
Discussion Paper - Tasmanian Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy

Sexual Assault Support Service Inc. (SASS) submission

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Sexual
Assault
Support
Service

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Tasmanian Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy Discussion Paper

SASS Submission

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Introduction

Sexual Assault Support Service (SASS) Inc. is a community-based service committed to providing high-quality support and information services to survivors of sexual assault in Southern Tasmania, their carers and support people, professionals, and the general public. SASS delivers a 24-hour sexual assault crisis response program; 24-hour phone support and counselling service to people affected by sexual assault; and face to face information, support, counselling, and referral services for anyone affected by sexual assault.

SASS is very pleased to see the development of Tasmania’s first Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy. We welcome the opportunity to contribute to this.

Discussion questions

Our discussion will primarily focus on the domain of *Being Loved and Safe*, and particularly the indicator that children have positive, trusted relationships with other people.

Question 14. Which Tasmanian Government initiatives do you think work best and why?

We note that a current initiative under this domain is Primary Prevention Programs to address Family Violence, and specifically SASS’ two school education programs *Consent is a Conversation* and *Safe, Smart Kids*.

SASS has delivered the former program, *Consent is a Conversation*, in four Tasmanian high schools and colleges a year for the past five years. The funding for this program is due to end on 30 June 2021, and to date SASS has received no indication of whether or not this will be renewed.

SASS is currently only able to deliver the *Safe, Smart Kids* program to primary schools across Tasmanian on a fee-paying basis. This therefore limits the capacity and reach of this program, as most schools do not have the budget to independently pay for the program.

We believe that both these primary prevention programs are effective, value-for-money initiatives to ensure that Tasmanian children are loved and safe.

Turning particularly to the high school program, *Consent is a Conversation*, this innovative program aims to reduce the incidence and impacts of family violence and sexual assault by addressing its underlying causes, promoting respectful behaviours amongst youth, and enhancing the capacity of school communities to respond to sexual assault. Taking a ‘whole of school approach’, the program includes separate sessions with school leadership and student support teams, students, parents and community members as appropriate to the context of each school. SASS also then provides follow-up support to the schools in which the program has been delivered in relation to disclosures and relevant referrals.

The program complements the Department of Education’s Respectful Relationships initiative, and adheres to the National Association of Services Against Sexual Violence (NASASV) *National standards for the primary prevention of sexual assault through education*.

The student training covers the following content, and is generally run over three sessions, each spaced a week apart:

- Information about SASS and support options
- Sexual assault and harassment awareness-raising
- Consent and the law
- Online behaviour and sexting
- Ethical bystander behaviour
- Online pornography
- Attitudes and beliefs
- Ethical sexual decision-making

The compulsory staff and optional (but strongly encouraged) parent/community member sessions cover the following content, and are delivered through one workshop before the student sessions:

- understanding child sexual abuse
- creating child safe environments
- identifying and responding to child sexual abuse
- problem sexual behaviours in children and young people
- talking with children and young people about these topics
- the internet, technology and pornography
- what the student sessions will cover
- information about supports offered by SASS and other relevant services

The program is premised on the following rationales:

Targeting young people is key in primary prevention and long-term culture change

Both the National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children and Change the Story identify young people as a particular focus for primary prevention work. The reasoning for this is that adolescence and young adulthood are key phases in the formation of gender identity, values and beliefs about respectful relationships, as well as when sexual exploration generally occurs. The Australian National Research Organisation for Women’s Safety (ANROWS) identifies that education programs targeted at these age demographics can help “to reduce the risk of violence and abuse in the present, prevent future harm, and maximise the prospects of a violence-free environment for future generations.”¹

Research suggests that a whole of school approach is effective

Targeting schools and educational settings has been highlighted by ANROWS as the priority for prevention education nationally.² The SASS Primary Prevention of Sexual Violence Program takes a structured whole-of-school approach: initially training teachers and staff before engaging students in a series of comprehensive workshops in class groups. An optional parent/community workshop is also offered to each school. Providing training to staff and parents/carers supports continuity of learning for students and the growth of a culture of safety in the school community. Research suggests that parents, carers and teachers are best placed to reinforce health behavior messages, due to the ongoing nature of the relationship they have with students.³ Additionally, peer-based learning platforms have been identified as preferred educational strategies, especially in the context of learning about relationships.⁴

Since initially delivering the program at a High School in 2016, we have returned to that same school annually to trial an ongoing training model. It was anticipated that re-engaging the school's population to regularly refresh content would create consistent positive culture change in the longer term, by allowing students to continually interact with program content, and thus reinforce and build upon learnings year on year. After the first year of program delivery for years 7-10, each subsequent year we delivered the full program for incoming year sevens, and refresher forums for years eight through ten. Concepts of intimacy and consent appeared clearly understood by the student population who had received training year on year.

