

Submission # 2 to the review into victims' experiences of summary criminal proceedings – Centre for Innovative Justice

September 2021

1. Introduction

This is the second of two submissions made by the Centre for Innovative Justice ('the CIJ') to the review into victims'¹ experiences of summary criminal proceedings – an inquiry required under section 21A of the *Victims Charter Act 2006* (Vic) (the Act).

The first submission focused on the potential to meet the justice needs of victims of crime more effectively by providing victims with a forum for restorative engagement with those responsible for causing the harm they have experienced. It draws on insights gained in our direct work with victims in the context of delivering restorative justice processes through the CIJ's service, Open Circle.

In this second submission, the CIJ draws on another significant stream of our work, to address more specifically the three issues highlighted as being of relevance to the review. The CIJ's other stream of work referred to here includes system-wide and service reviews recently undertaken by the CIJ. These outline comprehensive recommendations which, if implemented, would have the potential to improve outcomes for a large number of victims of summary offences.

2. The CIJ's expertise

The CIJ's objective is to develop, drive and expand the capacity of the justice system to adapt to the needs of its diverse users. We are committed to finding innovative and workable solutions to complex problems that manifest in the justice system and do this by conducting rigorous research with a focus on impact and achievable reform and prioritises direct engagement with service users and frontline service agencies.

This second submission is informed by a significant two-stage review and redesign of victim services in Victoria, commissioned by Victim Support Services and Reform (VSSR) within the Department of Justice and Community Safety (DJCS). It is also informed more broadly by our understanding of the link between victimisation and trajectories into further harm, including contact with the criminal justice system. In particular, it is informed by our work on the need to [find non-custodial responses for criminalised women](#), the vast majority of whom have past and ongoing experiences of crime victimisation.

All CIJ research and advocacy relevant to victim support and criminal justice reform is enriched by the contributions of our colleague Dorothy Armstrong, a Lived Experience Expert employed by the CIJ since 2019.

CIJ research on the needs of victims

Finalised and published in 2020, the aim of the CIJ's [Victim Services Review \(VSR\)](#) was to support the development of a future service model that is aligned to, and keeps pace with, contemporary knowledge and leading practice in victim support. As part of that wider review, the CIJ conducted a distinct review of the Child Witness Service (CWS) to inform ongoing improvements in that particular and very important area (unpublished). Incorporated within this wide-ranging review were extensive consultations with key criminal justice stakeholders, as well as interviews with victims of crime, including a small number of child witnesses and their families.

While insights emerging from the VSR focused primarily on the web of services available for victims outside the court process, they continue to have direct relevance to the issues raised for consideration in DJCS's current inquiry. Providing effective support to victims of crime participating in courts of summary jurisdiction, where the vast majority of criminal matters are determined, is not only likely to result in more positive experiences of legal processes but, by doing so, is also likely to contribute to a well-functioning criminal justice system. Without the active and supported participation of victims of crime, the overall capacity of the system to identify, investigate and prosecute incidents of crime is reduced.²

As addressed in the CIJ's earlier submission to this inquiry on restorative justice, not all victims of crime see punishment of the offender as their only priority, with many seeking recognition, validation and support as outcomes which are just as, or sometimes more, important.³ Evidence also strongly indicates that procedural justice – that is, a sense that the process is fair and legitimate – can be just as, if not more, crucial to victim satisfaction than substantive criminal justice outcomes. This suggests that investing in services which work to support victims of crime through summary criminal justice processes; manage their expectations; and ensure that they are informed throughout their journey, can increase victim satisfaction and support participation in the criminal justice system.

Findings from the CIJ's research also indicate that experiences of victimisation are complex, varied and are not necessarily predicted by crime type. Victims do not necessarily experience crime as an isolated or confined experience; are likely to be impacted by the crime in a non-linear way and in the context of pre-existing vulnerabilities; and are not always able to identify and articulate what they need from the system. An overview of our findings on the needs and experiences of victims and key considerations directly relevant to practitioners when responding to victims of crime can be found in the resource, [Improving support for victims of crime: Key practice insights](#), with which we strongly encourage the review to engage.

