and monitoring is particularly prevalent in domestic and family violence contexts (Brem et al., 2019; Messing et al., 2020), as well as dating and sexual violence (DeKeseredy et al., 2019; Hinduja & Patchin, 2020; Rothman et al., 2020), and that offline stalking of women can be interrelated with online stalking victimisation (Reyns & Fisher, 2018).

Cyberstalking victims have reported experiencing similar impacts to victims of in-person stalking. These include emotional impacts such as anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and restrictive lifestyle implications, for example, always being on high alert and taking actions to protect themselves (Francisco, et al., 2015; Reyns & Fissel, 2020; Stevens et al., 2020; Worsley et al., 2017). There may also be financial consequences due to lost wages or seeking medical help, and cyberstalking may also escalate to in-person stalking or physical violence (Reyns & Fissel, 2020; Todd et al., 2021).

Image-based abuse

IBA has been more colloquially known as "revenge porn", but scholars have argued for the widening of this term to include other gendered and sexualised forms of abuse involving images such as upskirting (non-consensually taking an image up a person's skirt or dress), deepfakes (non-consensually created sexual imagery, in which a person's face or body has been digitally altered to appear as someone else) and cyberflashing (otherwise referred to as "dick pics", whereby a person sends an unsolicited image of their genitals to another person without their consent; Fido & Harper 2020; Henry et al., 2020; McGlynn et al., 2017). IBA is defined by Henry et al. (2018) as images being used to coerce, threaten, harass, objectify or abuse. There are three key behaviours: the non-consensual taking of nude or sexual images; the non-consensual sharing or distribution of nude or sexual images; and threats made to distribute nude or sexual images (Powell et al., 2019). Perpetrators can be either strangers or known to the victim (Flynn & Henry, 2019b). Research has demonstrated a number of motivations beyond the "jilted ex-partner" including desire for notoriety, sexual gratification

and economic gain through blackmail and extortion (Henry et al., 2018; Yar & Drew, 2019).

A recent qualitative cross-national study from Australia, the United Kingdom and New Zealand (McGlynn et al., 2020) found that IBA has "all-encompassing, ongoing and often devastating" impacts on victims' lives but a lack of sufficient recognition of harms made it difficult for victims to "understand, narrate and name their experiences" (p. 17). IBA is argued to reflect wider patterns of gendered violence and victims often report these harms as a form of sexual violence (Henry et al., 2020, McGlynn et al., 2017, 2020; Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020). Sexual double standards online also mean women and girls often face harsher consequences such as reputational damage if they are victims of sexualised forms of TFA such as IBA (Flynn & Henry, 2019a; Pashang et al., 2018; Salter, 2016).

Intimate partner violence and coercive control

According to the ABS' *Personal Safety Survey* (2016), 1 in 6 Australian women (and 1 in 17 men) have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from a current or former cohabiting intimate partner. Additionally, 1 in 4 women (and 1 in 6 men) have experienced partner emotional abuse (including threats, putdowns, humiliation and controlling behaviours) since the age of 15. When each of physical, sexual and emotional abuse is included from both cohabiting or non-cohabiting current or former partners, 1 in 3 Australian women have experienced intimate partner violence (see Cox, 2015; Webster, 2016). Such intimate partner violence is also gendered in its impacts, with women more likely than men to report experiencing fear or anxiety due to physical, sexual or emotional violence by either a current or former partner (ABS, 2016). While physical and sexual violence are criminalised in all states and territories through assault and sexual assault legislation, emotional abuse and controlling behaviours are not routinely covered by criminal provisions (the exception being in Tasmania's *Family Violence Act 2004*), though they are typically sufficient grounds for a civil intervention or protection order.

Technology has allowed domestic abusers to "inflict old harms in new ways" (Yardley, 2020, p. 2) as the accessibility and immediacy of digital technologies expands abusers'

control beyond previous spatial boundaries (Dragiewicz et al., 2018), making TFA an increasingly integrated feature within domestic, family and dating violence (Marganski & Melander, 2018; Yardley, 2020). Types of abuse include harassment on social media, stalking using GPS technology, audio and visual recording, threatening or offensive communications via digital means, monitoring emails, accessing accounts without permission, impersonating partners, publishing identifying or private information online (e.g. "doxing"), and releasing sexualised content without consent (Dragiewicz et al., 2018). Perpetrators will use various tools including physical devices (e.g. GPS trackers and phones), virtual accounts (e.g. email or social media profiles), and software and online platforms (e.g. Facebook, Instagram and YouTube; Harris, 2020). Indeed, much research has identified the ubiquitousness of technology-enabled or "cyber" forms of abuse among adolescents and in youth dating contexts (see e.g. Brown et al., 2020; Caridade et al., 2019; Stonard et al., 2014), and in current or former spousal or de facto relationships (Dragiewicz et al., 2018; Harris, 2020; Woodlock, 2017; Yardley, 2020). In particular, recent research has highlighted perpetrators' manipulation of technologies to facilitate coercive control. Coercive control refers to the patterns of oppression and "liberty harms" that prevent victims of domestic violence from exercising freedom or independent personhood (Stark, 2009). The concept helps to frame domestic violence as more than an incident or series of incidents of physical, sexual or emotional abuse, and further highlights the invasiveness of a web of strategies, sometimes seemingly innocuous on their own, that are used by perpetrators (such as threats, isolation, intimidation, surveillance, stalking, humiliation and degradation) to render the entrapment of (usually women) victims. Terms such as "digital coercive control" (Harris & Woodlock, 2019) or "technology-facilitated coercive control" (Dragiewicz et al., 2018, 2019) further identify perpetrators' use of communications, monitoring and surveillance technologies to enable such coercive control.

Digital technologies are often used in conjunction with physical forms of abuse such as tracking a partner's geolocation and showing up in person (Dragiewicz et al., 2018) or the escalation to physical violence if an abuser's digital access is cut off (Yardley, 2020). The possibilities technology offers perpetrators of domestic violence are multifaceted. It can be used to control and isolate, make it more difficult to escape, allow perpetrators to monitor a victim's friends and family, and punish and humiliate (Woodlock, 2017). In effect, technology-facilitated domestic or dating partner violence can include sexual harassment, stalking and monitoring behaviours, emotional abuse and controlling behaviours, and IBA, as well as utilising digital and other technological devices to enable in-person violence and abuse.

The impacts of TFA in the context of intimate partner, domestic and family violence are extensive. Australian research has described the "omnipresence" that victims experience, as perpetrators of TFA are able to invade every aspect of their lives, at any time of the day or night, and across locations (Harris, 2018). This in turn can leave victims feeling hypervigilant, as well as experiencing severe mental health impacts such as anxiety, depression, PTSD and suicidality (see Bates, 2017; Pashang et al., 2019; Reed et al., 2019). More broadly, according to Australian research, intimate partner violence is the highest contributing risk factor to the burden of disease and ill health in women aged 18 to 44 years (Webster, 2016). This is more than alcohol use, tobacco use, workplace hazards and obesity. Intimate partner violence also affects women's access to housing and employment, as well as impacting on child development, and exacerbates social and economic gender inequalities (Webster, 2016). Together the human rights violation, health impact, and social and economic burden of intimate partner violence make addressing and preventing this abuse a vital policy priority.

In summary, and consistently demonstrated by international research, TFA is characterised by an intersection of gender power relations and sexually based and/or intimate partner harms. TFA is further understood to frequently target and disproportionately impact women. Yet, too often these harms are broadly categorised as online or cyberbullying and harassment, regardless of the gender of the target, sexualised nature of or intersecting inequalities evident in the abuse (Henry & Powell, 2018; Pashang et al., 2018; Reed at al., 2020). Such broad approaches to TFA as a generalised form of abuse can in turn further render the intersectional causes and impacts invisible (see Crenshaw, 1990), such as differences by gender, age, class, cultural background, ability and sexual orientation (Pashang et al., 2018).

Research is still developing in the field, though emerging studies have suggested that sexuality and gender minorities are also overrepresented as victims (see e.g. Henry et al., 2020, 2021; Powell et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020). Research has further highlighted the "sexual racism" that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples encounter in online dating environments (see Carlson, 2020) and the "misogynoir" that women of colour experience through social media (e.g. Lawson, 2018). Additionally, a small but emerging body of research indicates that people with chronic health conditions and disability may also be particularly targeted in online abuse (see e.g. Alhaboby et al., 2019), though there is a clear need for research that further engages with the intersectional nature of TFA across inequalities such as gender, sexuality, race and ability (Hackworth, 2018).

Impact of COVID-19 and other crises on technology-facilitated abuse

Previous research demonstrates a significant increase in gendered and domestic violence in the aftermath of disasters such as bushfires and hurricanes. This is said to be the effect of greater financial and emotional stress placed on individuals and families with loss of property and jobs (see e.g. Parkinson & Zara, 2013; Schumacher et al., 2010; United Nations, 2017a, 2017b). In late 2019 and early 2020, the Australian states of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland experienced catastrophic bushfires which scholars predicted would lead to a spike in domestic violence (Maguire et al., 2019). Australia then entered into government-directed lockdowns in March 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, with the state of Victoria subjected to extensive lockdown measures that lasted for much of 2020. The United Nations (2017b) suggested that COVID-19 would, like other disasters, lead to a spike in domestic violence and this has since been confirmed by recent research. For example, reports from the Australian Institute of Criminology (Boxall et al., 2020; Morgan & Boxall, 2020) found that rates of domestic and sexual violence have significantly increased during the COVID-19 pandemic. In particular, in the three-month period prior to the survey being carried out from 6 May to 1 June, 2020, 4.2 per cent of women experienced physical violence by a current or former cohabiting partner; 2.2 per cent of women experienced sexual violence; and 11.6 per cent of women experienced emotionally abusive, harassing and controlling behaviours (Boxall et al., 2020, p. 6). Not only are these rates high compared to previous Australian 12-month prevalence data gathered by the ABS's (2016) *Personal Safety Survey*, but women themselves reported that the frequency and severity of partner violence had also increased since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic (Boxall et al., 2020). Similarly, Pfitzner et al.'s (2020) study with practitioners in Victoria reported not only an increase in frequency and severity of domestic violence, but an increase in first-time family violence and complexity of women's needs.

However, what is less clear from these overall studies into gendered and/or domestic violence is what impact, if any, such disasters may have on experiences and perpetration of TFA specifically. Internationally, Marganski & Melander (2020) suggest that technology-facilitated forms of control and abuse will be particularly damaging during COVID-19 lockdowns. Acts like disabling phone and internet and monitoring electronic communications will isolate women and girls from sources of support and place them in contact with abusers for extended periods of time. A related Australian study with domestic violence practitioners by Woodlock, Bentley and colleagues (2020) also found evidence of this, saying "increased reliance on technology for school, work and contacting friends and family due to COVID-19 opened up opportunities for perpetrators to control, monitor and isolate women" (p. 17).

In turn, there is some evidence that Australian support services have observed impacts of COVID-19 lockdowns on TFA. For instance, in the Victorian context, some organisations have reported not only that perpetrators used COVID-19 lockdowns for in-person abuse (such as through threats to infect, coercing a partner into living with them and removal of partner from other supports), but also for technology-based harms such as monitoring a partner's behaviours, including their technology use (Family Violence Reform Implementation Monitor [FVFIM], 2020; Pfitzner et al., 2020). Organisations have also reported that the switch from face-to-face to technology-based service provision during COVID-19 has been a significant barrier to women safely accessing services, particularly when locked down with an abuser. This has also been a barrier for certain cultural and religious groups who are less e-literate (FVFIM, 2020). Meanwhile Powell and Flynn (2020) have suggested that

the reliance on digital communication during COVID-19 has likely led to the 210 per cent increase in IBA reported to the Office of the e-Safety Commissioner in Australia, with perpetrators having greater access to victims' images to abuse and threaten them with. Overall, it appears that in these times of crisis, not only are women at greater risk of gendered abuse, but they are at greater risk of being abused and exploited via technology.

Challenges in responding to TFA and evidence gaps

There is limited literature on the perspectives of various professionals responding to TFA in Australia, however a handful of studies have identified some key emerging themes. One major challenge across studies is the difficulty of keeping abreast of new technologies. For example, in their recent study of frontline domestic violence practitioners, Woodlock, Bentley and colleagues (2020) found a significant increase in the variety of technologies used in abuse tactics by perpetrators in domestic violence contexts since 2015, but practitioners reported struggling with keeping on top of the myriad of ways technology was being used to abuse. Responses and supports for those experiencing TFA can therefore be inadequate or fall behind. Woodlock, Bentley and colleagues (2020) further found that while practitioner understanding of TFA as a form of abuse has increased since 2015, specialist training for the domestic violence sector is still required, particularly training that adopts a specific, gendered lens. In another Australian study, Powell and Henry (2018) found that for domestic and sexual violence service providers, one of the greatest challenges in responding to TFA is "keeping pace with the ever-changing landscape of the internet" (p. 305).

The difficulty in police responses to particular forms of TFA is another key challenge identified across Australian studies. With regard to IBA, for instance, this included police not taking victims seriously, challenges in collecting evidence and adequate legal avenues not being available (Flynn & Henry 2019a, 2019b; Henry et al. 2018). Woodlock, Bentley and colleagues (2020) found little change from 2015 to 2020 in domestic violence service providers' perceptions of police responses to TFA, with respondents reporting police not

taking victims seriously, not understanding TFA and often trivialising women's experiences. Henry and colleagues (2018) similarly found that masculine values and victim-blaming attitudes within police culture were a significant barrier for those seeking help. Powell and Henry's (2018) study of technology-facilitated sexual violence and harassment with police stakeholders found that police faced challenges and barriers in investigating and responding to these forms of TFA. These included cross-jurisdictional barriers, such as a victim or perpetrator being overseas, or evidence being held by an international service provider. They also reported a lack of cooperation from internet and telecommunication service providers when obtaining evidence. The need for clarity in criminal legislation was also an issue reported by police stakeholders across multiple studies (Henry et al., 2018; Powell & Henry, 2018). Henry and colleagues' (2018) study called for consistent legislation across jurisdictions relating to IBA in order to address problematic attitudes among police and force them to take this form of TFA more seriously. Police stakeholders in Powell and Henry's (2018) study similarly identified the need to extend training and resources for police, including resourcing intelligence practitioners for online behaviours and training police to respond less dismissively. Henry and colleagues (2018) also argued that police need training specific to TFA, particularly training that focuses on the barriers faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, CALD groups, LGBTQ+ and intersex communities, and those living with disability.

The few international studies with stakeholders and support services workers have also found workers are generally not equipped with sufficient training, expertise and knowledge to keep up with the fast-changing landscape of technology. These studies have acknowledged the urgent need for better information and training for practitioners (Freed et al., 2017; Lopez-Neria et al., 2019). Lopez-Neria and colleagues (2019) made a number of specific recommendations in this context, including that domestic violence and cybersecurity practitioners should work in tandem, the risk of TFA needs to be considered in safety planning, and domestic abuse and internet security legislation needs to include TFA. Such conclusions are consistent with the Australian research to date (e.g. Flynn & Henry 2019a, 2019b; Harris & Woodlock, 2019; Henry et al., 2018; Powell & Henry, 2018; Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020).

The findings of these studies clearly demonstrate that TFA is a significant and pressing issue for support services workers, however there is a clear need to further explore how support services workers in Australia can be better supported to help clients experiencing TFA.

Though the research into TFA both nationally and internationally is rapidly developing (see e.g. DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2016; Fraser et al., 2010; McGlynn et al., 2017; Reyns et al., 2012; Scott & Gavin, 2018), there remain pressing gaps in current knowledge. Among these are the experiences, challenges and needs of support services workers responding to and developing prevention resources and tools for TFA. There is increasing awareness of the challenges and needs of support services workers more broadly when responding to domestic and sexual violence. This includes challenges in meeting victims' needs with overstretched services and long waiting lists, and "one size" approaches being inadequate to the need for tailored and accessible services (DSS, 2009). Consequently, there has been national recognition that mainstream and specialist services in Australia need to work together in forming long-term, strategic approaches to violence against women and children. This includes collaboration between services and flexibility in meeting the needs of diverse clients including those who are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, older, younger, living with disability, same-sex attracted and from CALD backgrounds (COAG, 2011).

While there is an awareness that diverse clients may have different needs, there is still a gap in knowledge of the unique needs of those experiencing TFA and the specific challenges support services workers face in helping those experiencing this type of abuse. This study aims to fill that gap through a comprehensive approach that explores the vital practice-based knowledge of support services workers, their knowledge of the challenges victims face in seeking help when experiencing TFA, and what resources they need to respond to the unique challenges of TFA.

Aims of the study

The larger national study aims to examine the extent and nature of, and responses to, TFA within the Australian community. It comprises three discrete research stages

across a two-year period (2020 to 2022). Stage I, the focus of this report, seeks to understand, from the perspective of support services workers, the nature and impacts of TFA, the adequacy of current responses to TFA, and further development in both responses to and prevention of TFA. Stage II seeks to understand the lived experiences of victims of TFA, as well as the nature of perpetration, through in-depth qualitative interviewing. Stage III seeks to establish reliable national prevalence rates for the victimisation and perpetration of key behavioural subtypes of TFA, namely, technology-facilitated emotional and psychological abuse; stalking, monitoring and controlling behaviours; sexual abuse and IBA; and threats. The findings of Stages II and III will be published in subsequent research reports when the research is completed.

Methodology

There remain pressing gaps in current knowledge about TFA, including the experiences, challenges and needs of support services workers responding to, and developing prevention for, TFA. As identified by Coy and Garner (2012), sector workers develop insights into the extent, nature and service challenges of abuse due to "their relationship with service users [that] affords a depth of knowledge and expertise which is often inaccessible" (p. 296). Gathering these vital insights forms an important first step in the study design not only as a valuable source of knowledge in its own right, and with clear implications for policy and practice, but also to directly inform the development and refinement of subsequent stages of the overall research project.

Project advisory group

At the initiation of the project, a PAG (see Appendix A) was convened to bring together the perspectives of researchers, practitioners, advocates and policymakers from relevant government, non-government and technology company stakeholders. The PAG members provided feedback and advice on the overall project design, as well as instrument design for each stage of the project. This included advice both at scheduled meetings and via email on matters such as research methods, design of research tools, recruitment processes, analysis of findings, and the implications of key findings for policy and practice.

Research questions

To address its research aims, Stage I of the study responds to the following specific research questions:

1. What are the nature and contexts of victims' experiences of TFA, and what help-seeking remedies currently exist (or are needed)?
2. What are the challenges and current practices of prevention of and responses to TFA in the sector?
3. How can we more effectively disrupt, prevent and respond to TFA?

In order to answer these research questions and address the research aims, Stage I adopted a support services sector survey methodology comprising a combination of closed and open-ended responses to enable a breadth and depth of information on TFA to be gathered.

