Understanding the effectiveness of Australian feminist organisations' relationship with government

By

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Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

College of Business, Government and Law
31 January 2023

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to examine the working relationship between non-government organisations (NGOs) and governments to identify if this relationship enhances the influence wielded by NGOs. In the existing literature on the policy influence of NGOs, the question of effectiveness is a clouded one due to an abundance of measures. These existing definitions and approaches to NGO effectiveness are contested and often limited, which has resulted in a lack of agreed measures to evaluate the NGO-state relationship. The measures of effectiveness that do exist are limited in encapsulating the nuances of this working relationship. A case study of Australian feminist organisations is used to examine this working relationship and the impact it has on NGOs' policy influence, specifically in relation to domestic and family violence (DFV) policy.

By synthesising the different elements of effectiveness from a range of measures, the thesis developed and applied a rich framework to the case study of Australian feminist organisations. The measure determines their effectiveness in influencing and contributing to four DFV policy frameworks across four Australian jurisdictions. This will provide a significant contribution to knowledge by developing an NGO effectiveness measure that can be applied to a broad spectrum of NGOs, rather than being movement- or context-specific.

The research found that within the context of the case study, the closer the relationship with government, the more effective a feminist organisation is in influencing DFV policy. This finding has important caveats, however, given that this relationship is deeply complex and is accompanied by significant challenges for Australian feminist NGOs, in which impacts these organisations' effectiveness. Having a working relationship with government does not guarantee effectiveness and policy influence, but rather, how this proximity is utilised, the strategies used when engaging with governments, and the autonomy of the organisation. While these organisations can act strategically to focus their efforts and enhance effectiveness despite these challenges, the extent of an organisation's influence can remain limited by this relationship if the organisation remains dependent upon government. Therefore, the impact the working relationship has on feminist NGO effectiveness is more complex than simply enhancing feminist organisations' policy influence.

The current framing of the working relationship between the state and NGOs through the insider/outsider dichotomy falls short of capturing this complexity. This dichotomy fails to consider exogenous factors that are beyond the organisation's control, which have an impact on the working relationship. This includes the government in office, the receptivity of the relevant Minister and department, and the funding arrangements of the organisation. A typology of NGO-state relation strategies is proposed to capture the intricacies and nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and the state. The typology includes four types: pragmatic, flip-flop, stoic, and partisan-

aligned. This provides a second significant contribution to knowledge by proposing an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy.

There are practical implications arising from this research, and a number of recommendations for NGOs and governmental departments are provided to improve the NGO-state relationship to enhance public policy outcomes, and specifically, DFV policy outcomes. Overall, this research provides a significant contribution to knowledge by developing an understanding of Australian feminist NGOs, how they operate, and how effective they are in influencing improvements in DFV policies.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed

Date 23/09/2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my deepest gratitude and thanks to my primary supervisor Associate Professor Cassandra Star, for her guidance, support, expertise, and encouragement. If it were not for her delicate nudges pushing me out of my comfort zone, I would not have had the opportunities and experiences that I have had. To my associate supervisor Associate Professor Rob Manwaring, and to Dr Joshua Newman and Dr Peter Tangney, who have supported me throughout this process. Each have shaped both my research and who I am as a researcher and academic. This thesis would not have been possible without their input, expertise, and guidance. I acknowledge the aid of the Flinders University Research Scholarship for funding this research and the Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship in the form of fee offsets.

To the individuals (members and CEOs of feminist organisations, policymakers, department heads, and public servants) who took the time out of their busy schedule to talk to me and to share their experiences and perspectives, thank you. This research would not exist without their input. To my CASPR group cohort and friends for their support, encouragement, friendship, and guidance. Our weekly meetings and catch-ups were instrumental for my motivation and sanity. I express my gratitude to Dr Robert Muller for his efficient and thorough editing of my doctoral thesis.

My family and friends for their patience, love, encouragement, and support. To my parents, who always encourage us to achieve our dreams and wholeheartedly believe in us. To my brother, Shane, for all the IT support and much needed laughter. My sister-in-law Anne, for always being there when needed, and my precious niece Audrey, who is my world. To my sister, Chloe, who understood the frustrations encountered and happily provided feedback and guidance on my project and writing whilst finishing her own doctorate. To James and Aaron, for the laughter and support. To my dear friends, for their patience in the slow responses or lack of catchups and their constant support. Finally, to my husband, Cameron, for believing in me when I struggled to. I'm so grateful for your devotion and support in the form of cooking delicious meals nightly and attending every presentation or seminar I have given over the years. Thank you.

ABBREVIATIONS

DV   Domestic violence

DFV   Domestic and family violence

EC   Effectiveness Criteria

FV   Family violence

IPV   Intimate partner violence

NGO(s)   Non-governmental organisation(s)

NPRVAWC   National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children

PwC   PricewaterhouseCoopers

SDA   Service delivery and advocacy

VAW   Violence against women

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to examine the working relationship between non-government organisations (NGOs) and the state, government, and government departments to identify how this relationship enhances NGOs' influence. A case study of Australian feminist organisations is used to examine the working relationship and the impact it has on NGOs' policy influence, specifically in relation to domestic and family violence (DFV) policy. This thesis seeks to understand whether Australian feminist organisations maintain agency and autonomy in their advocacy, or if the role of the state and bureaucratic institutions determines the organisation's effectiveness. Moreover, this research will attempt to uncover whether these organisations are able to enhance their influence and contribute to public policy in order to remain effective. The introductory chapter introduces the research problem and provides the contextual basis for the thesis by introducing the case study of Australian feminist organisations' influence on DFV policy. This research will explore whether working alongside governments, government departments, and policy agencies enhances these organisations' ability to influence and contribute to the solution in addressing gendered violence. In doing so, I will outline the research question and four research objectives guiding the study. The chapter will also detail the three significant contributions to knowledge this research provides by filling key gaps within the literature. Finally, the scope and limits of the research are briefly discussed before the structure of the thesis is outlined.

The role of social movements on policy formation

Civil society has a rich history of successfully influencing public policy and policy outcomes (see Bratton, 1990; Tortajada, 2016). This success requires specific conditions that are conducive to the effectiveness of civil society and social movements, which includes sympathetic states and bureaucratic institutions (Brinkerhoff, 1999: 95). This relationship between the state and bureaucratic institutions is deeply complex, which greatly affects the success and effectiveness of the movement (see Brinkerhoff, 1999; Dryzek et al., 2003; Maddison & Denniss, 2005). For example, prior research has demonstrated the success of the feminist movement in influencing and contributing to public policy outcomes and responses; however, this success was reliant on the working relationship with governments. Charles (2000: 154) argued that the feminist movement had an impact on both policy formation and implementation; however, this was only in conjunction with a receptive state and sympathetic individuals within such a state. Similarly, Kantola and Outshoorn (2007) found that feminist movements are more successful when working in conjunction with women's policy agencies, which are forms of bureaucratic institutions. This implies that social movements are able to achieve success and have an influence on policy, but this success is dependent upon engagement with the state. This engagement and collaboration with the state and bureaucratic institutions can, however, lead to co-option, and consequently, can neutralise the aims of an NGO or social movement.

There are many factors that affect social movements and NGOs' ability to influence and contribute to public policy, which ultimately has an impact on these organisations' success and effectiveness. Charles (2000: 65) argued that the social issue itself affects whether social change can occur as a result of the advocacy of social movements, as some social issues are more conducive to influencing public policy. Therefore, policy issues that require large systemic change are less likely to see NGOs and social movements as effective due to the highly complex nature of the social issue. For example, addressing and eliminating social issues that result in inequality often require systemic, structural social change. These social issues are often considered as wicked policy problems, and as a result, governments are historically apprehensive in addressing these issues.

For definitional purposes, I acknowledge the distinction between the state and governments. Robinson (2013: 556) argued there are key differences between the two, as states "are juridical entities of the international legal systems", whereas governments refer to the "exclusive legally coercive organisation for making and enforcing certain group decisions". These terms are often used interchangeably despite this distinction (Robinson, 2013: 556-557). For this thesis, the focus of analysis is specifically on the role of feminist NGOs and policy-making bureaucratic institutions (see Stivers, 1995 for a greater discussion on the role of gender within the bureaucracy). This thesis, while acknowledging these differences in the discussion, will use the terms interchangeably to prevent confusion and to streamline the discussion. Therefore, my research is examining the working relationship between feminist organisations and the state and governments, which is inclusive of government departments, policy agencies, and other policy-making institutions, in Australia.

The working relationship between NGOs and the state: introducing the insider/outsider dichotomy

Lobby groups and NGOs have been labelled and theorised as 'insiders' and 'outsiders' within the literature as a means of explaining civil society's influence on public policy and the relationship with bureaucratic and governmental institutions (see Grant, 1989; Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994; Page, 1999). Insider organisations are generally considered as having been accepted by the state and bureaucratic institutions, as these organisations are heavily involved in the consultation process of policy-making, as well as other stages of the policy process[1] (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994; Evans & Wellstead, 2013: 62). These organisations may even be located within government, and are usually found to have increased effectiveness and success. This access, however, does not guarantee an influence or contribution to public policy and policy outcomes (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994: 21, 25). Therefore, insider organisations should not be

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[1] While I am using a policy process model to demonstrate how NGOs can influence public policy, I recognise the criticisms in which this model is viewed as overtly rational within the existing literature (see Everett, 2003).

automatically considered as successful or effective in their advocacy. Outsider organisations are considered as having been excluded by the state and bureaucratic institutions from the policy process and are located externally from bureaucratic institutions. As a result, these organisations attempt to influence public policy by other means.

The insider/outsider dichotomy is commonly framed in the academic literature in two ways: as a *status* or as a *strategy* (see Grant, 1989; Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994). An insider/outsider *status* refers to the organisation's positioning being imposed by the state and/or bureaucratic institutions, whereas an insider/outsider *strategy* refers to the organisation's strategic decision of utilising their positioning. There are certain situational factors which may affect whether an organisation is having their positioning imposed by government, or whether an NGO is employing the positioning as a strategy to enhance its advocacy. Bureaucratic institutions, governments, and the state are some situational factors which can affect this. According to Dryzek et al. (2003), state structures have a significant impact on the ability of social movements and NGOs to influence public policy and contribute to the policy process. The state can either be sympathetic to special interests, and thus, more receptive to having a working relationship with NGOs, or it can prevent special interests from being involved in the policy process (Dryzek et al., 2003: 6, 12). This grants very little autonomy to social movements and NGOs, as their ability to influence and contribute to public policy is dependent upon the state structure (Dryzek et al., 2003: 12). Similarly, Maddison and Denniss (2005) argued that governments can either be receptive to civil society and NGOs, or can actively prevent these organisations from accessing the policy process.

Conversely, Doyle (2000) argued that the *strategy* of a social movement and NGOs is the determining factor in its success, rather than the state or governments. When movements or NGOs fail to influence policy, or access the policy process, this is the result of a failure in strategy. Therefore, Doyle (2000: 105) argued the strategy must be revised and the movement or organisation must remain resilient in order to achieve success. Therefore, the success of social movements and NGOs is largely understood as occurring in two different ways, and thus is framed as a dichotomy. Framing is a conceptual tool that is used to interpret data as we experience it (see Goffman, 1974). This framing of the conditions of NGOs' and social movements' success as another dichotomy oversimplifies the challenges of NGOs' experiences in attempting to influence and contribute to public policy. While the strategy of advocacy is key for social movements and NGOs, the role of state structures and bureaucratic institutions can either be a significant barrier or an aid for these special interests. The working relationship between NGOs and governments is far too nuanced, and consequently, the insider/outsider dichotomy as either a status or strategy does not accurately capture these subtleties. It is partially accepted within the existing literature that the insider/outsider dichotomy is an oversimplification of this working relationship and falls short in taking into consideration the nuances of this dynamic. Whilst there have been attempts to nuance

the insider/outsider dichotomy, there is no agreed position within the literature on how to do so, as these attempted revisions are not universally accepted. The research will explore this in greater detail and will provide an alternative to this dichotomy, therefore forming one of the main contributions to the research.

Exploring what makes an NGO effective and how it is defined and measured

The terms 'effective' and 'success' are often used in relation to social movements and NGOs; however, specific definitions are elusive within this literature. The effectiveness of an NGO has been loosely defined as whatever conditions are assessed as factors of effectiveness (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981: 138-139). Common NGO effectiveness measures examine the organisation's progression towards its aims and goals as an indication of its effectiveness (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 440). This means that there is no universal measurement of NGO effectiveness, as this concept is specific to the organisation and its aims and goals. Consequently, current understandings of 'effectiveness' and how to measure it can be categorised as either normative or empirical. Normative approaches to NGO effectiveness are often broad and very general, while empirical approaches are specific to niche contexts. A paradox is evident within the existing 'effectiveness' scholarship as there is an abundance of measures that do not address the existing knowledge gaps. Rather than adapting existing measures and definitions, scholars have continued to introduce their own approaches to NGO 'effectiveness'. This has resulted in many measures and definitions of 'effectiveness', which further contributes to a lack of clarity and understanding (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981: 124). These knowledge gaps and the diversity of the definitions and measures are recognised within the existing academic literature (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012).

The variety in how the effectiveness of NGOs is defined has real-world implications, as many NGOs hire external agencies or conduct internal reviews to assess their impact. This results in further inconsistencies in how 'effectiveness' is defined and measured, and thus the assessment of organisations lacks a standardised approach, which hinders comparisons between organisations and social movements.

Other measures consider the NGO's reputation as an indication of its effectiveness, which can often result in inaccurate assessments due to the highly subjective nature of reputation evaluations (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012). These abundant measures share common features and measures of effectiveness, which include organisational access and reach, performance outcomes, organisational factors, and legitimacy. Other factors speak to the effectiveness of the organisation, such as the operation of the organisation and the organisation's outputs and outcomes (Williams & Kindle, 1992; Edwards & Hulme, 1995; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Des Rosiers, 2014; Petrikova, 2015; Amagoh, 2015; Australian Council for International

Development, 2015; Mitchell & Stroup, 2017; Singhal, 2019; Kelly, 2007). There are many contextual factors that affect an NGO's effectiveness, which are often outside of the organisation's control, such as the external factors which affect an organisation's insider/outsider positioning, the type of state, the government in office, the strength of civil society, and the funding source of the NGO.

The impact that NGOs and social movements may have on public policy may not be directly observable or measurable, thus adding a further layer of complexity to measuring 'effectiveness'. Within the social sciences, there is a key distinction between what is observable and what is measurable. Phenomena may be observable but not measurable, and vice versa (von Hayek, 1989: 3). Moreover, the range of factors that contribute to the impact of an NGO may be neither measurable nor observable, but nonetheless important. Therefore, various elements of impact may be observable and/or measurable, while other elements may be neither.

Based on existing 'effectiveness' measures, common themes emerge in both normative and empirical approaches to assessing an organisation's impact. These measures can be categorised into four important factors, which can provide a comprehensive analysis and be used to determine the impact of an NGO. These categories are processes, outputs, outcomes, and external factors. Processes refer to organisational factors which are used to determine an NGO's effectiveness, including governance, membership, and the accountability of the organisation. Outputs refer to aspects of the organisation's performance, such as the number of meetings with policy-makers or government ministers, policy consultations, and reports made. Outcomes refer to tangible performance measures, such as changes to policy or legislation, and program implementation as a direct result of the organisation's advocacy.

Evidently, there is an interconnectedness to the working relationship between NGOs and governments/government departments and the organisation's effectiveness. There are several factors which can have an impact on an NGO's capacity for effectiveness, which are beyond its control. What remains unclear is how the insider/outsider positioning relates to feminist organisations' effectiveness, and how the effectiveness of NGOs in general can be measured to assess the effectiveness of Australian feminist NGOs.

Why the case study of the Australian feminist movement

Social movements and NGOs historically have a complex relationship with governments, and the feminist movement is no exception. A strong debate within the feminist and NGO scholarship on whether feminist actors should or should not engage with the state and bureaucratic institutions is evident. The feminist movement has tended to be highly critical of the state as it has been viewed as a patriarchal structure, responsible for the reinforcement of women's oppression (MacKinnon, 1989). Contrasting this is the liberal feminist scholarship arguing for the inclusion of women, and

feminists, in the state and policy-making institutions as a means of addressing gender inequality (Chappell, 2013: 606-607). Whilst the Australian femocrats were proof to the movement that feminists could successfully work as 'insiders' to achieve policy outcomes (Eisenstein, 1995; Eisenstein, 1996; Sawer, 1996; Chappell, 2000), the femocracy was not without criticism. Femocrats and women's policy agencies have been labelled as 'insiders' while feminist organisations more broadly have been labelled as 'outsiders' within the existing literature. Importantly, the success of the femocracy was dependent upon specific conditions and contextual factors, such as a strong outsider movement, women's policy agencies, and sympathetic governments (Sawer, 1996; Bernstein, 1997; Bergman, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Beckwith, 2007; Ku, 2008; Curtin, 2008; Waylen, 2010; Andrew & Maddison, 2010; Weldon & Htun, 2013; Bereni & Revillard, 2018).

In Australia, feminist organisations have a complex relationship with the state and governments. These organisations are largely dependent upon government for funding and access to the policy process, therefore resulting in organisations requiring a working relationship to contribute to public policy in Australia. Engagement with the state is often viewed negatively by the feminist movement, as it is seen as leading to co-option (Alvarez, 2009: 175-176). Seminal research on the relationship between feminist NGOs and the state in Latin America identified significant challenges experienced by these organisations, resulting in a negative impact on their contribution to policy (Alvarez, 1999). The forced nature of a working relationship with government is accompanied by significant challenges that can have a negative impact on their effectiveness.

In Australia, historical tensions between NGOs, neoliberal governments, and the feminist movement are evident. NGOs have been framed by neoliberal conservative governments as having a lack of accountability and seen as a threat to the market (Staples, 2012: 74-75). This resulted in restrictions on how NGOs operated and, despite these restrictions having been lifted, the power imbalance between these organisations and government remains (see Maddison, Hamilton & Denniss, 2004). The feminist movement more broadly is notoriously critical of the state, as the second wave of feminism viewed this structure as patriarchal and the source of women's oppression (see MacKinnon, 1989). The combination of these experiences results in a level of distrust in the working relationship between the state, governments, and feminist NGOs in Australia. How the insider/outsider dichotomy then relates to feminist NGOs in Australia remains unknown, as feminist NGOs are understudied, thus representing a significant gap within the literature. Not only that, but these key contextual factors must be considered in greater detail to understand how this impacts the working relationship, and whether this impacts an NGO's effectiveness.

The issue of domestic and family violence (DFV) in Australia has been identified as a wicked policy problem, and as such, requires both large systemic and small-scale change (Mulayim, Jackson &

Lai, 2016). Gendered violence rates remain high, despite the coordinated state and federal policy frameworks aimed at reducing and eliminating this violence, such as the National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children (NPRVAWC) (Hill, 2019: 344). In addition, the NPRVAWC concluded in 2021, with a commitment being made by the Morrison government in 2022 to implement a second National Plan as a response to the continued high rates of gendered violence. Moreover, the incumbent Albanese government has committed to establishing a parallel National Plan specifically tailored to eliminate Indigenous DFV (Albanese, n.d.). Yet DFV rates continue at the same rate, with the average rate of one woman per week killed by her partner in Australia, with trends showing an increase in intimate partner violence (IPV) during associated COVID-19 lockdowns and restrictions as a result of the global pandemic (Mulayim, Jackson & Lai, 2016: 175; Bryant & Bricknell, 2017; Fitz-Gibbon, True & Pftizner, 2020; Boxall, Morgan & Brown, 2020: 12). Hill (2019: 345) reported that prior to the beginning of the pandemic, gendered violence rates were increasing, but also acknowledged the critical role that feminist actors and organisations have had in getting Australian governments to address this violence:

> This is not the fault of advocates. Without their tireless campaigning and determination, we wouldn't even *have* a national plan to reduce domestic violence, and it's thanks to them that governments have put the gendered nature of domestic violence at the heart of their response.

Gendered violence remains a significant issue for the feminist movement and a significant policy issue in Australia, which begs the question of how feminist NGOs can be part of the solution in addressing and eliminating violence against women (VAW). In response, this research explores whether working alongside governments and government departments and agencies enhances these organisations' ability to act as the solution in addressing gendered violence.

Research question, aims and objectives

Research question and objectives

This thesis will examine the role of feminist organisations in the development and implementation of DFV policy, and whether having a working relationship with the state and governments impacts this role. To do so, the research examined the effectiveness of Australian feminist organisations in influencing and contributing to DFV policy outcomes and determined whether the working relationship with the state and governments has an impact on the effectiveness of NGOs.

The overarching research question that has guided this research is:

Does having a working relationship with Government impact whether feminist organisations are effective in influencing and contributing to DFV policy outcomes?

In relation to the research question and the overall aim of the study, the research objectives were as follows:

1. To define effectiveness as it relates to the influence of non-government actors in the process of policy-making;
2. To develop a framework of NGO effectiveness and apply it to the current case study of Australian feminist organisations;
3. To explore how the types and forms of different working relationships between the state and feminist NGOs contributes to their effectiveness and influence on DFV policies; and
4. To develop a typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies to explain the working relationship between feminist organisations and government.

It is important to emphasise this research is not examining DFV policies, but rather the interactions and working relationships between feminist organisations and government, and the effectiveness of these organisations in influencing and contributing to DFV policies.

Research methods used

To answer the research question and meet the objectives, this research employed a qualitative case study methodology using semi-structured interviews with members of feminist organisations and policy-makers, department heads, and public servants. Secondary data arising from document analysis, were also used to triangulate the findings from the interviews with the two population groups. The research uses grounded theory and takes a phenomenological approach to the research design and methods, as I pursue a weak constructivist epistemology and take a critical realist ontological position.

Contribution to scholarship

In addressing the research objectives and answering the research question, this study provides three significant contributions to knowledge:

1. Developing an NGO effectiveness measure that can be applied to a broad spectrum of NGOs, rather than being movement- or context-specific, that takes into consideration the impact of exogenous factors on the organisation's capacity to be effective;
2. Proposing an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy in the form of an NGO-State Relation Strategies typology that captures the intricacies and nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and the state; and
3. Providing a deeper understanding of Australian feminist NGOs, how they operate, and how effective they are in influencing improvements in DFV policy.

Firstly, this research provides a theoretical contribution by addressing a significant knowledge gap within the existing literature on NGO effectiveness. There is a significant gap within the existing literature on how the effectiveness of NGOs is defined and measured to capture exogenous factors that have an impact on organisations' capacity to be effective and that can be applied across

various contexts. I do this by developing a criteria of effectiveness factors which can be used to measure NGO effectiveness. These criteria of effectiveness will be applied to the case study of Australian feminist organisations to assess their effectiveness and influence on DFV policy.

Secondly, this research provides an additional theoretical contribution to the scholarship of the insider/outsider positioning of NGOs. The research will propose an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy with the development of the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies. The development of this typology provides a significant contribution to knowledge by addressing the limitations of the existing insider/outsider dichotomy, which is somewhat limited. As demonstrated, the insider/outsider dichotomy fails to capture the nuances of the working relationship with the state and governments, which is only partially acknowledged within the literature. The Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies can be used going forward to explain the nuances and variations in the working relationship between the state, governments, and NGOs.

Finally, this research provides a deeper understanding of feminist NGOs in Australia, particularly how they operate and their working relationship with governments and government departments. In addition, this research provides an outline of how to understand these feminist organisations. As demonstrated, current understandings of the influence and impact of the feminist movement on Australian policy-making is largely understood in terms of the legacy of the femocracy, with feminist NGOs seldom explored and understood. Feminist NGOs currently dominate the DFV sector, and thus it is vital to gain a deeper understanding of their role in policy-making and how this relates to their working relationship with the state and governments.