The CIJ's work in the context of the VSR including our review of the CWS, not only highlights the need to ensure adequate resourcing for specialist support to assist children to navigate legal processes, but the need to extend that model to other vulnerable cohorts and, in particular, young adults appearing in summary criminal matters either as witnesses or defendants. Issue one: Victim involvement in decisions made by prosecutors

Findings from earlier research conducted by the CIJ into the ways in which victims are consulted in relation to decisions made by prosecutors in indictable matters – such as whether to modify, continue or discontinue charges, or to accept a guilty plea to a lesser charge – are also relevant in relation to the conduct of summary criminal proceedings.

As acknowledged in the Department's Issues Paper, victims participating in legal proceedings are concerned primarily that their views are considered in making prosecutorial decisions relevant to the case, regardless of whether those wishes are acted on directly. In earlier CIJ research commissioned by the OPP, we found that 'victims are more likely to feel fairly treated by the criminal justice system when police and prosecutors: take an interest in them; give them an opportunity to express their wishes; and take their wishes into consideration.'⁴

More broadly, a strong finding from the CIJ's work in the context of the VSR is that being kept informed about the criminal justice processes is relevant to the extent to which people feel that they are part of the process. Providing support that includes tailored information and advice, involves regular contact to check on people's well-being and changing needs over time, and functions as a central point of contact, maximises opportunities for victims to engage meaningfully in legal proceedings.

Similarly,, consultations conducted as part of the review of the CWS within the wider VSR demonstrated that child witnesses/victims and their families value having the opportunity to communicate with criminal justice professionals. These can take the form of:

- legal conferences, where the child and family meet with the prosecution team involved in the case; and
- debriefing meetings once the trial concludes.

The CIJ heard that conferences conducted post-court involve a meeting between a young person and their family with the CWS, the Victoria Police informant, the OPP and other agencies deemed relevant to discuss the outcome of the legal process. This included providing information on plea deals; the reason for any discontinuance; the sentence handed down; or the absence of a conviction.

Stakeholders consulted within this specific review regarded these conferences as a crucial way of providing a young witness and their family with a wider context and perspective, as well as countering what was often a disempowering experience of the criminal justice system for victims and witnesses. To this end, stakeholders noted that these conferences required a united approach from agencies, particularly given that police informants or SOCIT teams may not be aware of why or how an outcome has occurred.

Consultations also highlighted that these conferences were particularly important in matters involving juvenile offenders. This was because diversionary processes may often be used, leaving families of victims without a sense of 'justice' being done in the way they had anticipated.

As valuable as these conferences were, the CIJ heard that it was crucial that they occur in a timely manner. One young person interviewed as part of this review indicated that the debriefing session was offered to them more than six months after sentencing. This delayed process left the young person feeling unsettled and unresolved – a feeling which the young person described as like being 'a book without a back cover'.

You finish at court... that's it... You are cut off from everything. It ended and it was like - nothing. Three years of my life... and now you've left me with nowhere to go...

As was made clear in the CIJ's earlier research into consultations with victims as part of the prosecutorial process, the way in which that consultation occurs is also important. For victims involved in indictable matters, the presence of the Victim and Witness Assistance Service (VWAS) ensures that OPP prosecutors are 'socialised' by working in partnership with social workers engaged by that service to operate in a trauma-informed way. Victims in matters proceeding summarily, however, who deal solely with police prosecutors, are less likely to experience that communication in the same considered and trauma-informed way.

Here it is important to note that the associated time and resources from all the agencies involved in ensuring that victims can meaningfully participate in court proceedings needs to be considered, particularly in the high-volume and less well-resourced summary jurisdiction. Notwithstanding this, representatives of criminal justice agencies consulted for the CIJ's research into victim services stressed the value of this consultation process both for the victims involved and their families, as well as for the effective administration of justice.

3. Issue two: Victim participation in court proceedings

The ability for victims of crime to have input into proceedings, including in relation to sentencing via Victim Impact Statements (VIS) and contributing to indicators of sentencing, has become an integral part of criminal justice processes. As the Department recognises in the Issues Paper supporting this review, however, findings from the CIJ's VSR highlights the barriers faced by many victims in taking up this opportunity.

Victims of crime who participated in the CIJ's VSR frequently noted that they did not know what was available to them in terms of support, or that they required assistance and advocacy to access their entitlements.⁵ For example, victims of crime often relied on services and agencies with which they were engaged to notify them of the availability of mechanisms such as VIS and the Victim's Register, and to assist them to undertake those processes to give effect to their rights under the Victims' Charter. Processes in place requiring investigating police and police prosecutors to notify victims of these options, and to refer them to the services that could assist them to engage with them, did not appear to be operating consistently – either because victims were not receiving the information or were not receiving it at a time or in a manner that increased the chances they would retain the information.