Survey instrument

Based on the research brief from ANROWS to understand support services' experiences with clients, current practice and needs of services to better respond to and prevent TFA, a survey instrument was developed for distribution among services stakeholders. This was developed in consultation with the PAG, and with adaptations from existing instruments utilised in related sector-led and government research (Cortis et al., 2018; Dorozenko & Chung, 2018; Woodlock, 2015). In addition to addressing the specific research questions, the services sector stakeholder survey also comprised a combination of closed and open-ended questions on the behaviours and contexts of TFA which would directly inform the development of subsequent stages of the research, including a national representative survey of victims and perpetrators, and in-depth qualitative interviews with people who have experienced TFA.

The final survey instrument comprised six question modules, including 1) participant demographic and career information; 2) client experiences of TFA; 3) TFA in the context of the Australian bushfires and the COVID-19 pandemic; 4) perpetrator characteristics and motivations; 5) adequacy of support, legal and policy responses; and 6) worker confidence, training and resource needs. Further details of these survey items follow below.

1. **Participant demographic and career information**: Questions in this module covered service or organisation type, length of time (years) in current role, and years of experience (if any) working directly with either victims or perpetrators of domestic or sexual violence, as well as participant age, gender identity, state or territory, location (rural, regional, urban) and level of education.

2. **Client experiences of TFA**: Questions in this module asked participants about clients' lived experiences of abuse subtypes including i) monitoring, stalking or controlling behaviours (sample item: "control or trying to control the victim's access to a telephone, mobile phone or Internet"); ii) psychological or emotional abuse or threatening behaviours (sample item: "posting offensive or unwanted

messages, images or personal information on the Internet about the victim"); iii) sexual abuse and IBA behaviours (sample item: "posting online or sending onto others a nude or sexual image [photo or video] of the victim without their consent"); and iv) sexual harassment and dating harassment behaviours (sample item: "repeated requests for sex made via digital or online communications"). The response frame was "never", "sometimes", "a lot of the time", and after each subtype, participants were offered an opportunity to add comments about other types of abuse not covered in the survey items. Participants were further asked how commonly men, women, boys, girls and transgender, non-binary and intersex people were the victims of TFA; how common victimisation was among different age groups; and how commonly TFA co-occurred with other types of abuse (response frame: "never", "sometimes", "a lot of the time"). An additional open-ended qualitative question gave the participants an opportunity to talk further about how TFA impacts upon victims in their professional experience.

3. **TFA in the context of the Australian bushfires and the COVID-19 pandemic**: This module comprised two open-ended qualitative questions regarding participants' perceptions of the impacts (if any) of lockdown responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, and Australian bushfires, on "victim experiences of technology-facilitated abuse, and accessing assistance from services".

4. **Perpetrator characteristics and motivations**: This module asked about participants' professional experiences of clients who have engaged in/perpetrated TFA, including how common this was by gender and age, as well as common perpetrator relationships or connections to the victim, and a range of perpetrator motivations. Finally, participants were asked a further open-ended question about any other motivations for perpetrators of TFA based on their professional experience.

5. **Adequacy of support, legal and policy responses**: Questions in this module asked participants to rate the adequacy of responses from community services, technology platforms, victims of crime support schemes, legislation, police and courts to meet the needs of victims of TFA, and to treat victims with dignity and respect. The response frame was "never", "sometimes", "a lot of the time". Participants were also asked an open-ended qualitative

question as to any challenges or barriers experienced by victims when seeking responses to or support for TFA.

6. **Worker confidence, training and resource needs**: In the final module, participants were asked to rate their own level of confidence that they had the knowledge and skills to work with clients across a range of aspects of TFA (including for example knowledge of relevant laws, how to safety-plan with victims, how to work with diverse victim groups and strategies for prevention). Participants were also asked what training, education or professional development they had received on TFA, and to nominate further training and educational resources that they would find most useful to their work. Finally, participants were asked an open-ended qualitative question regarding anything else they'd like to say about the actions or resources services need to better respond to or prevent TFA.

The instrument received human research ethical clearance from Monash University's Human Research Ethics Committee (project no. 25605) as a "low risk" study.

Recruitment strategy and sample collected

The in-scope service sector organisations for the study sample comprised generalist counselling and welfare services (including community welfare and support services as well as family and relationship-specific services); specialist diversity support services (such as for people with disability, LGBTQ+ and intersex communities, CALD groups and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities); domestic and family violence services; men's behaviour change services; sexual assault services; and primary prevention of violence against women organisations. This is a broader service sector than surveyed by some previous studies focusing more squarely on the domestic and family violence service sector (as discussed above). Electronic recruitment entailed a combination of direct email invitations to services, sector newsletter advertising, sector network emails and social media word-of-mouth circulation. The PAG and ANROWS further assisted with recruitment through circulation of the survey via these mechanisms. A total of 1,332 direct email invitations were sent to key services via both individual and

agency/organisational email addresses, identified from a combination of web searches of welfare service providers, specialist diverse communities services, and domestic and sexual violence-specific services. Distribution also took place via newsletters and social media. As such, the report is based on a non-probability (non-representative) sample, but nonetheless is reflective of consultation with a substantial number of service sector stakeholders.

The survey itself was developed using the Qualtrics survey software platform, a secure survey provider. It involved a 25-minute survey that was completed via a web link distributed through email and social media. This enabled participants to complete the survey completely anonymously. The survey received 338 responses between 9 October and 30 November 2020 (a response rate of 25% based on direct email invitations distributed). As reported further below, a majority of participants were from the domestic and family violence services sector, and as such, the experiences of these workers are overrepresented compared to more generalist service sectors. Several participants did not fully complete the demographics section at the end of the survey and missed some items in the survey modules. However, given they had responded to a majority of items throughout the survey and provided in-depth qualitative responses, a decision was made to retain their results for analysis.

Data analysis

Quantitative analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis was undertaken using IBM SPSS (version 26) to report on frequency of responses and key variables of interest, such as service type, abusive tactics employed, technologies utilised, and challenges for future response and prevention service provision.

Qualitative analysis

Additional thematic analysis was conducted on open qualitative questions throughout the survey in order to identify key and recurring issues, concerns, challenges and recommendations identified by participants.

Key findings

Overall, the mean age of stakeholder participants was 43.8 years (with a range from 23 to 65 years) and an overwhelming majority identified as women (90.5%, N=182; see Figure 1), which is an expected representation given the women-dominated services sector workforce surveyed.[1]

Most participants worked in capital cities or regional centres, and an overwhelming proportion were from the two most populous states: New South Wales (45.3%, N=91) and Victoria (41.3%, N=83; see Figure 2).

With regard to services within the community services and allied sectors, a majority of participants were from domestic and family violence services (33.0%, N=100), with many others spread across generalist health services (10.6%, N=32), sexual assault services (8.9%, N=27), legal services (8.3%, N=25) and family relationship services (5.3%, N=16). Despite efforts to recruit specialist diversity services, these were underrepresented (e.g. homelessness and housing, 4.0%, N=12; youth services, 3.0%, N=9; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander services, 2.0%, N=6; CALD services, 1.7%, N=5; and LGBTQ+ and intersex services 1%, N=2). The vast majority of workers responding had been in their current role for five years or less (67.7%, N=205), and most also reported that working directly with clients who have experienced or perpetrated domestic or sexual violence was either the main focus of their current role (64%, N=194) or a small part of their current role (29.7%, N=90). Finally, the majority of participants had either a postgraduate degree (41.8%, N=84), undergraduate degree (33.3%, N=67) or vocational education (21.9%, N=44) qualification.

The remaining questions concerned workers reflecting on their clients' experiences of the nature and impacts of TFA, the contexts of perpetration of TFA, sector responses, worker challenges and training needs, and responding to TFA in the context of crises such as the Australian bushfires and the COVID-19 pandemic. Key findings for each of these topics are presented in turn below.

Nature of TFA victimisation

Gender and age of victims

In the professional experience of the workers surveyed, the victims of TFA were most commonly women and girls, with a vast majority of workers reporting that women (85.5%, N=207) and girls (aged 17 years or under, 55.4%, N=134) were represented as victims among their clients "a lot of the time" (see Figure 3). It is worth noting, as reported above, that domestic and family violence services made up a third (33.0%) of overall services sector participants, with sexual assault services representing a further 8.9 per cent. As such services specialise in responding to women, women may be overrepresented in these data. Nonetheless, workers also disclosed working with men and boys (aged 17 years or under) who were victims of TFA, reporting that these groups were represented as victims in their professional experience "sometimes". Workers also reported that transgender, non-binary and intersex people were victims of TFA "a lot of the time" (28.5%, N=69) or "sometimes" (50.8%, N=123). Given very few participants (1%, N=3) reported specifically working in LGBTQ+ and intersex services, these data suggest that workers in the broader range of services surveyed have some experience with gender diverse clients.

With regard to the most common age groups experiencing TFA victimisation, workers were most likely to report those aged 18 to 24 years (72.7%, N=176) and 25 to 34 years (71.1%, N=172) as victims "a lot of the time" (see Figure 4). This was followed by those aged 17 or under (55.0%, N=133) and 35 to 44 years (49.2%, N=119). Adults aged 45 years and over were comparatively underrepresented as victims in the professional experience of workers surveyed, although 22.7 per cent (N=55) of victims were aged 45 to 54 years.

Common types of TFA

The stakeholder survey asked participants to respond to a series of items describing behaviours of TFA across four main categories or subtypes of abuse: monitoring, stalking or controlling behaviours; psychological or emotional abuse or threats; sexual abuse and IBA; and sexual harassment and dating harassment. Overall, the five most common TFA behaviours that workers reported were experienced by

Figure 1 Gender identity of participants

Women

Men

Gender diverse
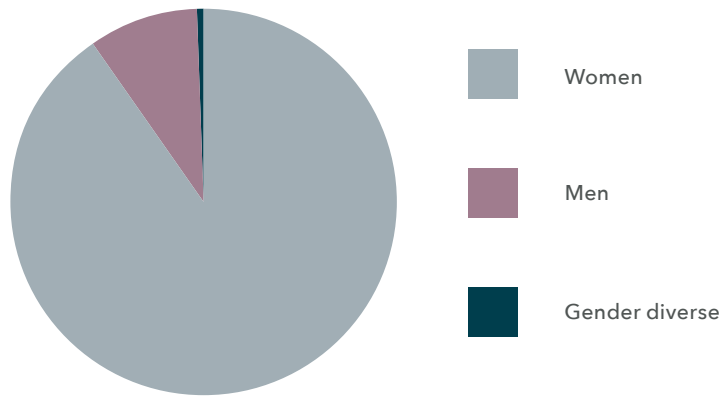
Figure 2 States and territories
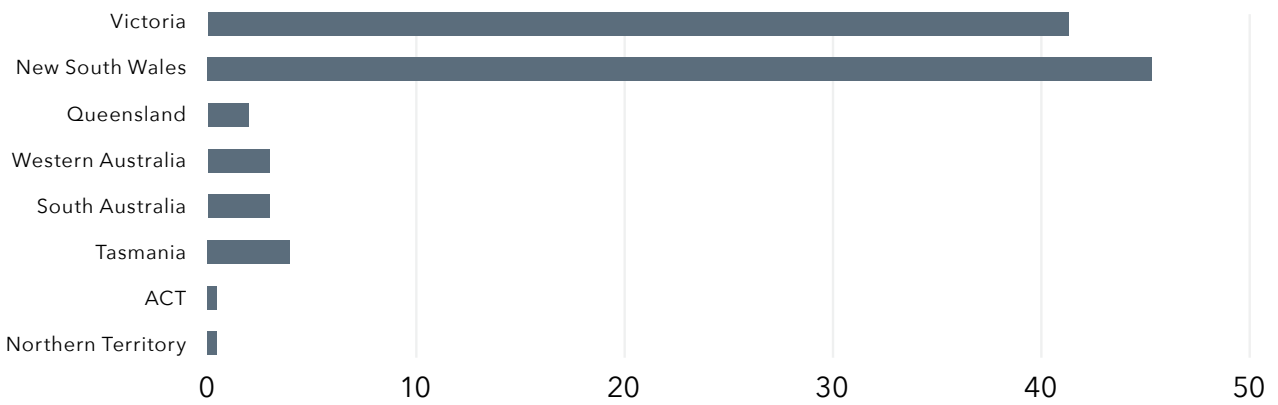
Figure 3 Gender of victims, % agree

Never   Sometimes   A lot of the time
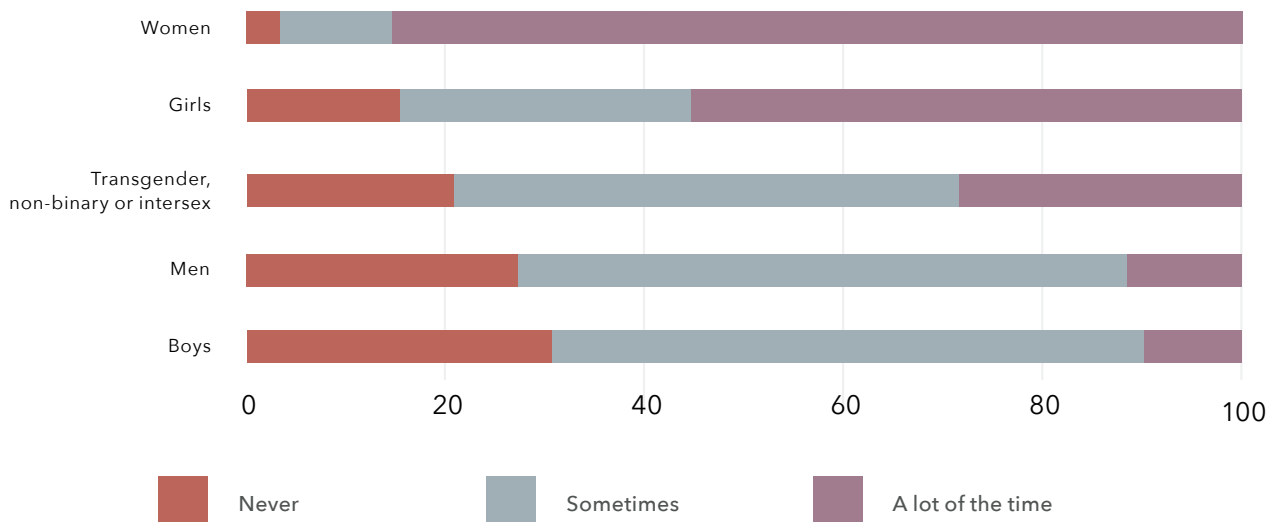
Figure 4 Most common age of victims
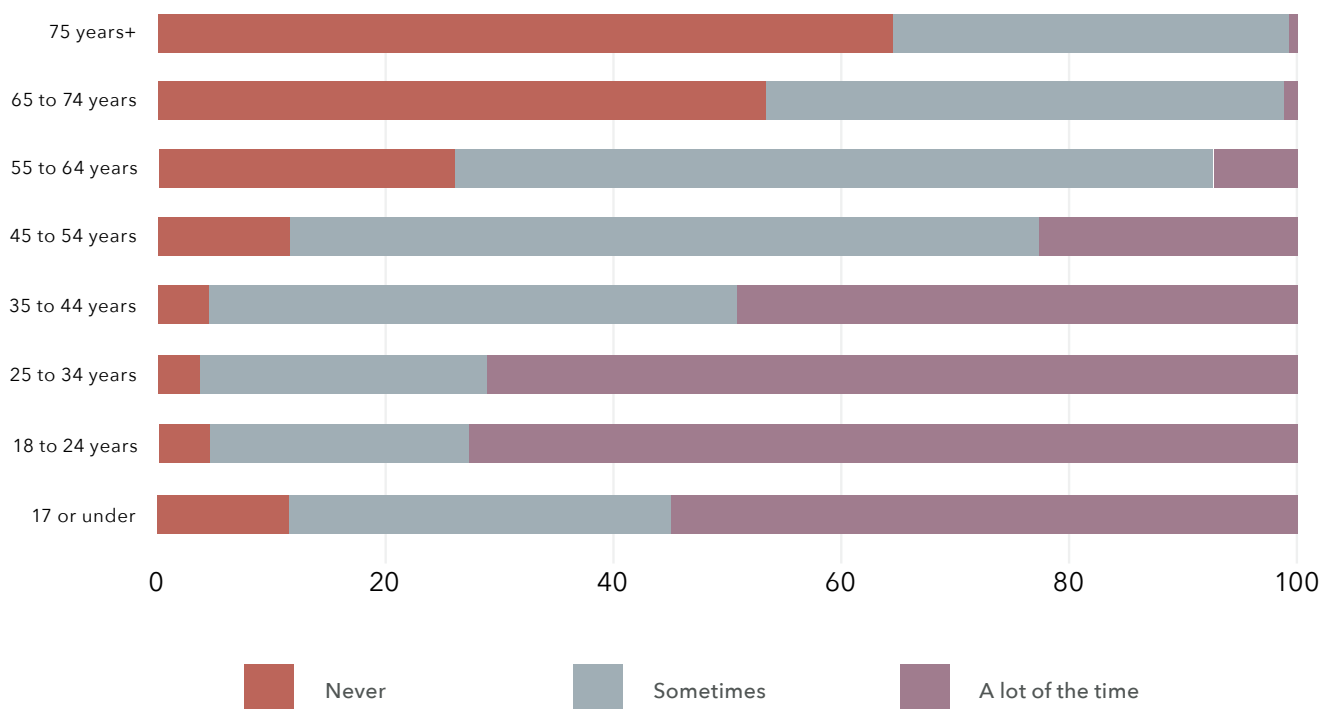
victims "a lot of the time" were:

1. sending put downs or insulting or harassing messages to the victim via digital or online communications (e.g. phone/mobile, email, text messages, social media or other online platforms): 83.1 per cent, N=201

2. maintaining unwanted contact with the victim via digital or online communications (e.g. phone/mobile, email, text messages, social media, dating, gaming or other online platforms): 77.3 per cent, N=187.

3. keeping track of where the victim is and who they are with (e.g. constant phone calls, messages, GPS tracking, monitoring through social media websites): 58.3 per cent, N=141

4. controlling or trying to control the victim's access to a telephone, mobile phone or the Internet: 56.2 per cent, N=136

5. threatening to physically assault the victim via digital or online communications: 55.8 per cent, N=135.

Notably, all of these behaviours were from either the "monitoring, stalking or controlling" set of items or the "psychological and emotional abuse and threats" set; sexual abuse, IBA and sexual harassment behaviours were less commonly seen by the workers surveyed. Further key findings for each of these subtypes of TFA are reported in turn below.

