

**Joint Submission**

Issues Paper 49 – Justice Responses to Sexual Violence

Submission to the Australian Law Reform Commission

**7 June 2024**

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# **Language note**

We recognise the limitations of using binary language and use language throughout with the deliberate intention of acknowledging a shared *political identification* between the people we represent. We therefore use the term ‘women’ to refer to transgender women, ciswomen, girls, gender diverse and non-binary people. This submission also uses ‘person first’ language (women with disabilities). We acknowledge that people describe their experience of disability in different ways, and for many people, ‘identity first’ language is a source of pride and resistance.

# **Acknowledgment of Country**

The authors acknowledge the traditional owners of the land on which this publication was produced. We acknowledge First Nations people’s deep spiritual connection to this land. We extend our respects to community members and Elders past, present and emerging.

# **Submission Contacts**

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# **About the authors**

The following organisations worked together to produce this joint submission:

**Women with Disabilities Australia (WWDA)** is the National Disabled People’s Organisation (DPO) and National Women’s Alliance (NWA) for women, girls, feminine identifying, and non-binary people with disabilities in Australia. As a DPO and an NWA, WWDA is governed, run, led, staffed by, and constituted of, women, girls, feminine identifying, and non-binary people with disabilities. Our organisation operates as a transnational human rights organisation - meaning that our work, and the impact of our work, extends beyond Australia. WWDA’s work is grounded in a human-rights based framework which links gender and disability issues to a full range of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

[**People with Disability Australia**](https://pwd.org.au/) **(PWDA)** is a national disability rights and advocacy organisation made up of, and led by, people with disability, and has a vision of a socially just, accessible and inclusive community in which the contribution, potential and diversity of people with disability are not only recognised and respected but also celebrated.

PWDA is a peak, non-profit, non-Government organisation that represents the interests of people with all kinds of disability and represent people with disability at the United Nations, particularly in relation to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). PWDA’s work is grounded in a human rights framework that recognises the CRPD and related mechanisms as fundamental tools for advancing the rights of people with disability.

PWDA is a member of Disabled People’s Organisations Australia (DPO Australia), along with the First People’s Disability Network, National Ethnic Disability Alliance, and Women with Disabilities Australia. DPOs collectively form a disability rights movement that places people with disability at the centre of decision-making in all aspects of our lives.

The work of PWDA embraces the ‘Nothing About Us, Without Us’ motto of the international disability community and Disabled Peoples’ International, the international organisation representing national organisations of people with disability in over 130 countries.

# **Signatories to this submission**

This submission has also been endorsed by:

* Women With Disabilities Victoria
* Women With Disabilities ACT
* WWILD Sexual Violence Prevention Association
* National Ethnic Disability Alliance

# **Introduction**

Women with Disabilities Australia (WWDA) and People with Disability Australia (PWDA) welcome the opportunity to make a submission to the Australian Law Reform Commission’s Issues Paper – Justice Responses to Sexual Violence.

We begin by canvasing Australia’s international obligations under the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (*CRPD*), and then broadly address each of the key areas of the Issue Paper:

1. reporting the experience of sexual violence
2. criminal justice responses to sexual violence
3. civil proceedings and other justice responses.

We draw on the findings from recent research, the findings and recommendations from the Disability Royal Commission, and the experiences of WWDA and PWDA in representing and supporting people with disabilities who have experienced sexual (and other) violence.

We make stand-alone recommendations as well as expressions of support for recommendations and findings from research, inquiries and reforms. Our recommendations are listed below, and our expressions of support are throughout the submission (in boxes).

## **Summary of recommendations:**

**Recommendation 1:** The ALRC must continue to engage with women with disabilities and their representative organisations in developing the reforms leading from the Justice Responses to Sexual Violence inquiry.