Creating further barriers, victim complainants in the summary jurisdiction may have insufficient time to prepare a VIS in a considered and supported way, if at all. Unlike processes in the higher courts, the fast-paced environment of the summary jurisdiction means that defendants can be sentenced on the same day that a guilty plea is entered. Our consultations with victims of crime for the VSR clearly illustrated the importance for victims of telling the court how the offending had impacted their life, as well as how the absence of this opportunity had a compounding impact on their sense of fairness and justice, and hence on their recovery.⁶

The CIJ notes the approaches discussed in the DJCS Issues Paper to overcome the particular barriers which victims involved in summary proceedings face in submitting a VIS, including enabling victims to make a preliminary statement at an earlier point in the process, such as while the victim is giving a statement to the police. In addition to the numerous concerns raised in the paper about police taking a VIS from victims during the investigative phase, we emphasise findings from the VSR that victims engaging with agencies require trauma-informed responses from skilled practitioners. This is particularly the case in the immediate aftermath of victimisation.

For this reason, and in recognition of the fact that preparing a VIS may cause distress or resurface trauma, we support measures that increase the capacity of specialist victim support services and the wider service system to assist victims to complete a VIS at multiple points on a victim's pathway through the system. More specifically, as part of the enhanced response for victims of crime, the CIJ proposed that a future Victim Support & Recovery Program would assist victims with the development of a VIS, either as a one-off task, or as part of a package of case-managed support. Such support would be trauma-informed and accompanied by a risk and needs assessment, with ongoing support offered to clients where required.

The CIJ also supports approaches which upskill police, court staff and judicial officers to convey information to victims about the availability, purpose and scope of the VIS, as well as to develop interactive resources, including videos, to support victims to prepare a VIS independently where this is their preference.

4. Issue three: Support services for people in the lower courts

There are currently minimal opportunities for victims of crime to access support to participate in proceedings in the summary jurisdiction. While there are some services that provide ancillary support for victims navigating court processes – such as those provided under the Victim Assistance Program (VAP)⁷, by Centres Against Sexual Assault (CASA), and emotional and practical support via Court Network – specialist witness support services are generally restricted to indictable matters only.

Specialist court support

Services such as the CWS and the VWAS provide a package of support that can include:

- information about the rights and entitlements of victims in relation to court processes;
- information about the progress of a victim's matter;
- support during aspects of the court process, including assistance to attend court;
- assistance to understand the legal process, including giving evidence and making a Victim Impact Statement;
- facilitating the pre-recording of a child's evidence or the provision of evidence remotely;
- referral to other specialist support services; and
- access to a therapy dog.

In particular, the CWS, which the CIJ found to be widely regarded as a high-quality and valued specialist service, incorporates some of the best components of witness support services interstate and internationally.

Of the two witness support services operating in Victoria, VWAS is accessible by adults in indictable matters only. The CWS, although available in both indictable and summary matters, is limited to proceedings relating to crimes against the person and is only for children who were aged under the age of 18 when the charges were laid.⁸ In addition, the CIJ has found that resourcing constraints limits the capacity of both the CWS and the VWAS to operate as state-wide services, with limited VWAS presence in regional locations resulting in support for young adult witnesses outsourced to the VAPs.

A third service, the Intermediaries Pilot Program (IPP) does not provide witness support per se but, rather, provides assistance for vulnerable witnesses,⁹ such as children or adult witnesses with a disability or communication challenges, to contribute in a meaningful way to the trial process.¹⁰ The service is only available to complainant witnesses in sexual offence matters and witnesses in homicide matters.

The following table maps different categories of court support available by age and matter type. It illustrates clear discrepancies in the support available for certain groups of witnesses, many of whom are likely to be the complainant victim. These include people who are:

- non-complainant witnesses requiring assistance with communication via an intermediary in sexual assault matters;
- witnesses requiring assistance with communication via an intermediary in matters other than those involving sexual offences or a homicide;
- witnesses aged 18 or over at the time of the offence who are providing evidence in summary matters; and
- witnesses in contested Family Violence Intervention Orders (FVIO) matters.