Monitoring, stalking or controlling behaviours

In the professional experience of workers surveyed, the five most common forms of monitoring, stalking or controlling

behaviours experienced by victims of TFA "a lot of the time" (as shown in Figure 5) were maintaining unwanted contact with the victim via digital or online communications (e.g. phone/mobile, email, text messages, social media, dating, gaming or other online platforms, 77.3%, N=187); keeping track of where the victim is and who they are with (e.g. constant phone calls, messages, GPS tracking, monitoring through social media websites, 58.3%, N=141); controlling or trying to control the victim's access to a telephone, mobile phone or the Internet (56.2%, N=136); insisting the victim share passwords and provide access to their devices and/or online accounts (37.6%, N=43); and hacking or accessing the victim's email, social media or other online account without their consent (33.1%, N=80).

Least common were using Internet-connected household devices (such as Google Home, Amazon Alexa, fitness trackers and "find my" smartphone tools, 17.8%, N=43) and using children's toys or devices to monitor or keep track of the victim (17.8%, N=43).

Psychological and emotional abuse and threats

When it came to psychological and emotional abuse and threats, the most common forms of TFA identified by workers "a lot of the time" (see Figure 6) were sending put downs or insulting or harassing messages to the victim via digital or online communications (e.g. phone/mobile, email, text messages, social media or other online platforms, 83.1%, N=201); threatening to physically assault the victim via digital or online communications (55.8%, N=135); posting offensive

Figure 5 Monitoring, stalking or controlling behaviours, % agree
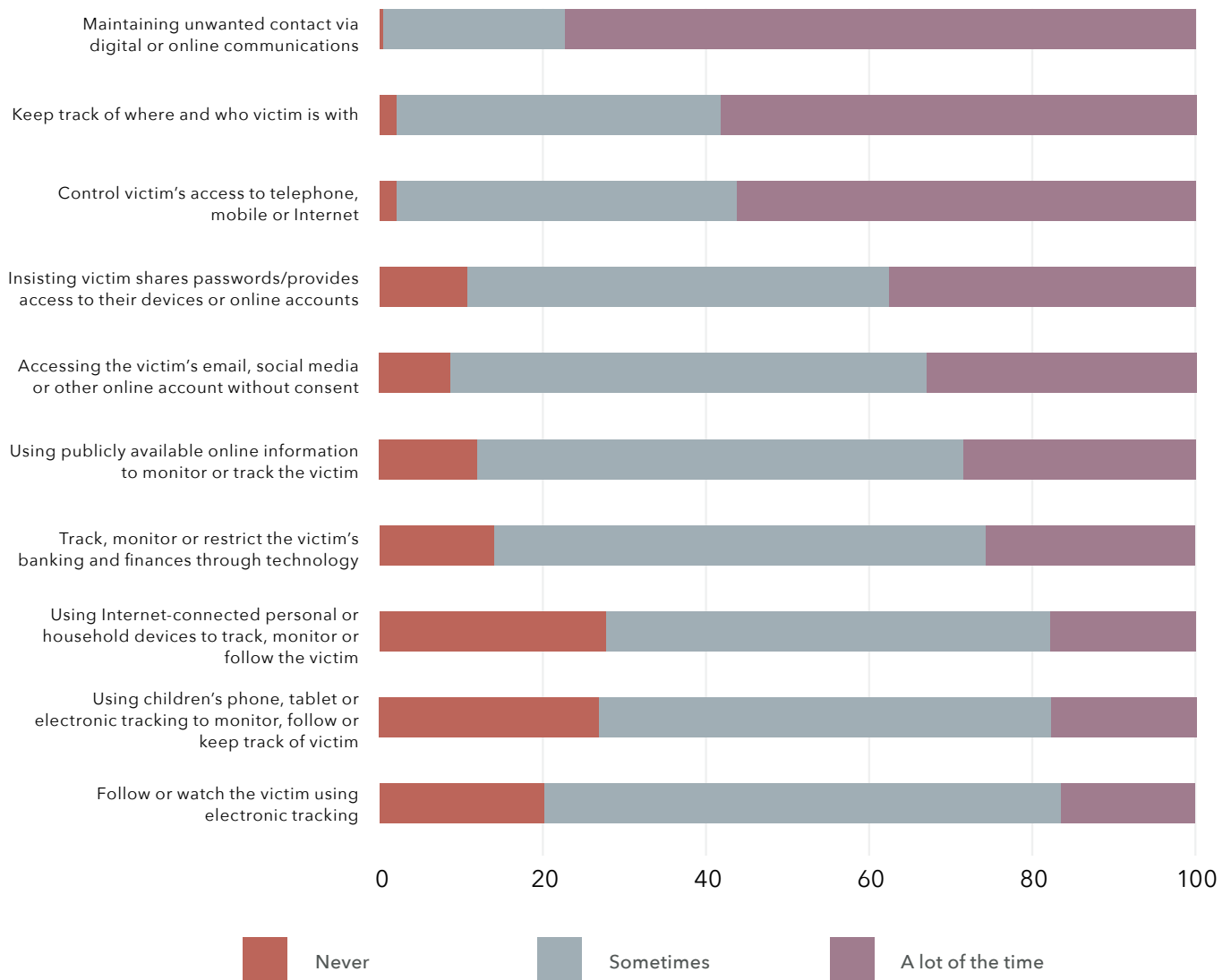
or unwanted messages, images or personal information on the Internet about the victim (39.7%, N=96); and anonymous accounts or unknown others sending threats or abusive or harassing messages to the victim which are suspected or known to be from or requested by the abuser (36.8%, N=89).

Least common were threatening to out, or outing, the victim by disclosing their sexuality or gender identity to others without consent (9.5%, N=23); sending threats or offensive messages through electronic banking systems (11.2%, N=27); posting culturally inappropriate images or other content to humiliate, embarrass or damage the victim's standing in their family or cultural community (13.6%, N=33); and threatening to sexually assault the victim via digital or online communications (13.6%, N=33).

Sexual and image-based abuse

In the course of their professional work, participants generally reported sexual abuse and IBA behaviours as less common than either monitoring, stalking and controlling behaviours, or psychological or emotional abuse and threats. However, of these forms of TFA, the most common to be reported by workers as featuring in victims' experience "a lot of the time" (see Figure 7) were threatening to post online or send onto others a nude or sexual image (photo or video) of the victim (28.1%, N=68); pressuring, coercing or blackmailing the victim into sending nude or sexual images of themselves (photo or video) when they did not want to (20.2%, N=49); taking a nude or sexual image (photo or video) of the victim without their consent (19.8%, N=48); and posting online or sending onto others a nude or sexual image (photo or video) of the victim without their consent (18.6%, N=45). This suggests that of sexually coercive and abusive forms of TFA, the most common in workers' experiences were all three forms of IBA.

Figure 6 Psychological and emotional abuse and threats, % agree
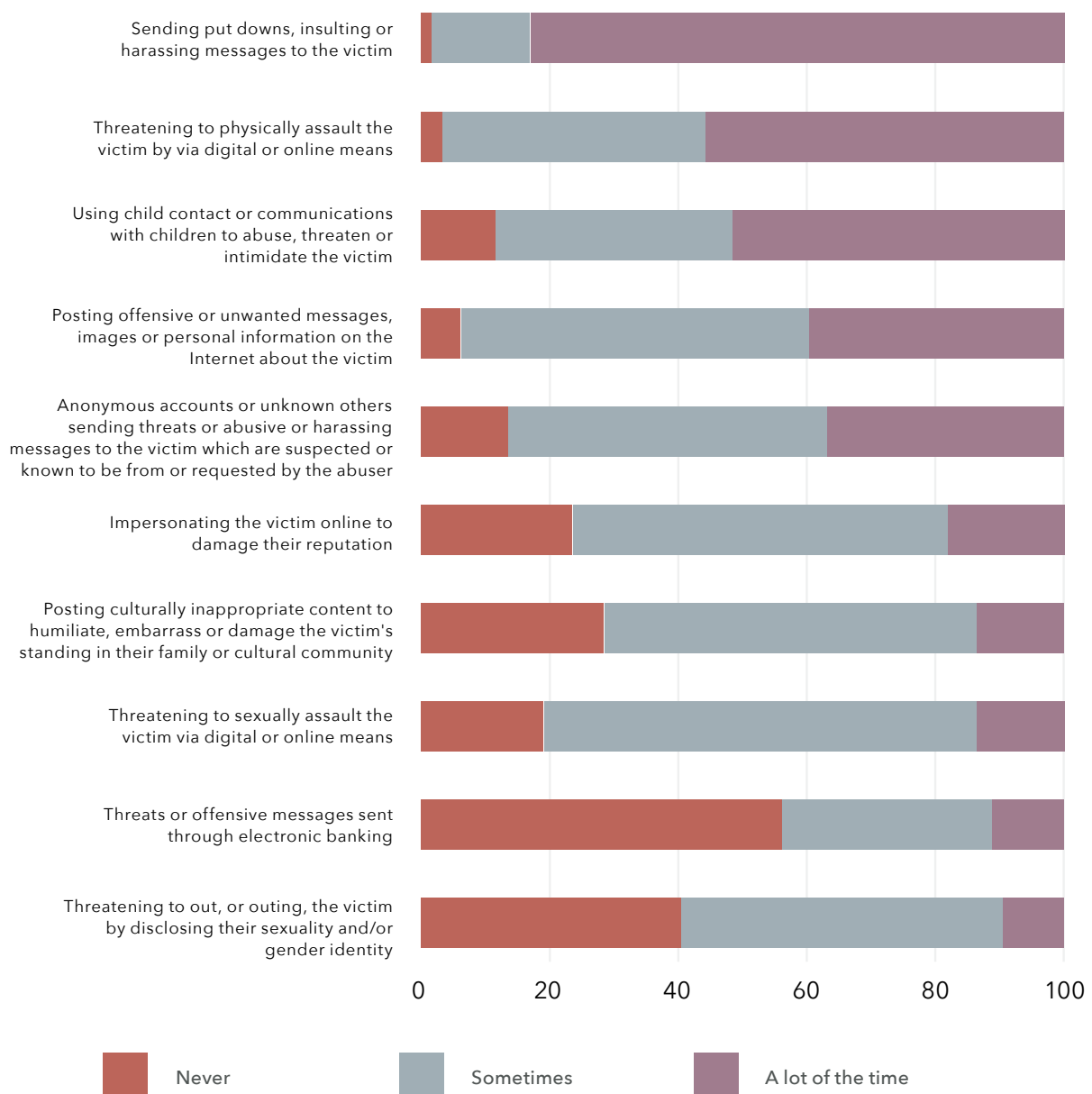
Sexual harassment and dating harassment

In the professional experience of workers surveyed, the five most common forms of sexual harassment and dating harassment behaviours experienced by victims of TFA "a lot of the time" (as shown in Figure 8) were unwanted and improper or offensive sexual text, email, or online chat (31.4%, N=76); inappropriate comments about the victim's body or sex life made by phone, email, text messages, social media or dating apps/sites (30.6%, N=74); unwanted and improper or offensive sexual telephone or mobile phone calls (29.8%, N=72); repeated requests for sex made via digital or online communications (21.1%, N=51); and sending the victim sexual pictures, videos or other explicit material that they did not want to see (17.8%, N=43).

Impacts of TFA on victims

In the open-ended qualitative responses, survey respondents further described the wide-ranging and all-encompassing impacts of TFA on victims' lives. A key theme was the constant monitoring and abuse through technology creating a sense of omnipresence for victims, making it feel as though they were always being watched by the perpetrator (see also McGlynn et al., 2020). Support services workers said this made victims hypervigilant and fearful, feeling as though the abuse would never end and they would never be able to escape. This has the ability to impact all facets of victims' lives: they don't feel safe at home, work, study or in social situations.

… a feeling that it is never going to end, that they have to change their identity and move from where they are living/

Figure 7 Sexual and image-based abuse, % agree

Legend: Never · Sometimes · A lot of the time
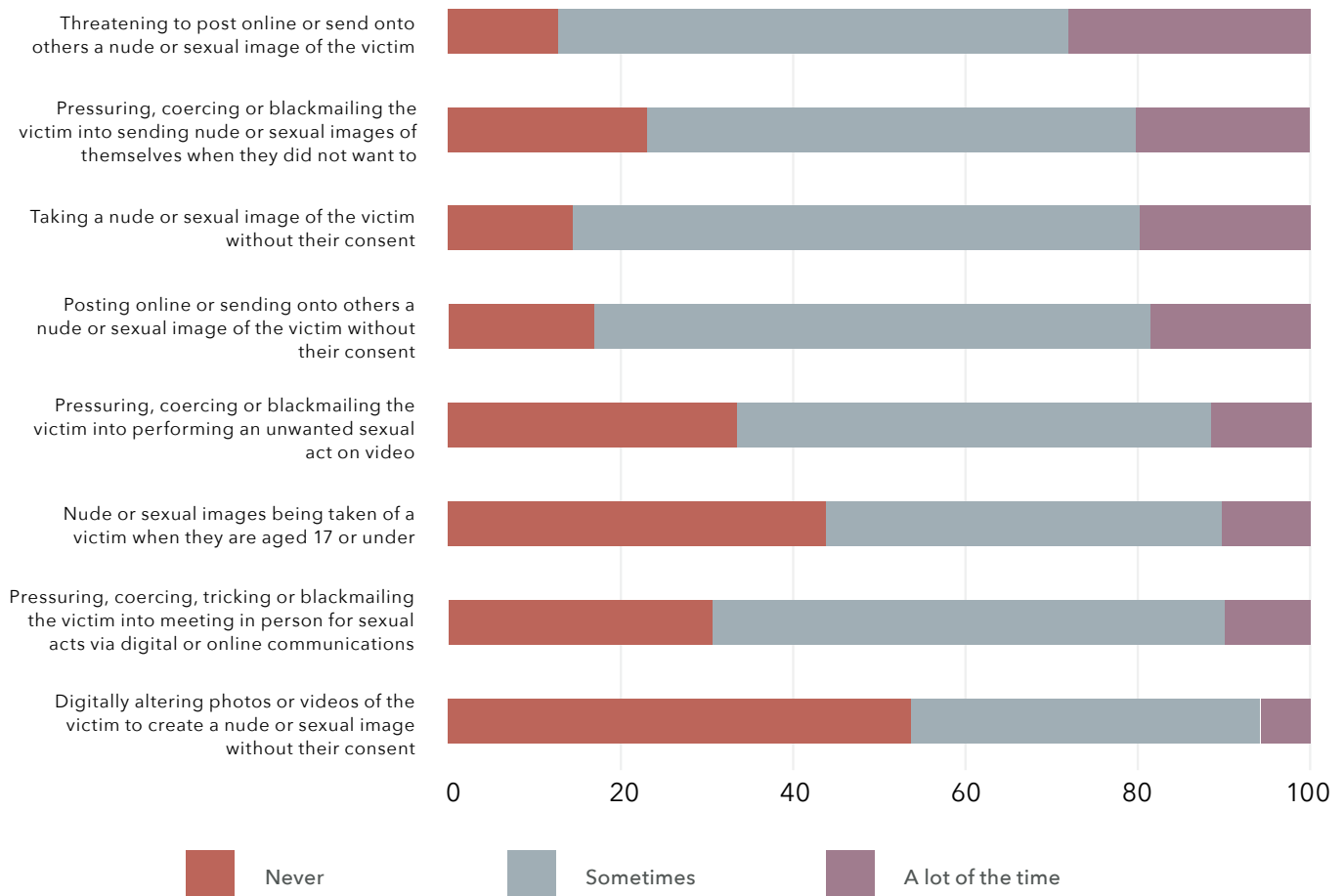
working/studying to escape. [It] completely disempowers the victim, makes her extremely fearful and hyper vigilant, unable to trust anyone. [They] find it difficult to concentrate and feel relaxed enough to make friends and live a normal life. (Homelessness and/or housing service, capital city, woman, 62 years of age, ID: 00284)

Isolation was also reported as a significant impact of TFA victimisation. Workers reported that victims would often have to disable their social media accounts, change telephone numbers and restrict their use of technology to avoid harassment and stalking. This meant they may lose contact with their support networks such as friends, family and colleagues. However, it also isolated them from being able to seek help from support services or being able to contact emergency services.

They may avoid social outings and they may also abandon social media and mobile phones, which leaves them both socially isolated and vulnerable if they are in need of help and unable to call 000. (Family relationship service, capital city, woman, 23 years of age, ID: 00111)

Support services workers reported that older women and women from CALD backgrounds were particularly vulnerable to TFA as they often had less technological literacy, and perpetrators would often reinforce this by not allowing them to learn about technology. This abusive tactic kept the victims from being able to access support services, but also made them further dependent on their abusers.

Sometimes perpetrators won't allow women to learn how to use technology (particularly women from CALD backgrounds). Given that most systems and resources are now mainly or even solely provided online these days, this isolates the woman and prevents her from having full access to systems/resources. (Domestic and family violence service, regional centre, woman, 36 years of age, ID: 00239)

Workers also reported that TFA can have significant financial implications for victims. They told various stories of clients being financially abused online, with perpetrators controlling finances, hacking into their bank accounts, and taking out loans or using betting companies under their names: "[This] impacts the victim as it destroys their credit rating, leaves

Figure 8 Sexual harassment and dating harassment, % agree
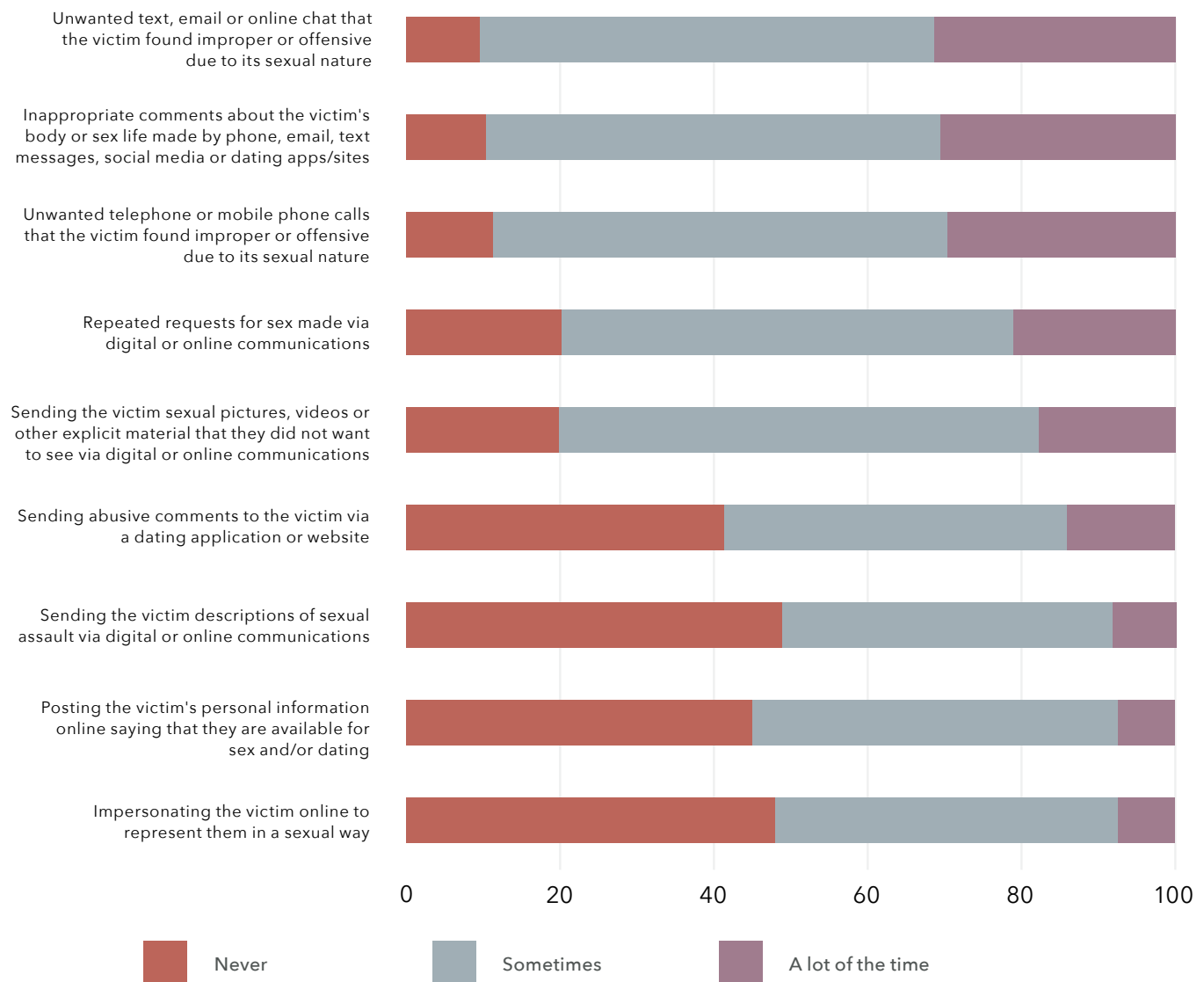
them in debt, they have no money to socialise, embarrassment [and] potentially bankruptcy" (Prevention organisation, gender and age not disclosed, ID: 00232).