Moving forward we can confidently say that knowledge retention is improved by revisiting content yearly. Building increased capacity of staff and student support teams will also provide safe support networks for students beyond the training itself, which can assist with ongoing needs of the student body. There is therefore the valuable opportunity with this program to create sustained culture change amongst young Tasmanians.

The topics covered in the student workshops are based on the following rationales:

Topic 1: Information about SASS and other support options:

AIM:

- To equip participants with knowledge of relevant support services available, including SASS.

SASS' training improves participants' awareness of support options for survivors of sexual harassment and/or assault, as well as support options for their friends, family and professionals who may be indirectly affected.

Appreciating that the content can sometimes elicit challenging emotional responses for participants, the program is delivered with participant psychological safety as a priority. In SASS' experience, the program frequently empowers young people to make a disclosure of their own experience/s of sexual harm. This disclosure can then act as a catalyst for them to access support and commence the healing process. Research suggests that therapeutic interventions can effectively treat the symptoms associated with sexual trauma, and are generally more effective when delivered in a timely manner.⁵ Once students engage with a

SASS educator, they have the opportunity to gain a sense of familiarity with SASS, which then facilitates greater likelihood of their engaging with SASS services. A significant benefit of the program is that it is delivered by a Tasmanian service with the ability to take referrals for counselling, advocacy and support for anyone who is affected by sexual harm, including staff or other professionals who may be experiencing vicarious trauma, or to make warm referrals to other relevant services.

Topic 2: Sexual Assault and Harassment Awareness raising

AIMS:

- To equip participants with knowledge and understanding about gender-based violence, including statistics and common myths.
- To empower participants with a comprehensive understanding of the nature, prevalence and contributing factors behind gender-based violence.
- To foster participants' emotional investment in the issue and encourage appropriate changes in behaviour.

The prevalence of sexual harm against young people in Australia is largely misunderstood and underestimated. Evidence from the 2016 Personal Safety Survey indicates that teenagers are at a particularly high risk of experiencing sexual harm, with one in five young women and one in twenty men being directly impacted between the ages of 15-18 years.⁶ Exploring these and other relevant statistics with young people and the adults who support them is important in equipping individuals and school communities to better understand and prevent harm.

Addressing gender inequality also has powerful impacts on young people's understanding of sexual assault and the associated driving factors of power and control. As explored in the 2017 report from the *Tasmanian Youth Forum*, being unaware of the underlying causes of gender-based violence can perpetuate the problem.⁷ A number of common myths about sexual assault, such as that 'men cannot be raped by women', or that 'women make up allegations of sexual assault to hurt men', are still widely accepted. ANROWS research indicates that although many young people understand that false allegations of sexual assault are rare, one in seven (14%) believe that many allegations by women are false. Young men are more likely than young women to hold this belief (18% men; 10% women).⁸

A key part of the awareness-raising section of SASS' program is therefore dispelling such myths and encouraging young people to reject misconceptions and popular held beliefs which can minimise the consequences of people's actions and undermine the real causes and effects. Through challenging commonly held misinformation in a peer setting, participants are encouraged to develop critical thinking skills and media literacy.

Topic 3: Consent and the law

AIM:

- To improve participants' understanding of their rights and responsibilities under Tasmanian law regarding consent.

Recent reports indicate that although attitudes are changing for the better (in large part due to educational programs in schools), many myths regarding consent persist. The ANROWS *Young Australian's attitudes to violence against women and gender equality* survey found that

one in five young Australians believe that “Women find it flattering to be persistently pursued, even if they are not interested”, with young men (24%) nearly twice as likely to agree than young women (13%)” and that one in eight young people are not aware that non-consensual sex in marriage is a criminal offence.⁹ The same report also indicates that the myth that women often say ‘no’ when they mean ‘yes’ remains at alarming rates in youth culture.¹⁰ To combat this, ANROWS states that “...we need to be making clear to all people that anything short of active consent for sex by a partner means that a person should stop and check-in about consent before going any further.”¹¹

A key message within SASS’ program is the importance of consent in intimate relationships. It is well documented in research that legal consent is often misunderstood, especially amongst youth.¹² Evaluation data from our current program indicates that significant numbers of young Tasmanians do not understand what consent is; with 20% of students surveyed pre-SASS training reporting that they know ‘nothing’ about consent, and 54% reporting that they know ‘some’. This number is even higher amongst the younger ages, with only 8% of 12-13 year olds stating pre-SASS training that they know ‘enough’ about consent.