These service gaps increase the potential for proceedings in summary courts to result in re-traumatisation for victims who are unsupported to participate, as well as for there to be adverse impacts on the quality of evidence provided.

Table 1: Court support available for young witnesses by age and matter type

Witness age	Matter type	All witnesses	Witnesses with cognitive impairment*	Victim of crime against the person only	Victim of sexual offences only
Under 18 at time charges are laid	All matters involving crime against the person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ CWS ● Court Network ● OPP Court Dog 	◆ IPP	■ VAP	▲ CASA
Over 18 at time charges are laid	Summary criminal matters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Court Network 	◆ IPP	■ VAP	▲ CASA
	Indictable criminal matters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ VWAS ● Court Network ● OPP Court Dog 	◆ IPP	■ VAP	▲ CASA
All ages	FVIO matters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Court Network ▩ Applicant Practitioner ▲ Specialist FV Worker 		■ VAP	▲ CASA

Key

- Emotional support at court
- ▲ Pre/ongoing support (not court support)
- ◆ Support to give evidence only
- Court support and pre/ongoing support
- ▩ Court-based info and referrals only

* Only complainant witnesses in sexual offence matters and/or witnesses in homicide matters.

Source: Analysis by Centre for Innovative Justice

Support for young adults

As is evident from Table 1, young adults who are aged 18 and over and are appearing in summary matters in the Magistrates’ Court, are a particularly under-serviced cohort, being ineligible for assistance under both the CWS and the VWAS. These young adult witnesses - some of whom may be only weeks or months older than clients of the CWS - only have access to limited, non-specialist support from Court Network. While offences heard in the summary stream are generally of a less serious nature than those dealt with by the higher courts, the expansion of the MCV’s jurisdiction in the preceding 10 years has resulted in the court dealing with matters of greater complexity and severity, as well as a significantly increased workload.¹¹

In its recent report on Summary Crime,¹² Victoria Legal Aid (VLA) noted that:

In the wake of the Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence, VLA and private practitioners described how the mix of summary crime work had become increasingly complex, particularly where family violence intersects with drug and alcohol issues or co-occurs with other compounding factors...

Changes to the *Magistrates’ Court Act 1989 (Vic)* in 2006 and 2009 increased the number of indictable matters that can be triable summarily. These include sexual offences (sexual assault, sexual assault of a child under 16, indecent act, grooming, assault with an intent to commit a sexual offence) and other offences against the person (assault, causing serious injury recklessly, intentionally cause injury, threat to inflict serious injury; aggravated burglary), as well as offences committed in the context of family violence. Hence witnesses in these matters are likely to have vulnerabilities resulting from their specific type of victimisation, in addition to their youth.

To address this service gap, the CIJ recommended the trialling of a Young Adult Pilot whereby services are extended to young people aged up to the age of 21 years who are appearing as witnesses in the summary stream in matters involving either crimes against the person or family violence. One senior stakeholder consulted by the CIJ suggested that extending eligibility for a service such as the CWS to young adults would capture a considerable number of very vulnerable young witnesses.

Support for child witnesses

The CIJ's review also uncovered concerns that young people were not always being referred to the service by police. This was in part found to be due to low awareness of the availability of the CWS amongst police outside the specialist context of SOCITs, as well as in matters conducted in the summary jurisdiction. Matters not referred by police would ordinarily be identified upon referral to the OPP, but this safety net is missing for matters processed in the summary stream.

The review also found evidence that some cohorts are under-represented in CWS clientele, despite having disproportionately high rates of victimisation. This included children and young people from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, as well as those within the out-of-home care and youth justice systems. This accords with CIJ findings from its wider VSR, as well as with relevant literature, which suggest that cohorts which are over-represented as victims of crime can be *under*-represented in terms of receiving victim support.

Legal advice and support

Another significant service gap for victims of crime participating in legal proceedings identified in the CIJ's VSR relates to the provision of legal advice and support. While targeted legal advice is currently available to support applications for financial assistance through the Victims of Crime Assistance Tribunal (VOCAT), victims interviewed across the CIJ's research were frequently dissatisfied with the quality of advice provided by private legal practitioners. This was in part because these practitioners only funded to assist with VOCAT applications, but did not have the specialisation to advise on broader entitlements, including other avenues for seeking restitution or compensation,¹³ nor have the capacity for 'issue spotting' across the broader range of victims' unmet legal needs.