Workers also reported employment impacts with victims: losing their jobs due to being constantly harassed at work; not being able to maintain a job due to anxiety and stress; having to leave their job due to perpetrators spreading images of them; perpetrators leaving bad online reviews for their businesses; or having to delete their business social media accounts due to harassment and stalking. This was reported to have a particularly significant impact in small rural communities where people rely on their reputation for business:

> I have had multiple situations where respondents leave poor reviews/ratings on victims' business pages on social media. This has a massive impact on victims emotionally

and can be financially damaging if victims rely on their business for income but also rural communities having less people can impact their reputation and identity within their community. (Domestic and family violence service, rural, woman, 29 years of age, ID: 00208)

Workers also reported that many victims felt as though they could not report the abuse to the police, as they were threatened with violence and/or the release of intimate images or personal information if they did so. However, they also reported that victims were often not taken seriously by police when they did report, and were told that it was too difficult to investigate cases of TFA or that there were no legal avenues that could be pursued. This left victims feeling frustrated and helpless, and they would often stay in abusive relationships as a result.

When they report this to the police they are told they cannot prove it was him … The police do not go to any great lengths to find out who it was. Women feel they are not believed and feel brushed aside by the police as they tell her they can do nothing. Therefore, the woman puts up with this psychological abuse from him/her as it continues and they will not go back to the police to be treated with disdain again. (Domestic and family violence service, rural, woman, 59 years of age, ID: 00113)

There were particularly significant impacts reported by support services workers for victims who experienced IBA. The spreading of intimate images was reported as leading to job loss; harassment from colleagues at work; embarrassment and distress; damage to self-esteem and reputation; not being able to face family; withdrawing from study; and mental health impacts including anxiety, depression and suicidal risks.

Sadly this [IBA] is not uncommon. It impacts mental health [through] PTSD, anxiety, depression and suicidal risk. It impacts relationships, particularly in regional areas where everyone knows who you are. It impacts ability to work and to study. Sadly, tech abuse is quite common and sharing naked pics is a huge pressure for young women. The impacts can be devastating. (TAFE counsellor, regional centre, woman, 51 years of age, ID: 0081)

Overall, it is clear from support services workers' accounts that TFA has significant mental health impacts. The feelings of helplessness, shame, inability to escape and isolation that TFA creates can lead to paranoia, stress, anxiety, depression, PTSD, sleeplessness and self-harm. Indeed, a significant number of respondents said their clients either had suicidal thoughts or had attempted suicide.

Victims feel worthless, frightened and dirty. They feel shamed and unable to face family friends and work colleagues. They tend to stay at home and avoid contact with others as much as they possibly can. Most suffer from extreme anxiety and have suicidal thoughts. (Domestic and family violence service, regional centre, woman, 60 years, ID: 0055)

Perpetration of TFA

Gender and age of perpetrators

In the professional experience of the workers surveyed, the perpetrators of TFA were most commonly men and boys, with a vast majority reporting that men (82.8%, N=183) and boys (34.8%, N=77) were represented as those who use TFA "a lot of the time" (see Figure 9). Comparatively fewer workers described women (13.6%, N=30), girls (12.4%, N=42) or transgender, non-binary or intersex people (5.9%, N=13) as perpetrators of TFA.

With regard to the most common age groups perpetrating TFA, workers were most likely to report those aged 25 to 34 years (74.7%, N=165) and 18 to 24 years (71.0%, N=157) as using TFA behaviours "a lot of the time" (see Figure 10). This was followed by those aged 35 to 44 years (60.2%, N=133), those aged 17 or under (45.2%, N=100) and those aged 45 to 54 years (37.1%, N=82). Adults aged 55 years and over were comparatively underrepresented as perpetrators in the professional experience of workers surveyed (see Figure 10).

Relationship to the victim

Workers were asked about the nature of any connection between perpetrators of TFA and the victim across a range of possible relationship contexts. Overall, it was most common for workers to report that "a lot of the time", the victim was a former intimate partner, de facto or spouse (92.3%, N=204), followed by a current intimate partner, de facto or spouse (85.5%, N=189, see Figure 11). The third most common connection was a date or a short-term or casual sexual acquaintance (38.0%, N=84). Again, it is worth noting that domestic and family violence services made up a third (33.0%) of the overall service sector participants, and as such, this may mean that services' experiences of partner forms of abuse were overrepresented in these data.

Figure 9 Gender of perpetrators, % agree
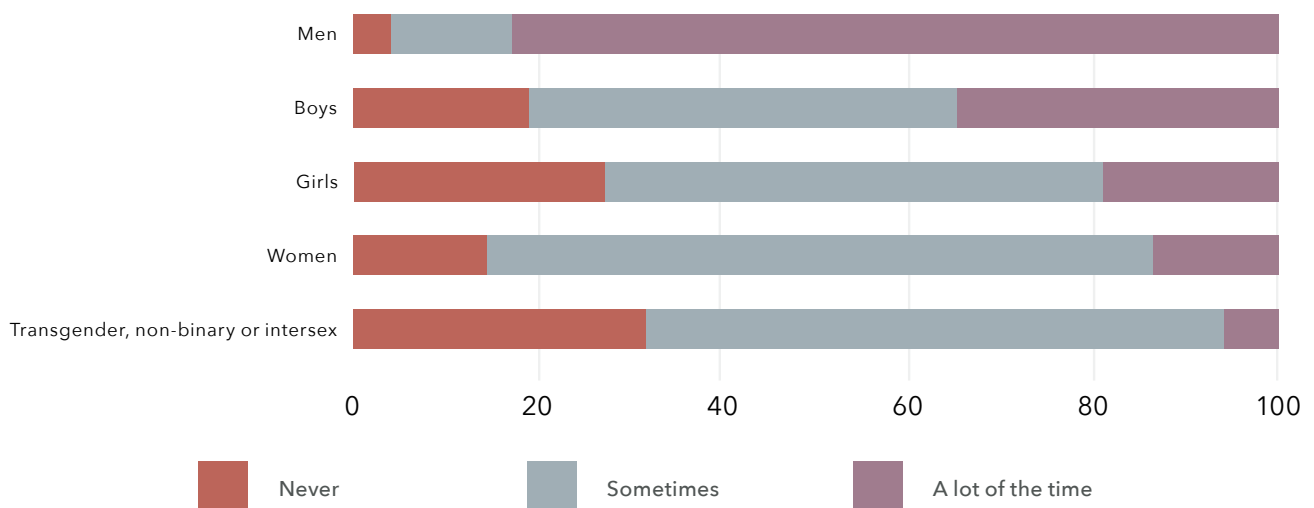
Figure 10 Age of perpetrators, % agree
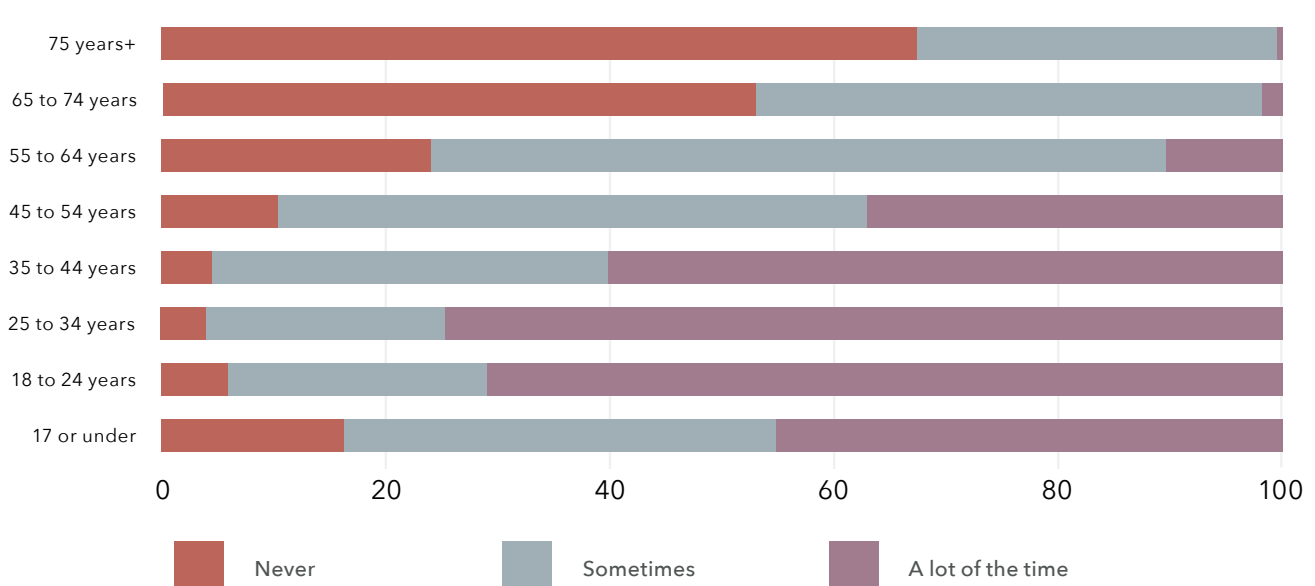
Motivations of perpetrators

The top five motivations of TFA perpetrators "a lot of the time", as reported by workers, were to intimidate the victim (92.8%, N=205), control the victim (92.3%, N=204), cause distress (86.9%, N=192), cause fear for safety (85.5%, N=189), and isolate the victim or restrict their activities (81.9%, N=181; see Figure 12).

In the qualitative responses, some support services workers further described what they thought were the motivations for those perpetrating TFA. These can be broadly categorised into explicit motivations and more implicit motivations connected to broader societal expectations around gender and the role of men in relationships. The explicit motivations

that were identified include to punish the victim for leaving them; to maintain contact with the victim; anger, revenge or retaliation; to control and isolate the victim so they remain reliant on the relationship; sexual pleasure; inciting others to harm the victim; to "break" the victim mentally; or to interfere with legal proceedings as the below worker outlines:

> … to damage or interfere with the victim's family law, legal, police or child protection processes by taking videos without their consent of arguments or behaviour that is taken out of [the] wider context of [the] relationship. (Domestic and family violence service, capital city, transgender man, 31 years of age, ID: 00222)

Figure 11 Perpetrator relationship to victim, % agree
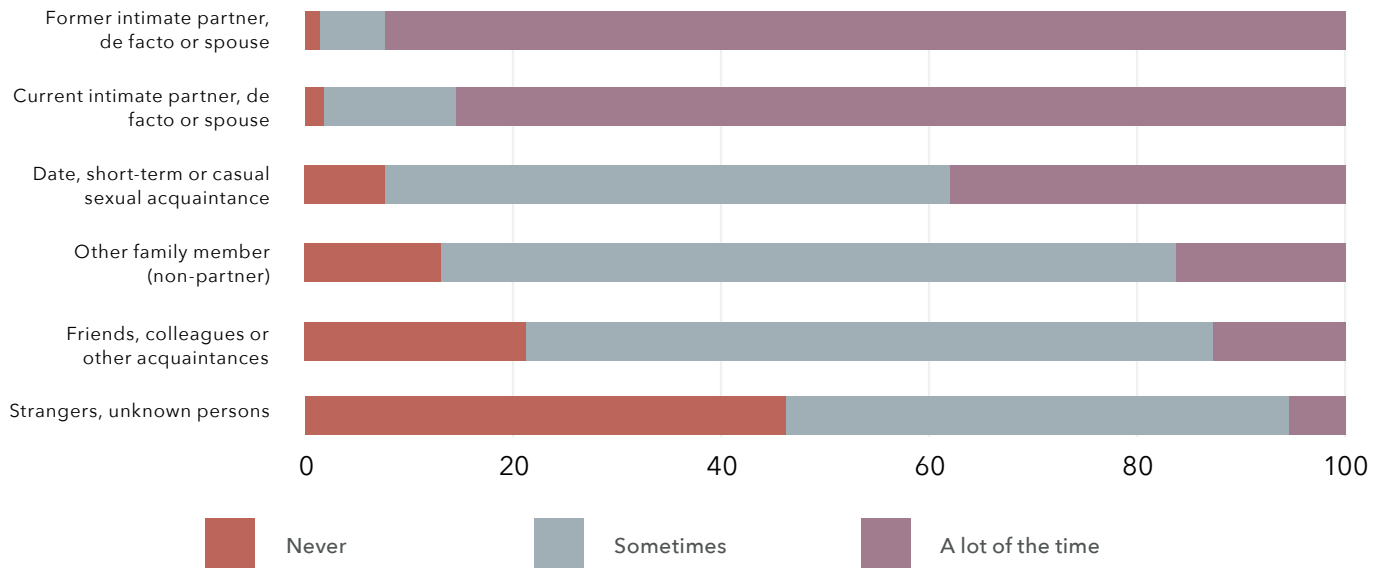
Figure 12 Motivations of perpetrators, % agree

Figure 13 Co-occuring forms of abuse, % agree
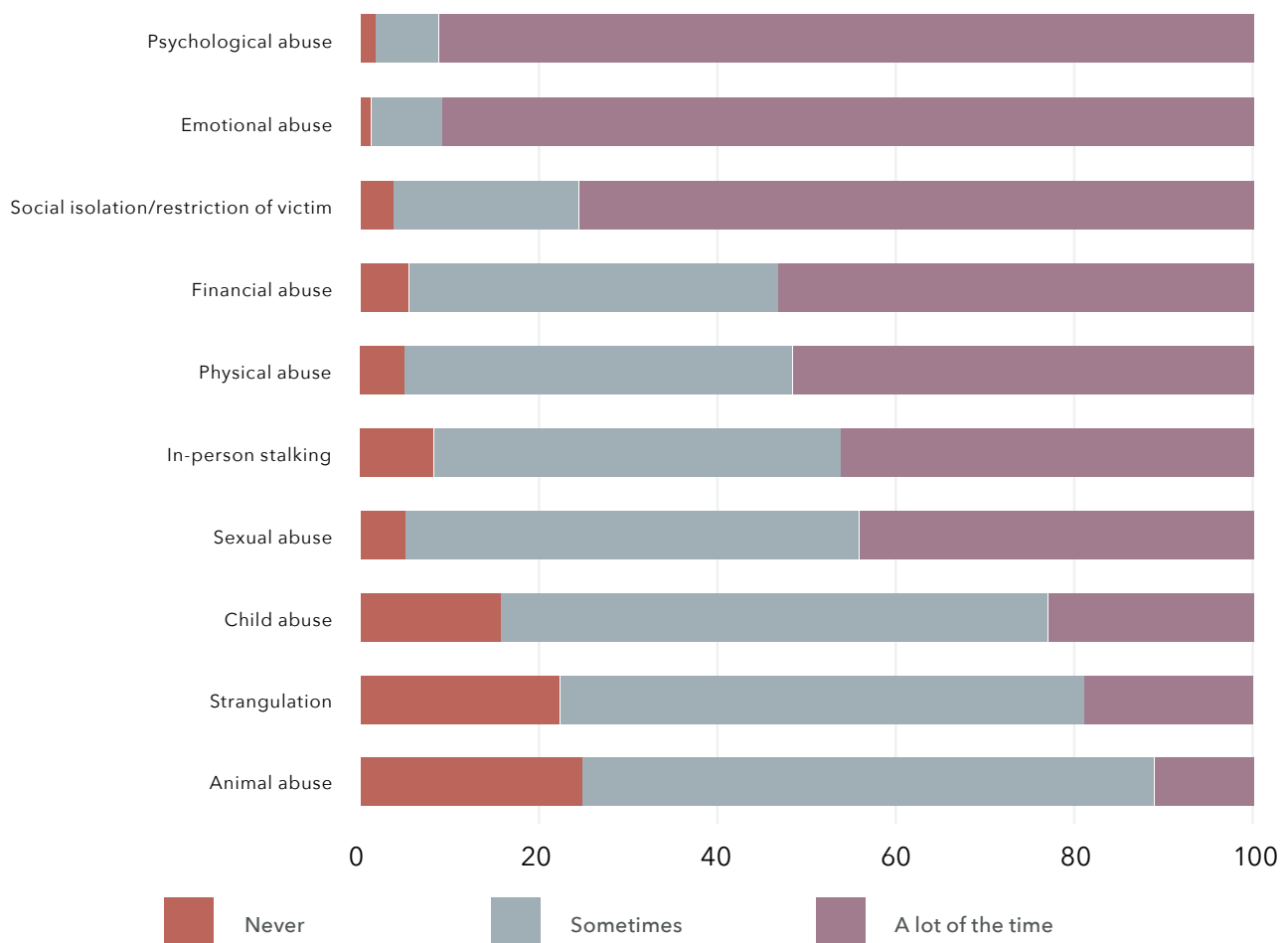
Workers also recognised some of the more implicit motivators behind TFA including feeling as though they have a right to control the victim; an attempt to relieve their own mental health issues; a sense of gendered entitlement and ownership; misogynistic values; and gendered stereotypes of men as the head of the household:

> ... motivation born from deeply warped notions of gender entitlement, fixed notions of gender roles and an organised sustained commitment to misogynistic values supported by in-person or online peer communities. (Family relationship service, regional centre, man, 46 years of age, ID: 00156)

Multiple types of abuse perpetration

Workers were also surveyed about how commonly TFA co-occurred with other forms of in-person abuse (see Figure 13). Overall, it was most common for workers to report that "a lot of the time" psychological abuse (91.3%, N=221), emotional abuse (90.9%, N=220), social isolation (75.6%, N=183), financial abuse (53.3%, N=129), physical abuse (51.7%, N=125) and sexual abuse (44.2%, N=107) co-occurred with TFA.