SASS’ training program explores nuanced concepts associated with consent such as manipulation and coercion. Through learning about the various parameters of sexual consent, students gain awareness of the many ways in which sexual harm can occur - even between well-meaning sexual partners.

SASS facilitators walk participants through state consent law and discuss how active, legal consent is the first step in positive intimacy – both a required and desirable aspect if people want to have positive memorable experiences. Breaking down what consent can and can’t be legally and ethically is a key focus of these discussions, as well as the concept that consent should be a conversation.

Topic 4: Online behaviour and sexting

AIM:

- To enable participants to understand their legal and ethical rights and responsibilities when communicating online.

Globally, it is estimated that over 75% of young people have internet access in their rooms overnight, which suggests that it is also unsupervised. Research also indicates that young people are at a high risk of unwanted, harmful or harassing sexual communication online.¹³ The majority of this behaviour happens between peers who have existing relationships, rather than between strangers. Research suggests that online sexual behaviour of adolescents and early emerging adults is indirectly connected to a lower psychosocial well-being via an increased number of sexual victimization experiences online, such as higher loneliness, worse mental health and lower life satisfaction.¹⁴

Sexting and the non-consensual sharing of intimate images online has also been widely raised in research and the media. In Australia, it has been found that one in five young people have experienced some form of image based abuse.¹⁵ It is projected that there are more than 3,000 websites dedicated just to the topic of “revenge pornography” or sexual images posted by men without the permission of the women depicted.¹⁶ A recent survey found that 68% of 17

year old girls experienced the following forms of cyber-sexual harassment: unwanted sexual messages/photos (53%), receiving unwanted messages asking them to do something sexual (49%), being pressured to send sexual photos (36%), and having sexual photos shared without permission (6%).¹⁷

The issue is a particularly problematic one as technology has advanced rapidly whilst relevant legislation has taken time to adapt – leaving victims with few practical options for recourse.¹⁸ Alarmingly, nearly 30% of young people recently surveyed stated that if a woman sends her partner a nude image, it is then partially her fault if her partner then shares this without her permission.¹⁹

Compounding this issue, young people are highly unlikely to seek advice and support from their parents. Educating young people about ethical online behaviour and safe technology use is therefore critical to preventing harm.²⁰

Reflecting the growing trend amongst young people to communicate (including sexually) online, SASS' program engages participants in a safe learning environment through dynamic activities and active discussions on safe, legal and ethical online behaviour. The program also educates young people about their need for careful, ethical and legal decision-making regarding sharing intimate images online. The program also explores the responsibilities of the 'receiver' of intimate images, as research suggests most images are initially consensually shared within romantic partnerships before being re-shared without the person's consent. It is imperative that young people understand that sharing images that are received without the person's consent is not only illegal, but unethical, harmful and a form of image-based abuse.

Topic 5: Ethical bystander behaviour

AIMS:

- To empower students with knowledge of the options they have as a bystander to sexual harassment or abuse; and
- To encourage them to act in a positive, safe way as a bystander to limit further harm and challenge rape culture.

*When bystanders intervene, they protect and support the target, discourage the perpetrator, and shape community perceptions that sexism and sexual harassment are unacceptable.*²¹

The Australian Human Rights Commission identifies that educating people and encouraging a change from being 'passive' to 'active' bystanders is key to limiting harm and promoting human rights on a broad scale.²² It is well documented that sexism not only affects the individual, but has broader reaching social consequences. School-based programs that promote pro-social action in the face of harassment or abuse, such as SASS', are also cited to have positive effects in prevention.²³

Peer to peer disapproval of sexist attitudes, belief and behaviour is shown in recent research to be the most effective approach to foster in young people.²⁴ However, young people often feel too disempowered and/or afraid for their personal and social safety to take action when witnessing harassment or abuse. By training young people to identify unacceptable behaviour

and empowering them to safely intervene, SASS' program follows nationally recognised best practice in encouraging culture change.²⁵ This approach is also supported by Tasmanian research by the Youth Network of Tasmania.²⁶ Sexual violence is a gendered issue, however, harm reduction strategies have historically been met with resistance by men, as they often feel personally attacked. According to Jackson Katz, founder of the Mentors in Violence Prevention program, targeting the issue using bystander behaviour is less confronting and more transformative, thus a more effective educational approach.²⁷