Scope and limits of the research

This research has a number of limitations. Firstly, as this research was conducted from 2019 through to 2022, the COVID-19 pandemic affected the data collection phase of the research. Efforts were made to mitigate this impact; however, as the cohort earmarked for participation in the interviews were policy-makers, public servants, department heads, and members and CEOs of feminist organisations, an impact was felt. Feminist organisations approached for participation in the research were identified via secondary data and document analysis as having influenced or contributed to one or more of the policy frameworks in the case study. Not every feminist organisation approached for participation was available to participate. Despite the researcher's best efforts to gain an intersectional perspective with a diverse cohort of feminist organisations, no LBGTQ+ specific organisations or migrant specific feminist organisations were involved in the study.

Secondly, the research involved the development of an NGO effectiveness measure, which was applied to the current case study to assess the effectiveness of feminist organisations. As detailed

later in the introduction, the measure consists of four criteria: organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. Time and scope limitations prohibited the assessment of the cultural/membership dimension of effectiveness of the 11 feminist organisations in the scope of the research. Additionally, the difficulty and ethical challenges in surveying the population also provided limitations. This did not have an impact on the assessment of the effectiveness of the feminist organisations, as each individual dimension was assessed independently, rather than providing a single overarching assessment.

Thirdly, this study examined the Effectiveness Criteria Framework in the scope of the case study of Australian feminist organisation to evaluate the effectiveness of these NGOs in influencing DFV policy. As a result, the specific findings about effectiveness may not be generalisable to other social movement organisations, policy domains, or to NGOs outside of the Australian context. Similarly, the observations may regarding the working relationship between Australian feminist NGOs and governments may not be generalisable to other political contexts.

Thesis structure

In Chapter One, the thesis begins by presenting the findings of a literature review on current understandings of the influence of NGOs on the policy process and policy formation. The chapter aims to develop an understanding of how NGOs achieve an influence on public policy and whether the working relationship with bureaucratic institutions and the state is related to this. Chapter One starts by discussing the correlation between NGOs' policy influence and their insider/outsider positioning. Within the existing literature, this insider/outsider positioning is traditionally framed as a dichotomy. I argue the insider/outsider positioning is a useful starting point for understanding aspects of the working relationship between states and bureaucratic institutions and NGOs. This framing as a dichotomy, however, provides a simplification of the working relationship and falls short in considering the nuances and impact of external factors. I will explore existing alternatives to the framing of the positioning as a dichotomy which have been proposed by several scholars. The discussion will then move towards the connection between the insider/outsider dichotomy and feminist actors. A review of the existing literature identifies an oversaturation of feminist insiders, which is attributed to the role of the femocrats in shaping public policy in Australia. As it stands, there is a limited understanding of how this positioning relates to feminist NGOs. I argue that new conceptual tools are needed to understand the daily realities of the working relationship between NGOs and bureaucratic institutions. Due to the rigidity of the current framing of the insider/outsider positionings as a dichotomy, it remains unclear whether one positioning is more influential than the other in terms of contributing to public policy. Overall, this chapter provides the foundation for examining the 'effectiveness' of feminist organisations.

Chapter Two introduces the methodological approach and research design that informs the study. I start the chapter by outlining my ontological and epistemological positionings, which have framed

how I understand the social construction of knowledge, and thus have shaped the research design of this study. The methodological approaches of incorporating grounded theory and phenomenology are justified before the research design is introduced. Case studies are commonly used in the social sciences, as they explore a phenomenon as it naturally occurs (Yin, 2003 as cited in Baxter & Jack, 2008). The chapter will then introduce the case study of Australian feminist organisations and DFV policy over a six-year period, 2010-2016, and across four jurisdictions (nationally, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia). To narrow this down even further, a policy framework from each jurisdiction will be examined and feminist organisations will be identified as having influenced or contributed to one or more of these selected policy frameworks. This chapter outlines the selected policy frameworks and the feminist organisations identified in the case study and justifies these selections as the focus of the case study. I then discuss the data collection methods used for the study. Semi-structured interviews with both feminist organisations and policy-makers and government departments, and secondary data from documentary sources were triangulated. Following this, I introduce thematic analysis, which was used for the analysis of the data gathered from the interviews and the document analysis of the secondary data. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the ethical considerations of the research design and the overall study.

Chapter Three offers a survey of how NGO effectiveness has been understood and the different approaches to measuring the impact of NGOs. The chapter begins with a systematic literature review on how the concept of 'effectiveness' has been understood and applied to the performance and work of NGOs. I argue that existing definitions of NGO 'effectiveness' are problematic and are contested across the existing literature, resulting in a lack of tangible measures. A multi-dimensional approach is then identified as a common method of assessing NGO effectiveness and is examined. I review the literature and existing typologies of 'effectiveness' and, from this, I synthesise and streamline these existing endogenous measures. The synthesis of processes, outputs, and outcomes as effectiveness measures and their limitations are discussed, before the exogenous factors which affect an organisation's capacity for impact are identified. These exogenous factors include the working relationship with the state and governments, the type of state and government in power, and whether the state and government are receptive to NGOs. I argue that the current set of effectiveness measures are poorly equipped to measure the cases outlined in the study as they fall short in considering the impact of exogenous factors. Following the review of the scholarly attempts to define and capture 'effectiveness', the chapter then examines and critiques practitioner-developed measures of NGO effectiveness; by this, I mean the efforts developed by policy-makers to evaluate the efforts of feminist organisations and independent examiners hired by the organisations.

Chapter Four presents the criteria for understanding how effective NGOs are, and by doing so, sets out and develops a framework to establish the key criteria for this evaluative task. This

chapter builds and expands upon the synthesis presented in Chapter Three, as I develop a new multi-dimensional framework for the analysis of the effectiveness of NGOs which is based on organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership dimensions. The first half of the chapter begins by setting out and establishing the framework for the analysis, and discussing each dimension in turn. In the second half, I apply this Effectiveness Criteria Framework to the case study. Overall, this chapter provides a new framework for analysing the effectiveness of NGOs in the process of policy-making. This framework makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the overall impact of the effectiveness of NGOs.

A synopsis of the Effectiveness Criteria (EC) Framework and the four dimensions used to analyse the effectiveness of NGOs in the process of policy-making is as follows. The EC Framework consists of four dimensions: organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. Organisational effectiveness measures the operation of the organisation as an indication of effectiveness. Three indicators can be used to measure organisational effectiveness: adequate resources, organisational legitimacy, and the organisation's funding. Organisational effectiveness is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. Political effectiveness measures the political standing of an NGO as an indication of the organisation's effectiveness. Six indicators can be used to measure political effectiveness, which include: collaboration, grassroots connections, the ability to be dynamic and adaptive, the ability to set the policy agenda, the reputation (both individually and collectively with the sector), and lastly, the organisation's ability to give frank advice including the ability to criticise government policy decisions. Policy effectiveness measures tangible policy outcomes as a direct result of the organisation's advocacy as an indication of the organisation's effectiveness. Three indicators can be used to measure policy effectiveness: the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, the organisation's visibility, and performance outcomes. Cultural/membership effectiveness measures the representation of the organisation's membership and population base that it claims to be advocating for. Three indicators can be used to measure and assess cultural/membership effectiveness: the satisfaction of the population group being advocated for, membership satisfaction, and cultural and societal shifts and changes as a direct result of the organisation and sector. Importantly, an organisation is not required to fulfill each criterion of effectiveness to be considered effective. How the indicators of each dimension are defined and measured may differ depending on the organisation type; whether the organisation is an umbrella organisation or a service delivery organisation that engages in advocacy where possible.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of the application of the EC Framework to the case study of Australian feminist NGOs. To do so, I draw upon empirical data from the semi-structured interviews conducted with members and representatives of feminist NGOs, policy-makers, and department heads to understand the barriers affecting NGOs' capacity for effectiveness and to identity how these are managed. First, the chapter begins with a short summary of the EC Framework before

identifying and exploring the challenges of the working relationship between NGOs, governments, and government departments. I argue that feminist organisations experience several inherent challenges within the working relationship, which consequently has an impact on their capacity for effectiveness. I identity three main themes from the findings of the semi-structured interviews of the barriers and challenges experienced by these organisations. These include the shifting of responsibility between government departments, government preferences for quick policy solutions to DFV, and the differences in expectations within the relationship and in policy impact. I find these feminist NGOs employ several strategies to overcome these challenges and enhance their effectiveness and overall contribution to DFV policies and explore these in turn. These strategies used by feminist NGOs to overcome barriers include cementing expertise and legitimacy, collaboration and the use of connections, and bipartisanship. Despite these strategies used by Australian feminist NGOs to overcome the barriers experienced, if the organisation remains dependent upon government, whether financially or for access to the policy process, this can impact feminist NGOs' effectiveness. Having a working relationship with government does not guarantee effectiveness and policy influence, but rather, how this proximity is utilised, the strategies used when engaging with governments, and the autonomy of the organisation. Therefore, the impact the working relationship has on feminist NGO effectiveness is more complex than simply enhancing feminist organisation's policy influence. This chapter provides a significant contribution to knowledge by deepening the understanding of Australian feminist NGOs, how they operate, and how effective they are in contributing to DFV policy.

Finally, Chapter Six presents the findings of the interviews with members of feminist NGOs to understand the experiences of how these NGOs work with government. In addition, this chapter discusses the implications of these findings and how they intercept with the literature. Lastly, this chapter explores how the empirical data can inform a new way of thinking about these working relationships, and by doing so, will introduce my typology of NGO-state relations. The chapter begins by outlining the contextual background of the working relationship between feminist and advocacy NGOs and governments in Australia. This is important as it provides a greater understanding of the ways in which past experiences shape how feminist organisations approach the relationship and engage with governments. Following this, I present the three main themes from the findings of the semi-structured interviews with members and representatives of feminist NGOs in how they approach their working relationship with governments. These main findings include the nature of the funding relationship, the self-identity of feminist NGOs and the fear of co-option, and lastly, the fluidity of the working relationship as evident in the interactions between feminist NGOs and government departments. I argue these experiences of feminist NGOs reflect the need for refinement of the insider/outsider dichotomy to capture the nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and governments, as both actors tend to take a strategic approach. This chapter then discusses the implications of these findings and how they intersect with the

literature on the insider/outsider dichotomy, before outlining how the empirical data can inform a new way of thinking about these relationships. I then present my Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies as an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy, and by doing so, provide another significant contribution to knowledge.

This thesis concludes by outlining the key findings of the research in relation to the research aims and question, which demonstrate that the working relationship between NGOs, the state and governments is inherently complex. The conclusion details both the theoretical and practical implications and significance of the findings. On the practical implications and significance of the research, two key recommendations are made. This includes the use of formalised agreements as this may provide a greater sense of protection for both parties and assist in the facilitation of expectations within the working relationship. Governments need to prioritise adequate funding of NGOs for their policy advice and advocacy to demonstrate the key role these organisations play in the policy process. In addition, it is recommended that NGOs establish a secondary income stream to reduce their dependence on government funding. This will increase the organisation's autonomy and aid in providing greater flexibility in the strategies used for advocacy. I present recommendations for governments, government departments, and NGOs on how best to navigate the working relationship for optimal policy outcomes. The conclusion chapter finishes with directions for future research to continue the exploration of NGO effectiveness in other contexts and settings.

CHAPTER ONE: THE IMPACT OF THE INSIDER/OUTSIDER POSITIONING ON POLICY FORMATION

The aim of this chapter is to develop an understanding of how NGOs achieve influence over public policy and whether a working relationship with the state and governments is related to this. In the Introduction chapter, I outlined the research problem this study aims to address by examining the 'effectiveness' of feminist NGOs in the working relationship with the state and governments. Chapter One will begin by discussing the correlation between NGOs' policy influence and their insider/outsider positioning. Within the existing literature, this insider/outsider positioning is traditionally framed as a dichotomy. It is argued this framing of a dichotomy provides an oversimplification of the working relationship between governments and NGOs, which fails to consider the nuances and impact of external factors. I explore alternatives to the framing as a dichotomy that have been proposed by several scholars. I argue that whilst there have been these attempts to nuance the insider/outsider dichotomy, there is no consensus position within the literature on how to do so, as these attempted revisions are not universally accepted. The discussion will then move towards the connection between this insider/outsider dichotomy and feminist actors. A review of the existing literature identifies an oversaturation of feminist insiders, which is attributed to the role of the femocrats in shaping public policy in Australia. As it stands, there is a limited understanding of how this positioning relates to feminist NGOs. While this traditional understanding of insider/outsider positionings as a dichotomy is helpful in providing an indication of the differing types of relationships between NGOs and governments, I argue that it is quite limited. New conceptual tools are needed to assist with understanding the daily realities of the working relationship between NGOs and government. Due to the rigidity of the current framing of the insider/outsider positionings as a dichotomy, it remains unclear whether one positioning is more influential in terms of contributing to public policy. Through the above, this chapter provides the foundation for examining the 'effectiveness' of feminist organisations.

1.1 The correlation between NGOs' influencing public policy and the insider/outsider positioning

In this section, I will outline how NGOs can influence public policy and, in doing so, introduce the insider/outsider dichotomy. I will then deconstruct the dichotomy before assessing the alternative framing that exists within the scholarship.

Civil society and NGOs have a rich history of influencing public policy at a local, national, and international level (see Bratton, 1990; Tortajada, 2016). In recent years, increased pressure on governments to consult with civil society has resulted in greater opportunities for NGOs to influence policy (see Evans & Wellstead, 2013). These opportunities for influence can occur during

any stage of the policy process[2]; however, NGOs most commonly influence the policy process during the first and second stages (Althaus, Bridgman & Davis, 2017a; 2017b; Edwards, 2001). The ways in which these NGOs influence public policy are plentiful.

One way in which NGOs can influence, and contribute to, public policy is through setting the policy agenda. This is achieved by identifying and raising awareness of a policy issue or problem, and lobbying governments to address the issue. Several examples can be drawn from within the context of feminist NGOs. Many feminist organisations identify migrant women who are at risk of, or are experiencing DFV, and the related issues surrounding access to state welfare due to citizenship and the consequential inability to flee the violent situation. Feminist NGOs will often identify a specific issue, and then lobby governments to redress the issue. NGOs may achieve influence through a range of strategies, but most commonly using the media to raise awareness of an issue (see Sharma, 2010; Meyer, Sangar & Michaels, 2018). Raising public awareness of an issue through the media allows not only NGOs to lobby government for policy action, but also includes the public in this lobbying. NGOs can then offer their expert policy advice to governments on what action is needed to address the issue. Additionally, raising awareness via the media also allows for the general public to become invested in the issue and cause, and lobby politicians themselves (see Dür & De Bièvre, 2007). This strategy of utilising the media and the public to create an avenue for influencing, and potentially contributing to, the policy process and public policy is considered typically as an outsider strategy. These outsider strategies may be utilised if the organisations are excluded from, or fail to gain access to, the policy process.

An alternative strategy for NGOs is to build relationships with the state and governments to influence the public policy process. While it has been shown that state-civil society partnerships do result in policy outcomes and NGOs achieving an influence on public policy, this is not always the case (Brinkerhoff, 1998; 1999; Casey, 1998; 2002). Furthermore, having access to the policy process and bureaucracy does not guarantee an influence on policy and policy-making decisions (see Casey, 2002). An insider strategy commonly refers to NGOs collaborating with government and other bureaucratic institutions. This may include being approached by government for consultation on public policy and sitting on advisory committees and boards (Casey, 2002: 7). Critics argue that collaboration can lead to co-option and neutralise the aims of an NGO (for example, see (Phillips, 2007; Maddison & Edgar, 2008).

1.1.1 The insider/outsider dichotomy

This section will explore the insider/outsider dichotomy in more depth, identifying the external factors which have an impact on the working relationship between NGOs and governments and the

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[2] It is important to note that while I am using a policy process model to demonstrate how NGOs can influence public policy, I recognise the criticisms within the wider literature which views this model as overtly rational (see Everett, 2003).

state, but which are often overlooked by the dichotomy. Following this, the meaning and construction of the concept of the insider/outsider dichotomy is examined before alternatives to the dichotomy are explored. While the insider/outsider dichotomy is a common concept widely used in the literature to outline the working relationship, the limitations of the dichotomy are widely acknowledged.

The insider/outsider dichotomy refers to the differing types of relationship between advocacy groups (including NGOs) and the state and governments, and these organisation's involvement in the policy-making process (see Grant, 1989; Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994; Page, 1999). Insider organisations are considered to be operating from with*in* the bureaucracy and government. This often occurs through significant involvement in the consultation process of policy-making, which provides the opportunity to influence public policy, allowing these organisations to provide expert policy advice and solutions (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994; Evans & Wellstead, 2013: 62). This interaction with, and consultation on, the policy process is often undertaken behind-the-scenes and is less visible to the general public (Evans & Wellstead, 2013: 62). As indicated by Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994: 21, 25), access to this consultation phase does not, however, guarantee an influence on public policy and policy outcomes.

In contrast, outsider organisations are considered as operating *out*side of the bureaucracy and government. Outsiders are not often included in, or are deliberately excluded from, the consultation stage of the policy-making process, and therefore, use other means to influence policy. This may include attempting to influence policy at different stages of the policy process. It is evident there are many intersections in the strategies used by both insiders and outsiders to influence public policy. It remains unclear the extent to which the insider/outsider positioning has an impact on an NGO's ability to influence policy and remain effective. On the other hand, it could be, simply, that insiders are on the radar of the bureaucracies and are therefore consulted, while outsiders remain essentially unknown to governments.

Table 1: Summary of the insider/outsider positionings

Positionings	Strategies	Strengths of the positioning	Weaknesses of the positioning
Insider – operating from within government and its bureaucratic institutions	Working relationship with one or more government departments and policy agencies; involvement in policy consultation; provision of policy advice	Provides NGOs and actors with access to the policy process, policy-makers, and bureaucrats	Risk of co-option; may have limitations on the extent of the provision of policy advice; may have an inability to criticise government policy proposals and decisions; may have other contractual limitations; may feel pressured to appear

			'moderate' in demands
Outsider – operating from outside of government and its bureaucratic institutions	Remaining separate from government departments and policy agencies to provide external policy advice/lobby for responses to policy issues	Ability to freely criticise government policy proposals and decisions; no other contractual limitations	May have limited access to the policy process, policy-makers, and bureaucrats; may not be known to policy-makers to be invited for consultation

The insider/outsider dichotomy is commonly framed within the academic literature in two ways: as a *status* or as a *strategy* (see Grant, 1989; Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994). Insider or outsider status refers to when the positioning has been *imposed* on an organisation. When the positioning is referred to as a strategy, this means the organisation maintains its autonomy and is utilising the positioning to its advantage. Certain situational factors may affect whether an NGO is employing an insider/outsider strategy or whether the positioning is being imposed on the organisation as a status. Government (and its bureaucratic institutions) is one situational factor that has an impact on NGOs and social movements' ability to influence and contribute to public policy. This also intersects with the insider/outsider positioning of these NGOs and affects the interactions between government and social movements and NGOs. Governments can either be open to the input of interests in the policy process, or actively hinder these interests from participating in the policy process (Maddison & Denniss, 2005). When non-receptive governments are in power, a change in government may produce greater opportunities for NGOs to engage with the bureaucracy and become more involved in the policy process. Similarly, organisations that once held access to the policy process can lose this access when governments' policy priorities change or when a change in government occurs.

Similarly, the types of states and state structures were also found to affect the insider/outsider positioning, NGOs' abilities to influence policy, and the relationship between NGOs and governments. According to Dryzek et al. (2003), state structures determine whether social movements and NGOs have the ability to influence and contribute to public policy, or whether these interests are excluded from the policy process. While Dryzek et al. (2003) frame state structures as the main determining factor, there is no denying that states play a key role in NGO's influence on public policy. NGOs can be excluded from the policy process due to exclusionary state structures, and alternatively, states that are open to interests may provide NGOs with greater access to the policy process and opportunities to influence policy (Dryzek et al., 2003). Therefore, in cases of exclusionary states, the insider/outsider positioning may be a *status* rather than a *strategy*, meaning that when the positioning is determined for these organisations by the state and state structures, this eliminates NGOs' autonomy.

In contrast, the strategies employed by social movements and NGOs are identified as another significant factor that not only affects NGOs' abilities to influence policy, but also the insider/outsider dichotomy. These strategies can also have an impact on the interactions between NGOs and the state and governments. Doyle (2000) argues that in the context of social movements, these movements can influence policy and be involved in the policy process as a result of their *strategy*. According to Doyle (2000), if these movements and organisations are unsuccessful in influencing and contributing to policy, it is a failure of the strategy used, and therefore, needs to be revised. Another factor that affects the strategy used, as well as the positioning and influence on policy, is access to resources. Resources enhance an organisation's ability to participate in the policy process and have a subsequent influence on public policy (see McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983; Casey, 1998). This may include funding, staff and volunteers, and connections to the bureaucracy, media, or other organisations. One way in which NGOs can enhance their access to resources and the ability to influence policy is through collaboration with other NGOs and service providers (Meyer & Whittier, 1994; Rucht, 2004; Maddison & Sawer, 2013). Figure 1 below outlines the insider/outsider dichotomy as it is currently framed within the existing literature.
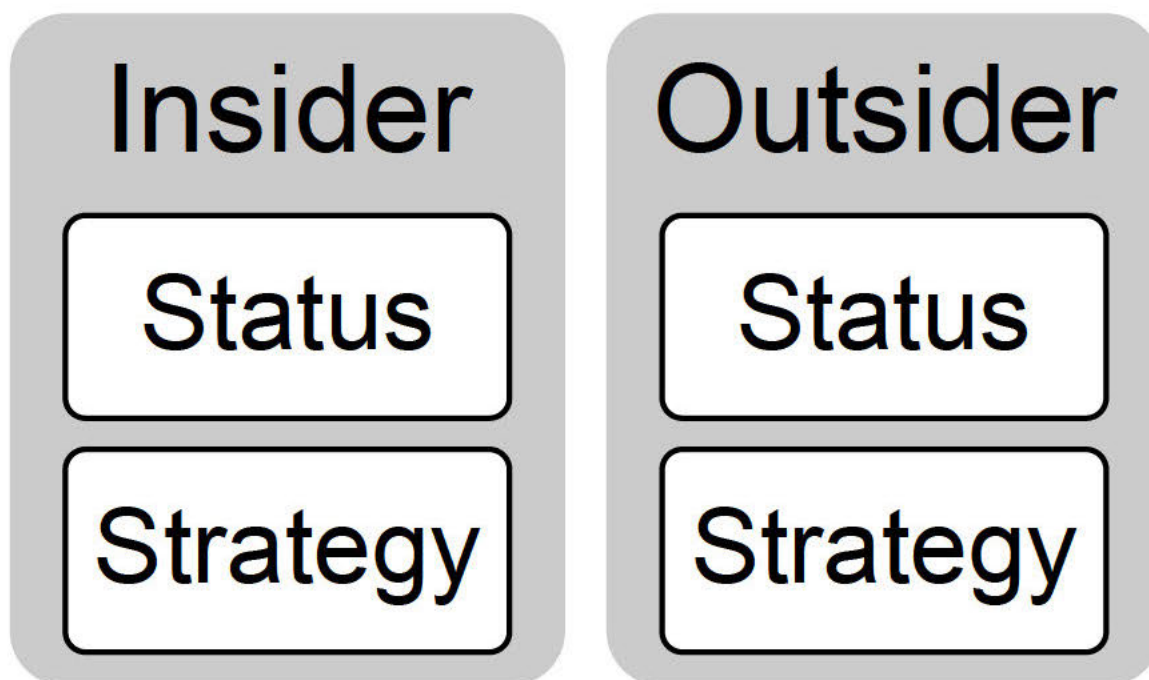
Figure 1: The current framing of the insider/outsider dichotomy within the literature

There are also numerous external factors that affect NGOs' relationships with the state and governments beyond just the type of state and the receptivity of government. These external factors include partisanship, the number of existing NGOs in the sector, and the salience of the policy issue and the "issue-attention cycle". Partisanship can act as an external factor affecting the

working relationship, as the receptivity of the government is dependent upon whether values are aligned (see Chappell, 2000; Staples, 2007; Andrew & Maddison, 2010; Roggeband, 2012).