Among the least commonly reported co-occurring forms of abuse from the perspectives of support services workers were child abuse (23.1%, N=56), strangulation (19.0%, N=46) and animal abuse (11.9%, N=27).

Responses to TFA

Support services responses

Support services workers were asked a series of questions to reflect their views of the adequacy, challenges and needs of the services and technology sectors in order to respond to and prevent TFA effectively.

Overall, the highest levels of support for the adequacy of responses to meet the needs of TFA victims "a lot of the time" were for the 1800RESPECT helpline (41.8%, N=87) and the community, domestic and sexual violence sectors (38.5%, N=80). However, as shown in Figure 14, support services workers demonstrated concerns over the adequacy of responses to TFA, showing very little support for the adequacy

Figure 14 Adequacy of support service responses, % agree
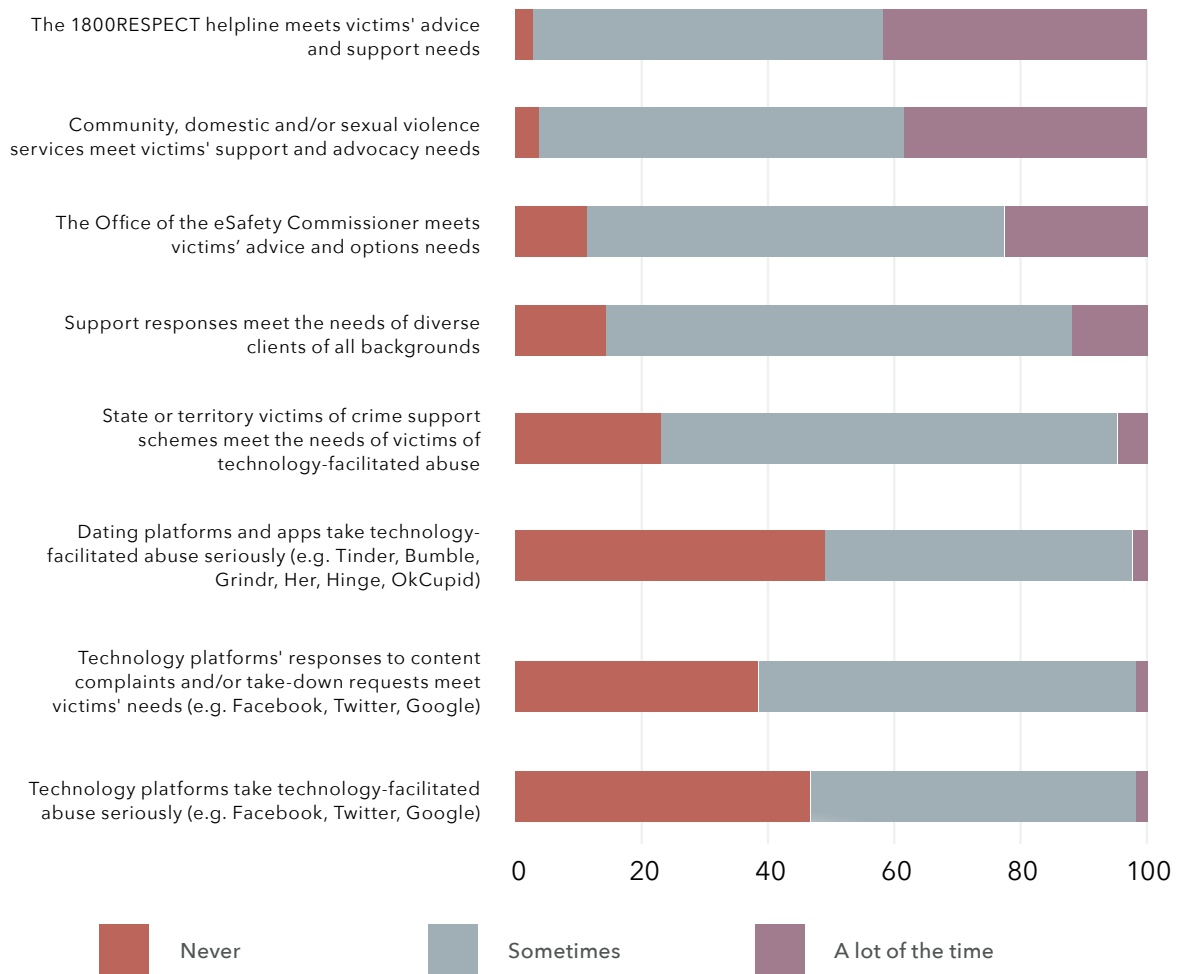
of current responses by technology providers (including Facebook, Twitter, Google and dating apps) in particular.

Policy, legal and police responses

The findings demonstrate serious concerns and a lack of confidence from support services workers as to the adequacy of policy, legal and police responses. The greatest areas for concern were in relation to responses to perpetrators of TFA. Overall, as shown in Figure 15, 41.8 per cent (N=87) and 39.4 per cent (N=82) of workers agreed that responses never held perpetrators accountable for TFA through behaviour change programs or criminal convictions, respectively. Meanwhile, 28.8 per cent (N=60) of workers responded "Never" to the statement "LGBTQ+ and intersex victims feel safe to report technology-facilitated abuse to police", and 21.2 per cent (N=44) responded "Never" to "Laws are inclusive of the different forms of technology-facilitated abuse". Additionally concerning was support services workers' low levels of confidence in police responses to TFA, with 20.7 per cent (N=43) responding that police "never" pursue criminal investigations and/or charges in relation to TFA, and 16.3 per cent (N=34) responding that police "never" take reports of TFA seriously.

The highest levels of confidence expressed by support services workers were for legal services meeting the needs of victims "a lot of the time" (17.3%, N= 36), followed by courts taking TFA seriously "a lot of time" (12.0%, N= 25), though these were hardly very high levels of confidence overall.

Barriers and challenges to responding to TFA

In the qualitative responses, many support services workers reported that police and courts do not take TFA seriously, which in turn poses a major barrier for victims seeking justice. Workers reported there was a lack of training and awareness among police and in the courts of the harms and dangers of TFA. They also said there were issues ingrained in police culture around only physical violence being taken seriously, and workers reported that TFA cases would often

Figure 15 Adequacy of policy, legal and police responses, % agree
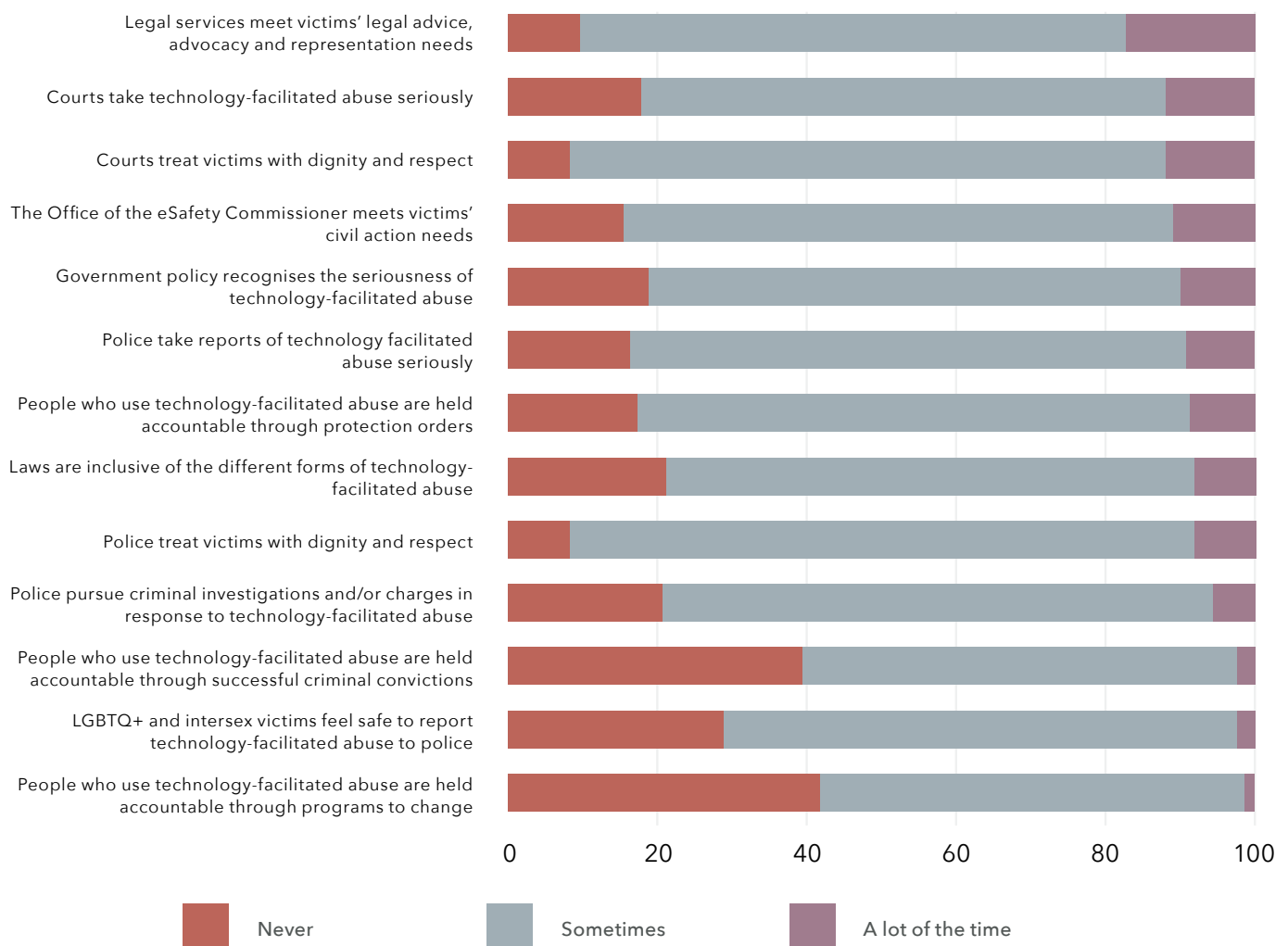
only make it to court if they co-presented with physical or sexual abuse.

> Police responses to family violence in general, but certainly including technology-facilitated abuse, is dismal, there needs to be a lot of education and reform done within the police culture to address this. I understand police currently think they are addressing this, but the practical reality suggests otherwise. Victims are less likely to report because they know people/services take technology-facilitated abuse less seriously than physical violence. (Legal service, regional centre, woman, 33 years of age, ID: 00116)

Support services workers also reported that police would often turn away victims of TFA, saying it was too difficult to investigate with not enough physical evidence. Police would instead tell victims to just turn off their phones, delete their accounts or make a complaint to the technology or social media company. Additionally, workers reported that some police did not count TFA as a breach of a protection order.

Police often state they have no power when it comes to abuse via social media and direct the victim to simply remove their account or complain to the company whose platform is being used to facilitate the abuse. (Domestic and family violence service, regional centre, woman, 35 years of age, ID: 0097)

However, support services workers also acknowledged that police face significant barriers in investigating and prosecuting TFA-related harms. These included difficulty in tracing blocked numbers and the long and onerous process of accessing evidence from telephone and social media companies, as a result of which police may not be able to meet the evidentiary standards required by the courts. In remote areas, police were also reported to be facing high crime rates and more challenging barriers, with TFA becoming a lower priority.

> Victoria Police have a hard task of gathering evidence in relation to technological-based abuse at times as they are unable to sometimes prove with sufficient evidence that pleases the court that the sender is the perpetrator.

(Domestic and family violence service, capital city, woman, 44 years of age, ID: 0013)

In remote settings, the barriers are more challenging and the crime rates are high, so such incidences as technology-facilitated abuse are not a priority. This does not allow for trust in the police and/or court systems or safety. (Family relationship service, remote, woman, 61 years of age, ID: 00148)

Police and legal responses were also reported as being inadequate and "bandaid solutions". Some support services workers argued that action needs to be taken earlier to address the root causes of TFA, as even after legal intervention, perpetrators continue to offend. Workers reported long waiting lists and prohibitive costs involved with men's behaviour change programs posing a significant barrier to preventative action. Workers also said that many victims would never consider pursuing legal action in the first place "due to embarrassment, shame and the impact of it on their employment prospects" (TAFE counsellor, regional centre, woman, 58 years of age, ID: 0081). One sector worker said that culturally diverse victims face particular barriers in seeking responses, including "a lack of understanding of cultural norms [from the response sector] … unable to express depth and breadth of situation when English isn't your first language [and] the belief that men must be obeyed" (Community centre, regional centre, woman, 54 years of age, ID: 0088).

The technologies that perpetrators use and the companies that produce them were also reported to pose significant barriers. Workers said victims who are not tech-savvy find it very difficult to collect evidence. Technology companies were also reported as not taking responsibility for abuse perpetrated on their platforms and not recognising or blocking the behaviour early enough. One sector worker also said that companies were often located offshore so could not be held accountable, and that spyware developers were deceptive about the intended use of their technology:

App developers of spyware are offshore and not accountable and not blocked from operating in Australia, or claim that their spyware is for parents to monitor teenagers, and not for DV [domestic violence], and cannot stop it being used for DV. Really? Then why are they hidden

apps? (Family relationship service, capital city, man, 43 years of age, ID: 00256).

Overall, not being taken seriously by police, the difficulty in proving TFA and collecting evidence, and the lack of action from technology companies means that victims face significant difficulties in seeking a response for these behaviours. As one sector worker said, "I believe it adds to PTSD for the victim complicating their trauma and they in turn start blaming themselves" (Prevention organisation, capital city, woman, 52 years of age, ID:00145).

Worker confidence and training needs

Survey participants were asked to respond to statements requiring them to reflect on their confidence in their own knowledge and skills to respond to TFA in a number of contexts and settings. Overall, few support services workers expressed that they were "very confident" in their own responses to TFA, with the highest agreement being 13.4 per cent (N=27) for both "recognising the signs" and "assessing risk" in response to TFA, as well as 12.9 per cent (N=26) for "collecting evidence" and "safety planning with victims" (see Figure 16).

Meanwhile, the lowest levels of worker confidence ("not at all confident" in their own knowledge and skills to respond to TFA) were in response to the statements "working with people who use technology-facilitated abuse" (66.7%, N=134); "addressing specific needs of sex workers experiencing technology-facilitated abuse" (63.7%, N=128); "addressing specific needs of people with a disability experiencing technology-facilitated abuse" (63.2%, N=127); "strategies in workplaces, sports or other community settings to prevent technology-facilitated abuse before it occurs" (53.7%, N=108); "knowledge of criminal laws addressing different forms of technology-facilitated abuse in your state or territory" (53.2%, N=107); and "strategies in education settings to prevent technology-facilitated abuse before it occurs" (51.7%, N=104). This suggests three key areas for service sector development in response to TFA, namely: working with diverse clients experiencing TFA, working with perpetrators to intervene in TFA, and working to prevent TFA before it occurs through community and education settings.