This component of SASS school's program encourages staff, parents and most importantly students to understand their personal power in the face of sexism, and encourages them to make sexist attitudes and behaviour unacceptable within their own school culture. Bystander behaviour training is a particularly effective transformative learning experience for male participants, for whom there can be particular social challenges in openly confronting the gendered nature of sexual harm.²⁸

Topic 6: Online pornography

AIMS:

- To provide students with knowledge of contemporary research regarding the prevalence of online pornography consumption; and
- The possible effects of pornography consumption on their sexual decision-making, understanding of consent, sexual functioning and understanding of positive intimate relationships.

The issue of pornography has recently been declared a public health crisis, with particular concern over its link to tolerating violence against women. Data indicates that in recent decades there "has been a dramatic increase in exposure to pornography among children and young people, especially young men",²⁹ and that this exposure is taking place at a younger age and higher frequency than in the past.³⁰ There is also an increasing amount of evidence suggesting that pornography – particularly violent pornography – "is linked to negative attitudes towards gender relations and relationship practices and the proclivity for violence."³¹

Despite the prevalence and accessibility of a seemingly limitless amount of online pornography, it is evident that education in this space for young people is lacking. Alarming, many young people report that they have never had a serious conversation with an adult about their consumption of pornography.³² Compounding this, most teachers have not received appropriate formal training to feel confident to discuss the health implications of excessive pornography consumption. Research suggests that the most efficient way of tackling the issue of pornography over-consumption is via media literacy.³³

SASS' primary prevention program incorporates age appropriate, contemporary information for young people regarding online pornography. Our particular focus within this part of the program is media literacy; empowering young people with the ability to analyse, evaluate and think critically about society's consumption and production of sexual messages in the media. Research supports that rather than try to regulate or limit online viewing behaviour, effective programs aim to empower participants with the ability to make informed decisions.³⁴

Topic 7: Attitudes and beliefs (culture change):

AIM:

- To empower participants to create broader cultural change through increasing their knowledge, challenging rigid gender stereotypes and positively influencing their attitudes regarding gender equality and beliefs about relationships and sex.

Human actions are driven by attitudes and beliefs. Negative and stereotypical attitudes of gender roles are a major driver of gender-based harassment and abuse. Recent Australian research shows that more than one in four (28%) young people agree with the statements, 'When a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realise that the woman doesn't want to have sex' and 'Rape results from men not being able to control their need for sex'.³⁵ The Tasmanian Youth Network also note their findings that many young people hold stereotypical views of gender roles.³⁶ This is particularly alarming given that gender inequality was highlighted by the Council of Australian Governments Advisory Panel as a key driver for gender-based violence.³⁷

The Tasmanian Youth Network has however also identified that young Tasmanians want to learn about gender equality – and from an early age.³⁸ School based-programs are a prime forum through which to do this.

Young people are at a life stage when their values and gender expressions (i.e. what it means to be masculine or feminine) are being formed. Values of respect, equality and non-violence and a more flexible understanding of gender roles, relationships and identities are important foundations for forming respectful, non-violent relationships both in the present and later in life.³⁹

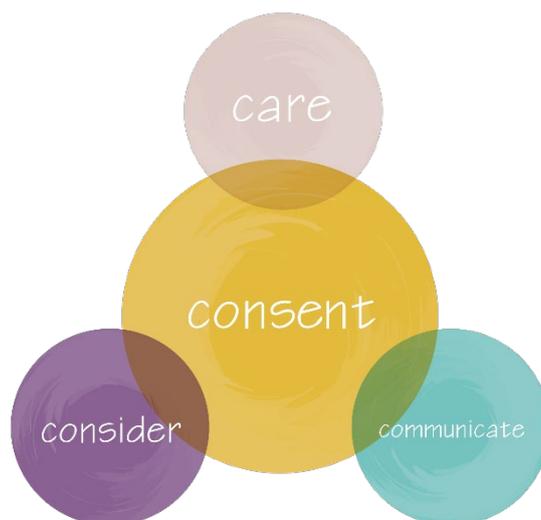
SASS' primary prevention program engages with young people at this key life stage, asking them to challenge rigid gender roles and stereotypes.