**Recommendation 2:** The ALRC must, in making its recommendations as a result of its inquiry into justice responses to sexual violence:

* embed the *International Principles and Guidelines on Access to Justice for Persons with Disabilities*
* implement the support systems and technologies stated by the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in its General Comment on Article 6: Women with disabilities[[1]](#footnote-2)
* comply with the recommendations made to Australia by the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.[[2]](#footnote-3)

**Recommendation 3:** The Australian Government and state and territory governments should review recommendation 8.23 to consider the implications of a separate Action Plan to end violence against women and children with disability as opposed to prioritising women and children with disability in the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022-2032.

**Recommendation 4:** All jurisdictions should take targeted action to include and prioritise women with disabilities in efforts to prevent and respond to violence, including within and in accordance with the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022-2032[[3]](#footnote-4) and its first Action Plan.

# **Australia’s international obligations**

### **Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities**

Article 6 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities requires States Parties (such as Australia) to recognise that women and girls with disabilities are subject to multiple discrimination and to take measures to ensure their full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. This includes the right to be free from violence and discrimination (Article 16), the right to access to justice (Article 13), and the right to equal recognition before the law (Article 12).

We draw the ALRC’s attention to the General Comment of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (**the Committee**) on Article 6: Women with disabilities.[[4]](#footnote-5) Therein, the Committee emphasises the importance of Article 13 of the *CRPD* to assist State Parties in fulfilling their reporting obligations. The Committee states that women and girls with disabilities must have effective access to justice systems that are accessible, user-friendly, and safe. To achieve this, women need support systems and technologies for their chosen methods of communication at all stages of the process. This includes sign language interpreters and guide-interpreters for individuals who are deafblind, ensuring proper communication with police and justice personnel.

It is important to recognise that personal support workers or carers may sometimes be the perpetrators of abuse against women or girls with disabilities. Therefore, it is essential to ensure independent and accessible communication methods are available for women to:

* Report abuse: Enable the reporting of violence and abuse.
* Have immediate referral: Guarantee immediate temporary referral to comprehensive support until the case is resolved.

Additionally, women and girls with disabilities, along with mothers of children with disabilities, must have access to:

* Information, training, and awareness programs: These programs should inform women about their rights, fundamental freedoms, and opportunities to access justice.

Under the General Comment, the Committee also states that special attention should be given to groups at greater risk of discrimination, including:

* Women and girls with high support needs.
* Women and girls with disabilities in institutions.
* Older women with disabilities.
* Women and girls with disabilities living in rural and remote areas.
* Indigenous women and girls with disabilities.

### **International Principles and Guidelines on Access to Justice for Persons with Disabilities**

The *International Principles and Guidelines on Access to Justice for Persons with Disabilities (‘Principles and Guidelines’)*,[[5]](#footnote-6) developed under the leadership of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of persons with disabilities, are a practical tool to support States in designing and implementing justice systems that provide equal access to justice for persons with disabilities, in line with international human rights obligations.

### **Australia’s compliance with Article 13 – Access to Justice**

In its concluding observations on the combined second and third periodic reports of Australia, the Committee on the CRPD recommended in relation to Article 13 that Australia, in close consultation with people with disabilities, ensure effective access to justice for persons with disabilities, without any discrimination.[[6]](#footnote-7) The Committee also recommended that Australia:

1. Develop legislation in all states on the equal participation of persons with disabilities in the jury system;
2. Develop nationally consistent disability justice plans across governments to ensure that persons with disabilities, particularly those whose reasonable and procedural accommodations are not adequately met, are supported in accessing the same legal protections and redress as the rest of the community;
3. Bring all state, territory and federal legislation, including criminal laws and policies, in compliance with the Convention to ensure due process guarantees for all persons with disabilities and ensure a review of the legal situation of persons whose equal recognition before the law is restricted and who have been declared unfit to stand trial;
4. Address the overrepresentation of young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons in the juvenile justice system and implement the recommendations contained in Pathways to Justice – An Inquiry into the Incarceration Rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples;
5. Eliminate substitute decision-making, provide gender and culture specific individualised support, including psychosocial support, for persons with disabilities in the justice system, make information accessible and provide community based sentencing options;
6. Ensure that training modules on working with persons with disabilities and the Convention are incorporated into mandated training programmes for police officers, prison officers, lawyers, judicial officers, judges and court staff; and
7. Collect data disaggregated by disability, age, gender, location and ethnicity at all stages of the criminal justice system, including on the number of persons unfit to plead who are committed to custody in prison and other facilities.