The number of NGOs aiming to influence public policy on a specific issue is another factor that may affect the working relationship. If there are a small number of organisations for a particular cause or policy issue, having an insider positioning may be due to lack of competition (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994: 31). Conversely, if there is an oversaturation of NGOs for a particular issue or cause, these organisations may have to compete with other organisations to gain an insider positioning, or they may collaborate with one another to share resources and access to the policy process. Moreover, there may be significant competing positions and, therefore, coalitions of different groups may form, as per the advocacy coalition framework theory (see Weible & Sabatier, 2006: 123-136)

The issue or cause which NGOs are attempting to address may also have an impact on the organisation's insider/outsider positioning. The salience of the issue may invoke the concern of the broader public, who might then lobby and pressure government to act. This is referred to by Downs (1972) as the "issue-attention cycle" which describes these sudden bursts of salience which result in the issue gaining prominence before interest declines. Similarly, if the issue is considered by the government of the day to be controversial, this may result in the organisation having an outsider status. For example, if an NGO is advocating for government to address climate change, this organisation may be excluded from the policy process if the government denies climate change or its severity.

Therefore, it is evident that these external factors not only have an impact on positioning and subsequent policy influence and policy outcomes, but they also interact with each other. The impact of these situational factors on the insider/outsider positioning therefore makes it difficult to determine whether one positioning is more effective than the other in terms of policy influence (Casey, 1998; Casey, 2002; De Bruycker & Beyers, 2019). These factors not only shape the type of relationship NGOs have with the state and their positioning, they also shape whether NGOs are able to influence and contribute to policy and eventual policy outcomes.

1.1.2 Deconstructing the insider/outsider dichotomy

Not only do these external situational factors affect insider/outsider positioning and the working relationship with governments, the dichotomy may be too limited in how it describes the working relationship. Within the Australian context, civil society and NGOs are often referred to as the 'third sector', which also includes community organisations, not-for-profit (NFP) organisations, and charities (Parliament of Australia, 2008). Those within the third sector may receive government funding for a variety of roles, including service delivery and the provision of policy advice. These organisations may also be located alongside government; however, the third sector is not located

within government (Parliament of Australia, 2008). This demonstrates how the working relationship and positioning with government may look different in differing contexts.

It is important to acknowledge that the categorisation of the 'third sector' is contested within the academic scholarship. Wagner (2012: 312-314) argued that the meshing of civil society into the 'third sector' is a political move, concentrated on economic purposes designed to collect information on services, those accessing services, and resource allocation. Furthermore, he argued that the 'third sector' is viewed as a means of counteracting government and policy failures, such as social service provision, rather than solving these limitations of governance (Wagner, 2012: 313-315). Rather, Wagner (2012: 317-318) argued the role of civil society is to empower citizens via collective action, and thus, has a political role rather than an economic one. Therefore, within the scope of the current research, NGOs should neither be considered as being 'against' the state nor as an extension of the state. In Australia, NGOs often maintain both an economic role through the provision of social services, and a political role through the use of advocacy and collective action.

Overall, this relationship between the state, governments, and NGOs is complex as there are many situational factors that affect the relationship and the consequential impact it has on public policy (Brinkerhoff, 1999: 83). These situational factors can include the type of state (also see Dryzek et al., 2003), what the policy issue is, and trust from both sides of the relationship which is also inclusive of who the government of the day is (Brinkerhoff, 1999). Within the literature, it is commonly suggested that NGOs can influence policy in one of two ways: as an insider or as an outsider (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Evans & Wellstead, 2013).

It is clear that the insider/outsider positioning is related to how NGOs access the policy process. The conceptual set-up of a dichotomy, however, does not provide enough clues on how NGO impact and 'effectiveness' in relation to policy outcomes is understood. As such, while the positioning is a useful way of outlining the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments, it requires refinement. This is because the current framing of this positioning as a dichotomy does not accurately reflect the daily realities of NGOs, and consequently, oversimplifies the complex dynamic between the state, governments, and NGOs.

1.1.3 Alternatives to the framing of the positioning as a dichotomy

The shortcomings of the framing of the positioning as a dichotomy in its current form are widely acknowledged by researchers (see Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994; Casey, 1998: 76; Bergman, 2004; Banaszak, 2005; Beckwith, 2007). Consequently, some have called for the broadening of the positioning beyond a dichotomy to allow for a more accurate reflection of the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments as it occurs in practice.

Despite the consensus on the limitations of the dichotomy, the insider/outsider dichotomy remains popular in describing NGOs' relationships with the state and bureaucracy, as proposed alternatives fail to be mainstreamed.

Hay (2002: 29-37) identified a common parsimony versus complexity trade-off within most concepts and typologies in political analysis. While the parsimony helped to broadly ground the understanding of NGOs, further conceptual thinking is needed to unpack the complexity. This need is demonstrated in the restrictive nature of the framing of the positioning as a dichotomy, in which the dichotomy overlooks nuance and contextual factors. Bergman (2004: 236-238) argued the insider and outsider dichotomy for feminist organisations is blurred, as the applications of the insider/outsider status in Nordic countries may differ from other countries due to cultural differences. This showcases how the framing of the positioning as a dichotomy oversimplifies the relationship between NGOs or social movements and states and/or governments, and fails to take into consideration the situational factors that affect this.

Table 2: Alternatives to the insider/outsider dichotomy

Scholars	Changes to the dichotomy	Proposed alternative
Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994: 30)	Introduction of the *status* and *strategy* classification	*1) "Insider Status* a) Core Insider Group b) Specialist Insider Group c) Peripheral Insider Group *2) Outsider Status* a) Outsider Group by Ideology or Goal b) Outsider Group by Choice *1) Insider Strategy* *2) Outsider Strategy* *3) Thresholder Strategy"*
Beckwith (2007: 324)	Replaced the dichotomy with a spectrum of strategic interactions	"State involvement – Autonomy" "Outsider position – Insider position"
Banaszak (2005: 156)	Replaced the dichotomy with a continuum of an outsider movement status	1) "Complete legal exclusion (Outsider status) 2) Exclusion via societal norms 3) Outside government; no exclusion via laws/norms 4) Insider government but marginalised 5) Inside participation with no chance of influence 6) Complete inclusion"

Several scholars have proposed alternatives to the framing of the insider/outsider positioning as a dichotomy, including revised classifications and reorganising the dichotomy as a continuum or on a spectrum to include greater variations. Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994: 30) proposed a revision of the dichotomy presented by Grant (1989) to a *status* to reflect the give-and-take nature of the relationship between NGOs and the state and governments. They argued that the reclassification of the dichotomy to a *status* provides a more accurate representation of the mutual benefits of the relationship that each side capitalises on. Where government provides opportunities for organisations to influence and contribute to public policy, NGOs provide their knowledge, expertise, and capacity for service delivery (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994: 36). Within the status classification, Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994: 38) proposed sub-categories to further reflect the variations within each positioning. Doing so allows for the reflection of the intricacies of the relationship between NGOs and the bureaucracy, as they reject the notion that "insiders with guaranteed influence and outsiders [are] excluded by a powerful state" (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994: 38). While the reclassification proposed by Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994) does allow for flexibility to reflect the complex nature of the relationship, it still falls short in considering the shifts between the positionings.

Beckwith (2007) proposed separating the insider/outsider positionings from autonomy-state involvement and replaced the dichotomy with a *spectrum*. Within the context of the feminist movement, Beckwith (2007) argued that the insider/outsider positionings and autonomy-state involvement can, and do, co-exist. For example, she argued that organisations employing an outsider strategy remaining autonomous from the state may still engage with the bureaucracy, but do not gain access to the state/bureaucracy and rely on non-state actors (Beckwith, 2007: 323). According to this proposed spectrum, how both the insider/outsider positioning and state-autonomy involvement relate to each other is dependent upon other factors, and therefore, situational factors have a deep impact on this positioning. It is important to note that Beckwith (2007) examines this within the context of the feminist movement as a whole, rather than as individual organisations as part of the wider feminist movement. As the present study is concerned with the effectiveness of feminist NGOs and how this relates to the insider/outsider positioning, the proposed spectrum by Beckwith (2007) may be useful in understanding how this positioning relates to feminist NGOs broadly, but is limited in its application to individual NGOs specifically. While this does acknowledge the complexity of the insider/outsider positioning and proposed reframing as a spectrum alongside other spectrums, the question remains whether having a relationship with the state is an effective means for influencing public policy.

Another scholar to have proposed a revision of the insider/outsider dichotomy as a *continuum* is Banaszak (2005: 156). She argued that the expansion of the dichotomy to a *continuum* is necessary as outsider activists can still exist within the state. These actors, however, do not hold the power needed to execute any influence or contribution to public policy or have access to the

state (Banaszak, 2005: 156). Banaszak (2005) reflected that the broad label of insider/outsider applied to actors lacks the appropriate nuance to understand the potential influence of different positionings. While she acknowledged this significant limitation of the insider/outsider dichotomy, Banaszak's (2005) *continuum* is centred around individual actors working with the state, rather than NGOs. This is representative of a wider limitation within the broader academic feminist literature which largely excludes feminist organisations. It is therefore unclear whether this *continuum* proposed by Banaszak (2005) would be applicable to feminist NGOs and other feminist organisations.

These alternatives to the insider/outsider dichotomy demonstrate different approaches to understanding the issue and the complexity of the working relationship. In addition, these proposed alternatives also highlight the different ways in which various nuances can be applied, such as the differences across social movements. Both Banaszak (2005) and Beckwith (2007) examined the insider/outsider positioning within the context of the feminist movement, whereas the expansion of the dichotomy by Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994) is more general and is not attached to a specific social movement. Therefore, the insider/outsider positioning may differ depending on the social movement in question, which relates back to the issue and cause as a situational factor (also see Banaszak, 2005: 155). Nevertheless, these proposed alternatives to the dichotomy do not take into consideration other factors that may have an impact on the working relationship and subsequent positioning of the organisation or actor. The different critiques of the insider/outsider dichotomy showcase the difficulty in reconciling these categorisations to find a new commonly agreed concept for NGOs and their working relationship with the state. Therefore, whilst there have been attempts to nuance the insider/outsider dichotomy, there is no consensus position within the literature on how to do so, as these attempted revisions are not universally accepted.

Overall, it is evident that NGOs can achieve influence over public policy in many ways, including utilising the insider/outsider positioning as a strategy to enhance access to the policy process. This is, however, dependent upon the government being receptive to NGOs and being willing to engage with these organisations. The extent to which this positioning is related to the policy influence of NGOs remains unclear, as the framing of insiders and outsiders as a dichotomy oversimplifies the positionings. Furthermore, the categorisation of these positionings as either a status or a strategy might risk obscuring other key contributing factors. Therefore, more conceptual thinking is needed to understand how the insider/outsider positioning is related to NGO's influence on public policy and the working relationship. Later in the thesis, I propose a typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies which can be used to understand the different ways in which NGOs and governments interact and engage with one another.

1.2 The connection between the insider/outsider dichotomy and feminist actors

This section reviews how scholars have sought to apply the insider/outsider dichotomy specifically to feminist non-state actors. It is important to understand what is already known about the types of different working relationships with the state and governments and how this affects feminist NGOs' effectiveness and policy influence. Within the feminist literature exists a debate on working with or outside the state and governments to achieve feminist policy. By exploring the two arguments, I argue context is critical in understanding how a working relationship with the state is approached by feminist actors and the impact it has on NGO effectiveness. The consideration of this context demonstrates the complex nature of the working relationship between feminist NGOs, the state and governments, which fails to be encapsulated by the insider/outsider dichotomy.

1.2.1 The debate on feminist 'insiders' and 'outsiders'

The debate within feminist scholarship on working within or outside of the state and bureaucratic institutions reflects the broader sentiments within the feminist movement: the acknowledgement of the state as patriarchal and yet vital for enhancing women's rights (Chappell, 2013; see also Roth, 2006: 158). Reflective of the broader insider/outsider NGO literature, this has resulted in the very same dichotomy for feminist actors, failing to take into consideration important nuance and context. On one side of the debate exists the school of liberal feminist scholarship arguing for the inclusion of feminists via engagement with the state as 'insiders' to achieve feminist policy (Chappell, 2013: 605-607). According to liberal feminists, the solution to the patriarchal state was the inclusion of women, and feminists, in the state to protect women's rights and represent women's interests (Chappell, 2013: 606; Lovenduski, 2008: 174). Conversely, on the other side of the debate exists the school of radical feminist scholarship that saw the state as a patriarchal reinforcer of women's oppression and called for a feminist state (MacKinnon, 1989).

This tensions between the two schools of feminist scholarship and the movement was most evident with the rise of femocrats within the Australian feminist movement as the most notable feminist 'insiders' within Western liberal democracies. Feminist insiders are typically referred to as femocrats, most notably in the Australian academic literature. The term femocrat refers to feminist bureaucrats, who were often activists involved in the feminist movement lobbying for policy reform as outsiders. These individuals then became institutionalised as a strategy and began working within the state and bureaucracy, alongside government in advisory positions to implement feminist policy. Femocrats altered the relationship that the feminist movement had with the state and normalised this engagement, which previously was staunchly against engaging with the state for fear of co-option (Maddison & Partridge, 2007). At the time, the feminist movement was in its second wave, which was predominately guided by the radical feminist ideology that viewed the state as patriarchal and was, therefore, considered as another form of oppression of women (see MacKinnon, 1989). Working with the state was considered not only counter-intuitive to the feminist movement, but co-option was also seen as the death knell of the movement (see Meyer, 1993). These contrasting views within the feminist movement on whether feminists should engage with

the state and bureaucracies, and how, demonstrates the debate within the feminist scholarship and the confliction expressed by the movement more generally.

As a result, many feared co-option due to loss of control, and as Eisenstein (1996: xv) summarised, "femocrats lent themselves to legitimizing the state without fundamentally altering it". Femocrats were, therefore, working to enhance women's rights within patriarchal structures without changing the very structures responsible for women's oppression in the eyes of radical feminists. While the femocrats were able to achieve many wins and advancements for women's rights because of their positioning within the bureaucracy, many were critical of this hypocrisy. Consequently, there remains a hesitancy towards engaging with the state within the feminist movement, despite the widespread acknowledgement that this type of engagement is necessary to achieve feminist policy (Roth, 2006; Chappell, 2013). Contrary to this criticism, Roth (2006) argued feminists need to be willing to engage with the state and bureaucratic institutions but must be aware of 'feminist fading'. Roth (2006: 158, 161) argued feminists' working inside these institutions can be categorised as 'outsiders within' due to the oppositional knowledge, and as such, may find their feminist agenda eroded overtime due to institutional hostility. The feminist scholarship frames this as a consequence of the engagement with the state leading to forced assimilation (Cullen, 2015: 411). This, however, removes the agency of these feminist actors and reinforces that advocates are beholden to the state, governments, and other bureaucratic institutions. Grosser and McCarthy (2019: 1100) contended that rather than co-option, these feminist actors are adapting to changing circumstances, as is also evident in feminist engagements with the private sector.

Similarly, another common criticism of the femocracy, and other feminist 'insiders' included whether the loyalty of femocrats was to the feminist movement or to the government at hand, and more broadly, the state. Many were critical of the background of femocrats and the privileges that came from working within the state, some arguing that femocrats were not an accurate representation of the wider feminist movement (Eisenstein, 1996). Coincidentally, many bureaucrats were also critical of femocrats and their role within government (Sawer, 1996: 5). This demonstrates that both sides of the working relationship were apprehensive of the relationship and may still be apparent. It is important to note that many femocrats were feminist activists, coming directly from their membership of feminist organisations such as the Women's Electoral Lobby. This appointment within the state was viewed as an opportunity and a means to increase women's rights from the inside: "to use the state to bring women to the threshold" (Eisenstein, 1996: 22). Thus, working within the state and governments was a deliberate and strategic decision by femocrats. The first femocrat position was as a 'women's advisor' to the Prime Minister, which provided the opportunity to influence policy in many ways, including control of the policy agenda (Eisenstein, 1996: 20). This position allowed these femocrats to influence policy in the way they had been lobbying for as activists outside of the state with limited or varying success.

Applying this to the 'status versus strategy' debate within the literature, it is clear that many feminist actors view their institutionalisation as a deliberate strategy to enact change via the state and bureaucracy (see Doyle, 2000; Dryzek et al., 2003). For femocrats, this institutionalisation as a strategy undoubtedly resulted in not only an influence and contribution to public policy, but also to many policy outcomes. The Australian femocrats were successful in influencing and contributing to a large number of public policies that advanced the rights of Australian women, including childcare policies, women's health policies, domestic and family violence policies, sexual assault legislation, and the establishment of violence against women support services (see Sawer, 1996: 7; Eisenstein, 1996). In addition, femocrats secured many funding opportunities for women-led women's services (Sawer, 1996: 5):

> working from inside the public service, they acted with initiative, speed and flair to wrest money from established budgets for services that had never before existed (Lake, 1999: 257).

The success of the femocracy in influencing and contributing to public policy and legislative outcomes extended beyond these 'insiders', as it also provided opportunities for feminist outsiders to influence policy that was otherwise unavailable to those operating from the outside (Mazur & McBride, 2008: 249).

Evidently, these feminist 'insiders', such as femocrats, women's policy agencies, and women legislators, have been found to be effective in influencing and contributing to public policy (Lovenduski, 2008). This is, however, applicable to individual forms of feminist action, and thus it cannot be assumed that insider collective forms are also effective (see Banaszak, 2005; McMillan, 2007; Outshoorn & Kantola, 2007; Bereni & Revillard, 2018; McCammon & Brockman, 2019). The experiences of individual feminists working within the state will be vastly different from the experiences of NGOs, and consequently, insider positioning may have a different impact for feminist NGOs aiming to influence and contribute to public policy. There is a significant knowledge gap on how the insider/outsider dichotomy relates to feminist NGOs.

1.2.2 The importance of context for feminist actors engaging with the state

The situational and external factors identified in Section 1.1 of this chapter can also be observed as having an impact on the working relationship with feminist actors. Femocrats' successes were largely dependent on the Australian Labor Party (ALP) being in government; as Eisenstein (1996: 15) observed, the birth of the femocracy was largely tied to the return of office by the Labor Party under the Whitlam government. The appointment of the first femocrat, an advisor for women's affairs under the Whitlam government, marked the beginning of significant policy advancements for women's rights (Eisenstein, 1995: 71). The creation of a women's advisor to the premier was quickly established in all state and territory governments, most commonly associated with Labor state governments (Eisenstein, 1995: 72). The femocracy at the federal level remained strong

under the Hawke and Keating governments through utilising women's advisors (Eisenstein, 1995). These ties to the ALP were formed because these left-wing governments were more sympathetic to the feminist agenda and actively sought to engage with femocrats in the policy process (see Sawer, 1996; Chappell, 2000; Maddison & Partridge, 2007).

The success of femocrats declined when changes in government occurred and the Liberal National Party (LNP) took power, with the gradual dismantling of the femocracy beginning under Howard's leadership (see Eisenstein, 1996; Andrew & Maddison, 2010). The erosion of the femocracy under conservative governments has resulted in femocrats no longer existing in the Australian political and policy spheres as they once did. This highlights two key findings in terms of the factors that are crucial for activists' success. This firstly suggests that having a sympathetic government or state is crucial in providing feminist actors with the opportunity to influence, thus supporting the findings of Dryzek et al. (2003) and Maddison and Denniss (2005). Rankin and Vickers (2001: 53) made a similar observation, noting opportunities for the feminist movement are highly dependent upon the ideology of the government in power. This also suggests that left-wing governments can provide an environment conducive for feminist interests to influence and contribute to public policy. Therefore, different types of left-wing governments might sponsor different forms of feminist activity.

Accordingly, Weldon and Htun (2013) found that an autonomous feminist movement was the determining factor for the success of feminist movements in influencing policy change, even more than having a left-wing government, and women's representation in parliament. They defined an autonomous movement as being independent from partisan affiliation with political parties, organisations, and bureaucratic institutions (Weldon & Htun, 2013: 238). It is important, however, for feminist actors to be careful when attempting to use political parties to their advantage as Chappell (2000: 172) observed, as feminist 'insiders' were not as successful in these circumstances.

The experiences of femocrats as feminist insiders demonstrate that an insider positioning can entail becoming highly dependent on the support of the government of the day. NGOs experience similar challenges and difficulties as a result of non-sympathetic governments in power. Seminal work by Maddison, Hamilton and Denniss (2004) and Staples (2007) demonstrated that governments can bully and threaten NGOs through suppression, exclusion from the policy process, threats of defunding, and backlash for publicly criticising policy, and this bullying occurs more commonly under conservative governments. Overall, this also suggests that the insider/outsider positioning as a *strategy* can shift to a *status* at any given time, as a change in government was shown to result in the exclusion of feminist 'insiders', thus becoming 'outsiders'. This demonstrates how critical it is to consider the context and nuance of the working relationship between NGOs and governments as a variety of factors impact positioning and advocacy.

1.2.3 Current forms of institutionalised feminist actors

A lasting legacy of the advent of femocrats has been the establishment of women's policy agencies and machineries at both state and federal levels in Australia (see Lake, 1999; Chappell, 2002). The idea behind their establishment was to connect the broader feminist movement to bureaucratic institutions to enact policy and social change (Eisenstein, 1996: 24). In addition, femocrats hoped that the establishment of these policy agencies would ensure feminist policy would continue with changing governments (Lake, 1999: 260). It can be argued that these women's policy agencies are another form of institutionalised feminism that bridge the gap between the feminist movement and government. Many feminist organisations maintain a strong working relationship with these women's policy agencies.

Seminal research by the Research Network on Gender Politics and the State (RNGS) found that women's policy agencies act on women's interests and gender equity through the engagement of the feminist movement, organisations and actors (Lovenduski, 2008: 174-175). Feminist actors, therefore, need to be willing to engage with bureaucratic institutions to achieve outcomes for the movement whilst holding the understanding that any policies developed and implemented may not completely align with the movement (Lovenduski, 2008: 175). The extent to which movement goals and advocacy are adopted highly depends on other factors beyond the relationship with the state, and thus context and nuance is critical when assessing the effectiveness of any social movement or NGO.

The theory of state feminism refers to state mechanisms established to ensure gender equality, and usually refers to women's policy agencies (Mazur & McBride, 2008: 244). Women's policy agencies differ in a number of ways, from implementation agencies, to policy monitoring agencies, and advisory agencies (Kantola & Outshoorn, 2007: 3), with governments also utilising feminist NGOs for these same purposes. Therefore, feminist NGOs play an important role in the policy process in many ways. For this reason, it is important to examine and understand how the insider/outsider positioning relates to these feminist organisations. As this impact remains largely unknown within the current literature, understanding how the positioning affects these organisations' ability to influence policy is needed to fill the knowledge gap. This is particularly important as there are contradictory findings on the effects of the positioning on an organisation's policy influence. Women's policy agencies and women legislators have also been found to have had little to no influence on public policy responses in specific regards to gendered violence (see Weldon, 2004). In fact, these feminist insiders have had little to no impact on policy responses to violence against women on their own (Weldon, 2004: 18). Instead, feminist insiders were found to have enhanced the influence of feminist outsiders in civil society, who had a far greater influence on Violence Against Women (VAW) policy responses (Weldon, 2004: 20-21). As such, not all instances of state feminism and feminist insiders result in an influence on public policy.

To counter the challenges and difficulties experienced by feminist insiders and the consequential impact this has had on their ability to influence policy, scholars argue that maintaining a strong feminist movement in civil society is vital (Bernstein, 1997; Beckwith, 2007; Weldon & Htun, 2013). There is a clear consensus that feminist insiders, according to the traditional notion of insiders such as femocrats and women's policy agencies, need to co-exist with a strong and autonomous feminist movement outside of the state to achieve the most effective policy outcomes (see Sawer, 1996; Bernstein, 1997; Bergman, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Beckwith, 2007; Ku, 2008; Curtin, 2008; Waylen, 2010; Weldon & Htun, 2013; Bereni & Revillard, 2018). This was notable in the case of femocrats, in which the advocacy of feminist activists outside of the state in the Women's Electoral Lobby amplified the advocacy of femocrats from inside of government. Feminist outsiders can assist feminist insiders by appearing more radical than the insiders, thus making the insiders more appealing to governments (Bernstein, 1997: 97).