Topic 8: Ethical sexual decision-making

AIM:

- To expand upon consent law and educate participants to act in ways that will enrich their lives and do no harm by engaging in only positive, consensual and healthy intimate relations if and when they are ready.

Developed by SASS specialists, our unique model of ethical sexual decision-making covers four main areas when making choices about intimacy:



1. **CONSENT:** The requirement for sexual acts to be legal under state law.
2. **CARE:** Caring for your partner and yourself as an integral part of making sexual choices. This includes considering sexual and mental health, physical safety and social ramifications.
3. **COMMUNICATE:** Exploring the need for explicit, honest and thoughtful communication when navigating consent to ensure that no harm is done, and that sexual experiences are enriching.
4. **CONSIDER:** “How will this decision affect you tonight? Tomorrow? Next week? In ten years?” Asking young people to consider the consequences of their decisions and to focus on ensuring that all sexual experiences are remembered fondly by all involved.

This model consolidates all information learnt throughout the program, and gives young people a framework for their intimacy choices if and when they are ready to. The program reinforces that sexual intimacy should always be harm-free, positive and consensual.

Anonymous questions:

AIM:

- To provide participants with a safe, anonymous opportunity to have their questions on any issue related to intimacy, sex, relationships harassment or abuse answered by a skilled SASS Primary Prevention Educator.

Each workshop concludes with an ‘anonymous questions’ segment in which participants are able to have complicated, embarrassing or private questions answered by a skilled SASS Primary Prevention Educator.

Examples of previous anonymous questions or statements received in our 2017-20 program:

- “What do you do if you've been sexually assaulted but the person you told said to stay quiet?”
- “If people are married does consent still apply 100%”
- “If you were online and someone asked you to meet you somewhere at a time and threatened you what would you do?”
- “How can women rape men?”

- "...why is so much porn about step siblings?"
- "Thanks 😊 I now feel like I have a choice..."
- "Is it rape if you go through with sex even when you don't want to?"
- "What if when trying to intervene in a bad looking situation, but the person starts acting aggressive towards me, what should I do?"
- "Why is being straight expected?"
- "Is it ok for a 14 year old and a 17 year old to have sex? P.S. I wish I met you before I lost my virginity"
- "Why is only straight sex taught in schools?"
- "How are boys supposed to know how to make girls first sexual intercourse comfortable? (We don't get taught about hymens and I'm scared)"
- "Where do you suggest we start a relationship? Eg hanging out? Texting? Talking in person?"
- "Is it unhealthy to watch porn?"
- "What do I do if I send nudes and they screenshot?"
- "How do I know if I have an STI?"
- "How to say No without making it awkward or making them angry?"
- "Can you get pregnant from anal sex?"

SASS' proven program effectiveness

SASS has been successfully delivering sexual assault primary prevention programs in Tasmanian schools for a number of years. As discussed above, since 2017 we have been delivering a comprehensive, whole-of-school training program to four Tasmanian schools and colleges each year, under a four-year grant from the Department of Education. This program has reached over 6000 students across Tasmania. SASS has an experienced, knowledgeable and dynamic training team who are skilled in child, adolescent and adult learning.

The high quality of our Whole of School Primary Prevention of Sexual Violence Program has been recognised at a national level, recently winning an Australian Violence and Crime Prevention Award. These awards recognise best practice in the prevention or reduction of violence in Australia.

Our current schools' program is evaluated bi-annually, with results showing overwhelmingly positive outcomes for students, teachers, school staff, parents and school communities. SASS has comprehensive evaluation data from the past four years of this program that demonstrates the following positive outcomes:

- **91%** of students said that if they or a friend had concerns about sex or a relationship they would know how to get support, compared to **70%** pre-program.
- The top three topics students felt were the most important were **consent, the law** and **ethical sexual decision-making**.
- **92%** of students said that learning about ethical decision-making was helpful.
- **96%** of teachers would recommend the training to others.

The following comments from participants provide further insight into the value of the

program:

Students

- “The presenters were amazing and made everything fun and I didn't feel uncomfortable learning about it. They really taught me a lot.”
- “These workshops were really helpful and interesting and they should definitely have more of them and more often and do the workshops with younger people...”
- “Why exactly did we not learn this earlier?”
- “I have really enjoyed this lesson and it has helped me gain knowledge of what to do if I am ever stuck in a situation like the ones that have been named. I can't wait for next time!”
- “It is a very informative presentation that i think all generations should be taught.”