**Recommendation 1:** The ALRC must continue to engage with women with disabilities and their representative organisations in developing the reforms leading from the Justice Responses to Sexual Violence inquiry.

**Recommendation 2:** The ALRC must, in making its recommendations as a result of its inquiry into justice responses to sexual violence:

* embed the *International Principles and Guidelines on Access to Justice for Persons with Disabilities*
* implement the support systems and technologies stated by the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in its General Comment on Article 6: Women with disabilities[[7]](#footnote-8)
* comply with the recommendations made to Australia by the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.[[8]](#footnote-9)

# **Reporting the experience of sexual violence safely**

### **Under reporting of sexual violence**

The Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability (the Disability Royal Commission) heard that because women with disabilities are estimated to be 4 to 10 times more likely to be victims of sexual violence, and that 39 to 60 percent of women with cognitive disabilities will be sexually assaulted before age 18, there is significant concern about the underreporting of such crimes. This underreporting is partly due to a lack of confidence in the police's ability to respond appropriately, exacerbated by underlying issues of ableism and sexism that lead to the routine dismissal of complaints – particularly from women with cognitive or psychosocial disabilities.[[9]](#footnote-10)

### **Violence that is not currently recognised as sexual violence and therefore not reported as such**

We note there are forms of violence that are not currently recognised as sexual violence (including those that disproportionately affect women with disabilities) but remain lawful including forced sterilisation, forced abortion, forced contraception, and forced menstrual suppression. These practices are themselves a form of institutional violence and increase risk of future sexual violence, abuse and exploitation especially in closed settings. Coupled with the discrediting that women with disability experience – perpetrators may be further hidden from view, less likely to be the subject of civil or criminal intervention and therefore less likely to be held to account. We argue that legal and justice systems are not inherently protective for women and girls with disability; they enable sexual and reproductive violence and prevent redress and broader realisation of sexual and reproductive rights.

### **Women with disabilities perceived as ‘unreliable’ witnesses**

Research highlights numerous instances where people with disabilities, particularly women, are perceived as 'unreliable' witnesses.[[10]](#footnote-11) Women with disabilities refrain from reporting due to fear of disbelief, and often have reports dismissed or interpreted as ‘symptoms of their disabilities’. These systemic biases force women to gather more evidence than their non-disabled counterparts to substantiate their claims. Women with disabilities feel the burden of needing comprehensive evidence before reporting violence. This situation contradicts the principles of equality before the law as outlined in Articles 5 and 12 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which affirm that people with disabilities should not need to prove their case before making a complaint. It is the duty of the authorities to investigate and validate these complaints.

# **Criminal justice responses to sexual violence**

Women with cognitive disabilities who have experienced sexual violence, particularly in their interactions with police, face significant barriers. Research indicates that police officers often hold two harmful myths about women with cognitive disabilities: that they are promiscuous and that their stories are not credible.[[11]](#footnote-12) This bias is reflected in the handling of rape allegations, where cases involving victims with cognitive or psychosocial disabilities are the least likely to result in charges against the offender and are twice as likely to be dismissed as false. A study of 850 police records supports this finding, as does a New Zealand study showing that only 13% of sexual assault complaints by victims with intellectual disabilities or mental health issues are deemed genuine by police.[[12]](#footnote-13)

### **The Disability Royal Commission**

In Public Hearing 17, ‘Experiences of Women and Girls with Disabilities’, the Disability Royal Commission heard how women and girls with disabilities experience domestic, family, and sexual violence. Despite the prevalence of these crimes, many encounter negative experiences when reporting to the police:[[13]](#footnote-14)