> It is the combination of women working from inside and outside government which has proved most fruitful – even when it has amount to achieving least worst outcomes (Sawer, 1996: ii).

Another way in which feminist insiders can enhance the impact of their advocacy is through using outsider strategies (Chappell, 1999: 173). These outsider strategies include external lobbying and placing pressure on government. While this was found to enhance insider actors' effectiveness, (Chappell, 1999) noted that this was only successful because it was combined with an existing insider positioning. This supports the wealth of literature that argues both feminist insiders and outsiders need to co-exist for either positioning to be effective. Furthermore, this also reflects the fluidity of how we might understand the insider/outsider positioning and demonstrates that the dichotomy does not fully capture the complexities faced by either insiders or outsiders. Key contextual factors must be considered to understand the unique working relationship between advocators and the state and governments.

To summarise, within the current academic literature, the insider/outsider positioning can be seen in the context of the feminist movement as femocrats and women's policy agencies being feminist insiders. This dominant research focus has consequently resulted in little understanding of other feminist actors, which has created a significant knowledge gap. This, and other important contextual factors, must be considered when assessing the working relationship between NGOs and states and governments.

1.2.4 Feminist NGOs and insider/outsider positioning

This section explores the shadow of state-based feminism and its impact on feminist NGOs in relation to the insider/outsider positioning. I highlight research conducted overseas to identify knowledge gaps for Australian NGOs.

How the insider/outsider positioning relates to specifically feminist NGOs has seldom been explored. Having said this, the way in which some feminist NGOs are viewed and treated by the state is explored in Alvarez's (1999) seminal work on feminist NGOs in Latin America. Similarities are observed in the criticisms of feminist NGOs and femocrats, with one major criticism being that feminist 'insider' NGOs have been criticised for being institutionalised and consequently co-opted by the state, as a result of collaboration and partnership with government (Alvarez, 2009: 175-176). Alvarez's (1999: 191) findings showcase the challenges experienced by feminist NGOs, especially if these organisations are working within the state (i.e., of an insider positioning), which was found to impede the organisation's ability to influence and contribute to public policy. Alvarez (2009) argued that, based on her research, the professionalisation of feminist NGOs resulted in government distracting feminist NGOs from their activism and the broader feminist movement due to increased responsibilities. These responsibilities included program evaluation and policy advice due to women's policy agencies being severely understaffed and underfunded (Alvarez, 1999: 192). It is evident these feminist 'insider' NGOs in Latin America were essentially treated as substitutes for the understaffed women's policy agencies and were utilised for their expertise and capacity, rather than being treated as the advocacy group that these NGOs were. Alvarez (1999: 192) argued that this engagement with the state and the nature of such a relationship had a negative impact on the effectiveness of these organisations in influencing and contributing to policy. Similar challenges have been evident for Australian feminist NGOs, who have reported feeling restricted due to bureaucratic operations, such as reporting requirements, the rigidity of processes, and insufficient funding when engaging with government departments and women's policy agencies (Smart & Quartly, 2014: 348). These NGOs and advocacy coalitions felt that that their positioning as peak bodies of feminist NGOs was used as a means to silence women's voices rather than providing a platform to speak out. This silencing was felt in many ways, including exclusion from the policy process (Smart & Quartly, 2014: 347).

This suggests that feminist NGOs' influence on policy can be greatly affected by their insider *status*. States that use and treat feminist NGOs as gender experts and/or 'token' feminist organisations, and consult with these organisations on policy matters, could be categorised as having an insider *status*. This insider status, however, may not be one that the feminist organisations desire, and one which disconnects them from their organisational goals and also from the wider feminist movement. This may affect how feminist NGOs are able to influence and/or contribute to public policy. Not only that, but attempting to categorise and define feminist NGOs within the narrow insider/outsider dichotomy does not encompass the multi-dimensional working relationship that occurs in reality.

Consistent with other findings in the existing literature, Alvarez (1999: 187) noted that maintaining a relationship with the outside feminist movement was key for feminist 'insider' NGOs as it kept these organisations accountable to the movement. Similarly, Australian feminist NGOs have

highlighted the strong need for greater collaboration and a stronger relationship between these women's alliances and feminist NGOs within the broader feminist movement (Smart & Quartly, 2014: 348). This relationship with feminist 'outsiders' could potentially also assist feminist 'insider in maintaining an influence on the policy process despite their bureaucratic responsibilities such as service delivery and program evaluation. Most Australian NGOs do have responsibilities beyond their role in advocacy. Therefore, it needs to be examined if Alvarez's findings relate to the experiences of feminist organisations in Australia, as the extent to which these experiences in Latin America relate to the experiences of feminist NGOs in Australia is unknown. Questions remain on the intention of government behind seeking a working relationship with feminist NGOs, and whether feminist NGOs are viewed as an avenue for service delivery to reduce costs.

Adding to the findings of (Alvarez, 2009), Weldon (2004: 13) found that feminist organisations with an insider positioning may actually have a negative impact on outsider feminist activism. Evidently, insider positioning can negatively affect outsider organisations in many ways. Moreover, Weldon (2004) suggested that feminist insiders may not be necessary for influencing policy if women's policy agencies exist. It can be argued that women's policy agencies are not inherently feminist simply because they are designed to further women's rights. As Kantola and Outshoorn (2007: 3-4) explained, women's policy agencies are extensions of government and therefore need to represent the government of the day's values, which may result in a sway away from a feminist agenda. This is particularly evident when a change in government is accompanied by a change in policy values and prioritisation, which may not align with the feminist agenda (see Kantola & Outshoorn, 2007: 4). Therefore, due to the connection held with the feminist movement, feminist NGOs play an important role in holding government to account, including women's policy agencies, and ensuring that the voices of women are heard. It is therefore important for feminist organisations (of either positioning) to retain autonomy, which allows them to freely lobby government, engage in protest, and connect and collaborate with a range of actors including policy-makers and government (Weldon & Htun, 2013: 239).

Much of the existing research points to the dilemmas and issues that can be raised by placing a primacy on feminist insiders being involved in the design and implementation of feminist policy. It is, however, clear that feminist insiders and outsiders complement each other's advocacy. Curtin (2008) argued the need for an independent institutionalised feminist space that can support individual feminists in the bureaucracy and legislature. Weldon (2004: 19) found that feminist insiders had very little influence over government and policy responses to violence against women, particularly if the feminist movement is of an insider positioning. What is not clear, however, is how this looks for NGOs that do not neatly fit within the dichotomy. More research is needed to understand how the insider/outsider positioning relates to feminist NGOs and if the positioning affects their ability to influence and contribute to public policy. The limited knowledge on this issue within the academic literature could be due to the current framing of the insider/outsider positioning

as a dichotomy. As this framing as a dichotomy is too rigid, understandings of feminist insiders and outsiders and their role in policy development may not only conflict with, but might also not reflect, the realities of these organisations.

Overall, the current Australian academic literature is largely focused on femocrats and women's policy agencies as feminist insiders. As such, the existing literature is outdated as it no longer reflects the realities of the feminist movement and their engagement with the state and bureaucracy. The feminist movement engages with the state and governments in more ways than just as femocrats and women's policy agencies, namely through feminist organisations. This engagement in different forms is seldom considered within the current academic literature, thus providing a significant knowledge gap.

1.3 Comparing whether one positioning is more influential in terms of public policy

As previously demonstrated, the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments is deeply complex, and as such, the current framings of the insider/outsider positionings as a dichotomy is too narrow. As a result, there is no clear and concise answer within the current academic literature as to which status is most influential, nor is there consensus that this is the best way to consider effectiveness. This positioning, framed as a dichotomy within the literature, requires nuance and as such, neither positioning can be determined as most influential for the feminist movement. A key missing consideration is the nuance required is the differences in tone and organisational/ movement goals. An insider organisation or actor may have a very different goal to that of an outsider actor.

Some of the academic literature has concluded that feminists working inside the state and/or governments in any capacity (i.e., as femocrats, in feminist organisations, and/or women's policy agencies) results in policy outcomes and therefore an insider positioning is assumed to be the more influential in comparison to an outsider positioning. This has been attributed to the increased access to resources available to insiders, including financial support, and access to policy-makers and the policy agenda (see Bernstein, 1997; Norton & Morris, 2003; Mazur, 2007; Maccaulay, 2010; Rodrigues & Prado, 2013; McCammon & Brockman, 2019).

In contrast, another portion of the academic literature concluded that feminist organisations and individuals working outside of the state can ultimately result in greater influence. This is attributed to the fact that outsiders do not need to appease and align their values with the state, and therefore do not fear repercussion as a result of lobbying or criticising the state (see Bernstein, 1997; Marshall, 2000). Moreover, feminist organisations of an outsider positioning are viewed within the academic literature as having a closer relationship with the broader feminist movement, which strengthens their activism. Feminist insiders are considered as having a stronger connection

to the state than with the feminist movement, and thus having a strong and autonomous feminist movement is key to the success of both insiders and outsiders. There is, however, a greater emphasis on the benefits to state feminism (i.e., insiders) due to the *assumed* disconnect to the broader feminist movement in the perspective of governments (see Outshoorn & Kantola, 2007; Ku, 2008; Weldon & Htun, 2013).

A commonly acknowledged limitation of state feminism is this disconnect from the broader feminist movement. This may be true of insider feminists (i.e., female representatives, individual policy-makers and bureaucrats), and even in some circumstances, women's policy agencies; however, this may not be the case for feminist insider NGOs. Feminist organisations may remain connected to the broader feminist movement and its grassroots; however, there is little understanding within the academic literature of feminist NGOs as insiders. As previously argued, the academic literature is over-represented with studies and theories on feminist activists as femocrats, individuals identifying as feminists who work within the bureaucracy, and women's policy agencies, but seldom on feminist NGOs. This is particularly so within the feminist insider/outsider literature, as feminist organisations utilising either positioning as a strategy for achieving an influence and/or contributing to public policy have rarely been explored.

As previously mentioned, a significant portion of the academic literature has argued that the presence of both feminist insiders and outsiders are key for achieving influence on, and contributing to, public policy (see Sawer, 1996; Bernstein, 1997; Bergman, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Ku, 2008; Curtin, 2008; Waylen, 2010; Weldon & Htun, 2013; Bereni & Revillard, 2018). This consensus on the importance of both positionings may be a result of the framing of the insider/outsider positionings as a dichotomy. The insider/outsider dichotomy is a useful tool for understanding the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments; however, it is also limited as it underplays the extent to which we should explore what we mean by 'influence', and overly prioritises position over other factors.

Moreover, this oversimplification of the insider/outsider positioning extends to the broader theory on the engagement of the feminist movement with the state. As argued by McMillan (2007: 190), the working relationship the feminist movement has with the state is complex; a relationship can be simultaneously of benefit and of detriment to the movement, including the movement maintaining control within the relationship with the state. She argued that the current theory does not adequately reflect this complex relationship (McMillan, 2007: 190). Several other scholars share the same analysis that the current theory does not accurately reflect the complexity of the relationship between the feminist movement and the state. Bereni and Revillard (2018) argued that the separation of institutionalised feminists and the wider feminist movement within the current literature is an inaccurate reflection of reality and suggested that institutionalised feminist activists should be reframed as part of the wider feminist movement rather than as separate entities.

Similarly, Kantola and Squires (2012: 395) argued that state feminism no longer reflects the realities of all feminist engagement with the state within Australia and proposed market feminism which may be used to explain a change in the feminist political agenda and engagement. These acknowledgements showcase the limitations within the current academic literature, and the failings of the insider/outsider dichotomy in offering an explanation as to the ways in which NGOs and movements can influence public policy. By providing nuance to the feminist movement's relationship with the state and rethinking the insider/outsider dichotomy, it may become apparent which positionings or relationships are more influential than others. Therefore, something new is needed that reflects the reality of these relationships and allows for the examination of effectiveness based on this reality. Later in this thesis, I will present a new typology of NGO State-Relation Strategies, as well as an Effectiveness Criteria Framework, both of which address this gap within the literature.

To summarise, the current academic literature is somewhat unclear on whether one positioning is more influential than the other. There are some factors which may be more conducive for one positioning than the other; however, this influence is also largely dependent on the aims and goals of the organisations and actors involved. Several studies within the existing literature assume that influence is synonymous with effectiveness; however, questions remain on whether this is actually the case, or if the two are correlated in some way or are two separate concepts. This is because the concept of effectiveness of non-government organisations is not clearly defined and is therefore difficult to measure (see Herman, 1990; Williams & Kindle, 1992; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Amagoh, 2015).

1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the findings of a literature review on the current understandings of the influence of feminist NGOs on the policy process and policy formation. By doing so, this chapter provides the foundational knowledge and understanding necessary to examine the effectiveness of NGOs and feminist organisations and to understand how their working relationships are related to policy influence. This chapter argues that the insider/outsider positioning is a useful starting point and helps us to understand aspects of the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments. This is particularly evident when examining institutionalised feminist actors' relationships with governments, however, important contextual factors are often unaccounted for when exploring this relationship. Within the existing scholarship, the relationships of feminist NGOs in Australia are seldom explored and understood. I have argued that the current framing of the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments as a dichotomy is oversimplified. Consequently, this dichotomy fails to consider the nuances and external factors that have an impact on the relationship. Evidently, the framing of the insider/outsider positioning as a dichotomy does not accurately reflect the daily realities of NGOs

and feminist actors. We need to think about the effectiveness and influence of NGOs in relation to the working relationship in different ways. My research can help address this in two ways; firstly, by providing a definition of effectiveness as it relates to the influence of NGO actors in the process of policy-making, and secondly, by developing a typology of NGO-state relation strategies which synthesises the findings of the literature review.

The following chapter (Chapter Two) will detail the methodological approach and research design that has informed the study. I will also outline my ontological and epistemological positionings which have guided the research design. Chapter Two will introduce the case study of Australian feminist organisations and DFV policy across four jurisdictions over a six-year period.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the methodological approach and the research design which has informed the research. The previous chapter presented the findings of a literature review on the current understandings of the influence of NGOs on public policy, arguing that the framing of the insider/outsider positioning as a dichotomy oversimplifies the working relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and governments. Chapter Two will begin by outlining my ontological and epistemological positionings, which have framed how I understand the social construction of knowledge, thus shaping the research design of the study. The methodological approaches of incorporating grounded theory and phenomenology are justified before the research design is introduced.

Case studies are commonly used in the social sciences, as they explore a phenomenon as it naturally occurs (Yin, 2003 as cited in Baxter & Jack, 2018). This chapter presents a case study of Australian feminist organisations and DFV policy over a six-year period, 2010-2016, and across four jurisdictions (nationally, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia). To narrow this down even further, a policy framework was selected in each jurisdiction and 11 feminist organisations were identified as having influenced or contributed to one or more of these selected policy frameworks. These policy frameworks and the feminist organisations identified are outlined and justified as the focus of the case study. The chapter will then discuss the methods of data collection used for the study. This includes triangulation of semi-structured interviews with feminist organisations, policy-makers, and government departments, and the secondary data. I will then introduce the thematic analysis method, which was used for the analysis of the data gathered from interviews and the document analysis. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the ethical considerations of the research design and study.

2.1 Ontological and epistemological positions

Before the research design can be introduced, it is important to establish the ontological and epistemological positions that underpin this research, as these positionings and beliefs form the basis of the research and affect how the research was conducted (Killam, 2013). Put simply, ontology refers to the beliefs around reality, such as the nature of existence, what we can consider to be true, and the question of 'what do we know?' (Killam, 2013: 7), whereas epistemology refers to the ways in which knowledge interacts with the researcher, the participants, and the interview questions. In other words, 'how do we know what we know?', as Killam (2013: 8) succinctly explained.

My research pursues a *weak* constructivist epistemology and takes a *critical realist* ontological position. As my ontological and epistemological positionings in the present study is that an

objective physical reality exists, one that can be perceived by all; however, the way in which this reality is perceived is subjective, based on our individual experiences, perceptions, and perspectives. This subjective perception of reality is not necessarily partial and separate from the objective physical reality as it exists. A critical realist approach attempts to uncover the middle ground between what exists objectively and what is subjectively perceived as reality (Taylor, 2018: 217). In stark contrast, strong constructivism views knowledge as deeply subjective, therefore denying a universal truth or reality. As a realist ontology views things as real, a strong constructivist epistemology with a realist ontology would view the subjective experiences of everyone as the absolute truth.

The focus of this thesis is the working relationship between feminist NGOs and states and governments. As a result, the present study places importance on understanding the perceptions and experiences of both sides of the relationship to uncover the reality of the relationship and the impact it has on DFV policy. The ontological and epistemological positionings are evident in the present study in two ways with the use of grounded theory and phenomenology. Grounded theory is used to derive meaning and create theory based on the experiences and perceptions of participants, rather than to empirically test a theory that may not reflect the subjectivity of knowledge within the context. Secondly, the use of a phenomenological approach will assist with understanding perceptions of the reality of the working relationship from the perspectives of both populations.

2.2 Methodological approaches

2.2.1 Grounded theory

This study uses grounded theory to understand the concept of effectiveness as it relates to the influence of NGOs on government decision-making. This is particularly salient as this concept is somewhat elusive. As previously outlined, there remains a significant knowledge gap within the existing literature on what constitutes an effective NGO in terms of policy formation (see Herman, 1990; Williams & Kindle, 1992; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Malloy, 1999; Coates & David, 2002; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012). Grounded theory draws upon the data gained directly from those who have lived experience to develop a theory, rather than empirically testing a theory (Ormston et al., 2014: 14; Mohajan, 2018: 30). More specifically, grounded theory aims to develop a theory based on the data to explain what occurs. This, in turn, aids in the understanding of an area that remains largely unknown (Heath & Cowley, 2004: 149). There is little understood about the concept of effectiveness in terms of NGOs' influence on policy, and within the literature, there is significant variation in the definitions and empirical analyses of effectiveness. Therefore, the present research aims to develop a range of criteria of effectiveness factors from the data and from the analysis undertaken in this research to fill the knowledge gap on this issue.

The criteria of effectiveness factors were created by triangulating the perspectives of both NGOs and policy-makers on their working relationship with the secondary data and the document analysis. By doing so, the criteria were derived from understanding both the influence and contribution of NGOs to DFV policy, as well as the nature of the relationship from multiple sources and perspectives. Similar approaches have been used by other scholars to explore the working relationship between Australian NGOs and bureaucratic institutions in different sectors. Staples (2012: 25-29) triangulated interviews with NGOs and policy-makers, bureaucrats, and government ministers with secondary data to provide an understanding of the relationship from each perspective. An alternate approach to examining this working relationship and the subsequent effectiveness of this engagement is through the use of surveys, as per Maddison, Hamilton and Denniss (2004). The triangulation used in the current research, along with the research design and specific details of the methods, will be explored in greater detail below.

2.2.2 Phenomenological approach

According to Mohajan (2018: 3), phenomenology "attempts to understand how participants make sense of their experiences". This research is guided by weak constructivism and critical realism; specifically, the positioning that knowledge is, largely, subjective and context-specific, and this knowledge has an impact on individuals' perceptions of physical reality. This phenomenological approach is used to gain an understanding of the lived experiences and perspectives of the policy process and relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and governments from both viewpoints (see Aspland, 2003: 128). This is important as members of NGOs and those in the public sector have different experiences of the policy process, as well as different perceptions of the working relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and the bureaucracy. This is particularly paramount in the present study, as the research question aims to understand the relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and governments. Therefore, by incorporating these lived experiences and realities of both sets of populations, a holistic and detailed picture was able to be drawn on the relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and bureaucratic institutions, and the impact this has had on their effectiveness in influencing the policy process. Furthermore, by taking a phenomenological approach to understanding the lived experiences of those involved in the policy-making process, a comprehensive criteria of effectiveness factors can be developed that will allow for an evaluation.

To summarise, I took a critical realist and weak constructivist ontological and epistemological positioning to guide the research design. These positionings are applied in the current study through grounded theory and phenomenology to understand the lived experiences and perceptions of both sides of the working relationship between feminist NGOs and government and governmental departments. By gaining this understanding of both population's experiences and perceptions, the reality of the impact that the relationship has on influencing the policy process and

NGO effectiveness can be understood. These positionings affect the research design and methodology of the current study, which is explored next in greater detail.

2.3 Research design

In keeping with the ontological and epistemological positionings, the research design of the study is qualitative, utilising a case study as the qualitative research focus. Semi-structured interviews and secondary data, mostly document reviews, were used to gather the data. A qualitative research design is particularly common in public policy studies and research (Sadovnik, 2007: 424). This is because qualitative research aims to reveal the meaning and reasoning behind things, such as why and how things occur in the way they do (Lune & Berg, 2017: 12; Mohajan, 2018: 23). The research question that guided this study aimed to understand whether having a working relationship with the state and bureaucratic institutions is necessary for feminist NGOs' effectiveness and their influence on, and contribution to, DFV policies. As a result, uncovering how this positioning affects feminist NGO effectiveness, as well as why, is crucial. Beyond this, qualitative research allows for examining "various social settings and the groups or individuals who inhabit these settings" (Lune & Berg, 2017: 15), by drawing upon the perspectives and experiences of the participants (Ormston et al., 2014: 3). This research is interested in the experiences of both feminist NGO members in influencing DFV policy, and the experiences of policy-makers involved in the development and implementation of DFV policy and the relationship between the two. The qualitative research design allowed for this examination of the individual experiences of both populations from each perspective of the working relationship.

A qualitative research design allows for theory to be derived from the data to explain the phenomenon under investigation (Sadovnik, 2007: 424). In the case of the present study, theory was derived from the data to determine the impact that having a relationship with the state and bureaucratic institutions has on the policy influence and effectiveness of feminist NGOs. As a result of this bottom-up approach, there are no hypotheses being tested; instead, grounded theory has guided this qualitative research design. As the research progressed through a bottom-up approach, a number of hypotheses were developed as the data were gathered and analysed and emerging patterns became clear and evident (Ormston et al., 2014: 3).

A case study design takes a detailed snapshot of events and occurrences to provide a comprehensive analysis of what happened, and why and how it happened. Using a case study in the present research is therefore the most appropriate design as it provided a detailed examination of the experiences and realities of feminist NGOs' relationships with government and the state. In addition, a case study design allowed for a deeper understanding of how this relationship affected these organisations' ability to influence DFV policy. As a result, the impact of other factors that may be important were able to be identified and considered, such as context and the overall environment (Starman, 2013: 31-32). This included key events that sparked government action

and responses to violence against women, most notably the murder of Rosie Batty's son, Luke, by her ex-husband and the murder of Hannah Clarke and her three children by her estranged husband (see Wheildon et al., 2021; Fitz-Gibbon et al., 2022). In addition, conducting interviews with members of feminist organisations and policy-makers enhanced this detailed snapshot, providing these populations with the opportunity to share their lived experiences. The tools used for data collection in the present study will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter.

In short, the research employed a case study of Australian DFV policy and feminist NGOs with interviews and document analysis as the tools for data collection. This research design ensured a comprehensive understanding of the lived experiences of the working relationship between feminist NGOs and bureaucratic institutions and the impact this may or may not have had on policy influence. The case study is explained in greater detail next, as well as the benefits and limitations of this design and how these limitations are managed in the current study.