Teachers

- “Thanks for running these sessions. Probably the most valuable educational experience the kids will have this year.”
- “Teachers need awareness, skills and strategies to support in dealing with students traumatised by sexual assault.”
- “It was clearly planned and targeted for professionals and inclusive of early career and more experienced teachers. I appreciate the fact that you did not talk to us like we were school students. You and your co-worker were approachable and sensitive. Well done, so impressed.”

A number of teachers also commented on the changes they had seen in school culture following the workshops, including the following:

- “[We have received] more disclosures (scary but good they have found it within themselves to come forward). More care towards one another. Reflecting on behaviours of others (potential impacts). I overheard a girl stand up to another group about 'slut shaming' and using info from the workshops to back up what she was telling them.”
- “[Students have been] able to use the language provided to talk about safe behaviours.”

Furthermore, SASS has received a number of direct disclosures of sexual harm from students through the program.

[Alignment of program with Government priority areas](#)

The program strongly supports the Tasmanian Government's commitment to addressing family and sexual violence under the *Safe Homes, Families, Communities: Tasmania's action plan for family and sexual violence 2019-2022*.

The program helps fulfil the following commitments under the Action Plan:

- To create a safer Tasmania where all Tasmanians are equal and respected;
- To take action to prevent and respond to family and sexual violence;

- To strengthen efforts to change the attitudes, behaviours and power imbalances that lead to violence;
- To work with communities to drive generational change; and
- To monitor, evaluate and report on our efforts.

Through focusing on primary prevention the program contributes to halting violence before it occurs by addressing the attitudes and behaviours that lead to it. Specifically, the program responds to the following Actions:

- Action 3: The program will complement the *Respectful Relationships* program being delivered in all Tasmanian Government schools.
- Action 6: By working with school staff the program will help to ensure that gender equality and respect are at the centre of all Tasmanian State Service workplaces.
- Action 33: The program will build the capacity of school staff and communities to respond to technology-facilitated abuse including image-based abuse.

The proposed program also contributes to National Outcome 2 ('Relationships are respectful') of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and Children*, and specifically Strategy 2.1 – 'Build on young people's capacity to develop respectful relationships', which recognises that;

Education plays a key role in equipping young people with the knowledge and skills to develop and maintain non-violent, respectful and equitable relationships. School and community cultures need to support and foster structural and individual change. School-based approaches that help young people identify inappropriate sexual or violent behaviour, and shape their expectations and capacity to build and sustain respectful relationships, are promising examples of primary prevention that appear to be working internationally.⁴⁰

The program supports the aims of the Tasmanian Department of Education's *2018-2021 Child and Student Wellbeing Strategy*, specifically supporting a number of the Strategy's main focus areas including social and emotional wellbeing, cybersafety, help seeking, trauma, sexual health, body image, social media and connectedness and belonging. We appreciate that the Strategy recognises the importance of external expertise as a significant sphere of influence in the wellbeing of Tasmania's children and students, and are proud of the contribution we are making in this area.

Additionally, the program supports implementation of the Tasmanian Government's *Rethink Mental Health: Better Mental Health and Wellbeing Plan 2015-25*. Healthy and respectful relationships (intimate, non-intimate and familial) as well as self-care and respect are integral to emotional health and wellbeing; SASS' program complements the existing school programs that focus on mental health and wellbeing by discussing this within the context of relationships and sexual decision-making.

Conclusion

Without funded programs such as these Tasmanian children are missing vital education and support in learning about healthy, consensual and safe behaviour and intimate relationships. This is a vital aspect of wellbeing for our children and young people, and it is for this reason that we strongly urge the Tasmanian Government to consider providing a fully funded, state-wide, specialised program for all Tasmanian children and young people.

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³ Burns, S., & Hendriks, J. (2018). Sexuality and relationship education training to primary and secondary school teachers: an evaluation of provision in Western Australia. *Sex Education*, 18(6), 672-688.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Kezelman C.A., & Stavropoulos P. (2019). *Practice Guidelines for Clinical Treatment of Complex Trauma*. Blue Knot Foundation.

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⁸ Politoff et al, p.19.

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¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, p.31.

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²³ Ibid.

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²⁵ Ibid, p.33.

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³⁷ Commonwealth of Australia, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, COAG Advisory Panel on Reducing Violence against Women and their Children – Final Report.

³⁸ Tasmanian Youth Forum (2013), p.26.

³⁹ Chandra-Mouli et al (2017) cited by Politoff et al, p.12.

⁴⁰ Council of Australia Governments (2011). *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010-2022*, p.18.