* Discriminatory attitudes and police culture - WWDA noted that discriminatory attitudes, victim-blaming, refusal to investigate, and failure to make reasonable adjustments contribute to the widespread violence against women and girls with disabilities.
* Not believed - Women and girls with disabilities and their families often reported not being believed by the police.
* Misidentification as perpetrators - There were numerous accounts of police misidentifying women with disabilities as perpetrators. This issue was particularly prevalent among First Nations women and those with intellectual or cognitive disabilities. Misidentification often stemmed from the perpetrator appearing more credible and calmer, while the victim was emotional or perceived as unable to communicate ‘effectively’.
* Trauma-informed approaches - Survivors emphasised the need for police to adopt trauma-informed approaches.
* Lack of support and assistance - Women with disabilities reported not receiving adequate support from police.
* Communication barriers - Effective communication and information in a range of accessible formats was identified as a crucial need. People with disabilities highlighted the importance of clear and accessible information from the police.
* Training and expertise - Many accounts revealed a lack of police understanding regarding the needs of women with disabilities. Proper training on trauma, disability, and violence against women is essential to improve police responses and reduce the risk of misidentification.

It is important to note that some women reported positive interactions with the police, where officers were compassionate, understanding, and supportive. This was attributed to the officers' training and awareness of family violence and trauma dynamics.

The hearing also examined Tasmania Police’s effectiveness in responding to violence against women and girls with disabilities. The Safe at Home program integrates a whole-of-government approach to family violence, involving various agencies in coordinated efforts. However, women and girls with disabilities still face barriers, including being disbelieved or dismissed by police.

The Disability Royal Commission highlighted the need for police to engage directly with women with disabilities in designing training and operational guidelines. Police must have the necessary skills and understanding to appropriately engage with people with disabilities. The development and evaluation of training should involve Disabled People’s Organisations to determine its effectiveness.

Overall, the hearing underscored the critical need for improved police responses, targeted training, and comprehensive support systems to address the unique challenges faced by women and girls with disabilities in situations of domestic, family, and sexual violence.

**WWDA and PWDA support elements of the recommendations of the Disability Royal Commission that relate directly police responses to women and girls with disabilities, including the following:[[14]](#footnote-15)**

**Recommendation 8.20 - Improving police responses to people with disability:**

The Australian Government and state and territory governments and police services should collaborate with people with disability in the co-design, implementation and evaluation of strategies to improve police responses to people with disability.

**WWDA and PWDA express conditional support for elements of the recommendations of the Disability Royal Commission in relation to national plans to end violence against women with disabilities:[[15]](#footnote-16)**

Recommendation 8.23 - Action plan to end violence against women and children with disability:

The Australian Government and state and territory governments should develop a five-year Action Plan for Women and Children with Disability to accompany the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032. The Action Plan should: be developed by and for women with disability, prioritise cohorts at greatest risk of violence, coordinate with other relevant plans and strategies, in particular the forthcoming Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan and Australia’s Disability Strategy 2021–2031*.*

The Action Plan should include comprehensive actions and investment to address violence experienced by women and children with disability across the focus areas of: prevention, early intervention, response, recovery and healing.

However, as WWDA has stated in its Submission to the Disability Royal Commission Taskforce, ‘Preliminary Response to the Final Report and Recommendations’:[[16]](#footnote-17)

Over many years, WWDA has advocated for the inclusion of violence against women and girls with disability to be understood as gender-based violence and included in prevention and response plans, and not to be relegated as a separate matter to the disability sector. Women and girls with disability should be prioritised in the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022-2032, which requires consideration of whether a separate action plan can achieve this objective or whether it risks mainstream violence prevention and response systems abdicating responsibility for women and girls with disability.

**Recommendation 3:** The Australian Government and state and territory governments should review recommendation 8.23 to consider the implications of a separate Action Plan to end violence against women and children with disability as opposed to prioritising women and children with disability in the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022-2032.