2.4 The case study and the benefits and limitations of this approach

A case study design is a common design approach for qualitative research, as it allows for an understanding of the phenomenon being investigated within its own context by utilising a range of data (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 544). The present study used an instrumental singular case design with embedded units (explained below) to allow for a cross-case analysis (see Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003), allowing for an in-depth analysis of the two scopes of the research: the influence of feminist NGOs on DFV policy in Australia, and the measurement of the effectiveness of these NGOs' influence on such policy. To answer the research question of whether an insider/outsider positioning has an impact on feminist NGOs being effective in influencing and contributing to DFV policy outcomes, the unit of analysis in the case study was twofold. The first unit of analysis in the case study was the relationship between feminist organisations and bureaucratic institutions and the state, while the second was feminist organisations' influence and contribution to DFV policy. As these units of analysis are broad, the scope was limited to Australian DFV public policy implemented within a six-year period from 2010-2016. The embedded units in this case study are feminist NGOs identified as being involved (in any capacity) in one or more of the four specific policy initiatives (as outlined below), which allowed for a cross-case analysis of the four policies and the relationship feminist organisations have with each bureaucratic institution they interact with.

```
Australian domestic & family violence policy
  ─── Implemented within 2010-2016 period
  ─── The National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children (Commonwealth)
        ├── A Right to Safety/Taking a Stand (SA)
        ├── Ending Family Violence/Rolling Action Plans (Vic)
        └── It Stops Here/Safer Pathways (NSW)
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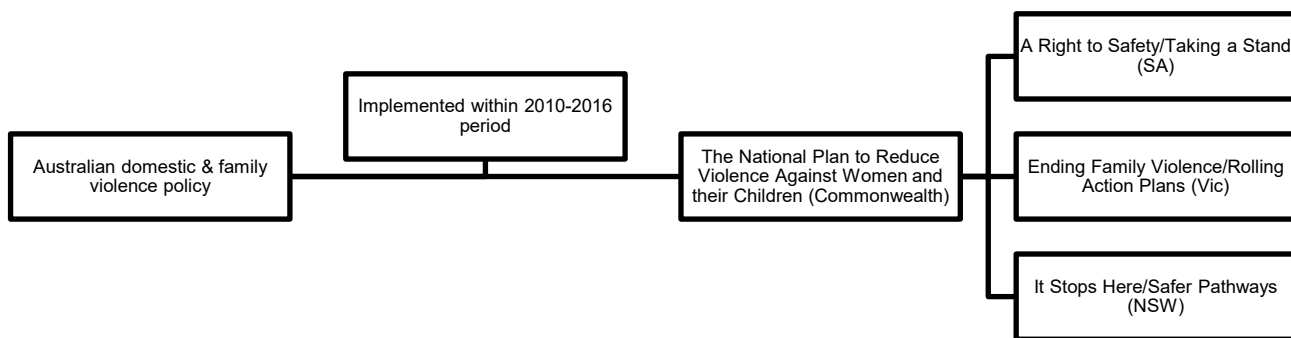
Figure 2: The singular case study

To understand the relationship between feminist NGOs and bureaucratic institutions, as well as the impact this has had on feminist organisations' influence and contribution to DFV policy, the context needs to be considered. A case study design allowed for this context to be examined comprehensively and as it occurs, including any contributing factors that may have affected this working relationship and organisational influence on policy (Yin, 2003 as cited in Baxter & Jack, 2008). This ability to examine and analyse the phenomenon in such detail is why a qualitative case study was considered to be the most appropriate method for this research design (see Yin, 2003; Zainal, 2007). Moreover, attempting to understand a phenomenon as inherently complex as the working relationship between feminist NGOs and bureaucratic institutions, such as governments, requires robust analysis. A case study approach allowed for this robust examination and analysis to occur, as experienced by both parties to the relationship (see Zainal, 2007). As explained in detail later in this chapter, this study was designed to ensure both perspectives of this working relationship were considered in order to establish an accurate representation of the working relationship. This allowed for the consideration of any confounding factors that played a significant role in NGOs' abilities to influence policy.

With this in mind, a common criticism of the case study approach, particularly a singular case study, is that the findings are not generalisable beyond this context and phenomenon (Zainal, 2007: 2). This limitation is managed in the present study through the singular case study being made up of embedded units. All the feminist NGOs were identified as having influenced or contributed to the four specific policies under examination (see Baxter & Jack, 2008: 550). Each of these policies were designed and implemented under different governments from both major Australian political parties. In addition, the use of triangulation will enhance the generalisability of the findings of the present study. Furthermore, it is important to note that this study is concerned with feminist NGOs, and therefore, generalising the findings to feminist NGOs' relationships with

the state and governments more broadly would be highly beneficial. This research has also drawn upon the literature and scholarly observations on NGO effectiveness and NGOs' working relationships with governments more broadly. By doing so, comparisons have been able to be drawn between feminist organisations and NGOs overall, of which many similarities have been identified. Therefore, generalisations about feminist organisations' working relationships with Australian bureaucratic institutions can be made as well as some, albeit limited, generalisations on the relationship with NGOs more broadly.

2.4.1 Introduction to the four domestic and family violence policy frameworks

This section introduces the four policy initiatives that were examined in the case study as embedded units. These include one overarching national policy framework for reducing violence against women (VAW), with three state policy responses to this federal policy. The specifics of each policy framework are outlined, followed by justifications for selecting these policy frameworks for the case study. Additionally, any feminist NGO that had interacted with the policy process of any of these four policy frameworks are identified in relation to the unit of analysis in the case study of feminist NGOs' contributions to DFV policy. These feminist NGOs are identified later in this chapter.

Table 3: Policy frameworks in the case study

Policy framework selected	Jurisdiction	Policy duration
National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children (NPRVAWC)	Federal	2010-2022
A Right to Safety/Taking a Stand: Responding to Domestic Violence	South Australia	2011-2018
It Stops Here: Standing together to end domestic and family violence in NSW/It Stops Here: Safer Pathway	New South Wales	2014-2016
Ending Family Violence: Victoria's Plan for Change & the Rolling Action Plans	Victoria	2016-2026

2.4.1.1 The National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children

The overarching national policy framework, which acts as a guide for all state and territory policy responses is the federal *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children* (NPRVAWC). The NPRVAWC is a multi-stage national plan that was designed and implemented

by the Gillard Government in 2010. This national plan was established based on the recommendations published by the *National Council to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children* in the *Time for Action* report, which was commissioned under the Rudd Government. The findings of this report were based on extensive consultation, including consultation with the community and relevant sectors. This consultation and engagement are a common feature throughout the policy framework and each stage of the National Plan and state policy responses to the NPRVAWC. The National Plan is a whole-of-government approach, with a coordinated effort inclusive of all state and territory governments, each of whom have implemented individual policy responses under this national plan.

The NPRVAWC consists of four stages, each with different aims that build upon the progress made in each Action Plan. These Actions Plans exist over a three-year period, allowing not only for each stage to build upon one another, but also allowing for each stage to be reviewed and altered based on new evidence (Council of Australian Governments, 2010: 12). The policy begins with the First Action Plan, *Building a Strong Foundation*, beginning in 2010 and concluding in 2013. The First Action Plan aimed to build working relationships with support services and establish frameworks for long-term solutions, including societal shifts (Council of Australian Governments, 2010: 12). The Second Action Plan, *Moving Ahead*, began in 2013 and concluded in 2016. The Second Action Plan aimed to review the evidence gathered from the First Action Plan and also aimed to see an increase in the level of reporting of gendered violence. The Third Action Plan, *Promising Results*, began in 2016 and concluded in 2019. In the Third Action Plan, the aim was to continue to deliver 'best practice policies' informed by the evidence gained in the preceding plans. Lastly, the Fourth Action Plan, *Turning the Corner*, began in 2019 and is set to conclude in 2022. The final Action Plan aims for a reduction in the rate of occurrence of DV and sexual assault, increased safety for women vulnerable to gendered violence, and a reduction in children's exposure to such violence (Council of Australian Governments, 2010: 13). The final stage also aims for increased community awareness of healthy, respectful relationships and changes in social norms which reinforce gendered violence (Council of Australian Governments, 2010: 13).

In addition to these four Action Plans, there are six national outcomes which are used to measure the progress of the National Plan, as follows:

1. "Communities are safe and free from violence
2. Relationships are respectful
3. Indigenous communities are strengthened
4. Services meet the needs of women and their children experiencing violence
5. Justice responses are effective
6. Perpetrators stop their violence and are held to account" (Council of Australian Governments, 2010: 14-32).

Due to the longevity of this national policy framework, the policy has been continued under several different governments, including across political parties. The NPRVAWC was created and implemented under the Rudd/Gillard government and continued under the Abbott, Turnbull, and Morrison governments. Presently, the national policy framework completed the fourth, and final, Action Plan, and the Morrison government committed to, and released for community consultation, another national policy framework to continue efforts to reduce and eliminate gendered violence. The newly elected Albanese government has committed to implementing this second national plan, as well as a concurrent plan for reducing such violence in First Nations populations (Albanese, n.d.).

Rationale for case study selection

The NPRVAWC is the first national coordinated approach to reducing and eliminating VAW. The overarching aim of the National Plan is collaboration with all levels of government, government departments, government organisations, NGOs, the business sector, and the wider community (Council of Australian Governments, 2010: 11). This National Plan guides all state, territory, and local government responses and thus takes a whole-of-government approach both vertically and horizontally in addressing the issue of gendered violence. By examining this national policy framework and the three state policy responses that are aligned with the National Plan, analysis between and across the four policy frameworks can provide a greater understanding of the relationship between feminist NGOs and the governments responsible for these policies.

2.4.1.2 A Right to Safety/Taking a Stand: Responding to Domestic Violence

A Right to Safety is the South Australian policy framework and was the first in the nation to respond to the National Plan being implemented in 2011. The aim of the policy was for a significant reduction in VAW by 2022, coinciding with the end of the National Plan. *A Right to Safety* emphasises collaboration with the community, including establishing a network aimed at engaging NGOs and the private sector (Government of South Australia, 2011). *Taking a Stand* was implemented in 2014 enacting the recommendations made by the Coroner following the murder of Zahra Abrahimzadeh, who was killed by her estranged husband in 2010 at an event at the Adelaide Convention Centre (Government of South Australia, 2014). This policy adds to, rather than replaces, the *A Right to Safety* policy. Both policies were designed and implemented under the Weatherill government and have since been replaced with a new policy framework under the Marshall government, which formed following the 2018 South Australian election. *A Right to Safety* aimed to enhance primary prevention and early intervention measures to ensure the safety of all South Australians (Government of South Australia, 2011). The five key measurable outcomes of *A Right to Safety* are the outcomes outlined in the NPRVAWC. In addition, the aim of the policy was to address gender inequality which contributes to violence against women (Government of South

Australia, 2011). In doing so, the policy was in accordance with the aims of the NPRVAWC and the first Action Plan.

Rationale for case study selection

A Right to Safety was selected for the case study as it was the first policy created in South Australia to respond to the National Plan and implement the guidelines and policy aims of the NPRVAWC. In addition, *A Right to Safety* was one of the first state policy responses to the National Plan, and therefore, provides an interesting environment to assess the contribution of feminist organisations. This policy took a whole-of-government approach, thereby providing an opportunity to understand the working relationship between the South Australian government at the time and any feminist NGOs which were involved in the policy process. Moreover, as this policy is no longer in effect, this allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the policy process of this framework and the involvement of feminist NGOs in this process, as all consultations and collaborations with feminist NGOs have been completed. This allows for a greater understanding of the organisations involved in the entire policy process and lifecycle.

2.4.1.3 It Stops Here: Standing together to end domestic and family violence in NSW/It Stops Here: Safer Pathway

It Stops Here was implemented in 2014 under the O'Farrell Government as the New South Wales state policy response to the National Plan. This policy framework took a whole-of-government and a whole-of-community approach to addressing domestic and family violence, emphasising the important role that every individual in New South Wales plays in the elimination of violence against women (Government of New South Wales, 2014b). The policy was also informed by several state inquiries and enacted the recommendations of these inquiries (see Government of New South Wales, 2014b: 10). The policy aimed to reduce DFV and provide greater support for those affected by this violence. The policy framework outlines that this is achievable by preventing DFV, early intervention, ensuring the safety of victims and greater support in place for those affected, and the development of a dedicated sector (Government of New South Wales, 2014b: 2). The framework was built around five priority elements and guidelines, as follows (Government of New South Wales, 2014b: 12-31):

1. "A strategic approach to prevention and early intervention
2. Streamlined referral pathways to support victims' safety and support their recovery
3. Accessible, flexible, person-centred service responses that make the best use of resources
4. A strong, skilled, and capable workforce
5. A strengthened criminal justice system response"

This framework had five key measurable outcomes, which include the prevention of DFV, the early identification of such violence, the safety of those affected by DFV and that they are supported in

their recovery, perpetrators of DFV ceasing the use of violence, and a support sector being established (Government of New South Wales, 2014b: 12).

It Stops Here: Safer Pathway is an additional policy under the *It Stops Here* policy framework, which was focused on the protection and safety of those affected by DFV. *Safer Pathway* ensures that domestic violence support services are accessible and co-ordinated across fields, including health, education, justice, and child protection to name a few (Government of New South Wales, 2014a: 6). *Safer Pathways* implements the DFV Reforms which are highlighted in the *It Stops Now* policy framework, gained through public consultation (Government of New South Wales, 2014b: 11).

Rationale for case study selection

It Stops Here and *Safer Pathway* were selected for the case study as the policy framework was the first New South Wales policy to respond to the National Plan and implement the guidelines and policy aims of the NPRVAWC. These policies took a whole-of-government and whole-of-community approach and therefore provided an opportunity to understand the working relationship between the New South Wales government at the time and any feminist NGOs that were involved in the policy process. As with the South Australian policy framework, the policy is no longer in operation, with all consultations and collaborations with feminist NGOs for this policy now complete. As a result, a greater understanding of the organisations involved in the entire policy process and lifecycle was able to be developed.

2.4.1.4 Ending Family Violence: Victoria's Plan for Change & the Rolling Action Plan

The *Ending Family Violence is* the Victorian state policy framework which responds not only to the federal NPRVAWC, but also implements all 227 recommendations from the Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence, the first in Australia. This policy framework consists of an overarching 10-Year Investment Plan, followed by several policies under this framework, including a Primary Prevention Strategy and several Rolling Action Plans over the 10-year period. The seven key targets of *Ending Family Violence* are as follows (Government of Victoria, 2017a: x):

1. "No woman or child is killed as a result of family violence
2. All Victorians will believe that family violence and gender inequality are unacceptable, and will hold attitudes that support respectful relationships
3. Victim survivors will be supported to remain safely in their homes and connected to their community
4. More women and children at risk of family violence will be able to access effective early interventions
5. The overall number of Child Protection re-reports that lead to a substantiation will be significantly reduced

6. Family violence recidivism will be eliminated

7. Workers in universal services will feel confident to identify and respond to all forms of family violence"

The first *Family Violence Rolling Action Plan 2017-2020* was the first stage of the *10 Year Plan* policy framework, which outlines how these targets will be met and the implementation of all 227 recommendations from the Royal Commission. The overarching aim of this policy framework is to eliminate domestic and family violence and to ensure effective intervention measures to protect those at risk of violence (see Government of Victoria, 2017a; Government of Victoria, 2017b).

Rationale for case study selection

The *Ending Family Violence* and the first *Family Violence Rolling Action Plan* are somewhat unique and differ from the other two state-based policy frameworks as these are not only responses to the NPRVAWC, but also to the recommendations of a Royal Commission. These policies, however, are similar in that they take a whole-of-government and whole-of-community approach and therefore provide an opportunity to understand the working relationship between the Victorian Government at the time and any feminist NGOs which were involved in the policy process.

2.4.2 Feminist organisations

This section introduces the feminist NGOs identified in the study as having had an influence on, or made a contribution to, the four policy initiatives, providing some background information on each of these organisations, such as the size of the organisation, their sources of funding, and the jurisdiction in which they operate. All feminist NGOs that were approached for semi-structured interviews were identified as having influenced or contributed to one or more of the four policy initiatives in the secondary data or in the semi-structured interviews with policy-makers. Most of the identified feminist organisations maintain relationships with both the state and federal governments, particularly through the NPVAWC. In addition, these organisations maintain relationships with each other, as many are involved in the networks and alliances established by the federal government and by these organisations themselves. It is important to note that the term 'feminist organisation' refers to the fact that each organisation identifies as feminist and is guided by feminist principles in their advocacy.

Table 4: Feminist organisations in the case study

Organisation	Type of organisation	Jurisdiction in which the organisation operates
Our Watch	Umbrella	National
Australian Women Against Violence Alliance	Umbrella	National

DV NSW	Umbrella	New South Wales
Women's Safety NSW	Umbrella	New South Wales
No To Violence	Umbrella and service delivery	National, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia
Domestic Violence Victoria / Safe and Equal	Umbrella	Victoria
Women's Health West	Service delivery and advocacy	Victoria
Women's Health Victoria	Service delivery and advocacy	Victoria
Women with Disabilities Victoria	Service delivery and advocacy	Victoria
Embolden / Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services SA	Umbrella	South Australia
Yarredi Services	Service delivery and advocacy	South Australia

Our Watch

Our Watch was established in 2014 as a not-for-profit organisation under the *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children*. Our Watch acts to influence and guide public policies aiming to address domestic violence and violence against women. The organisation is also responsible for the administration of several federal government initiatives under the national plan, including the program *Respectful Relationships*. Most significantly, Our Watch has developed a framework, *Change the Story*, outlining primary prevention to guide state governments in the development and implementation of their family and domestic violence policy (see Our Watch, Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety & VicHealth, 2015). Our Watch receives most of its funding from the federal and Victorian governments, as well as receiving membership funds from the remaining state and territory governments. The organisation consists of six Senior Executive team members; however, it is unclear how many salaried staff are employed within each team.

Australian Women Against Violence Alliance

The Australian Women Against Violence Alliance (AWAVA) is an alliance formed by the Australian federal government as part of the six National Women's Alliances, which was established to unite feminist organisations in addressing and responding to VAW. AWAVA's focus is at the national level, providing policy advice and assisting with the implementation of policy and legislation pertaining to addressing VAW (see Australian Women Against Violence Alliance, 2018). AWAVA

consists of three salaried staff members and receives funding from the federal government under the NPRVAWC. In the period in which this research was undertaken, AWAVA lost its government funding and subsequently began operating through a self-financing model.

DV NSW

DV NSW is a state-based NGO that acts as a peak body for domestic and family violence services in the state of New South Wales. DV NSW represents over 60 organisations and service providers across the state, including community health organisations, legal services, and other NGOs providing support to those affected by gendered violence. The organisation acts to advocate for policy and provide policy advice, aid in the development of policy with government departments and services, provides training, and supports the primary prevention of DV and FV (see DV NSW, n.d.). While DV NSW primarily acts at the state level in NSW, the organisation also advocates for policy at the federal level. DV NSW is the co-convenor of the NSW Women's Alliance, alongside Rape & Domestic Violence Services Australia. DV NSW consists of seven salaried staff members and receives funding from the NSW government and Our Watch.

Women's Safety NSW

Women's Safety NSW is a state-based NGO that acts as a peak body for specialist domestic and family violence services in New South Wales. The organisation advocates for policy and law reform to ensure the safety of women and children who are at risk of experiencing violence. The organisation was formally known as Women's Domestic Violence Court Advocacy Service NSW Inc. and underwent a restructure in 2018 and 2019. Women's Safety NSW's advocacy is primarily in relation to NSW policy; however, the organisation does engage in policy advocacy at the national level, as the organisation is a member of AWAVA. The organisation relies primarily on volunteers as Women's Safety NSW employs only two salaried staff. Women's Safety NSW received funding from the NSW government through Legal Aid NSW (see Women's Safety NSW, n.d.). At the beginning of the 2021-2022 financial year, the NSW government ceased its funding obligations to Women's Safety NSW to divert funds directly to the services the organisation represented. As a result of this defunding, the organisation was dissolved as it was unable to sustain itself. The responsibilities of the organisation as the peak body for women's DV court advocacy services were transferred to DV NSW.

No To Violence

No To Violence is a national NGO that acts as a peak body for domestic and family violence service providers, organisations, and individuals dedicated specifically to men's behaviour change. No To Violence provides policy advice and advocacy at both the state and federal levels, including in Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia (see No To Violence, n.d.). No To Violence receives funding from several state governments, including the Victorian, Tasmanian, South Australian, and New South Wales governments as well as receiving federal funding.

Domestic Violence Victoria (now Safe and Equal)

Like DV NSW, Domestic Violence Victoria is a state-based NGO that acts as a peak body for domestic and family violence services in the state of Victoria. Domestic Violence Victoria represents over 80 DV and FV support services and organisations, which include local government services and community services. The organisation advocates not only for their membership but also for policy overall in the DV and FV space, including both at the state and federal levels. Domestic Violence Victoria consists of 21 salaried staff, receives funding from the Victorian state government, and relies on income produced from the organisation's paid membership as well as donations from the general public (see Domestic Violence Victoria, 2017; Domestic Violence Victoria, 2018; Domestic Violence Victoria, n.d.). In 2021, Domestic Violence Victoria merged with the Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria and subsequently renamed the organisation to *Safe and Equal*. The organisation was formally known as the Victorian Women's Refuges and Associated Domestic Violence Services (VWRADVS), which worked successfully with the Victorian government to gain a policy position within the sector in 2002 (Safe and Equal, n.d.).

Women's Health West (now GenWest)

Women's Health West is a Victorian based not-for-profit organisation that provides family violence support services and health promotion to women, children, and non-binary individuals affected by DFV in the western suburbs of Melbourne (Women's Health West, n.d.). These support services include case management, crisis housing, women's safety, and children's counselling for those affected by DFV (Women's Health West, n.d.). In addition to providing these support and health services, Women's Health West engages in policy advocacy at the state level, and occasionally at the federal level. The organisation is funded by the Victorian state government, as part of the Women's Health Program. Women's Health West consists of 106 salaried staff. In November of 2021, the organisation underwent a rebrand and directional change, with the organisation now known as GenWest (GenWest, 2022).

Women's Health Victoria

Women's Health Victoria is a state-based not-for-profit organisation that provides women's health services and promotion. In addition to delivering women's health services, Women's Health Victoria also engages in policy advocacy and advice at the state level and works in accordance with Our Watch's *Change the Story* framework for the primary prevention of gendered violence. Women's Health Victoria receives funding from the Victorian state government as one of the nine regional state services funded for the Women's Health Program (Women's Health Victoria, n.d.). Women's Health Victoria consists of 45 salaried staff and a number of volunteers for the organisation's differing programs (Women's Health Victoria, 2020: 15).

Women with Disabilities Victoria

Women with Disabilities Victoria is the Victorian peak body for women with disabilities, which aims to influence policy affecting women with disabilities. Women with Disabilities Victoria has three core priorities, one of which includes advocating for and responding to women with disabilities experiencing violence (Women with Diabilities Victoria, n.d.). The organisation consists of 24 salaried staff and receives funding from the federal government under the National Disability Insurance Scheme, as well as from the Victorian state government.

Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services SA (now Embolden)

The Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services SA, now known as Embolden, is a state-based NGO that acts as the peak body for domestic and family services across the state of South Australia. The organisation aims to advocate and lobby for the specialist services and organisations it represents, as well as for the elimination of violence against women (Embolden, 2020: 6). Embolden currently represents 30 member organisations, which consist largely of state-wide service providers (see Embolden, 2020: 11). The Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services SA did not receive governmental funding until 2018.

Yarredi Services

Yarredi Services is a South Australian non-government organisation providing support services to women and children affected by domestic and family violence across the Eyre Peninsula in rural South Australia. The organisation is a member of the South Australian peak body, Embolden, and engages in policy advocacy both through the peak body and independently. Yarredi Services receives funding from the South Australian state government (Embolden, n.d.).

To summarise, the present study used a case study design to examine whether having a relationship with the state and governments affects feminist NGOs' effectiveness in influencing DFV policy. There were two units of analysis in this case study, including the relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and governments, as well as these feminist organisations' influence on, and contribution to, DFV policy. Four policy frameworks were selected to examine these units of analysis, including the national overarching DFV policy framework and three state policy responses to the NPRVAWC. Eleven feminist organisations were identified as having influenced or contributed to the four policy frameworks in some way. The following section outlines the data collection process, including triangulation, semi-structured interviews, and the secondary data analysis.

2.5 Data collection

This section outlines the three types of data collected in this study, including semi-structured interviews with members of feminist NGOs, policy-makers, and public servants, the secondary data analysis, and triangulation. The use of these three approaches in the research design are justified below.

2.5.1 Triangulation

The research employed a within-method triangulation approach for data collection (see Jick, 1979: 602-603). Triangulation is commonly used in qualitative research to validate findings and enhance the understanding of phenomena arising from the data (Lune & Berg, 2017: 14-15). As the primary method of data collection in this research was semi-structured interviews, it was vital that the data gathered was validated. Triangulation is often used "as a means of mutual confirmation of measures and validation of findings" (Casey & Murphy, 2009; Leedy, 2001; Leedy & Ormrod, 2004 as cited in Lune & Berg, 2017: 14). Accordingly, data source triangulation was used in the present study to validate the data gathered through the semi-structured interviews. Data source triangulation involves collecting data about the same phenomenon from different types of people (Carter et al., 2014: 545). In the case of the present study, this involved interviewing members of feminist NGOs as well as policy-makers, public servants, and department heads. Not only does data source triangulation validate such information, it also reduces the impact of any self-reporting bias that may have arisen during the interviews.