Without specialist advice which can identify and address the wider range of legal issues which can arise because of crime victimisation, this can mean that victims are left to navigate a patchwork of limited legal support or, more likely, to have their wider range of legal needs go unidentified or unmet.

A key recommendation arising from the VSR was therefore the creation of a new, dedicated legal service for victims of crime. The Victim's Legal Advice Service proposed by the CIJ would leverage existing publicly funded legal services through a co-location model, to provide victims of crime with tailored legal information and advice, referrals and discrete task assistance. The specialised nature of the proposed service would help to ensure that victims of crime receive legal support from lawyers with an understanding of the needs and experiences of victims of crime, and the application of trauma-informed approaches to legal practice.

Accordingly, the CIJ applauds the recent funding announcement by the Victorian Government signalling the creation of a new Victims' Legal Service to be delivered by Victoria Legal Aid and community legal centres.¹⁴ While the scope of the new legal service is yet to be revealed, we encourage DJCS to keep the wider legal needs of victims of crime in view, so that the broad range of legal needs which arise from crime victimisation can be addressed, in addition to support for state-funded financial assistance.

Given the absence of specialist victim support for victims of offences heard in the summary jurisdiction, links to a specialist legal service which can 'issue-spot' the range of legal needs which have arisen and/or been compounded by the experience of crime may be particularly crucial for this cohort of victims of crime. The CIJ therefore recommends that an active referral process be developed between Victoria Police, the Magistrates' Court of Victoria and the newly announced Victims' Legal Service to ensure that the significant number of people who experience a crime heard in the summary jurisdiction can have access to much needed support which may stem the trajectory of harm they have experienced.

Support for Aboriginal victims of crime

Highlighted in the CIJ's VSR, as well as the CIJ's recent Issues Paper [Leaving Custody Behind: Foundations for safer communities and gender-informed criminal justice systems](#)¹⁵, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people experience disproportionate contact with courts when identified as offenders, what is less well recognised is the profile of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as *victims of crime*. The fourth iteration of the Victorian AJA has a specific focus on victimisation experienced by Aboriginal communities, highlighting the need for:

- responses that coordinate support for families, when family members are involved in the justice system, to enhance their capacity to heal from trauma, and improve parenting, relationship, communication and problem-solving capabilities;
- meeting the specific needs of Aboriginal victims and witnesses of crime, particularly children;
- providing culturally-informed support and enabling access to the services needed to ensure that healing can occur, as well as support to enable access to services which assist in participation in the prosecution process;
- meeting the particular needs of vulnerable children and young people in out of home care due to family violence and supporting them to access the services they need to avoid future involvement with the criminal justice system;
- addressing underlying causes of offending through healing and trauma-informed approaches that explore the intergenerational experiences of people affected by violence, strengthening protective factors and increasing coping strategies;
- enabling Aboriginal stakeholders to self-determine program outcomes, design, deliver and evaluate justice services for Aboriginal people; and
- building the capacity of justice services to provide family-centred, wrap around, holistic programs and services that promote the healing of the individual and contribute to the wellbeing of the community.

In the context of the VSR, the CIJ made a number of recommendations in relation to improving supports for Aboriginal victims of crime which are relevant to the current review. This included recommending that cultural safety should be a foundational requirement of all victim-focused services and supported through ongoing education and practice development.

While the CIJ's recommendations in this context were focused on the system of supports outside the court context, the CIJ's findings in relation to the acute need for culturally appropriate supports is just as relevant to pathways towards - and settings within - the Magistrates' Court. Given the prevalence of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as victims of crime, the Victorian Government should prioritise an increase in resourcing for culturally-specific roles across courts which can provide support to Aboriginal victims of all crime types. This support would echo the dedicated, culturally-specific roles in the context of the court's response to family violence, and the CIJ notes here that the relevant supports need to be adequately resourced to enable gender-informed responses, as well as to ensure that practitioners are not working in isolation, can support each other.