Figure 16 Confidence in own response, % agree

| | Never | Sometimes | A lot of the time |
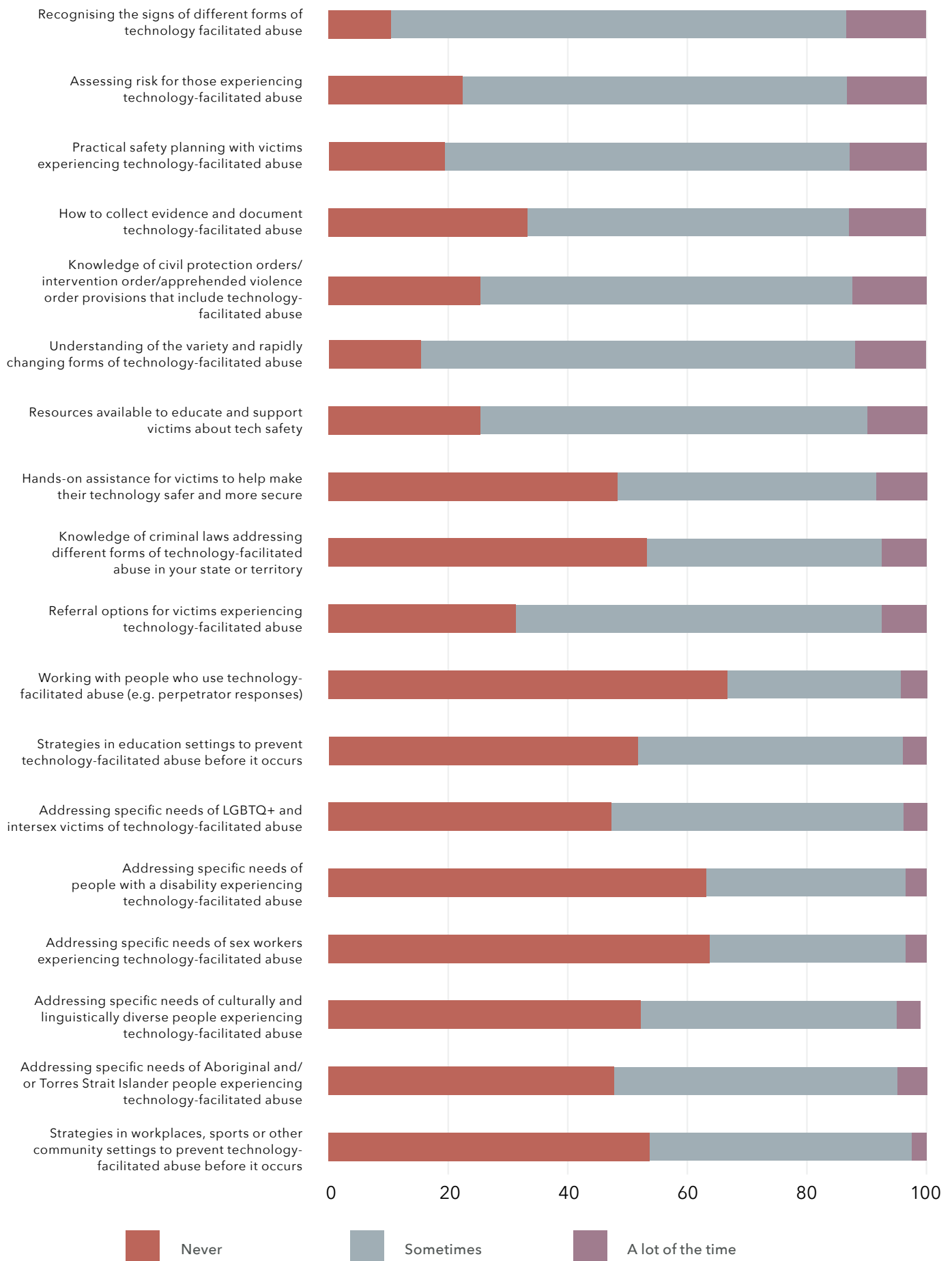
Figure 17 Training received on TFA, % agree
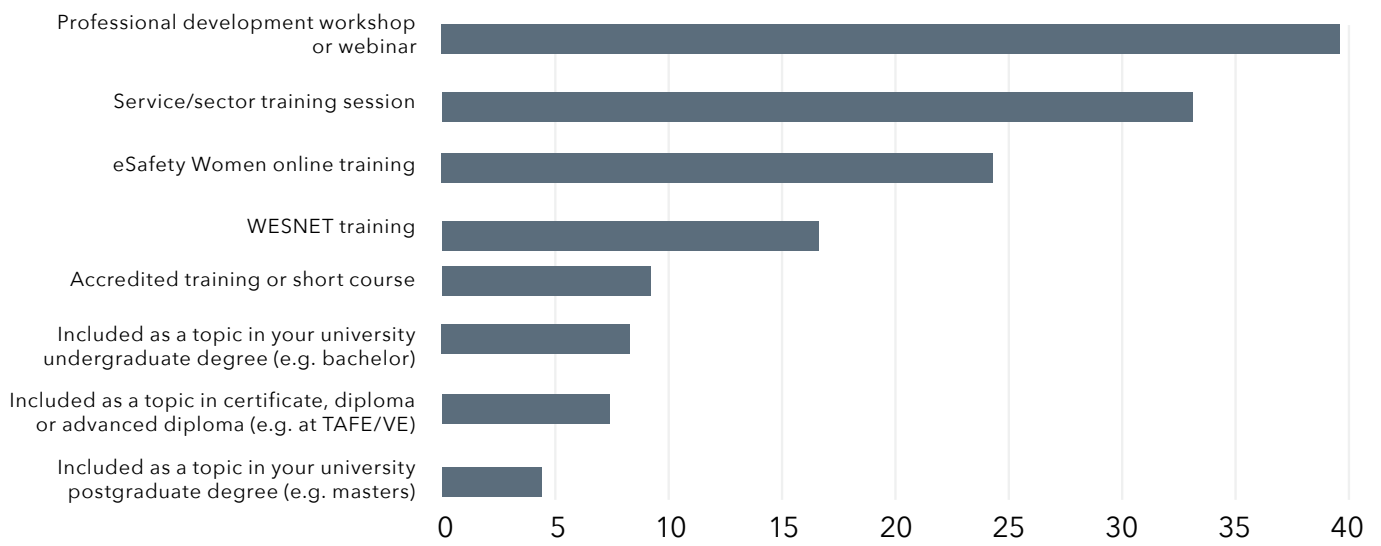
Figure 18 Preferred mode of training on TFA, % agree
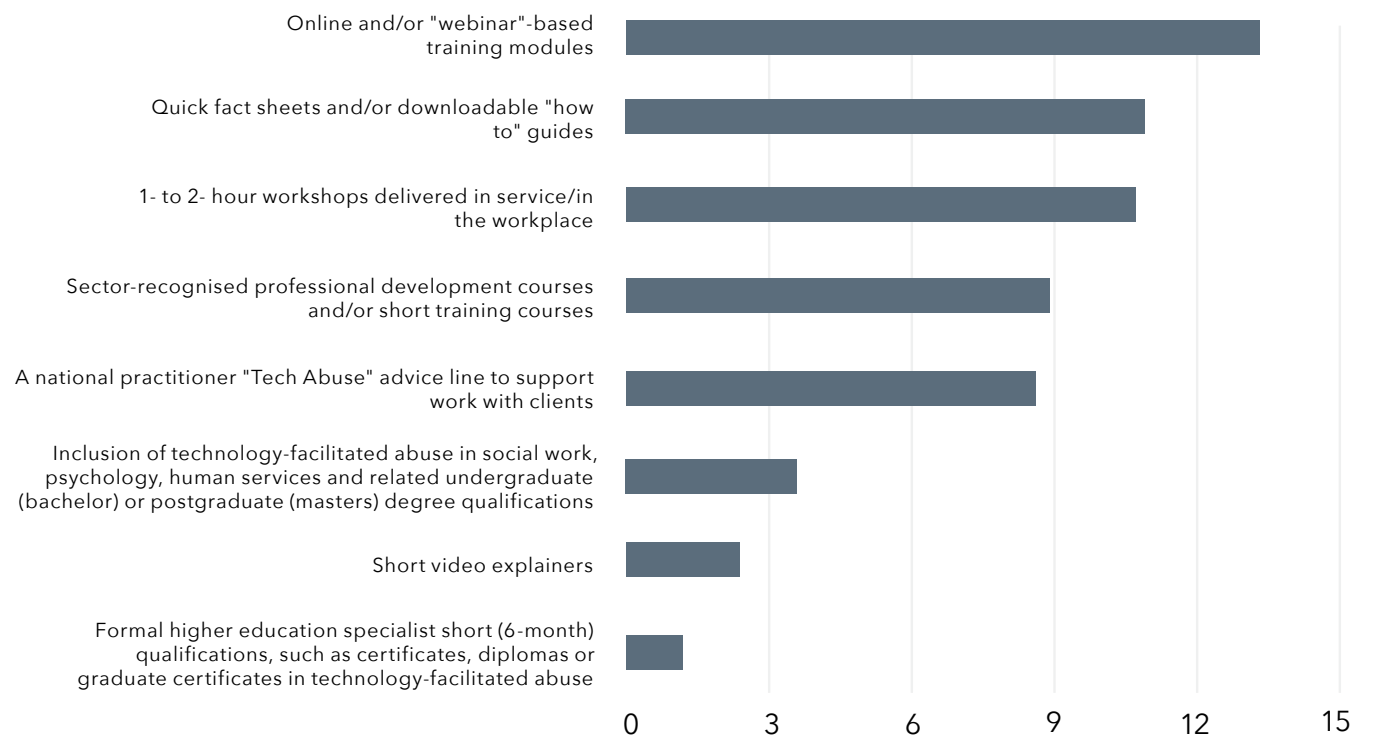
Workers were also asked about what training, if any, they had received in relation to TFA (see Figure 17).

The vast majority (39.6%, N=134) had attended a professional development workshop or webinar, a service or sector in-house training session (33.1%, N=112), eSafety Women training provided by the eSafety Commissioner (24.3%, N=82), or training provided by WESNET (16.6%, N=56).

The survey further asked workers to indicate their preferred mode of further training or professional development on TFA – that is, the one that they would find most helpful (see Figure 18). There was greatest support for online and webinar-based training modules (13.3%, N=45), as well as fact sheets and "how to" guides (10.9%, N=37), and 1- to 2-hour in-service training workshops (10.7%, N=36). In the qualitative responses, support services workers further identified key resources that are needed to better help them support victims and respond

to TFA. Firstly, many workers said that more training and professional development is needed for them to understand the intricacies of TFA, including regular updates on the types of abuse and types of technologies being used, as well as how to assist clients. They again indicated support for either short online videos or in-house training. However, others said that there needs to be training to increase workers' confidence with technology in general as some workers may not have the technological literacy to participate in training on TFA in the first instance.

> Regular short online videos and service sector training would make the intricacies of technology-facilitated abuse more visible to workers. While the training is not delivered at work, it remains up to the individual to pursue the knowledge. An individual worker lacking confidence with technology may assume that the training could be beyond their understanding, and not seek out this knowledge. (Domestic and family violence service, capital city, woman, 55 years of age, ID: 008)

> Training needs to be totally adaptable; the tech industry moves extraordinarily quickly. Things like TikTok or using bank deposits to send messages wasn't even considered 12 months ago. (Men's behaviour change service, capital city, man, 43 years of age, ID: 00147)

Other workers suggested that there need to be clear, regularly updated and accessible resources available to both workers and victims. These would cover how to report TFA and available legal avenues, how to access practical support, what technologies perpetrators could possibly be using, how to check devices to see whether spyware has been installed, safety planning, and available safety apps and cybersecurity. One worker stressed the need for specific resources for culturally diverse women and women in regional areas.

> More knowledge on how to fight technology abuse with technology solutions – what are the credible safety apps out there, cyber security tailored for the FV [family violence] and community sector, safety planning resources that are up-to-the-minute relevant. (Family relationship service, regional centre, man, 46 years of age, ID: 00156)

> We desperately need resources to support women from other cultures. The need for these women is urgent in our regional areas as they are isolated, threatened and stalked a *lot*, with little access to support. (TAFE counsellor, regional centre, woman, 51 years of age, ID: 0081)

Some workers said that there need to be specialist technology services that they can refer to as they already have a large workload and technology moves too quickly for them to keep up to date with it. They suggested a dedicated advice hotline for both workers and victims that provides current information. They also suggested a dedicated service for helping victims to assess their devices with specialised knowledge on how to keep victims safe from TFA.

> We cannot be the experts in everything. We need help and the quickest and easiest way is via a referral. This is why I selected an advice line. Our workloads are so big, we are unable to spend the time with the victim or even sometimes the perpetrator. (Legal service, regional centre, woman, 51 years of age, ID: 00120)

> It would be useful if there was a place which could assist victims by undertaking a thorough assessment of their devices, and provide specialised knowledge to them as to how to keep themselves safe, or rectify/respond to specific technologically facilitated abuse which has already occurred. (Health service, capital city, woman, 64 years of age, ID: 00180)

Other workers stressed that police and courts need training so that they take TFA seriously – that way, support services workers can feel more confident utilising legal avenues as a resource. This also included police being better equipped to investigate and charge perpetrators of TFA. Another worker suggested that other support workers, such as disability workers, need to be trained about TFA so that they can identify when their clients are experiencing it. Workers also wanted to see technology companies shouldering some of the responsibility for responding to TFA, including investigating and stopping the abuse, and taking speedier action to take down abusive posts.

Challenges in a crisis

Finally, the stakeholder survey included two open qualitative questions regarding two major challenges that Australians faced during 2020: a bushfire crisis over the summer of 2019 and 2020, with ongoing impacts on households and livelihoods, and the COVID-19 pandemic.

Australian bushfires

Some support services workers reported that the heightened bushfire season and its flow-on effects contributed to the escalation of family violence. They said this was due to increased fatigue, anxiety and stress from property, animal and resource loss. In some rural areas, these tensions were even greater for those who had already suffered through an extensive drought period, with families at breaking point – something workers described as further impacting upon family violence experiences.

> I think the financial stress of the bushfires and stressful nature of seeking financial support would be a contributing factor to escalating family violence, especially in contexts where it was already present. (Legal service, regional centre, woman, 33 years of age, ID:0016)

> The bushfire crisis is still continuing months on with a lack of drive and priority for the already struggling communities from the decade-long drought. Rural communities are struggling. [There are] higher suicide rates from all different demographics. (Domestic and family violence services, rural, woman, 35 years of age, ID: 00105)

Support services workers reported significant barriers for victims in being able to access support at this time. While services had an increase in demand, workers reported that they did not have enough funding to help those in need. There were also barriers to victims contacting services including displacement from homes and being unfamiliar with services in respite areas; limited access to technology and the Internet to seek support; landlines being damaged by bushfires; being isolated on properties and unable to leave; and increased dependency on the perpetrator.

Some reported impacts specifically in relation to TFA. Two workers said that perpetrators would remove access to technology so the victims could not call for assistance from bushfire services. Another worker reported that perpetrators would install video cameras under the guise of monitoring dangers, but would instead use them for surveillance of victims. Other workers reported that while they had not seen any significant impacts on TFA yet, they expected to see an increase in the future as the full impact of the disasters take hold on families – particularly with the compounded impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic

Many support services workers described the ways that the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted on both their clients' experiences of TFA and their own ability to effectively support and help victims during this time. Domestic and family violence support services overwhelmingly reported an increase in referrals, as well as an increase in the complexity of issues that were presented. Workers said the increase in violence and complexity was due to clients being pushed into crisis situations while also being trapped in the home with their abuser due to lockdown requirements:

> Victims have felt trapped in their home and the cycle of violence more. Less reasons to escape. Financial pressures have increased violence. Loss of jobs has increased violence. Fears have increased violence. (Men's behaviour change service, capital city, woman, 47 years of age, ID: 00139)

While support services workers reported an increase in referrals, the move from face-to-face to telephone or online appointments was a significant barrier to supporting victims during this time. Many workers reported not knowing when a safe time would be to call, knowing that clients were stuck at home with their abuser or that the abuser's movements were less predictable. They also reported that clients were worried their abuser may be monitoring their screens or calls. Additionally, people who had experienced TFA were uncomfortable having to access support through technology, associating technology with feeling unsafe. One worker suggested that victims may have made calculated decisions not to accept help during this time as the safer option:

We have received a 50 per cent increase in referrals from the police, however less than 50 per cent of the women we called were able to answer our calls, nor did they return our calls when a message was left. This indicates to us that the women felt they were safer by not accepting assistance at the time of being trapped in the house with their abuser. (Domestic and family violence service, rural, woman, 59 years of age, ID: 0013)

The increase in demand was also reported to amplify the lack of support services available in rural and regional areas. The move to telephone-only services was also reported as difficult for refugees, those seeking asylum or migrants as settlement services only provide one phone per family, which is usually held by the man, making it impossible for women in these families to seek help. Workers also said online and telephone service provision made it difficult to assist clients with technology-related challenges, such as checking whether spyware is installed on their devices.

Contrastingly, services such as legal services and counselling reported a decrease in referrals. One worker suggested that victims no longer had privacy to access these services online or by telephone. Another worker suggested that services moving to an appointment-only model may have impacted victims' ability to opportunistically seek help: "Previous services that you could walk into such as medical centres, housing, counselling have gone to appointment only, so victims can no longer be opportunistic when obtaining help" (Prevention organisation, rural, woman, 33 years of age, ID: 0094).

Support services workers also reported a significant increase in reports of women experiencing TFA during the COVID-19 pandemic. This was a problem for those who were stuck at home with their abuser and those who lived separately from their abuser. There was also an increase in abusive online experiences with strangers.

For victims who live with their abuser, workers reported an increase in them having their technology monitored and controlled. This included abusers keeping track of messages received and apps being used, controlling online shopping, or in some instances not allowing them to use technology at all, further isolating them from support systems. One sector worker also reported that they saw an increase in IBA, with male partners taking photos of their female partners without their consent and sending them to friends and work colleagues.

Support services workers reported that for victims and abusers who live apart, having physical access cut off due to COVID-19 movement restrictions saw abusers finding new ways to reach their victims through technology, including abuse and monitoring online through social media, imposter accounts, cyberstalking, and spreading rumours or posting defamatory content online. Workers also reported an increase in surveillance and harassment through spyware, drones, and phones or toys sent to children.

Increase in hidden spyware (apps) on victims' smart devices. Increase use of drone surveillance due to isolation. Increase in accessing Wi-Fi to access victims' cameras. Increase in postal gifts to victims and their children with spyware and tracking [devices] buried within them. (Family relationship service, capital city, man, 43 years of age, ID: 00256)

In terms of increases in abuse perpetrated by strangers, workers suggested this was due to people generally spending more time online and having an increased opportunity to offend. This includes reports of bank accounts being hacked, and harassing and bullying conduct on social media. One sector worker said that those experiencing TFA were often placed as lower priority by services due to the victims not being physically at risk, despite TFA having detrimental impacts on the victims' feelings of safety and mental health.

Discussion

This study has generated substantial evidence that support services stakeholders responding to TFA perceive it to be a significant and gendered problem, with their clients often facing significant barriers in seeking help for this behaviour. Support services workers demonstrated that TFA is a growing issue for their clients, particularly with the ever-expanding and vast landscape of digital technologies. However, they also identified that there are particular obstacles to helping clients who are experiencing TFA, and expressed concerns over the adequacy of current responses. These include difficulty in finding up-to-date information, TFA not being taken seriously by police and courts, and inadequate responses from technology providers. Support services workers called for these key areas to be improved. They also identified areas in which they need additional support and training, including responding to perpetrators, meeting the needs of diverse clients and strategies for preventing TFA. Overall, the vital, practice-based knowledge from support services workers in this study has allowed us to demonstrate tangible ways in which we can more effectively disrupt, prevent and respond to TFA.

Gendered nature and relational contexts of TFA

The findings indicate that there is a gendered nature to TFA: workers reported women and girls to be the victims "a lot of the time" compared to men and boys, while men were most commonly the perpetrators. It should be noted, however, that approximately a third (33.0%) of the services stakeholders responding to the survey were from the domestic and family violence sector, which may have influenced these findings. Additionally, the majority of support services workers reported that TFA occurs in the context of either former or current intimate partner relationships, though again this is perhaps not surprising given the majority of support services workers were in domestic violence-related roles. Nonetheless, these findings reflect those of much previous research internationally which has suggested that women and girls are typically overrepresented as victims (Reyns et al., 2012; Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020; Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020).

The perpetration findings are also consistent with prior research on IBA indicating that men are more likely to

be identified as the perpetrators compared with women, transgender, non-binary and intersex people (Henry et al. 2020; Powell et al.2019). The findings furthermore demonstrate the potentially disproportionate experiences of gender minority groups, with workers reporting that members of these groups were victims of TFA "sometimes" or "a lot of the time". There is very little research into the extent and experiences of transgender, non-binary and intersex people in relation to TFA currently, however some research has indeed indicated that these groups experience much higher rates of online abuse (Powell et al., 2018).

With regard to age, victims of TFA were reported by workers to be most commonly young adults aged either 18 to 24 years or 25 to 34 years, with those aged 17 or under and 35 to 44 years also among the common victims. Adults aged 45 years and over were less commonly victims of TFA in the professional experience of workers surveyed by comparison. This is in some ways not surprising due to similar demographic patterns in the uptake and high use of digital and communications technologies (ABS, 2018). These findings are further supported by emerging research into IBA in Australia more specifically, which has likewise found victimisation to be most common among young to middle-aged adults (Powell et al., 2019). It is also young and middle-aged adults who are most likely to be either actively dating or entering into de facto or spousal relationships, both of which are typical contexts for men's violence against women in particular (Machado et al. 2014; Sutton & Dawson, 2018).