In addition, secondary data analysis was used to cross-validate the data gathered through the interviews, thereby ensuring that a comprehensive analysis could take place (Jick, 1979: 602). This secondary data, including the types of data analysed, will be explored in greater detail below; however, documents such as department consultation lists, the annual reports of organisations, and media releases were also collected and evaluated.

2.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the primary method for gathering data in the present study, a method commonly used in qualitative research. The interviews were conducted with two participant populations: 1) executives and policy/advocacy officers of feminist NGOs, and 2) public servants, policy-makers, and department heads. A policy advisor to a federal Senator was also interviewed due to their involvement in prominent Senate inquiries that informed the National Plan. They were identified by one of the umbrella feminist organisations as a key contact. Due to the small sample size of the populations, more specifically members of feminist NGOs, semi-structured interviews were deemed as the most appropriate method for data collection (see Galletta, 2013).

The semi-structured nature of these interviews provided freedom and flexibility, which allowed for the interviews to emulate the natural flow of a conversation, providing room for members of NGOs and public servants to freely express their lived experiences and to stress important points (see Gill et al., 2008: 291; Cachia & Millward, 2011: 268-269). This freedom also provided the researcher with the ability to ask follow-up questions on interesting and important points raised by the participants. The structure of the interviews was based on questions established prior to conducting the interviews to confirm the information gathered from secondary data and the evidence in the current academic literature. While this may seem contrary to a grounded theory

approach, using semi-structured interviews in research informed by grounded theory is common. This is because conducting an initial analysis from the secondary data provides the opportunity to frame structured interview questions around the emerging theory that has been developed from the initial analysis (see Duffy, Ferguson & Watson, 2004: 69-70). The interview guide was structured to probe the likely elements of each organisation's policy influence and the factors involved in the organisation's effectiveness based on what was already established within the literature and identified in the initial analysis. Deriving interview questions from prior knowledge and the existing literature is common practice (Kallio et al., 2016: 6). These structured questions were asked of all the participants to allow for comparison in the data across participants and for patterns in the data to be identified (see Dearnley, 2005: 22). An example of a structured question asked during the interviews with all the feminist organisations is 'What strategies does your organisation use to maximise its policy impact?'. Additionally, an example of a structured question asked during the interviews with all the policy officers is 'Was there anything in particular about these women's/feminist organisations that drove your department to utilise them in the development of these policies?' (see Appendix 1 for the interview schedule).

The interviews were conducted via online video conferencing platforms, including Microsoft Teams and Zoom, as well as by telephone. Face-to-face interviews were originally planned as they were considered to be the most desirable means for conducting participant interviews; however, due to the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak and Australian government and university mandated travel restrictions, face-to-face interviews were no longer possible. Conducting interviews via online video conferencing platforms and by telephone had several benefits, with the first relating to informed consent. Information sheets and consent forms emailed to the participants prior to each interview allowed the participants the time and freedom to carefully read the information provided about the research and to understand what they were committing to (Cachia & Millward, 2011: 268). This delay between the participants consuming the information about the research and the interview being conducted also provided an opportunity for the participants to express any concerns they had about the research and to seek clarification.

Another benefit of conducting participant interviews by telephone or online conferencing platforms is the convenience for the participant. Cachia and Millward (2011: 270-271) noted that participants see telephone interviews as less burdensome and therefore more convenient, which increases participation in the research. Such convenience was particularly important in this study due to the disruptions caused to daily life by the COVID-19 global pandemic and the varying lockdowns across Australia's states and territories which restricted travel and prevented face-to-face interviews. Moreover, using online video conferencing as a substitute for face-to-face interviews was viewed favourably by the participants. The research shows that these online platforms are viewed favourably by participants as they allow greater flexibility, including participating in research from the comfort of their own homes (Iacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016: 8, 10-11).There are some

limitations to conducting telephone interviews, however, as there is the potential for participants to provide shorter and less detailed answers, as well as increased difficulty building rapport (Carr & Worth, 2001: 514). This was managed and reduced by the use of the semi-structured nature of the interviews, which allowed for asking follow-up questions if the participants gave short answers. This also provided an opportunity to build rapport, as the interview emulated a conversation rather than a structured interview. Moreover, emails being exchanged back and forth prior to the interview being conducted also provided an opportunity for rapport to be built as the participants gained familiarity with the researcher and vice versa.

It is important to note that the COVID-19 pandemic and various national and state-wide restrictions and lockdowns caused disruptions and delays to the data collection, particularly given that the participant sample was made up of time-poor individuals, and the global pandemic heightened these issues, as policy-makers and public servants became increasingly difficult to contact. This was also experienced when recruiting members of feminist NGOs, who were preoccupied with providing support services and advocating for increased government support due to the increased risk of DFV as a result of restrictions and lockdowns associated with COVID-19 (Fitz-Gibbon, True & Pftizner, 2020; Usher et al., 2020).

2.5.3 Secondary data

In conjunction with the primary data collected in the semi-structured interviews, the present study utilised secondary data to enhance and validate the information gained from the interviews. Additionally, secondary data was used to identify feminist NGOs involved in the four policy initiatives and to assess their levels of influence and contribution to these policies. It is common for qualitative research that uses interviews as the source of primary data to also engage with secondary data (see Renz, Carrington & Badger, 2018). The sources used as secondary data were easily accessible online, through organisations' websites, government department websites, and policy websites, where applicable.

The types of secondary data analysed included the policy documents of each policy framework in the case study and any accompanying documents such as department consultation lists. Consultation lists were particularly useful for identifying feminist NGOs and cross-referencing the input of these organisations into policy initiatives. Other sources examined included parliamentary debate and inquiry transcripts, specifically the *Domestic Violence in Australia* inquiry conducted by the Finance and Public Administration References Committee in June of 2014. These parliamentary debate and inquiry transcripts were also used to identify organisations involved in these processes. In addition, submissions to inquiries made by these feminist NGOs were examined, including to the *Domestic Violence in Australia* inquiry.

Media releases made by feminist NGOs in relation to the four policy initiatives in the case study were also consulted and analysed, as well as media releases circulated by government departments on the four policy frameworks. Following the identification of these feminist NGOs as having an influence on, or making a contribution to, one or more of the policy frameworks under investigation, the organisation's annual reports were also gathered as secondary data. These annual reports often list policies and initiatives they have consulted on and governments they have collaborated with, and identify the sources of the organisations' income, particularly in the form of government grants.

2.6 Data analysis

2.6.1 Thematic data analysis

Data from the semi-structured interviews were analysed using a thematic analysis; more specifically, Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase framework for thematic analysis. This framework was selected as it is highly regarded within the social sciences and is a commonly used framework for the analysis of qualitative data (see Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3353). The purpose of thematic analysis is to identify common themes and patterns within the data (Herzog, Handke & Hitters, 2019: 1). To fill the knowledge gap identified in Chapter Three, a grounded theory approach to coding was used, commonly known as inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 12). This approach entailed not having codes already established before exploring the data. As such, the patterns and recurring themes within the data were identified as each interview transcript was read. These patterns and themes were then matched to codes which were identified and established during the second phase of Braun and Clarke's (2006: 18) process. The number of times each code was presented in the data was consequently counted and documented. By conducting this type of analysis, the identification of patterns and recurring themes allowed for a deeper understanding of the contribution of feminist organisations to policy initiatives. This included common advocacy approaches and techniques used to enhance policy influence and contribution, as well as identifying the impact their positioning and relationship with the state had on their policy influence and contribution.

According to Welsh (2002), the combination of manual and computerised analysis, such as using NVivo software, delivers the most thorough and accurate analysis. This combination of manual assessment and software programs to undertake a thematic analysis reduces the potential for human error (Welsh, 2002). For this reason, both NVivo and manual analysis were used to conduct the thematic analysis of data gathered in the semi-structured interviews. From the combination of manual checking and the use of NVivo to identify the themes and patterns, 32 codes were established of recurring and common themes in the interview data. The codes included the challenges of the relationship, feminist organisations' perspectives of the relationship, government perspectives on the relationship, and barriers to influencing policy.

2.7 Ethical considerations

Under Australian law, all research involving human participants is required to be submitted for an ethics review (see National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian Research Council & Universities Australia, 2018). This is undertaken to ensure that the research adheres to the guidelines of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (Updated 2018).* There are four research guidelines that need to be adhered to, research merit and integrity, justice, beneficence, and respect. In short, research merit and integrity refers to ensuring that the research design and methodologies are appropriate to the aims of the research and that the research is conducted by qualified and experienced researchers (National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian Research Council & Universities Australia, 2018). The research guideline of justice refers to ensuring that participants are treated justly, and that the benefits of the research are accessible to all applicable individuals and/or organisations (National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian Research Council & Universities Australia, 2018). The beneficence guideline requires that the potential benefits of the research adequately justify any risks or harm that may be experienced by the participants, as well as the wider community (National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian Research Council & Universities Australia, 2018). Finally, the respect guideline ensures that research participants are treated with the upmost respect by meeting the research guidelines (National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian Research Council & Universities Australia, 2018: 9-11). Respect for research participants entails honouring cultural differences and sensitivities, empowering participants to make informed decisions, and ensuring confidentiality and privacy (National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian Research Council & Universities Australia, 2018: 11). These four research guidelines and the values and principles of ethical conduct must be adhered to in the research design, as well as when conducting the research.

In fulfillment of these responsibilities and duties as a researcher, the present study was assessed by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee prior to conducting semi-structured interviews with the participants. The Committee granted approval for the project (Project Number 8549). In accordance with these national ethical research guidelines, information sheets, letters of introduction by the researcher's supervisors, and consent forms were created and given to each individual approached for participation to allow them to make an informed decision about their potential participation, including consideration of any potential risks or burdens involved. This ensured that the participants were able to provide informed consent for their involvement in the research. In doing so, the participants were fully informed of the aims of the research as there was no need for deception or withholding information about the project from the participants.

In total, 21 individuals were interviewed in the present study. Of these 21 participants, 2 chose to withdraw from the project, which subsequently resulted in the withdrawal of a feminist organisation from the scope of the research. Transcripts of each interview were sent to the relevant participant to review, with the option of including additional information or requesting to redact information. Several participants indicated to the researcher that some information shared during the interview be kept 'off the record' and requested on-the-spot redactions. In addition, 10 participants requested for some information to be embargoed from being used as direct quotes after reviewing their transcript. Following the completion of the study, summaries of the research findings were emailed to each participant.

While the research did not involve the participation of vulnerable populations, special consideration was made, due to the nature of the research and the subject matter of policy responses and organisational advocacy aimed at addressing DFV and VAW. The researcher informed all potential participants via the information sheet that individuals with a history of DFV may experience some emotional discomfort or distress. By providing this disclaimer prior to the participants making a decision about their involvement in the study, they were able to provide informed consent. This disclaimer was provided verbally again, prior to the start of each semi-structured interview. The participants were informed that they were free to discontinue their involvement in the interview at any point, should they experience any discomfort or distress.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach used in this study to answer the research question. This study is qualitative in nature and used a case study approach to examine the relationship between feminist NGOs and the state and governments, and the influence and contribution of these feminist organisations to DFV policies. The four policy frameworks examined were the *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children* (federal), *A Right to Safety/Taking a Stand: Responding to Domestic Violence* (South Australia), *It Stops Here: Standing Together to End Domestic and Family Violence in NSW/It Stops Here: Safer Pathway* (New South Wales), and the *Ending Family Violence/ Family Violence Rolling Action Plan 2017-2020* (Victoria). The data collected for this research was from semi-structured interviews with members of feminist NGOs, public servants, and policy-makers involved in the policy initiatives. Secondary data was also gathered from a number of sources, including but not limited to, policy documents, media releases, and submissions to inquiries. This combination allowed for triangulation to enhance the validity of the data gathered in the interviews. Thematic data analysis was used to examine the data gained from the interviews, and was conducted both manually and through the use of NVivo software. The ethical considerations of this study were also outlined.

The following chapter introduces the concept of effectiveness in relation to NGOs, and presents the findings of a systematic literature review on current NGO effectiveness measures. It is argued

that existing definitions of NGO effectiveness remain unclear and lack consensus across the literature. These definitions and measures fail to provide tangible ways in which to assess the effectiveness of NGOs while taking into account the external factors that have an impact on an organisation's capacity to be effective.

CHAPTER THREE: THE 'EFFECTIVENESS' OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS

The aim of this chapter is to offer a survey of how NGO effectiveness has been understood and the different existing approaches to measuring the impact of NGOs. The previous chapter outlined the methodological approach and research design informing the research and introduced the case study of Australian feminist organisations and four DFV policy frameworks. Chapter Three will begin by introducing the systematic literature review on how the concept of 'effectiveness' has been applied and understood in the performance and work of NGOs. I argue that existing definitions of NGO 'effectiveness' are problematic and are contested across the existing literature, resulting in a lack of tangible measures. I then identify a multi-dimensional approach as a common method of assessing NGO effectiveness within the existing literature and examine this approach. I review the literature and existing typologies of 'effectiveness' and from this, I synthesise these existing endogenous measures to streamline the abundance of measures. The synthesis of processes, outputs, and outcomes as effectiveness measures, and the limitations of these are discussed before exogenous factors which affect an organisation's capacity for impact are identified. As argued in this chapter, the current set of effectiveness measures are poorly equipped to measure the cases outlined in this study as they fall short in considering the impact of exogenous factors. Following the review of the scholarly attempts to define and capture 'effectiveness', the chapter will then examine and critique practitioner-developed measures of NGO effectiveness.

3.1 The systematic literature review of existing effectiveness measures

3.1.1 Method and study design

A systematic literature review was conducted as it was considered the most appropriate means to gain a comprehensive understanding of the existing definitions and measurements of 'effectiveness'. Additionally, the review was conducted to gather measurements of 'effectiveness' across disciplines, not only limited to public policy, but also including public health, international relations, development, and so on (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 441). This ensures that measurements of 'effectiveness' used across organisational type are also included, meaning measures for NGOs, NFPs, and service delivery organisations are included. This is particularly important as effectiveness measures specifically tailored to NGOs are limited. By doing so, this approach identifies the gaps in the existing effectiveness measurements, and identifies variation in the definitions and measurements of 'effectiveness' that currently exist across differing organisational types. A systematic review facilitated examination of the following questions: 1) Which effectiveness measures already exist?; 2) How well do these existing measures work?; and

3) Where do these measures fall short in determining the effectiveness of advocacy organisations? (see Petticrew & Roberts, 2006: 2, 9-11).

A systematic literature review of existing effectiveness measures was conducted using the Scopus and Google Scholar databases to ensure seminal pieces of literature were included. The grey literature was also consulted, including reports released by NGOs on reviews conducted to assess their effectiveness and frameworks to guide assessments. The search string used was "non governmental organizations" OR "non governmental organisations" AND "effectiveness" which had 746 results on the Scopus database. A within-results search of "advocacy" was used to rule out any unrelated articles. This had a result of 93 documents, which were then examined to ensure only relevant articles and those meeting the inclusion criteria were retained. The inclusion criteria were English articles, on the topic of NGO effectiveness regarding advocacy. A total of 38 articles from the Scopus search results met the inclusion criteria and were analysed in the review. This was supplemented using the same search string on Google Scholar, as well as forward and backward citation tracing to identify seminal works on organisational effectiveness. Overall, 50 articles and reports, inclusive of the grey literature, were consulted in the review.

3.1.2 How effectiveness is defined within the existing literature

The literature examining the effectiveness of NGOs is heterogeneous in nature, using broad definitions of 'effectiveness' and various methods of assessment. While there are a variety of definitions of 'effectiveness' with regards to the influence of NGOs in policy-making, it is widely accepted that 'effectiveness' refers to organisational success. What this 'success' is, however, differs for each organisation and across organisational types and industries (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 436-437). Other scholars and disciplines, such as international relations, define 'effectiveness' as whether an organisation or movement is meeting its aims and goals. For example, Des Rosiers (2014: 901) argued that, at its core, "effectiveness is measured by the capacity to effect change that leads to improvement". What complicates this broad spectrum definition is that many factors, often external, have an impact on an organisation's ability to effect change leading to improvements. This is because wide-scale change resulting in shifts to power structures requires a level of cooperation from such power structures (Coates & David, 2002: 533). Therefore, not only does 'success' mean different things to different organisations, but what constitutes success also differs. The measures used to assess an NGO's 'effectiveness' based on this definition needs to consider these external factors. For this reason, several scholars have highlighted the need for future research to examine the concept of 'effectiveness' and to provide a clear definition of the concept and how it can be measured (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Liket & Maas, 2015; Mitchell & Stroup, 2017).

There are more general definitions of effectiveness; however, these have limitations in measuring the concept. Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1981: 138-139) defined effectiveness as a "value-based

judgment about the performance of an organization". As a result, the criteria that determines this value-based judgement of 'effectiveness' is dependent upon several factors. One vital factor is the context of the organisation, which results in the criteria being weighted differently (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981: 139). Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1981: 139) therefore argued that "organisational effectiveness, then, is whatever various coalitions judge it to be". While this allows for specifics to be considered, this normative definition of 'effectiveness' is reflective of the broader existing literature. These normative approaches of organisational 'effectiveness' result in a lack of inter-rater reliability assessments, as indicators of impact are largely subjective. Conversely, other definitions of 'effectiveness' take a more empirical approach to measurement. These empirical approaches involve the assessment of tangible instances of impact. An example of this could be that an organisation has achieved 40 policy submissions, resulting in the changing of a section of legislation. For example, Women's Safety NSW made a submission to the federal parliamentary inquiry into the family law system advocating for court lists to prioritise urgent applications before the courts (ABC, 2020). This was implemented nation-wide as a 'COVID-19 List' during the global pandemic in 2020, with the advocacy of Women's Safety NSW and other organisations acknowledged for driving this change (ABC, 2020; Alstergren, 2020). The existing literature on NGO 'effectiveness' lacks consistency in how impact is defined and measured, particularly in terms of theoretical and practical clarity. Scholars define and measure the concept of 'effectiveness' of NGOs in different ways and, as a result, the understanding of what 'effectiveness' is and how it can be measured is unclear. The differences in the approaches to defining 'effectiveness' are a result of the variety of contexts in which these measures are being applied, which includes organisational types, the working relationship with government, and the sector.

The differing approaches to defining NGO 'effectiveness' are evident across types of organisations, including NGOs, not-for-profits (NFPs), and service delivery organisations. The literature on organisational 'effectiveness' is diverse, which is reflective of the variety of disciplines within the literature, including public management, international relations, public policy, environmental science, health, and international aid. The analysis has showcased key differences in how 'effectiveness' is defined and measured between NGOs and NFPs. For NFPs, 'effectiveness' is more concerned with organisational and operational factors, whereas NGO 'effectiveness' focuses on a group of factors relating to the organisation and its advocacy (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 436-437). Similarly, the 'effectiveness' of service delivery organisations is directly related to the organisation's ability to adequately deliver services and meet its related obligations. What further complicates this is that many NGOs engage in both service delivery and advocacy (SDA).

In Australia, it is common for NGOs to engage in SDA. Yan, Lin and Clarke (2018) noted that for NGOs seeking social change, these organisations need to hold several roles in addition to their advocacy role in order to have an impact and be effective. They initially noted that NGOs have three roles; however, by conducting interviews with NGOs, they found that these organisations

play a greater variety of roles and duties than initially thought (Yan, Lin & Clarke, 2018: 8). Yan, Lin and Clarke (2018: 8) found that advocacy NGOs switch between ten different roles depending on the circumstance. These roles include that of communicator, which allows organisations to gain deeper connections with stakeholders, members, and government (Yan, Lin & Clarke, 2018: 12). NGOs evidently also act as advocates, raising awareness for their cause and gaining both public and political support (Yan, Lin & Clarke, 2018: 4). As Kang (2010: 227) outlined, NGOs may be prioritising service delivery obligations, rather than engaging in advocacy and being active members of civil society as they attempt to balance both roles. This may be particularly so for NGOs receiving government funding for the delivery of services rather than receiving funding for advocacy. Kang (2010: 227) argued that this may distract advocacy NGOs from their organisational aims and mission statements, which can ultimately disrupt the organisation's 'effectiveness'. As a result, current definitions and measures of organisational 'effectiveness' fail to consider that NGOs are multi-faceted and often hold a number of roles, including service delivery and advocacy. This is, therefore, a significant limitation across the existing 'effectiveness' measures.

In addition, the lack of consistency within the existing 'effectiveness' literature across definitions of the concept has resulted in an oversaturation of measures. These attempts to create clarity in the definition of 'effectiveness' across disciplines has furthered confusion, as these measures and approaches often do not interact with the existing scholarship. Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund (2012: 448) observed this as well:

> Definitions vary by discipline – different literatures have developed different research agendas and primary interests with regard to NGOs/NPOs … What is problematic is the lack of conceptual clarity within each body of literature as well as the lack of efforts to integrate insights across disciplines.

This has created a paradox of an overabundance of measures, but a gap in the literature and knowledge remains. This significant knowledge gap is evident as the existing measures fall into one of two categories: too broad in its 'effectiveness' definition and measure that it fails to assess anything substantial, or too context-specific that it cannot be applied to other circumstances.

3.1.3 A brief overview of existing effectiveness measures

This section provides an overview of the existing effectiveness measures and identifies a multi-dimensional approach as the most common method of assessing the success of NGOs. Within these multi-dimensional approaches are key differences in the main focus of the measures. This includes performance outcomes as the central measurement and uses a more integrated form of assessment. I will discuss these in turn before I identify common patterns by reviewing the different measures within these multi-dimensional approaches.

The different approaches to defining and measuring effectiveness is present throughout the literature and extends to real-world circumstances. Many NGOs hire external agencies and independent reviewers to assess the organisation's effectiveness, and much like the existing academic literature, how these agencies examine and measure this effectiveness, as well as the purpose of such reviews, is inconsistently described. In addition, Hall and Taplin (2008) argued that it is vital for NGOs to undergo evaluation to assess the impact and effectiveness of their advocacy. Within the specific context of the case study of feminist NGOs engaging in advocacy for women and children experiencing DFV, many of the larger organisations hire independent examiners to evaluate the effectiveness of the organisation.

Table 5: Synthesis matrix of existing effectiveness measures

	Definition of effectiveness[3]	Approach	Measures	Discipline/context
Herman (1990)		Multi-dimensional	"Financial measures; reputational measures; constituent satisfaction; outcome measures"	NGOs and NPOs
Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund (2012)		Multi-dimensional	"Managerial effectiveness; program effectiveness; network effectiveness; legitimacy"	NGOs and NPOs