**Recommendation 4:** All jurisdictions should take targeted action to include and prioritise women with disabilities in efforts to prevent and respond to violence, including within and in accordance with the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022-2032.[[17]](#footnote-18) and its first Action Plan.

### **ANROWS research – Women, disability and violence: Creating access to justice**

The ANROWS research paper - Women, disability and violence: Creating access to justice[[18]](#footnote-19) explores the significant obstacles faced by women with disabilities when seeking justice in cases of violence. The study reveals that women with disabilities experience higher rates of violence compared to those without disabilities, encompassing physical, sexual, emotional, and financial abuse.

The report identifies several types of barriers that hinder women with disabilities from accessing justice. Structural barriers include the inaccessibility of legal systems and services, such as courts and legal offices that are not physically accessible. Attitudinal barriers arise from negative attitudes and discrimination from law enforcement, legal professionals, and service providers. Additionally, informational barriers exist due to the lack of accessible information about rights and available services.

Women with disabilities face compounded discrimination based on both gender and disability, which affects their ability to seek help and receive fair and equitable treatment. The response from legal and service systems is often inadequate, with a lack of training for police, legal professionals, and service providers on the specific needs and rights of women with disabilities. Furthermore, there is a lack of coordinated and integrated services that address both violence and disability.

Support services for women with disabilities are limited, including shelters, counseling, and legal aid that are tailored to their needs. These services are often inaccessible to people with disabilities with a range of impairments.

ANROWS’ report underscores the urgent need for systemic change to remove barriers that hinder women with disabilities from accessing justice. It calls for a multi-faceted approach involving legal reforms, improved accessibility, and better support services to ensure that these women can seek justice and receive the support they need.

**We support the findings and recommendations the ANROWS research makes:**

* Improving accessibility involves enhancing the physical and informational accessibility of legal systems and services.
* Training and education should be provided for legal and support service professionals on disability rights and violence against women.
* Policy and legislative changes are necessary to ensure equal access to justice for women with disabilities and to address gaps in current legislation.
* Collaboration and coordination between disability and violence support services are also encouraged to provide holistic support.

### **Other practical ways Australian jurisdictions can support women/people with disabilities to access justice:**

* the use of technology to support reporting, court attendance and to break down other barries to access
* creation of safe places (in person and remote, and allowing support people and nominated representatives) that support the giving of evidence and witness testimony
* intermediary schemes and representation
* supported decision-making
* updating benchbooks to address myths associated with the credibility of witnesses with disability
* not allowing judicial officers to ask witnesses to account for their behaviour rather than asking the perpetrator to account for theirs, including lines of inquiry and questioning that amounts to harassment and intimidation, bullying and scaremongering, to which women with disability will be particularly affected
* interpreter services should automatically include Auslan and computerised devices
* courts administration and other reforms introduced should be examined for their effectiveness (eg, use of AVL, disallowing cross examination of non-represented accused witness safe rooms).

**Police awareness and training**

The research report – ‘Police responses to people with disability’ makes several recommendations regarding enhancing police training for disability awareness, especially for people with disabilities who are victims, alleged offenders, or witnesses.

**We support the following recommendations made in the ‘Police responses to people with disability’ research report:**

* Involving people with lived experience of disability, and preferably those who have interacted with police, is essential for instigating changes in police officers' values, cultural norms, and practices. Evidence suggests that training, co-designed and delivered by individuals with lived experience, makes the training more engaging and pertinent.
* Police training should prioritise a problem-based and experiential learning approach to ensure lasting effects, as current training overly depends on e-learning.
* To ensure comprehensive recognition and appropriate responses to all people with disabilities, training should encompass a wide range of disabilities. This includes enhanced education on acquired brain injury, foetal alcohol spectrum disorder, autism spectrum disorder, and hearing impairments.
* Training should extend beyond specific diagnoses or impairments to explicitly address cultural awareness, be culturally, and trauma informed.