Most common subtypes of TFA

Overall, the most common subtypes of TFA as seen by workers were from either the monitoring, stalking or controlling set of items, or the psychological, emotional abuse and threats set, while image-based and sexual harassment behaviours were less commonly seen by the workers surveyed. The five most common TFA behaviours that workers reported were experienced by victims "a lot of the time" were perpetrators sending putdowns or insulting or harassing messages to the victim via digital or online communications; maintaining unwanted contact with the victim via digital or online communications; keeping track of where the victim is and who they are with; controlling or trying to control the

victim's access to a telephone, mobile phone or Internet; and threatening to physically assault the victim via digital or online communications. Again, in light of the high representation of domestic violence workers among those surveyed, it is perhaps not surprising that monitoring, stalking, controlling and threats items featured heavily in their professional experience. Nonetheless, as discussed earlier, emerging international research is showing that TFA victimisation appears to be a relatively common experience (Dragiewicz et al., 2019; United Nations, 2015) and to feature commonly in men's partner violence against women in particular (Marganski & Melander, 2018; Yardley, 2020). Indeed, recent findings from the WESNET national survey of Australian frontline domestic violence practitioners have highlighted the frequent use of mobile, online and monitoring technologies in intimate partner stalking and controlling behaviours in the experience of workers (Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020). The most common technologies used in intimate partner stalking and abuse were text messaging, smartphones, social media (such as Facebook), video cameras, and GPS tracking apps and devices (Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020).

Impacts of TFA on victims

The impacts on victims that support services workers reported in their qualitative responses reflect many of the impacts seen in previous studies. These include constant monitoring and abuse through technology creating a sense of omnipresence that erodes victims' sense of safety (Woodlock, 2017; Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020). Additionally, victims no longer having free and functional use of technology was reported to isolate them from support networks including friends, family, support workers and emergency services (Woodlock, 2017; Worsley et al. 2017). Support services workers also reported significant financial and employment impacts with victims either losing or not being able to maintain their job (Reyns & Fissell, 2020), or having bad online reviews left on their business pages. Our study found this to be particularly problematic for victims in small, rural communities who rely on their reputation. CALD women were reported to be vulnerable to TFA as they often have less technological literacy (Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020); this was also reported to be the case for older women in our study. Support services workers reported there being particularly significant impacts

for those experiencing IBA, which is concerning considering research suggests this form of TFA is largely unrecognised and misunderstood (McGlynn et al., 2020). Support services workers also reported that victims often felt helpless and frustrated and would stay in abusive relationships after being turned away or not taken seriously by police. Other studies have also found this issue of police not taking TFA seriously and minimising victims' experiences (Powell & Henry, 2018; Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020). Support services workers also consistently cited mental health impacts that have been reported in other studies including anxiety, depression and PTSD (Arafa, 2017; Cripps & Sterman, 2018; Nobles et al., 2014; Stevens et al., 2020). However, a significant number of respondents additionally said they had clients with suicidal thoughts or who had attempted suicide, demonstrating the urgency of addressing these mental health impacts.

Improving responses to TFA

Overall, support services workers demonstrated concerns over the adequacy of responses to TFA. In particular, there was very little support for the adequacy of current responses by technology providers including dating and social media platforms. The findings also demonstrated that more may need to be done to improve the responsiveness of state- and territory-based victims of crime support services in relation to TFA, as well as building the capacity of services to provide culturally tailored support for victims in diverse Australian communities. There was generally highest support for the responsiveness of the 1800RESPECT helpline and community, domestic and sexual violence service sectors, though these were arguably still low with approximately a quarter of workers agreeing that such services meet the needs of TFA victims "a lot of the time".

When it came to policy, legal and police responses, generally there was low confidence in the adequacy of these for responding to TFA. The key areas for concern according to support services workers were in police and court responses to TFA, particularly with regard to holding perpetrators accountable and responding to LGBTQ+ and intersex victims. There was minimal confidence in legal services' responses to victims of TFA, and concerns over the extent to which laws were sufficiently inclusive of the different forms of TFA.

A recent study from WESNET (Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020) similarly found that support services workers in Australia had low confidence in police and legal responses, citing insufficient understanding about the role of technology in gendered violence and police not taking women seriously. They found these perceptions to be similar to those in their study five years earlier, suggesting a lack of progression in adequate legal responses to TFA. Powell and Henry's (2018) study with police stakeholders additionally found that the police faced challenges and barriers in investigating and responding to TFA, including cross-jurisdictional barriers, lack of cooperation from internet and telecommunication providers, and lack of clarity in legislation. This suggests that police need additional resources alongside training and cultural change. While it has long been recognised that police and courts will need specific training and education to respond to the rapidly developing harms of TFA (see e.g. Southworth et al., 2005), it is clear that legal responses continue to play catch-up in taking TFA seriously and providing adequate supports and justice outcomes for victims.

Sector training needs

Overall, workers were most likely to have some confidence in their knowledge and skills to recognise the signs of TFA, understand the rapidly changing forms of TFA and develop a safety plan with victims experiencing TFA. However, many workers expressed that they were not at all confident in their knowledge and skills to respond to perpetrators of TFA, to meet the specific needs of diverse clients such as sex workers or victims with disability, or to work with strategies for the prevention of TFA in settings such as workplaces, sports or education. WESNET's (Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020) study also found domestic violence workers needed additional training, particularly through a gender lens (see also Tanczer, et al., 2018). In line with Henry et al.'s (2018) findings in the context of IBA, the current study of support services workers suggests that there are a range of intersectionalities alongside gender that need addressing in training, such as disability and cultural diversity. Many workers reported having received some training in TFA, predominantly professional development workshops and online training or webinars. There was some support for these modes as helpful for further upskilling the services

sector to respond to TFA. Together, these findings suggest that there is both a need to continue existing professional development training options (both in-service and online or webinar-based) and to expand these offerings to keep up with the changing nature of TFA and to improve workers' knowledge and skills in responding to perpetrators and diverse victims. These findings are furthermore consistent with emerging international research suggesting the need to upskill support workers in how to respond to, and implement protective technological practice for, TFA (see e.g. Havron et al., 2019; Tanczer et al., 2018).

Limitations and strengths of the project

The project design originally forecast that a sample of approximately 600 support services workers would be desirable in order to facilitate comparative analyses across Australian states and territories and between sector subtypes. However, recruitment was impacted by a range of factors throughout 2020. Notably, there were several other surveys of Australian sector and services workers conducted within 2020, including WESNET's second national survey on technology-facilitated domestic violence (Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020); research into domestic violence and COVID-19 conducted by Monash University (Pfitzner et al., 2020); and a survey of lawyers, health and social workers, and counsellors on TFA which began recruitment of workers in September 2020 (Queensland University of Technology, 2020). A decision was therefore made to close the survey at the end of November 2020 with 338 responses, due to the survey having collected a sufficient dataset for core analyses, a substantial tailing off in response rates despite repeated advertising and recruitment efforts, and recognition of sector survey and workload fatigue during COVID-19 and as the year came to a close. As we have noted elsewhere in this report, approximately a third (33.0%) of the services stakeholders responding to the survey were from the domestic and family violence sector, which may have influenced some of the findings, particularly with regard to the gendered nature of abuse. The subsequent stage of this research project, however, involves a nationally representative survey of Australians regarding their experiences of both victimisation and perpetration of TFA, and will shed further light on the gendered nature of these harms.

Despite significant challenges during 2020, the final sample of 338 responses represents good coverage in comparison to similar sector surveys conducted previously which have achieved samples of between 150 and 530 practitioners (see e.g. Woodlock, 2017; Woodlock, Bentley et al., 2020). Moreover, the data as discussed in this report demonstrate key trends that are further supported in the small but growing international research literature and present key implications for policy and practice (discussed further in the following section). The qualitative data gathered by the sector stakeholder survey are an additional key strength of this project. These written responses by support services workers provide valuable insights into development of the subsequent qualitative and main quantitative stages of the project, as well as giving voice to the impacts of TFA on victims and reform needs within Australia moving forward.

Implications for policy and practice

This study has highlighted that TFA is a serious and growing problem in Australia. As outlined earlier, support services workers identified a number of barriers to facilitating appropriate supports for people experiencing TFA, and identified areas for improved policy and practice, including within and beyond the sector. The findings therefore have important implications for future policy, training and practice.

TFA comprises a range of behaviours and relational contexts in which violence, harassment and abuse occur with the aid of online and digital technologies. Nonetheless, the gendered nature of TFA as reported by support services workers demonstrates a clear need for focused policy efforts that prioritise TFA as a subtype of men's violence against women, and one that intersects with other dimensions of marginalisation. Recognising TFA as an extended form of gendered violence across each of the service responses and justice and prevention sectors is vital in order for awareness, appropriate education and targeted policies to be developed. Indeed, this study suggests that there is a need for policy, training and education initiatives to continue to be attentive to the unique contexts of women's TFA victimisation experiences, as well as to the barriers to support and other responses to TFA experienced by diverse victims in the Australian community.

Research into domestic and family violence consistently shows that technologies are being used as tools to perpetrate and extend existing abusive patterns of behaviour. Our research supports this finding and indicates that TFA needs to be understood not as a separate and unique form of abuse, but rather as a strategy or tool that is connected to other forms of physical, emotional, controlling, financial and social abuse. While it is the case that some victims may experience TFA in isolation from other abuse types, the findings of this sector study highlight a common overlap with physical forms of partner and sexual assault, as well as the role of technology in enabling financial control, social control and psychological abuse or threats in the context of domestic violence. This presents some challenges for policy, policing and service provision that can potentially silo or triage responses to TFA as distinct from in-person forms of domestic or sexual violence.

Among the support services workers surveyed, there was a common view that additional training was needed in relation to TFA across agencies and sectors who support victims, assist in the behavioural change of perpetrators and are responsible for justice responses. As discussed, support services workers commonly associated TFA with other forms of abuse, including in-person, intimate partner abuse. This finding suggests that additional training on how to recognise TFA and respond to disclosures of TFA may be needed to ensure that all frontline services or first responders to victims of intimate partner violence are better able to identify and respond to TFA experiences. Linked with this are the concerns support services workers raised regarding police and court responses to TFA, and in particular, a view that TFA harms were not always being treated seriously by first responders and the courts. This suggests additional training and development is needed in the justice system regarding the nature, seriousness and range of response options available to address TFA and to support victims of TFA.

Overall, the findings indicated three priority areas for service sector development in response to TFA, namely: working with diverse clients experiencing TFA (including those with disability; those from CALD, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, and LGBTQ+ and intersex communities; and sex workers); working with perpetrators to intervene in TFA; and working to prevent TFA before it occurs through community and education settings.

Responses to questions around training itself also suggest there is support among support services workers for continuing and expanding existing professional development training options – both in-service workshops as well as online or webinar-based – to keep up with the changing nature of TFA. This is relevant to assist with identifying experiences of TFA that victims may not themselves recognise as abusive behaviour, but also to assist in prevention of future TFA by providing guidance to victims on how to identify TFA and potential TFA tools, and how to safely plan prevention techniques. There is potentially a greater role for partnership between technology providers, government agencies and the support services sectors in the design and delivery of up-to-date training and education resources regarding the safety tools available on various platforms, and how these might be utilised to enable victims of TFA to remain connected with their support networks, while enhancing safety from the actions of an abuser. Responding to perpetrators and

understanding the diversity of TFA harms and behaviours were also identified as areas that could be further developed to improve support services workers' confidence in responding to TFA. This knowledge is also vital in informing primary and secondary prevention activities and programs.

Conclusion

Stage I of the larger project, of which this study forms part, set out to investigate the nature and contexts of women victims' experiences of TFA; what help-seeking remedies currently exist (or are needed); the state of current practice and potential challenges for prevention of and responses to TFA; and how we might more effectively disrupt, prevent and respond to TFA. This study has generated new knowledge on these aspects from the perspectives of workers across the Australian community, support, health and legal services sectors.

This report has provided a summary of the findings from a survey of 338 support services workers across Australia on their experiences providing support to victims and perpetrators of TFA. It has reported the views of support services workers regarding the nature and impacts of TFA; the contexts and motivations of TFA perpetration; challenges for workers in responding to TFA; obstacles to preventing, responding to and addressing TFA (both in relation to support services workers and within the justice context); and reflections on TFA during times of crisis. The data presented suggest that support services workers consider TFA to be both a growing problem – which is supported by recent research (see e.g. Marganski & Melander, 2020; Morgan & Boxall, 2020; Pfitzner et al., 2020; Powell & Flynn, 2020) – and, in their view, a significant gendered problem that requires increased awareness, support and resources. Training of support services workers, as well as frontline responders such as police and prosecutors, is required not only to help support victims, but to provide ways to better understand, identify and safely prevent TFA.

In light of ongoing support services developments and policy and legislative reforms to better respond to and prevent TFA, the insights from workers provided in this report highlight the need for continuing to resource and implement such reforms. In particular, while legal proposed frameworks and civil remedies, such as those addressed through the Online Safety Bill 2021 (Cth), are important, what this research demonstrates is that there remains an urgent need for training and resources directed to frontline support services to better respond to TFA. Furthermore, while laws may be changing, there remains a perception among support services workers that police and legal responses remain inconsistent in meeting the needs of victims of TFA and in holding perpetrators to account.

While this study has shone a light on this growing social, legal and health problem from the perspectives of service providers who respond to TFA in their roles, further research is needed to develop a deeper understanding of the experiences and needs of victims of TFA, as well as how to respond to perpetrators and inform prevention activities. Further research is also required to establish community prevalence rates of TFA to better understand the scope, nature and harms of TFA in Australia. Stages II and III of this project directly respond to these research gaps, and will include a nationally representative survey that will examine victimisation and perpetration experiences of TFA, as well as in-depth interviews with victims and perpetrators of TFA.

Author contributions

Drs Flynn and Powell devised the project design, the main conceptual ideas and an outline of the report. Powell designed the survey instrument in collaboration with Flynn. Hindes drafted the background literature review section of the report, and assisted in the ethics application for the survey research, under the direction of Flynn. Flynn and Powell conducted the recruitment for the survey, with assistance from Hindes, and Powell processed the resulting survey data, producing and writing the descriptive analyses. Under the direction of a thematic framework provided by Powell, Hindes undertook analysis of key themes arising from the qualitative data provided by survey participants. Flynn and Powell drafted the executive summary, introduction, methods, interpretation, discussion and implications sections of the report. Hindes further assisted in proofreading and adding references to the report. A draft of the report was also provided to the project advisory group for comments, and some changes were made by Flynn, Powell and Hindes to incorporate that feedback.

References

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2018). *Household use of information technology, Australia, 2016–17*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/industry/technology-and-innovation/household-use-information-technology/latest-release

Akhtar, S., & Morrison, C. M. (2019). The prevalence and impact of online trolling of UK members of parliament. *Computers in Human Behavior, 99*, 322–327.

Alhaboby, Z. A., Barnes, J., Evans, H., & Short, E. (2019). Cyber-victimization of people with chronic conditions and disabilities: A systematic review of scope and impact. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 20*(3), 398–415.

Amnesty International. (2020). *Why Twitter is a toxic place for women*. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/research/2018/03/online-violence-against-women-chapter-1/

Antunovic, D. (2019). "We wouldn't say it to their faces": Online harassment, women sports journalists, and feminism. *Feminist Media Studies, 19*(3), 428–442.

Arafa, A. E., Elbahrawe, R. S., Saber, N. M., Ahmed, S. S., & Abbas, A. M. (2017). Cyber sexual harassment: A cross-sectional survey over female university students in Upper Egypt. *International Journal of Community Medicine and Public Health, 5*(1), 61–65.

Australian Human Rights Commission (2020). *Respect@ Work, the Australian Human Rights Commission's report of the National Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces*. AHRC.

Australian Law Reform Commission (2014). *Serious invasions of privacy in the digital era: Final report*. ALRC.

Baker, L., Campbell, M., & Berreto, E. (2013). *Understanding technology-related violence against women: Types of violence and women's experiences*. Learning Network, Centre for Research and Education on Violence against Women and Children. http://www.vawlearningnetwork.ca/our-work/briefs/briefpdfs/LB-06.pdf

Barak, A. (2005). Sexual harassment on the Internet. *Social Science Computer Review, 23*(1), 77–92.

Bates, S. (2017). Revenge porn and mental health: A qualitative analysis of the mental health effects of revenge porn on female survivors. *Feminist Criminology, 12*(1), 22–42.

Boxall, H., Morgan, A., & Brown, R. (2020). *The prevalence of domestic violence among women during the COVID-19 pandemic* (Statistical bulletin no. 28). Australian Institute of Criminology.

Brem, M. J., Florimbio, A. R., Grigorian, H., Wolford-Clevenger, C., Elmquist, J., Shorey, R. C., & Stuart, G. L. (2019). Cyber abuse among men arrested for domestic violence: Cyber monitoring moderates the relationship between alcohol problems and intimate partner violence. *Psychology of Violence, 9*(4), 410.

Brown, C., Flood, M., & Hegarty, K. (2020). Digital dating abuse perpetration and impact: The importance of gender. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1–16.

Caridade, S., Braga, T., & Borrajo, E. (2019). Cyber dating abuse (CDA): Evidence from a systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 48*, 152–168.

Council of Australian Governments. (2019). *Partnership Agreement on Closing the Gap 2019–2019*. https://www.coag.gov.au/sites/default/files/agreements/partnership-agreement-closing-the-gap.pdf.

Council of Australian Governments. (2011). *The National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and Their Children: Including the first three-year action plan*. COAG.

Cortis, N., Blaxland, M., Breckenridge, J., valentine, k. Mahoney, N., Chung, D., Cordier, R., Chen, Y., & Green, D. (2018). *National survey of workers in the domestic, family and sexual violence sectors* (SPRC Report 5/2018). Social Policy Research Centre and Gendered Violence Research Network, UNSW Sydney.

Cox, P. (2015). *Violence against women in Australia: Additional analysis of the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Personal Safety Survey, 2012* (ANROWS Horizons 01/2015). ANROWS.

Coy, M., & Garner, M. (2012). Definitions, discourses and dilemmas: Policy and academic engagement with the sexualisation of popular culture. *Gender & Education*, *24*(3), 285–301.

Crenshaw, K. (1990). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*, 1241.

Cripps, J., & Stermac, L. (2018). Cyber-sexual violence and negative emotional states among women in a Canadian university. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology, 12*(1), 171–186.

DeKeseredy, W. S., & Schwartz, M. D. (2016). Thinking sociologically about image-based sexual abuse: The contribution of male peer support theory. *Sexualization, Media, & Society, 2*(4), 1–8.

DeKeseredy, W. S., Schwartz, M. D., Harris, B., Woodlock, D., Nolan, J., & Hall-Sanchez, A. (2019). Technology-facilitated stalking and unwanted sexual messages/images in a college campus community: The role of negative peer support. *Sage Open, 9*(1), 2158244019828231.