Beyond this, however, the CIJ notes that cultural competence should be a fundamental requirement of *all* Magistrates' Court staff who interact with court users. Any network of culturally-specific practitioners should not be required to carry the 'cultural load' of the court. Given the barriers to crime reporting which Aboriginal victims of crime already experience, as well as the retraumatising nature of involvement in the legal system, Aboriginal victims of crime should also not have this harm compounded by a culturally incompetent and unsafe interaction with court staff, whether in the summary or indictable jurisdiction. Where an Aboriginal victim of crime is supported in culturally safe and appropriate ways to participate in the court process, they are not only more likely to recover from the summary offence that is the subject of their current contact with a court, but are also more likely to engage in supports and to report any further crime victimisation in the future.

5. Conclusion

While there have been significant improvements in the provision of assistance for victims of crime to participate in court processes in indictable matters over recent years, a clear need persists for greater research and investment into the supports available to victim complainants in the high volume context of the Magistrates' Court. The lack of specialist witness support for adult victims participating in summary matters, including those with pre-existing vulnerabilities, means that most people who experience crime are left to navigate stressful court proceedings largely unassisted. This not only has the potential to compound trauma and impact negatively on the ability to recover from experiences of victimisation, but also compromises people's ability to exercise their rights as outlined in the Victim's Charter.

More broadly, an absence of supports to address the wider range of needs created or compounded by crime victimisation can entrench trajectories of harm. Given that the vast majority of people who experience a criminal offence will see that matter dealt with in the summary jurisdiction, that setting represents an opportunity to stem trajectories of harm and foster much needed recovery and support. This can ensure that the contact which a victim of a summary offence has with the legal system becomes a positive, rather than a negative, intervention.

Centre for Innovative Justice

17 September 2021

¹In using the term 'victim' throughout this submission, the CIJ acknowledges that some people who have experienced victimisation and their advocates prefer the term 'survivor' and/or 'victim/survivor', as a more empowering expression. However, we have chosen to use the term 'victim' to reflect the terminology used in communications about the review. The term 'victim' is also used in instances where the term 'complainant' might equally apply.

² See, e.g., Davies, P., Francis, P. & Greer, C. (2017), 'Victims, crime and society', *SAGE Publications Ltd*; Skogan, W.G. (2005) 'Citizen Satisfaction with Police Encounters' *Police Quarterly*.

³ Winford, S. Lewers, N & Polis, M, (2019) *Communicating with Victims about Resolution Decisions: A Study of victims' Experiences and Communication Needs*, Centre for Innovative Justice, RMIT University, Melbourne.

⁴ Ibid, p 9.

⁵ Ellard, R., Campbell, E, Caruana C & Ali, J. (2020) *Strengthening Victoria's Victim Support System: Victim Services Review Final Report*, Centre for Innovative Justice, RMIT University, Melbourne, 39.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The Victim Assistance Program, in addition to providing assistance for victims to address wider needs resulting from their experience of victimisation, can also provide information and assistance with tasks associated with the criminal justice process. It was evident from interviews with victims of crime undertaken as part of the Victim's Services Review, however, that the scope and quality of assistance provided to victims varied significantly across the system.

⁸ Given limited capacity of the service, guidelines are in place that determine which matters receive re priority access. Child sexual offences represent the clear majority of matters handled by the service.

⁹ The service also sometimes provides assistance to defendants.

¹⁰ Collins, K., Harker N. & Antonopoulos, G. (2017) 'The Impact of the Registered Intermediary on Adults' Perceptions of Child Witnesses: Evidence from a Mock Cross Examination' 23(2) *European Journal of Criminal Policy Research* 211-225.

¹¹ Victoria Legal Aid (2017), In summary: Evaluation of the appropriateness and sustainability of Victoria Legal Aid's Summary Crime Program. At <https://www.legalaid.vic.gov.au/sites/www.legalaid.vic.gov.au/files/vla-evaluation-of-the-appropriateness-and-sustainability-of-victoria-legal-aids-summary-crime-program-report.pdf>

¹² Ibid, p 250.

¹³ Sentencing Advisory Council, Restitution and Compensation Orders: Report (2018).

¹⁴ Victorian Government, (20 May 2021) Better outcomes for victims and young people (Media Release) <https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/better-outcomes-victims-and-young-people>

¹⁵ Caruana, C., Campbell, E., Bissett, T. & Ogilvie, K (2021) *Leaving Custody Behind: Foundations for safer communities and gender-informed criminal justice systems* Centre for Innovative Justice, RMIT University, Melbourne.