# **Civil proceedings and other justice responses**

We recognise that some women with disabilities who experience sexual violence may not want to give evidence at a criminal trial or engage in the criminal justice system. There are several legal processes that may provide victim survivors access to justice outcomes that better reflect the victim’s particular need for relief or redress. These include restorative justice processes, civil litigation, through provisions in workplace laws, compensation schemes and victims’ charters. As the ALRC Issues Paper states, previous recommendations and actions arising from reviews on how to make these processes accessible, trauma-informed and equitable have been made and are listed in the Issues Paper.[[19]](#footnote-20) We support those recommendations and actions and are of the view that their implementation will assist women with disabilities who have experienced sexual violence access justice outside the criminal justice system.

# **Resources for supporting women/people with disabilities to access the justice system**

The following resources may assist the ALRC’s inquiry and the making of recommendations in relation to assisting people with disabilities access the justice system:

* ‘Which Way is Justice? – A practice manual for supporting people with an intellectual disability in the criminal justice system’, Community Living Association, Inc, VOICES Project, 2008

[https://www.communityliving.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Which-way-is-justice.˚pdf](https://www.communityliving.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Which-way-is-justice.pdf)

* ‘How to Hear Me – A resource kit for counsellors and other professional working with people with intellectual disabilities’, WWILD Sexual Violence Prevention Association Inc.

<https://wwild.org.au/wp/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/How_To_Hear_Me_plus_covers_website-version-Final.pdf>

* ‘A handbook on supporting people with intellectual disability who have experienced domestic and family violence’, PWDA, March 2022:

chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://pwd.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/A-Handbook-on-Supporting-People-with-ID-who-have-Experienced-DFV-Final.pdf

1. General comment on Article 6: Women with disabilities, 22 May 2015, CRPD/C/14/R.1, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/general/crpd/2015/en/106824> accessed on 5 June 2024, para 44, p 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Concluding observations on the combined second and third periodic reports of Australia, Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 15 October 2019, CRPD/C/AUS/CO/2-3, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/concluding-observations/committee-rights-persons-disabilities-concluding-observations>, accessed 5 June 2024, pp 6-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. In accordance with 23(2) of Concluding observations on the combined second and third periodic reports of Australia, Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 15 October 2019. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. General comment on Article 6: Women with disabilities, 22 May 2015, CRPD/C/14/R.1, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/general/crpd/2015/en/106824> accessed on 5 June 2024, para 44, p 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. International Principles and Guidelines on Access to Justice for Persons with Disabilities, August 2020, United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. Concluding observations on the combined second and third periodic reports of Australia, Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 15 October 2019, CRPD/C/AUS/CO/2-3, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/concluding-observations/committee-rights-persons-disabilities-concluding-observations>, accessed 5 June 2024, pp 6-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. General comment on Article 6: Women with disabilities, 22 May 2015, CRPD/C/14/R.1, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/general/crpd/2015/en/106824> accessed on 5 June 2024, para 44, p 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Concluding observations on the combined second and third periodic reports of Australia, Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 15 October 2019, CRPD/C/AUS/CO/2-3, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/concluding-observations/committee-rights-persons-disabilities-concluding-observations>, accessed 5 June 2024, pp 6-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Dowse, L, Rowe, S, Baldry, E and Baker, M, Police Responses to people with disability – Research Report, Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability, October 2021, p 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. Wadiwel, D, Spirvakovsky, C and Steele, L, Complaint mechanisms: Reporting pathways for violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation – Research Report, Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability, November 2022, p 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Dowse, L, Rowe, S, Baldry, E and Baker, M, Police Responses to people with disability – Research Report, Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability, October 2021, p 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
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15. Commonwealth of Australia, Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability – Final Report, Volume 8: Criminal justice and people with disability, 2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. Women With Disabilities Australia (WWDA) (2024). ‘Preliminary Response to the Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability.’ January 2024. Written by Carolyn Frohmader and Therese Sands for and on behalf of Women With Disabilities Australia (WWDA): Hobart, Tasmania. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
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18. Maher, J et al, **Women, disability and violence: Barrers to accessing justice. Final report**
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