Department of Social Services. (2009). *Time for Action: The National Council's Plan for Australia to Reduce Violence against Women and Their Children 2009–2021.* https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/05_2012/a_snapshot.pdf

Department of Social Services. (2019). *Fourth Action Plan – National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022.* https://www.dss.gov.au/women-publications-articles-reducing-violence/fourth-action-plan

Dorozenko, K., & Chung, D. (2018). *Research and evaluation of the safer technology for women training and the safe connections program* (Report prepared for Telstra). Curtin University.

Dragiewicz, M., Burgess, J., Matamoros-Fernández, A., Salter, M., Suzor, N. P., Woodlock, D., & Harris, B. (2018). Technology-facilitated coercive control: Domestic violence and the competing roles of digital media platforms. *Feminist Media Studies, 18*(4), 609–625.

Dragiewicz, M., Woodlock, D., Harris, B., & Reid, C. (2019). Technology-facilitated coercive control. In W. DeKeseredy, C. Rennison & A. Hall-Sanchez (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of violence studies* (pp. 244–253). Routledge.

Eterovic-Soric, B., Choo, K.-K. R., Ashman, H., & Mubarak, S. (2017). Stalking the stalkers – Detecting and deterring stalking behaviours using technology: A review. *Computers & Security, 70*, 278–289.

Family Violence Reform Implementation Monitor. (2020) *Responses to the call for submissions: Monitoring the Family Violence Reforms.* https://www.fvrim.vic.gov.au/responses-call-submissions-monitoring-family-violence-reforms

Family Violence Response Centre. (2020). *Technology-facilitated abuse.* https://www.safesteps.org.au/understanding-family-violence/types-of-abuse/technology-facilitated-abuse/

Fido, D., & Harper, C. (2020). *Non-consensual image-based sexual offending.* Springer Nature.

Fitz-Gibbon, K., Walklate, S., & Meyer, S. (2020, October 1). Australia is not ready to criminalise coercive control – Here's why. *The Conversation.* http://theconversation.com/australia-is-not-ready-to-criminalise-coercive-control-heres-why-146929

Flynn, A., & Henry, N. (2019a). Image-based sexual abuse: An Australian reflection. *Women and Criminal Justice.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/08974554.2019.1646190

Flynn, A., & Henry, N. (2019b). Image-based sexual abuse. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice.* Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/978019264079.013.534

Fox, J., & Tang, W. Y. (2017). Women's experiences with general and sexual harassment in online video games: Rumination, organizational responsiveness, withdrawal, and coping strategies. *New Media & Society, 19*(8), 1290–1307.

Francisco, S. M., Simão, A. M. V., Ferreira, P. C., & das Dores Martins, M. J. (2015). Cyberbullying: The hidden side of college students. *Computers in Human Behavior, 43*, 167–182.

Fraser, C., Olsen, E., Lee, K., Southworth, C., & Tucker, S. (2010). The new age of stalking: Technological implications for stalking. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, *61*(4), 39–55.

Freed, D., Palmer, J., Minchala, D., Levy, K., Ristenpart, T., & Dell, N. (2017). Digital technologies and intimate partner violence: A qualitative analysis with multiple stakeholders. *PACM on Human–Computer Interactions*, *1*(46). https://doi.org/10.1145/3134681

Hackworth, L. (2018). Limitations of "just gender": The need for an intersectional reframing of online harassment discourse and research. In J. Vickery & T. Everbach (Eds.), *Mediating misogyny* (pp. 51–70). Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris, B. (2020). *Technology, domestic and family violence: Perpetration, experiences and responses.* QUT Centre for Justice. https://eprints.qut.edu.au/199781/1/V1_Briefing_Paper_template.pdf

Harris, B. A. (2018). Spacelessness, spatiality and intimate partner violence. In J. Maher, S. Walklate, J. McCulloch, & K. Fitz-Gibbon (Eds.), *Intimate Partner Violence, Risk and Security: Securing Women's Lives in a Global World* (pp. 52–70). Routledge.

Harris, B., & Woodlock, D. (2019). Digital coercive control: Insights from two landmark domestic violence studies. *British Journal of Criminology, 59*, 530–550.

Havron, S., Freed, D., Chatterjee, R., McCoy, D., Dell, N., & Ristenpart, T. (2019). Clinical computer security for victims of intimate partner violence. In *28th {USENIX} Security Symposium ({USENIX} Security 19)* (pp. 105–122).

Henry, N., & Flynn, A. (2019). Image-based sexual abuse: Online distribution channels and illicit communities of support. *Violence Against Women*, *25*(16), 1932–1955.

Henry, N., Flynn, A., & Powell, A. (2019) *Responding to revenge pornography: The scope, nature and impact of Australian criminal laws*: *A report to the criminology research council.* Australian Institute of Criminology.

Henry, N., Flynn, A., & Powell, A. (2018). Policing image-based sexual abuse: Stakeholder perspectives. *Police Practice and Research, 19*(6), 565–581.

Henry, N., Flynn, A., & Powell, A. (2020). Technology-facilitated domestic and sexual violence: A review. *Violence Against Women*, *26*(15–16), 1828–1854.

Henry, N., McGlynn, C., Flynn, A., Johnson, K., Powell, A., & Scott, A.J. (2020). *Beyond revenge porn: Gender, justice and image-based sexual abuse.* Routledge.

Henry, N., & Powell, A. (2018). Technology-facilitated sexual violence: A literature review of empirical research. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *19*(2), 195–208.

Henry, N., Powell, A., & Flynn, A. (2017). *Not just "revenge pornography": Australians' experiences of image-based abuse: A summary report*. RMIT University.

Henry, N., Vasil, S., Flynn, A., Kellard, K., & Mortreux, C. (in press). Technology-facilitated domestic violence against immigrant and refugee women: A qualitative study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence.*

Herovic, E., Scarduzio, J. A., & Lueken, S. (2019). "It literally happens every day": The multiple settings, multilevel considerations, and uncertainty management of modern-day sexual harassment. *Western Journal of Communication*, *83*(1), 39–57.

Hinduja, S., & Patchin, J. W. (2020). Digital dating abuse among a national sample of US youth. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260519897344

Jones, C., Trott, V., & Wright, S. (2020). Sluts and soyboys: MGTOW and the production of misogynistic online harassment. *New Media & Society*, *22*(10), 1903–1921.

Lawson, C. E. (2018). Platform vulnerabilities: Harassment and misogynoir in the digital attack on Leslie Jones. *Information, Communication & Society, 21*(6), 818–833.

Lopez-Neira, I., Patel, T., Parkin, S., Danezis, G., & Tanczer, L. (2019). "Internet of Things": How abuse is getting smarter. *Safe – The Domestic Abuse Quarterly,* (63), 22–26.

Machado, C., Martins, C., & Caridade, S. (2014). Violence in intimate relationships: A comparison between married and dating couples. *Journal of Criminology*, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1155/2014/897093

Maguire, R., Bozin, D., & Mortimer, G. (2019, November 18). Domestic violence will spike in the bushfire aftermath, and governments can no longer ignore it. *The Conversation.* https://theconversation.com/domestic-violence-will-spike-in-the-bushfire-aftermath-and-governments-can-no-longer-ignore-it-127018

Marganski, A., & Melander, L. (2018). Intimate partner violence victimization in the cyber and real world: Examining the extent of cyber aggression experiences and its association with in-person dating violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 33*(7), 1071–1095.

Marganski, A. J., & Melander, L. (2020, June 19). Domestic abusers use tech that connects as a weapon during coronavirus lockdowns. *The Conversation.* http://theconversation.com/domestic-abusers-use-tech-that-connects-as-a-weapon-during-coronavirus-lockdowns-139834

Marwick, A. E., & Caplan, R. (2018). Drinking male tears: Language, the manosphere, and networked harassment. *Feminist Media Studies, 18*(4), 543–559.

Messing, J., Bagwell-Gray, M., Brown, M. L., Kappas, A., & Durfee, A. (2020). Intersections of stalking and technology-based abuse: Emerging definitions, conceptualization, and measurement. *Journal of family violence*, 1–12.

McGlynn, C., Johnson, K., Rackley, E., Henry, N., Gavey, N., Powell, A., & Flynn, A. (2020). "It's torture for the soul": The harms of image-based sexual abuse. *Social & Legal Studies.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663920947791

McGlynn, C., Rackley, E., & Houghton, R. (2017). Beyond "revenge porn": The continuum of image-based sexual abuse. *Feminist Legal Studies, 25*(1), 25–46.

McMahon, M., & McGorrery, P. (2016). Criminalising emotional abuse, intimidations and economic abuse in the context of family violence: The Tasmanian experience. *University of Tasmania Law Review, 35*(2), 1–22.

Morgan, A., & Boxall, H. (2020) Social isolation, time spent at home, financial stress and domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* (no. 609). Australian Institute of Criminology.

Nobles, M. R., Reyns, B. W., Fox, K. A., & Fisher, B. S. (2014). Protection against pursuit: A conceptual and empirical comparison of cyberstalking and stalking victimization among a national sample. *Justice Quarterly, 31*(6), 986–1014.

Our Watch, Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, & VicHealth. (2015). *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia.* https://www.ourwatch.org.au/resource/change-the-story-a-shared-framework-for-the-primary-prevention-of-violence-against-women-and-their-children-in-australia

Parkinson, D., & Zara, C. (2013). The hidden disaster: Domestic violence in the aftermath of natural disaster. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management, 23*(2), 28–35.

Pashang, S., Clarke, J., Khanlou, N., & Degendorfer, K. (2018). Redefining cyber sexual violence against emerging young women: Toward conceptual clarity. In S. Pashang, N. Khanlou & J. Clarke (Eds.), *Today's youth and mental health: Advances in mental health and addiction.* Springer.

Pashang, S., Khanlou, N., & Clarke, J. (2019). The mental health impact of cyber sexual violence on youth identity. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction, 17*(5), 1119–1131.

Pfitzner, N., Fitz-Gibbon, K., & True, J. (2020). *Responding to the "shadow pandemic": Practitioner views on the nature of and responses to violence against women in Victoria, Australia during the COVID-19 restrictions.* Monash Gender and Family Violence Prevention Centre.

Powell, A., & Flynn, A. (2020, June 3). Reports of "revenge porn" skyrocketed during lockdown, we must stop blaming victims for it. *The Conversation.* https://theconversation.com/reports-of-revenge-porn-skyrocketed-during-lockdown-we-must-stop-blaming-victims-for-it-139659

Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2015). Embodied harms: Gender, shame, and technology-facilitated sexual violence. *Violence Against Women, 21*(6), 758–779.

Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2018). Policing technology-facilitated sexual violence against adult victims: Police and service sector perspectives. *Policing and Society, 28*(3), 291–307.

Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2019). Technology-facilitated sexual violence victimization: Results from an online survey of Australian adults. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 34*(17), 3637–3665.

Powell, A., Henry, N., Flynn, A., & Scott, A. J. (2019). Image-based sexual abuse: The extent, nature, and predictors of perpetration in a community sample of Australian residents. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 92, 393–402. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.11.009

Powell, A., Scott, A. J., & Henry, N. (2020). Digital harassment and abuse: Experiences of sexuality and gender minority adults. *European Journal of Criminology, 17*(2), 199–223.

Queensland University of Technology. (2020). *Survey explores impact of technology-facilitated abuse* [Media release]. https://www.uq.edu.au/news/article/2020/09/survey-explores-impact-of-technology-facilitated-abuse

Reed, E., Salazar, M., Behar, A. I., Agah, N., Silverman, J. G., Minnis, A. M., Rusch, M. L. A., & Raj, A. (2019). Cyber sexual harassment: Prevalence and association with substance use, poor mental health, and STI history among sexually active adolescent girls. *Journal of Adolescence, 75*, 53–62.

Reed, E., Wong, A., & Raj, A. (2020). Cyber sexual harassment: A summary of current measures and implications for future research. *Violence Against Women, 26*(12–13), 1727–1740. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219880959

Reyns, B. W., & Fisher, B. S. (2018). The relationship between offline and online stalking victimization: A gender-specific analysis. *Violence and Victims, 33*(4), 769–786.

Reyns, B. W., & Fissel, E. R. (2020). Cyberstalking. In T. J. Holt & A. M. Bossler (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of international cybercrime and cyberdeviance* (pp. 1283–1306). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78440-3_57

Reyns, B. W., Henson, B., & Fisher, B. S. (2012). Stalking in the twilight zone: Extent of cyberstalking victimization and offending among college students. *Deviant Behavior, 33*(1), 1–25.

Ruvalcaba, Y., & Eaton, A. A. (2020). Nonconsensual pornography among US adults: A sexual scripts framework on victimization, perpetration, and health correlates for women and men. *Psychology of Violence, 10*(1), 68–78. https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000233

Rothman, E. F., Bahrami, E., Okeke, N., & Mumford, E. (2020). Prevalence of and risk markers for dating abuse–related stalking and harassment victimization and perpetration in a nationally representative sample of US adolescents. *Youth & Society*, 0044118X20921631.

Salter, M. (2016). Privates in the online public: Sex(ting) and reputation on social media. *New Media & Society, 18*(11), 2723–2739. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815604133

Salter, M. (2018). From geek masculinity to Gamergate: The technological rationality of online abuse. *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal, 14*(2), 247–264. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659017690893

Scarduzio, J. A., Sheff, S. E., & Smith, M. (2018). Coping and sexual harassment: How victims cope across multiple settings. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 47*(2), 327–340.

Schumacher, J. A., Coffey, S. F., Norris, F. H., Tracy, M., Clements, K., & Galea, S. (2010). Intimate partner violence and Hurricane Katrina: Predictors and associated mental health outcomes. *Violence and Victims, 25*(5), 588–603. https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.25.5.588

Scott, A. J., & Gavin, J. (2018). Revenge pornography: The influence of perpetrator–victim sex, observer sex and observer sexting experience on perceptions of seriousness and responsibility. *Journal of Criminal Psychology, 8*(2), 162–172.

Southworth, C., Dawson, S., Fraser, C., & Tucker, S. (2005). A high-tech twist on abuse: Technology, intimate partner stalking, and advocacy. *Violence Against Women Online Resources.* National Network to End Domestic Violence.

Stark, E. (2009). *Coercive control: The entrapment of women in personal life*. Oxford University Press.

Stevens, F., Nurse, J. R., & Arief, B. (2020). Cyber stalking, cyber harassment, and adult mental health: A systematic review. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2020.0253.

Stonard, K. E., Bowen, E., Lawrence, T. R., & Price, S. A. (2014). The relevance of technology to the nature, prevalence and impact of adolescent dating violence and abuse: A research synthesis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 19*(4), 390–417.

Sutton, D., & Dawson, M. (2018). Differentiating characteristics of intimate partner violence: Do relationship status, state, and duration matter? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518795501

Tanczer, L., Neira, I. L., Parkin, S., Patel, T., & Danezis, G. (2018). *Gender and IoT research report: The rise of the Internet of Things and implications for technology-facilitated abuse.* UCL. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/steapp/sites/steapp/files/giot-report.pdf

Thompson, L. (2018). "I can be your Tinder nightmare": Harassment and misogyny in the online sexual marketplace. *Feminism & Psychology, 28*(1), 69–89.

Todd, C., Bryce, J., & Franqueira, V. N. (2021). Technology, cyberstalking and domestic homicide: Informing prevention and response strategies. *Policing and Society, 31*(1), 82–99.

United Nations. (2015). *Cyber violence against women and girls: A world-wide wake-up call.* www.unwomen.org/~/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2015/cyber_violence_gender%20report.pdf?v=1&d=20150924T154259

United Nations. (2017a). *Facts and figures: Humanitarian action.* https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/humanitarian-action/facts-and-figures

United Nations. (2017b). *Facts and figures: Ending violence against women.* https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures

Webster, K. (2016). A preventable burden: Measuring and addressing the prevalence and health impacts of intimate partner violence in Australian women (ANROWS Compass, 07/2016). ANROWS.

WESNET. (2019). *Women's legal guides of tech-based abuse.* https://techsafety.org.au/resources/legal-guides/

Women's Legal Service NSW. (2020). *Technology-facilitated stalking and abuse.* https://www.wlsnsw.org.au/law-reform/tech-stalking-abuse/

Woodlock, D. (2015). *ReCharge: Women's technology safety, legal resources, research and training.* Women's Legal Service NSW, Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria, and WESNET.

Woodlock, D. (2017). The abuse of technology in domestic violence and stalking. *Violence Against Women, 23*(5), 584–601.

Woodlock, D., Bentley, K., Schulze, D., Mahoney, N., Chung, D., & Pracilio, A. (2020). *Second National Survey of Technology Abuse and Domestic Violence in Australia.* WESNET.

Woodlock, D., McKenzie, M., Western, D., & Harris, B. (2020). Technology as a weapon in domestic violence: Responding to digital coercive control. *Australian Social Work*, *73*(3), 368–380.

Worsley, J. D., Wheatcroft, J. M., Short, E., & Corcoran, R. (2017). Victims' voices: Understanding the emotional impact of cyberstalking and individuals' coping responses. *SAGE Open*, *7*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244017710292

Yar, M., & Drew, J. (2019). Image-based abuse, non-consensual pornography, revenge porn: A study of criminalization and crime prevention in Australia and England & Wales. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology, 13*(2), 578–592.

Yardley, E. (2020). Technology-facilitated domestic abuse in political economy: A new theoretical framework. *Violence Against Women*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801220947172

Ybarra, M. L., Espelage, D. L., & Mitchell, K. J. (2007). The co-occurrence of internet harassment and unwanted sexual solicitation victimization and perpetration: Associations with psychosocial indicators. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 41, 31–S41.

Appendix A:
Project advisory group (PAG) members

Name	Organisation/Affiliation
Adrian Scott	Goldsmiths, University of London
Alex Davis	NSW Department of Communities and Justice
Alisha Elliot	Facebook
Cynthia Marwood	Victorian Sentencing Advisory Council
Erin Gillen	Our Watch
Hannah Muller	Women's Legal Service NSW
Jen Hargrave	Women with Disabilities Victoria
Jill Maxwell	Sexual Assault Support Services
Kara Hinesley	Twitter
Karen Bentley	WESNET
Liz Ratcliffe	Domestic Violence Research Centre Victoria
Matthew Parsons	Rainbow Health Victoria
Rebecca Johnston-Ryan	Victoria Police
Regina Quizaon	Multicultural Centre for Women's Health
Rosalie O'Neale	Office of the eSafety Commissioner
Sally Goldner	Transgender Victoria
Samantha Yorke	Google

This page has intentionally been left blank.

ANROWS

ANROWS

AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL RESEARCH
ORGANISATION FOR **WOMEN'S SAFETY**
to Reduce Violence against Women & their Children

ANROWS