Coates & David (2002)	Effectiveness is an organisation meeting its goals and aims	Holistic and fluid	Whether an organisation is meeting its aims and goals; outputs	Advocacy NGOs
ACFID (2015)	Effectiveness is an organisation meeting its goals, aims, and vision	Multi-dimensional	"Project management (measures outputs and performance outcomes); theory of change; evaluation of organisation's aims and goals (including stakeholder perspectives)"	International aid NGOs

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[3] If blank, the author did not offer an explanation, or definition and/or it is unclear

Amagoh (2015)		Multi-dimensional	"Long-term sustainability; core functions; strategic planning; governance and image building; board of directors; funding; performance management; human resources; partnerships"	NGOs
Marsh & McConnell (2010)		Multi-dimensional	"Process success, programmatic success, political success"	Specific to assessment whether a *policy* is effective/successful
Des Rosier (2014)	"Effectiveness is measured by the capacity to effect change that leads to improvement." (901)	Multi-dimensional	"Transparency; credibility; access to resources; funding; independence; ability to effect change and influence powerful actors; legitimacy"	Advocacy NGOs in Canada
Mitchell & Stroup (2017)	Organisational effectiveness is a subjective judgement of how the organisation is perceived to be doing (403-404)	One dimensional	Reputation of an NGO as a measure of organisational effectiveness	NGOs, transnational NGOs
Singhal (2014)	"Organisational effectiveness is largely measurable in terms of processes adopted to achieve the purpose …" (170)	Multi-dimensional	"Operational system; financial system; human resource management practices; governance system"	Environmental NGOs in India
Edwards (1999)	Performance success	Multi-dimensional	External influences (context) and internal influence (organisational decisions)	NGOs in South Asia
Pacheco-Vega & Murdie (2020)	Improvements made to environmental policy as a direct result of advocacy of NGOs		Participation of civil society/local citizens; a vulnerable state to interests and pressure	Advocacy of environmental NGOs

Hall & Taplin (2008)	Performance success		Moyer's Movement Action Plan (2001), Schumaker's Assessment of Political Effectiveness (1975)	Environmental NGOs' advocacy campaigns

Commonalities across these existing effectiveness measures become apparent when reviewing multi-dimensional approaches. Similar observations have been made within the literature, as Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund (2012: 440) categorised existing NGO effectiveness measures into two groups. The first measures the survival and organisational growth of NGOs, more specifically the organisation's progress towards their goals. To achieve this, performance reviews by stakeholders are used as evidence of NGO effectiveness in terms of organisational growth and survival (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 440). The problem with stakeholder measurements of an organisation's effectiveness is that different stakeholders may hold differing views of NGO performance and progress towards organisational goals. Attempting to encapsulate and measure all stakeholder views and assessments is not feasible. In addition, the survival or growth of an organisation does not inherently result in the organisation achieving their goals. The second measures organisational reputation to assess the organisation's effectiveness. Measuring reputation as evidence of an NGO's effectiveness is discussed in greater detail below; however, this can also lead to inaccurate effectiveness assessments, as reputation is based on highly subjective assessments.

This highlights the broader issue within the literature of measuring NGO effectiveness, in which a blanket label of effective or ineffective is not useful because organisations can be effective in one aspect or area, while being ineffective in another (also see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 445). Measuring NGO effectiveness requires nuance for each individual organisation to consider individual circumstances. These individual circumstances include the organisation's aims and goals, as well as the duties it is responsible for and external factors. External factors which need to be considered include the organisation's funding source, relationship with the state and governments, financial standing, and relationships with other organisations (see Edwards, 1999; Coates & David, 2002). However, as Edwards (1999: 371) argued, examining the effectiveness of NGOs across different contexts, fields, and circumstances is near impossible. This is because there are observable changes across disciplines in how effectiveness is defined and measured, as previously outlined and discussed. Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund (2012: 449) noted that within the discipline of international relations, effectiveness relates to the organisation's ability to shift public perception and discourse on an issue and to mobilise, whereas elsewhere, research on not-for-profit (NFP) organisations measures effectiveness in relation to financial performance and the management of the organisation (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012: 449).

This raises an important distinction to make between NGOs and NFPs and highlights the differences in measures for diverse organisations. NGOs typically engage in advocacy to represent the chosen cause or marginalised population it is representing. These organisations often engage in both advocacy and the delivery of services (Lewis, 2010: 1), whereas NFP organisations engage in the provision and delivery of services, and redistribute any profits made back into service provision (Australian Charities and Not-for-profit Commission, n.d.).

NGO effectiveness measures which are developed to reflect unique contexts are also limited in their applicability to other contexts. For example, Garain's (1993) framework specifically measured the effectiveness of NGOs in rural development, and as such, measured eight factors of NGO effectiveness, including agency, grassroots impact, and the involvement of the target population. These differences across disciplines add to the inconsistencies in defining and measuring NGO effectiveness. As a result, the vast majority of existing frameworks used to measure organisational effectiveness are tailored to specific industries or contexts (for example Garain, 1993; Hushie, 2016; Singhal, 2019; Grills et al., 2020). While this is useful, these measurements are too niche, and as such, there is an abundance of effectiveness measures for each individual context. As Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1981: 124) succinctly stated, this abundance of effectiveness measures is responsible for the lack of clarity around the concept of effectiveness:

> … criteria in the literature may be universal or organization specific: they may reflect outputs, inputs, or processes; they may be dynamic or static; they may be derived from objective or subjective measures; and they may be based on the dominant coalition, managers, or externals.

Based on these existing measures, it is clear there are several factors important in determining the effectiveness of an NGO across differing contexts and circumstances. This includes organisational processes, such as governance, funding, and legitimacy, as well as the organisation's access to resources and performance outcomes (see Williams & Kindle, 1992; Edwards & Hulme, 1995; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Des Rosiers, 2014; Amagoh, 2015; Petrikova, 2015; Australian Council for International Development, 2015; Singhal, 2019). Some factors may be more salient than others for certain fields and circumstances. Consequently, a 'one size fits all' approach is not an appropriate means of measuring NGO effectiveness, as argued by Coates and David (2002: 535). Nevertheless, there is a need for standardised measurement of effectiveness across organisations and sectors that captures the nuance in strategies that organisations use to influence public policy. This can address the key gap in the existing literature of inconsistent definitions of effectiveness which would create deeper clarity (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983; Williams & Kindle, 1992; Coates & David, 2002; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Liket & Maas, 2015; Mitchell & Stroup, 2017). This understanding of measurement should be sensitive to the nuances of each organisation to measure NGO effectiveness. A multi-dimensional approach to measuring effectiveness, if executed correctly, would prove useful.

Table 6: Synthesis of existing effectiveness measures

Measures	Dimensions of each measure
Processes	Financial status and funding (Edwards & Hulme, 1995; Des Rosiers, 2014; Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019) Ability to freely criticise government decisions (Des Rosiers, 2014) Legitimacy (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Des Rosiers, 2014) Reputation/credibility (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Amagoh, 2015; Mitchell & Stroup, 2017) Governance (Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019) Transparency (Des Rosiers, 2014) Involvement of community (Singhal, 2019) Human resource management (Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019) 'Managerial' – leadership, human resources, planning, governance, financials (Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012)
Outputs	Access to resources (Des Rosiers, 2014; Petrikova, 2015) Partnerships – both with other organisations, sectors, and government (Amagoh, 2015; Petrikova, 2015; Kelly, 2017) 'Functional accountability' – outputs, resource allocation and usage (Edwards & Hulme, 1995) Outputs (ACFID, 2015)
Outcomes	Performance outcomes (Williams & Kindle, 1992; Amagoh, 2015; ACFID, 2015) Ability to affect change (Des Rosiers, 2014)

Taking a multi-dimensional approach to measuring effectiveness is a common trend among NGO effectiveness measures. This is partially due to the different interpretations of what NGO effectiveness is and the important factors that need to be measured when determining organisational effectiveness. It is also evident, however, that these factors intersect with one another, and a multi-dimensional approach to measuring effectiveness allows this to be observed. As argued by Singhal (2019: 181), "NGO effectiveness is a multifaceted concept that is profoundly affected by sociocultural context". Therefore, by considering several different factors in determining the effectiveness of an NGO, the nuance of each organisation can be accounted for. Multi-dimensional approaches to measuring effectiveness can, therefore, also take into consideration external factors that have an impact on an organisation's capacity to be effective. In addition,

Herman (1990: 300) argued that considering multiple factors to determine an organisation's effectiveness increases the validity of the concept of effectiveness.

As with the variety of effectiveness definitions, there is a large range of multi-dimensional approaches to measuring effectiveness, all of which measure different factors to assess the concept, but which also reflect differences across organisational types. For charitable organisations, Herman (1990: 298) proposed 'workable effectiveness measures', which include "financial indicators, constituent satisfaction, outcomes, and reputation". Herman's financial indicators measure 'unit cost data' rather than the profitability of the NGO (Herman, 1990: 298). Constituent satisfaction measures include the organisation's membership and those who benefit from the organisation, which can be measured through customer satisfaction questionnaires (Herman, 1990: 298-299). Lastly, the charitable organisation's reputation and outcomes are measured (Herman, 1990: 299-300). For advocacy organisations, however, the organisation's effectiveness is measured by considering the reputation of the organisation, and the satisfaction of the population the organisation is advocating for (Herman, 1990: 300).

Within these multi-dimensional approaches are differences in the main focus of the measure of organisational effectiveness. Measuring performance outcomes as the central dimension and indicator of NGO effectiveness is a common approach. Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund (2012) argued that NGO effectiveness relates to the performance of the organisation and categorises four areas in which this performance, and subsequent effectiveness, can be assessed. The first area is that of managerial effectiveness, relating to the governance, financials, and leadership of the organisation. Secondly, program effectiveness is categorised as consisting of the impact of the organisation and their service output, where applicable. Thirdly, network effectiveness relates to the organisation's relationships with other organisations and service providers. The last area proposed by Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund (2012) is the legitimacy of the organisation, which includes the ability to raise funding, name recognition, and access to the policy process. It is unclear how these areas measure performance outcomes, as they relate to the processes and outputs of NGOs rather than their outcomes. The processes of an NGO will have an impact on the outputs of the organisation and ultimately the outcomes of the organisation's advocacy. While measuring outcomes to determine NGO effectiveness is not the only means of measuring effectiveness, it is key, and is central to Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund's (2012) definition of effectiveness. Having a comprehensive measurement that accounts for all three, which can be used at the discretion of each organisation while only applying what is relevant, will allow for an in-depth analysis and assessment of NGO effectiveness.

Similarly, the measurement of performance outcomes also features in the flexible approach proposed by Coates and David (2002: 536-539), who pointed out that it is essential to measure what the organisation aims to achieve, as well as the organisation's values (Coates and David

(2002: 536). These can be measured by outcomes in the form of policy and legislative changes, or how those with lived experiences or those who are marginalised are included in the NGO's advocacy (Coates & David, 2002: 536). Coates and David (2002: 536-537) argued the methodologies used when measuring NGO effectiveness should reflect the individual organisation. This includes the type of advocacy work undertaken by the organisation, and those the organisation aims to advocate for, including a variety of stakeholders, such as staff members, policy-makers, academics, and the wider population. This would allow for the most appropriate methods to be used to assess the effectiveness of an NGO, thus allowing for the nuance of the organisation to be considered.

Using a more integrated approach to the assessment of organisational effectiveness is the other common structure of multi-dimensional measures. While performance outcomes are treated as central in determining the effectiveness of an organisation, Coates and David (2002: 537) proposed a holistic assessment. This approach reviews the entire organisation and process in a continuous manner, rather than conducting an assessment following a campaign. Coates and David (2002: 537) argued that typical evaluation methods and processes are time sensitive and rigid; the approach needs to be "flexible enough not only to adapt to external events, but to be a tool in reshaping the campaign". This allows external factors, such as the type of state or government and their openness to civil society to be factored into the measurement of NGO effectiveness. Lastly, they argued that evaluation and measuring the effectiveness of NGOs needs to be a priority for the organisation in order to ensure their advocacy is producing beneficial outcomes (Coates & David, 2002: 539). Overall, the flexible approach proposed by Coates and David (2002) for measuring the effectiveness of an NGO provides a general outline that can be applied to any organisation, regardless of the circumstances in which they operate. However, this proposed approach is specifically tailored to NGOs engaging in advocacy, and therefore, may not be applicable to organisation's engaging in service delivery.

Within the international aid field, the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) provided a framework for NGOs to use when developing their own effectiveness measures. The ACFID (2015) outlines three existing approaches most commonly used by NGOs to assess their effectiveness, which include measuring strategy, theory of change, and organisational aims. The first is a project management/strategic framework that measures organisations' outputs and outcomes, as they are tracked on a regular basis (Australian Council for International Development, 2015: 6). The second approach is to document how change occurs and then identify the 'drivers' of this change, which are identified as the organisational outcomes. Lastly, the core questions approach identifies the organisation or program's values, aims, etc as 'critical areas' of effectiveness and asks questions based on these. Data is then gathered through engaging with stakeholders to determine if the organisation has achieved its aims, and the impact the

organisation has had on the affected community (i.e., the organisation's outcomes). These approaches can be used individually or in conjunction with other approaches.

Amagoh's (2015) multi-dimensional approach to assessing NGO effectiveness is another integrated method. She identified nine factors of NGO effectiveness: "long-term sustainability; core functions; strategic planning; governance and image building; board of directors; funding; performance management; human resources; and partnerships" (Amagoh, 2015: 226-235). Within this measurement, it is clear to see how each of these nine factors relate to, and have an impact on, the others creating a domino effect. As one factor is fulfilled, the likelihood of subsequent factors being fulfilled increases. In addition, Amagoh's (2015) multi-dimensional measurement encompasses a full picture of NGO effectiveness, by including measurements of processes, outputs, and outcomes.

Marsh and McConnell's (2010) dimensions of policy success outlined three dimensions: the process, the programmatic, and the political. The process dimension of policy success refers to the development stage, in which policy issues are identified, consultations occur, and decision-making is made in policy responses (Marsh & McConnell, 2010: 571). Within this dimension, there are four indicators, including the legitimacy of choices, the passage of legislation, political sustainability, and innovation and influence. The programmatic dimension of policy success refers to the nature and specifics of the policy. Within this dimension, there are also four indicators of programmatic success, including operational success, outcome success, resource success, and actor/interest success (Marsh & McConnell, 2010: 571). Operational success examines whether the policy was implemented as intended, while outcome success assesses whether the intended outcomes were achieved. Resource success explores whether the policy was an efficient use of resources, and actor/interest success examines whether a particular population group (i.e., gender, socio-economic class, race, etc.) benefited from the policy more than others (Marsh & McConnell, 2010: 571). The political dimension of policy success refers to the political benefits of the policy. Within this dimension, there is one singular indicator of success, that of government popularity; in other words, whether the policy benefits government by increasing the government's popularity, assisting in elections, and increasing credibility (Marsh & McConnell, 2010: 571). Marsh and McConnell (2010: 571) outlined that these can be measured by election results and whether a government was re-elected or ousted from office, examining opinion polls, and commentary within the media. While this multi-dimensional measure is used to assess policy success, these factors of success and the measures used are also applicable to the effectiveness of NGO advocacy.

It is interesting to observe that each measure places greater emphasis on different elements of NGOs as significant factors in measuring an organisation's effectiveness. Some measures prioritise performance outcomes as the central dimension, whereas others use a more integrated

assessment method. Again, this is reflective of the complexity of the concept and of definitions of effectiveness.

Based on these multi-dimensional approaches, common themes in the factors across these measures are evident. As a result, effectiveness measures can be synthesised from three important endogenous factors which are measured to determine organisational effectiveness, processes, outputs, and outcomes. Processes refer to organisational factors which are measured to determine the organisation's effectiveness, which include the membership, governance, and accountability of the organisation. Outputs refer to aspects of the organisation's performance, such as the number of meetings with policy-makers and/or government ministers, policy consultations, and reports made. Outcomes refer to tangible performance measures such as changes to policy or legislation, and program implementation as a direct result of the organisation's advocacy. External factors also play a key role in the effectiveness of NGOs, as these factors can have an impact on the organisation's capacity to be effective. All four categories representing important factors as measures of effectiveness are useful in providing a comprehensive analysis of NGO effectiveness.

3.2 Effectiveness measures within existing scholarship

Building on these identified common themes, this section will provide an in-depth discussion of the synthesis of existing measures and the limitations of endogenous factors. These are processes, outputs, and outcomes as indicators of NGO effectiveness.

3.2.1 Processes as an effectiveness measure

As demonstrated in Table 2, there are many dimensions within the existing measures that can be used to measure processes, thus suggesting that processes are an important feature of NGO effectiveness. These dimensions, which are used to measure NGO effectiveness as identified within the existing literature, are:

- The financial status and funding source
- Legitimacy
- Reputation and credibility
- The operation of the organisation.

As mentioned previously, the category of processes as an effectiveness measure refers to organisational factors and the running of the organisation. This operation is seen as a determining factor of NGO effectiveness by scholars. The rationale behind measuring processes as an indicator of effectiveness is that if an NGO is not running efficiently, it therefore cannot be effective.

The financial status and source of NGO funding is an important factor relating to the processes of the organisation. The funding arrangements of an organisation are not only key to ensuring stable,

secure, ongoing funding, but it also intersects with other factors related to processes. Amagoh (2015: 222) argued that the legitimacy and accountability of NGOs relates directly to the organisation's resource base, specifically its membership. This membership often provides financial contributions to NGOs, supporting the operation of the organisation. One implication for the accountability of NGOs is that most of them, at least in Australia, receive funding from governments. This then raises the question of to whom is the organisation is accountable: the funder (the government in many cases), or the organisation's membership base/cause (see also Des Rosiers, 2014). One way that an organisation can remain accountable to the membership base while receiving government funding is by being transparent about the funding relationship. The source of an NGO's funding directly relates to the transparency of the organisation, which in turn, affects their accountability.

In addition, it remains unclear as to how, and by whom, an organisation is determined as legitimate. According to Des Rosier (2014: 910), transparency, independence, and expertise are three elements that make up the legitimacy of an organisation. The legitimacy of an NGO is important as it allows the organisation to be viewed as an expert on their cause. Transparency is important as it must be clear who the organisation is representing, as well as how and to whom they are accountable (Des Rosiers, 2014: 910). Des Rosier (2014: 910-911) also argued that NGOs' independence in regard to funding is key, along with the ability to freely criticise government when necessary. Therefore, an NGO is considered as legitimate based on three key features: how transparent the organisation is, whether the organisation is seen as an expert, and how independent the organisation is. Independence, however, is also closely tied to the organisation's financial status and funding arrangements. The extent to which an organisation that receives or relies upon government funding can be considered independent remains unclear. Each of these factors enhances an organisation's effectiveness, along with their ability to effect change, whether that be through policy, legislation, or socially, and the creation of long-term advocacy through short-term measures (Des Rosiers, 2014: 913-917).

The reputation, or credibility, of an organisation is another factor of processes that is evident across existing effectiveness measures. The more reputable an NGO is viewed as being, the greater the influence the organisation has, as the organisation is consequently considered legitimate (Mitchell & Stroup, 2017: 399-400). Mitchell and Stroup (2017: 401) argued that this reputation and legitimacy provides organisations with authority and expertise, which creates further opportunities for accessing greater resources. Therefore, the reputation of an NGO affects the opportunities available to the said organisation, and their access to resources and the policy process, all of which are considered important for influencing policy. It could be argued that having this access and proximity to resources, opportunities, and the policy agenda are factors which contribute to an NGO's effectiveness, while the reputation of the organisation can act either as a hindrance or can enhance such access. This also relies on NGOs collaborating with other

organisations and the state to gain access to these resources, which not all NGOs do. Access and proximity do not always result in opportunities to influence or contribute to public policy, as the insider/outsider positioning can change, often without notice, as indicated in Chapter One.

According to Amagoh (2015), an NGO's credibility is based on the organisation's role as a service provider and their effectiveness in this role, which is measured by the organisation's ability to create stable long-term projects. One limitation of this is that it assumes a particular model of NGOs. Not all NGOs are service providers, as some organisations only engage in advocacy. However, within the scope of the current research, many organisations engage in both (SDA) to gain government funding. If an NGOs' credibility is based on the organisation's role as a service provider and the effectiveness is tied to this service delivery, then measuring credibility is not applicable to advocacy NGOs. This demonstrates the need for a standardised measurement of NGOs that is sensitive to context-specific factors, as not all NGOs will meet specific criteria when measuring effectiveness.

How NGOs are perceived, and how this affects their reputation, is considered an important factor in an NGO's effectiveness. Mitchell and Stroup (2017) argued that the reputation of an NGO is a vital element in their effectiveness. How NGOs are perceived by both the state and other NGOs within the same sector contributes to whether collaboration between these parties will occur. However, this assumes that collaboration with other NGOs and the state increases the effectiveness of an organisation, which may not always be the case. Additionally, as Williams and Kindle (1992: 386) argued, measuring reputation as an effectiveness indicator can be misleading as reputation is based on subjective assessment. This determination of reputation based on judgements is open to prejudice and bias, and as such, is not an appropriate means of measuring organisational effectiveness (Williams & Kindle, 1992: 386).

Finally, how the organisation operates is another vital indicator of an effective organisation in the existing measures (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019). Singhal's (2019) examination of the effectiveness of NGOs in India concluded that effectiveness consists of four factors, all of which relate to the processes of organisations, with each factor containing multiple indicators. These four factors of NGO effectiveness are the operation of the organisation, with indicators such as involvement with the community, processes, and outcomes; financial factors, with indicators such as whether audited financial statements of the organisation exist and whether the organisation has a handbook of financial procedures; human resource management, with indicators consisting of clear employee expectations and whether the organisation has a human resource manual; and the governance of the organisation, with indicators such as the number of board meetings per year, whether annual reports are produced, and whether the organisation has written rules that are followed (Singhal, 2019: 179). These factors relating to the operation of NGOs are less salient within the existing effectiveness literature,

as the focus of existing measures remains largely on advocacy. Singhal's (2019) proposed measure is distinct from the others due to the sole measurement of operational factors, rather than measuring this in conjunction with outputs and outcomes. Due to this strong emphasis on processes and the operation of the organisation, Singhal's (2019) indicators of NGO effectiveness may be more suited to the measurement of NFP organisations.

Overall, assessing factors relating to NGOs' processes is an important element to measure when determining an organisation's effectiveness. How an organisation operates will contribute to their ability to influence and contribute to public policy and initiate social change. Evidently, an organisation's financial status is a key measure of effectiveness, as this affects the organisation's independence. Other important factors include an NGO's legitimacy and expertise. In addition, within the existing effectiveness measures, processes are one of the most significant measures. This indicates that processes are an important measure of NGO effectiveness; however, they must be considered in conjunction with other measures.

3.2.2 Outputs as an effectiveness measure

Within the existing effectiveness measures, several dimensions are measured for assessing an organisation's outputs, as these dimensions can enhance the outputs, and subsequently, the organisation's effectiveness. As identified within the existing literature, these dimensions which are used to measure NGO effectiveness are:

- Outputs
- Partnerships and collaboration
- Access to resources

I will discuss each dimension in turn, and identify the potential limitations of these dimensions.

The measurement of an NGO's outputs as an indicator of the organisation's performance is a common approach within existing effectiveness measures. While measuring outputs can provide an indication of an organisation's effectiveness, this needs to be in conjunction with other measures and indicators of effectiveness. This is because outputs do not suggest, nor guarantee, an outcome. Therefore, by solely measuring outputs as an indication of organisational effectiveness, only a small portion of the organisation is assessed. Outputs may, however, show how productive the organisation is in terms of advocacy, such as meetings held with government ministers, department heads, and policy-makers, attendance at inquiries and consultations, or producing reports. One major limitation within the effectiveness literature and the existing effectiveness measures is that outcomes and outputs are used interchangeably and, as such, are treated the same, which is evident when examining how effectiveness is measured in practice. For example, an evaluation conducted by Our Watch and PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PwC) measured outputs such as meetings with government ministers, submissions to parliamentary inquiries, and

responses to policy proposals as outcomes (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2018: 15). While these are important in the measurement of an organisation's ability to advance policy and establish an evidence base, the distinction between outputs and outcomes is key. Practitioner-developed effectiveness assessments will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

Partnerships and collaboration between NGOs, and with other sectors, is an important strategy that organisations use to enhance their effectiveness, as it strengthens their advocacy and lobbying (see Des Rosiers, 2014; Amagoh, 2015; Petrikova, 2015; Yan, Lin & Clarke, 2018). Petrikova (2015) examined the effectiveness of NGOs working in the child labour field in El Salvador by analysing the impact of three NGOs. She noted that as these three organisations did not interact or work with one another, the organisations were often providing the same service or expending the same effort (Petrikova, 2015: 239). In this circumstance, the impact of these organisations could have been further enhanced if they were to combine their resources and collaborate (Petrikova, 2015: 239-240). In support of this, Kelly (2007: 44) observed across multiple differing sectors, that collaborations and partnerships are vital measures of an organisation's effectiveness. These partnerships and collaborations can contribute to an NGO's output, as these partnerships often result in the production of outputs due to the sharing of resources. Amagoh (2015: 233) noted that collaboration in the form of joint submissions and responses to government on a particular social issue increases effectiveness. Collaboration can also lead to further partnerships, which in turn can enhance effectiveness (Amagoh, 2015: 233). As well, Des Rosier (2014: 917) argued that access to resources, such as networks, also enhances the effectiveness of NGOs.

In addition to collaborating with each other to enhance each organisation's effectiveness, Petrikova (2015) noted that engaging with the government could have also enhanced these organisations' effectiveness. In this sense, peak bodies may be helpful as they represent a coming together of service providers, which are then represented by one overarching organisation. This allows the service providers to focus on program and service delivery, and enables the peak body to advocate on their behalf. By doing so, this can foster collaboration between organisations and service deliverers. These collaborations and partnerships can influence how the organisation is viewed and can have an impact on the organisation's reputation.

However, measuring the outputs that are the result of collaboration can be challenging. This is because these outputs cannot be associated with just one organisation due to their collaborative nature and can create tension and competition between organisations (Coates & David, 2002: 534). Moreover, peak bodies and coalitions of NGOs are not always successful, and do not always operate as intended or share the same vision. According to a report conducted by CounterPoint Advisory (2019: 10-14), successful collaboration relies on an agreed strategy and governance structure, shared vision, values, and goals, and trust between organisations. Without these,

collaboration between organisations and peak bodies can fail due to lack of clarity, conflict between organisations, and disagreements on strategy and the roles of the organisations (CounterPoint Advisory, 2019: 17). Therefore, partnerships and collaborations between NGOs may not always be an accurate reflection of an organisation's effectiveness as these collaborations are not always smooth-sailing and productive.

The measuring of outputs as contributing factors of NGO effectiveness may be limiting in other ways. Coates and David (2002: 534) argued that one of the shortcomings of measuring advocacy as part of an organisation's effectiveness is that it requires a specific timeframe. These measurements require NGOs to produce outputs that result in outcomes that lead to an impact, and thus require a linear process. As Coates and David (2002: 534) argued, advocacy work is not a fixed process and measuring NGOs' effectiveness in this way undermines the organisation and fails to accurately encapsulate the organisation's effectiveness. This emphasises the importance of taking a multi-dimensional approach to measuring and assessing NGO effectiveness as it allows for the consideration of multiple factors across several dimensions.

Overall, assessing the factors related to NGOs' outputs is a complex measure of organisational effectiveness. Outputs themselves are challenging to adequately measure, particularly if collaboration is common among NGOs. Furthermore, outputs should not be measured alone as a factor of effectiveness, as they are not outcomes and should not be considered as such. This could be addressed by measuring performance outcomes in terms of having changed a section of legislation or contributing to the writing of a policy, for example. In comparison, outputs could be measured as a separate normative dimension of effectiveness.

3.2.3 Outcomes as an effectiveness measure

The measurement of outcomes as an effectiveness measure is another common approach within the existing literature (see Williams & Kindle, 1992: 386). The dimensions of outcomes which are used to measure NGO effectiveness as identified within the existing literature are:

- The ability to affect change
- Performance outcomes

I will discuss each dimension in turn and identify their potential limitations.

Measuring performance outcomes as an indicator of NGO effectiveness is derived from a rationalistic approach to policy-making. However, Guigni (1999: xxi, as cited in Hall & Taplin, 2008: 364) argued that measuring the effectiveness of NGOs based on their success is challenging because it places great importance on achieving specific results or social change. Furthermore, success is highly subjective; what is deemed as success by one stakeholder group may be perceived as a minor achievement or even a failure to another stakeholder group (see Guigni,

1999: xx, as cited in Hall & Taplin, 2008: 364). Placing greater importance on outcomes is an issue because, according to Guigni (1999: xxi, as cited in Hall & Taplin, 2008: 364), NGOs' achievements are "often unintended" and may not have been what they were initially aiming to achieve. These unintended consequences of NGO and social movement advocacy may be subtle or major, such as shifting the public discourse or influencing a policy outcome (see Guigni, 1999: xx, as cited in Hall & Taplin, 2008).

In the same vein, these unintended consequences may also be positive or negative. However, just because an NGO's outcome or influence is not intended, should not negate the organisation's effectiveness. If NGOs set out to achieve one outcome, but in turn, end up achieving another, these outcomes should still be considered an achievement for, or a significant impact of, the organisation. Conversely, Newig et al (2013) specifically excluded unintended consequences when measuring outcomes of organisations. What is crucial in this circumstance is causation; if an NGO causes an outcome, even if unintended, this should be used in measuring the effectiveness of the organisation.

As an alternative means of measuring performance outcomes, Kelly (2007: 43) argued that effectiveness occurs when an organisation's advocacy and any service delivery is aligned with the organisation's identity, aims, and values. Therefore, when there is misalignment, an organisation may not be effective as they are compromising their values and organisational aims. This may occur when organisations compete for government funding by taking on service delivery that is not within the organisation's capacity or is not aligned with their aims and values. Considering the organisation's aims and goals and whether the organisation is meeting such goals as a measure of NGO effectiveness does appear to be common. Edwards (1999) measured the impact, sustainability, and cost effectiveness of four organisations, which shared the same goal of eradicating poverty in India and Bangladesh, including Save the Children. Impact was assessed by the outcomes based on the organisation's goals and aims; sustainability was determined based on how long the benefits of the organisation's advocacy lasted; and cost effectiveness was evaluated based on the cost versus the benefits of the organisation's advocacy (Edwards, 1999: 367). External factors were measured to account for any confounding effects, which included the political context, social awareness, financial donors of the organisations beyond the state, and organisational goals, strategies, and decisions (Edwards, 1999: 368). Edwards (1999: 363) used a multi-dimensional approach to assess NGO effectiveness, processes, and 'organisational choices', while outputs were also measured. This demonstrates how effectiveness can be measured when it is defined as an organisation achieving its aims and goals. In addition, Edwards (1999) findings demonstrate the importance of taking into consideration the impact of external factors.

What remains clear is that measuring and assessing NGO effectiveness requires a comprehensive approach, which extends beyond measuring singular outcomes. The effectiveness of an NGO

cannot be determined by solely measuring processes, outputs, or outcomes, but rather it requires the consideration of all indicators, including external factors. Edwards and Hulme (1995: 853) argued that the work and advocacy of NGOs makes it challenging to measure their impact, whereas measuring what they label as 'functional accountability', such as outputs and resource allocation and usage, is much simpler. This issue is also evident with NGOs in the development field, as Kelly (2007: 43) argued that from the perspective of financial donors and NGOs, effectiveness measures must extend beyond the outcomes of singular programs, services, projects, and/or advocacy campaigns. She argued that, instead, stakeholders and NGOs themselves now view it as essential to assess outcomes across activities and dimensions (Kelly, 2007: 43-44).

Coates and David (2002: 535) highlighted an additional limitation in the existing measures of NGO effectiveness. They argued that short-term achievements are prioritised when measuring NGO effectiveness over long-term achievements and outcomes (Coates & David, 2002: 535). This could explain why outputs and outcomes are treated as synonymous, as some outcomes may only arise after a lengthy period, whereas outputs are easily and quickly measured. Therefore, these assessments and measurements of NGO effectiveness may not accurately reflect the organisation's outcomes and the overall effectiveness of their advocacy work.

Overall, assessing outcomes as a measure of NGO effectiveness separate from outputs is challenging, yet necessary. This is because achieving outcomes is not a linear process, seldom occurring on a short-term basis, and thus long-term outcomes are often excluded as measures. Additionally, success is highly subjective; however, one way to accommodate this is by measuring outcomes based on each individual organisation's aims, goals, and mission. This allows for the appropriate nuance needed when assessing NGO effectiveness, while maintaining a level of consistency in the measure. To achieve a multi-dimensional approach, processes, outputs, and outcomes are measured alongside each other to capture a more accurate depiction of NGO effectiveness.

3.3 Exogenous factors that have an impact on effectiveness

While measuring processes, outputs, and outcomes as endogenous indicators of an NGO's effectiveness can provide a detailed assessment, there are many exogenous factors that can affect an organisation's capacity for impact. Exogenous factors are beyond an NGO's control, affecting the organisation's capacity to be effective. Several exogenous factors have been identified within the existing effectiveness literature: state and government receptivity to NGOs, the type of state and/or government, whether a working relationship with the state/government exists, and whether this relationship is formalised. These exogenous factors may provide challenges in measuring processes, outputs, and outcomes. Consequently, it is not as simple as labelling an organisation effective or ineffective based on the three effectiveness measures. Exogenous factors must be

considered within effectiveness measures to gain a comprehensive assessment of an organisation's effectiveness.

Having a working relationship with the state and/or bureaucratic institutions, such as governments, is identified within the existing literature as an important factor that can either contribute to the effectiveness of NGOs or hinder the organisation's effectiveness (see Brinkerhoff, 1999; Tazrelter, 2000; Zhang, 2018). This relates to the findings of Chapter One in which states and governments can either provide opportunities for NGOs to influence policy or prevent opportunities from developing. Furthermore, this also demonstrates that the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments does have an impact on organisational effectiveness. Having a relationship with the state and governments can provide NGOs with access to the policy agenda, access to other resources and opportunities for policy consultation, which has the potential to result in policy outcomes. Subsequently, NGOs' ability to influence policy is heightened, thus enhancing the effectiveness of organisations (see Tazrelter, 2000: 92; Zhang, 2018: 734).

In order for this working relationship with the state and governments to result in enhancing NGOs' effectiveness, the state and governments need to be receptive to NGOs and civil society (see Brinkerhoff, 1999; Coates & David, 2002; Zhang, 2018; Pacheco-Vega & Murdie, 2020). Brinkerhoff (1999) argued that for this working relationship to function well, resulting in NGOs having a policy influence, the state must be open to and receptive of NGO input (Brinkerhoff, 1999: 65). This is not one-sided, however, as NGOs also have a role to play in ensuring this relationship with the state remains effective. NGOs need to be willing to work with governments and to involve themselves in the policy process (Brinkerhoff, 1999: 65). In the context of environmental NGOs, Pacheco-Vega and Murdie (2020) found that these organisations are effective if the organisation engages the public in their advocacy, and if the state is sympathetic to this advocacy and lobbying. Therefore, having a relationship with the state can enhance NGO effectiveness, even if temporarily. This effectiveness, however, is evidently reliant on both the state or government and the organisations being receptive to each other and desiring a collaborative relationship (see Zhang, 2018).

Table 7: External factors identified as impacting NGOs' capacity to be effective

Exogenous factors	Study
Having a working relationship with the state/government	Brinkerhoff (1999) Tazrelter (2000) Zhang (2018)
State/government is receptive to NGOs	Brinkerhoff (1999) Pacheco-Vega (2020) Zhang (2018) Coates & David (2002) Des Rosiers (2014)[4]
Type of state/government	Brinkerhoff (1999) Dryzek et al. (2003) Maddison & Denniss (2005) Coates & David (2002)
Whether the relationship is formalised	Brinkerhoff (1999)

Having said this, Des Rosiers (2014: 906) argued that government resistance or inaction, particularly in regards to human rights, should not be used to measure the apparent effectiveness or ineffectiveness of an NGO. While a governments' inaction towards addressing social issues is not a reflection of an NGO and should not be considered as a reflection of an organisation's lack of effectiveness, it is important, and arguably necessary, to take into consideration. This is because government inaction towards addressing social issues greatly affects an NGO's capacity to remain effective. An organisation should be not labelled as ineffective due to a government's resistance to NGOs; while organisations can still achieve policy influence through pivoting their strategy, the capacity for this influence is still limited. Including exogenous factors in the assessment and measurement of NGOs' effectiveness is crucial for this very reason and to provide a comprehensive assessment of NGO effectiveness.

Whether the state or government will be receptive to NGOs and special interests relates to the type of state and government in office (Brinkerhoff, 1999; Dryzek et al., 2003). Brinkerhoff (1999: 72-77) found that the type of state is a key factor that affects the quality of the working relationship, which subsequently has an impact on NGOs' effectiveness. This supports the arguments of Dryzek et al (2003) and Maddison and Denniss (2005) outlined in Chapter One, as it demonstrates the significant impact the type of state and government has on NGO effectiveness. In addition, Brinkerhoff (1999: 72-77) argued for three other contextual factors that affect the quality of the working relationship between NGOs and the

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[4] Des Rosiers (2014) argued governmental resistance should *not* be used to measure NGO effectiveness

state and governments, which subsequently affect the organisation's effectiveness. These include the level of trust in each other, the specifics of the policy that is being advocated for, and the legal frameworks and regulations in place and whether these are conducive for state-NGO collaboration (Brinkerhoff, 1999: 72-77). He argued that partnerships involved in implementing or delivering pre-established policies or programs need to be formalised (Brinkerhoff, 1999: 72-77). This could be in the form of a contract when engagement between the NGO and the state is ongoing.

In addition, who initiates the partnership has an impact on the effectiveness of the relationship. Brinkhoff (1999: 78) noted that in developing countries, these relationships were often initiated by NGOs rather than governments, suggesting a deep level of mistrust and hostility from the state towards civil society. This is not conducive for an effective NGO-state partnership and relates back to the need for both the state/government and the NGO to be willing to engage in a working relationship.

Overall, it is evident there are several exogenous factors which affect the capacity of NGOs to be effective. While these organisations can implement strategies to enhance their own effectiveness, a number of external factors, such as the type of state/government in power, or the receptivity of the state and government can hinder NGOs' effectiveness. Consequently, effectiveness measures need to allow for the consideration of such factors to provide an accurate and comprehensive analysis of NGO effectiveness.

3.4 Practitioner-developed measures of NGO effectiveness

The variations within the existing measures about how effectiveness is defined and measured has real-world implications for NGOs in how these organisations conduct assessments of impact. These practitioner-developed measurements of NGO effectiveness differ from the measures within the existing literature. This further demonstrates the impact that the lack of consistency between existing measures has. Therefore, it is important to also understand how feminist NGOs in the scope of the current study assess their own effectiveness in comparison to the broader NGO measures reviewed. This section will review an independent examination of the organisation *Our Watch* to understand how its practitioner-developed measure of effectiveness relates to the existing literature.

Of the eleven organisations in scope, only one has hired external reviewers or conducted internal assessments of the organisation's effectiveness and made the findings of the review publicly available. Limited funding could explain why only one organisation in the case study has hired an independent examiner to assess its impact. Alternatively, such assessments

may not be publicly available, or organisations may have only undertaken internal assessments. Our Watch hired PwC as an independent examiner in 2018 to assess the organisation's impact and effectiveness since the launch of the organisation. The evaluation questions used by PwC to assess Our Watch's impact and effectiveness were:

1. "To what extent has Our Watch delivered on its commitments;
2. What have we learned along the way, as an organisation;
3. What difference have we made, in what circumstances, and for whom;
4. What has been the overall impact of Our Watch;
5. What next steps are recommended to improve and increase the organisation's impact?"

PwC detailed the method used to examine the impact of Our Watch, which involved assessing the organisation's impact in terms out outreach (who and how many have been impacted), the size of change, and the contribution to social change, which can only be attributed to the work and advocacy of Our Watch (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2018: 20). To assess this impact, PwC engaged with the stakeholders of Our Watch. These stakeholders included agencies in the community services sector and organisations, the higher education sector, the justice system, the health sector, and local, state, and federal governments (see PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2018: 2). This was in accordance with the effectiveness measure put forward by Coates and David (2002: 536), who argued that effectiveness measures need to include not only the stakeholders, but also staff and volunteers of the organisation, as well as the wider public. Various other factors were measured and assessed as indicators of Our Watch's effectiveness, including output and outreach. This included the number of submissions to inquiries made, social media outreach and impact, and the number of meetings with Ministerial representatives held over the years. This matches common measures of effectiveness within the existing measures of NGOs more broadly.

There appears to be a number of gaps and limitations in the measures used by PwC to assess the impact of Our Watch. Firstly, the outreach of the organisation, which is one of its core aims, did not involve an important demographic. Questions such as 'have you heard of Our Watch' and 'are you familiar with the work of Our Watch' may allow for a greater understanding of the outreach of the organisation, extending beyond stakeholders. In addition, as has been previously argued, the issue with measuring outputs and outcomes together is that outputs do not inherently result in an outcome or overall impact. In other words, meeting with a government minister or social media outreach does not have a guaranteed influence or policy outcome. The differences between outputs and outcomes requires distinction to measure the effectiveness of the organisation. By considering outputs

and outcomes as synonymous, these existing measurements are therefore not accurately measuring the effectiveness of NGOs. Therefore, outputs and outcomes should be considered as separate dimensions of effectiveness to obtain a more accurate representation of organisational effectiveness and impact. Our Watch and PwC set the terms of reference of the evaluation to determine the difference made by the organisation, in what circumstances, and for whom this difference was made. Measuring outputs in this manner does not determine such factors. Instead, measuring outcomes is a far better means to determine any differences made. Solely measuring outputs as an indication of effectiveness is inaccurate, as it only tells half the story and is not the most appropriate measure for the aims of the assessment.

Overall, this short exploration of how a feminist organisation's impact has been assessed demonstrates the real-world implications of the inconsistencies in how organisational effectiveness is defined and measured. This can result in assessments of organisational effectiveness through quite limited measures. Having a clear and consistent understanding of organisational effectiveness and measures eliminates such problems and provides a comparable measure across differing sectors, contexts, and arrangements.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of a systematic literature on the different approaches to defining and measuring 'effectiveness'. Broadly, we can summarise this as approaches that focus on processes, outputs, and outcomes. The aim of this chapter was to offer a survey of how effectiveness has been understood, and the different approaches to measuring the impact of NGOs. By doing so, it has been argued that existing definitions and approaches to NGO effectiveness are contested and often limited, which has resulted in a lack of agreed measures of NGO effectiveness. The definitions and measures of NGO effectiveness were found to be either too specific to niche contexts, or too broad and general for the purposes of this thesis, thus failing to encapsulate effectiveness and how it can be meaningfully measured. It was therefore argued that these existing measures fail to take into consideration exogenous factors that have an impact on organisations' abilities and capacities to be effective, which are vital factors to be considered in assessing the effectiveness of an organisation. This highlighted the need for an effectiveness measure of NGOs that allows for nuance and that does not take an all-or-nothing approach to measuring NGO effectiveness. Finally, the chapter identified a significant knowledge gap, arguing there is currently no adequate measure of NGO effectiveness that can be used to assess the effectiveness of Australian feminist organisations.

Based on the synthesis of the findings of the systematic literature review presented in this chapter, the following chapter will present a revised effectiveness measure, the Effectiveness Criteria Framework, which is based on the analysis of the limitations of existing measures. This EC Framework will then be used to measure the effectiveness of the feminist NGOs presented in this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF FEMINIST NGOS

The aim of this chapter is to present the criteria for understanding how effective feminist NGOs are. To do this, the chapter sets out and develops a framework to establish the key criteria for this evaluative task. This framework, hereafter referred to as the EC Framework, is designed to set out the criteria with which to evaluate NGOs. As discussed in previous chapters, the concept of effectiveness is multi-dimensional and cuts across at least four dimensions of an organisation: the organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership dimensions. In the previous chapter, I synthesised existing approaches to understanding effectiveness. The key themes and measures found were processes, outputs, and outcomes. In addition, I found several exogenous factors that have an impact on an organisation's capacity for achieving an impact on policy-making. These measures and approaches, however, fall short in encompassing other important factors in the understanding of the effectiveness of NGOs, particularly for organisations that primarily engage in advocacy. This chapter builds and expands on this synthesis, as I develop a new framework for the analysis of the effectiveness of NGOs which is based on the four dimensions outlined above. The first half of the chapter begins by setting out and establishing the framework for the analysis and will discuss each dimension in turn. In the second half, I apply this Effectiveness Criteria Framework to the case study. Importantly, the assessment of the feminist NGOs in the scope of this research are being assessed for the effectiveness of DFV policy influence, rather than an overall assessment. Overall, this chapter provides a new framework for analysing the effectiveness of NGOs in the process of policy-making. This framework makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the overall impact of the effectiveness of NGOs.

4.1 The Effectiveness Criteria Framework

This section will introduce the Effectiveness Criteria Framework that I have developed to measure feminist organisations' impact on DFV policy. I provide an overview of each of the four dimensions of the framework in turn with their relevant measures, as well as the rationale that underpins why these are important in measuring NGO effectiveness being discussed thereafter.

For definitional purposes, this framework defines NGO effectiveness as the success of an organisation based on its goals, aims, and mission. The framework recognises exogenous factors that can affect an organisation's capacity to reach these aims and goals. My Effectiveness Criteria Framework focuses on four dimensions which indicate whether an

organisation is progressing towards its aims and goals by accounting for these exogenous factors. Therefore, an organisation is considered to be successful when it reaches, or is on track to reach, its aims and goals. The dimensions of the framework refer to important aspects of an organisation that can indicate whether the NGO's advocacy and achievements are in line with its aims and goals. Indicators of each dimension refer to measurable features, which are used in determining organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness.

In short, organisational effectiveness measures how an organisation operates as an indication of its success. Three indicators can be used to measure organisational effectiveness: adequate resources, organisational legitimacy, and the circumstances of the organisation's funding. Organisational effectiveness is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness.

Political effectiveness measures the political standing of an NGO as an indication of the organisation's effectiveness. Six indicators can be used to measure political effectiveness, including: collaboration, grassroots connections, the ability to be dynamic and adaptive, the ability to set the policy agenda, the reputation (both individually and collectively with the sector), and lastly, the organisation's ability to give honest advice, including the ability to criticise government policy decisions.

Policy effectiveness measures the tangible policy outcomes as a direct result of the organisation's advocacy as an indication of the organisation's effectiveness. Three indicators can be used to measure policy effectiveness: the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, the organisation's visibility, and performance outcomes.

Cultural/membership effectiveness measures the representation of the organisation's membership and population base that it claims to be advocating for. Three indicators can be used to measure and assess cultural/membership effectiveness: the satisfaction of the population group being advocated for, membership satisfaction, and cultural and societal shifts and changes as a direct result of the organisation and sector. An organisation is not required to fulfill each criterion of effectiveness to be considered effective.

Importantly, differences exist in how effectiveness is measured across different types of organisations. Given that effectiveness is defined according to an organisation's aims and goals, it is reasonable to expect variations in how the criteria may be measured. This will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter, but this distinction needs to be made here first.

Table 8: The Effectiveness Criteria Framework

Dimensions of effectiveness	Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness	Cultural / membership effectiveness
Indicators	- Adequate resources (connections, size of the organisation, paid staff/ volunteers) - Legitimacy (by government, the sector, and the broader social movement) - Funding	- Collaboration - Grassroots connection - Dynamic and adaptive - Ability to set policy agenda - Reputation (individually and collectively) - Ability to give frank advice, including the ability to criticise government policy decisions	- Ability to set and influence policy agenda - Visibility - Performance outcomes	- Satisfaction of the population group being advocated for - Satisfaction of the membership - Cultural and societal shifts and changes (by the organisation and the sector)

Each dimension of effectiveness is considered individually, rather than forming an overall effectiveness judgement that combines the dimensions. This is because each dimension is important on its own. If we were only providing an overall effectiveness judgement, key factors and nuances could be overshadowed, leading to an unclear understanding of effectiveness. This is because these dimensions of effectiveness, and more specifically, the measures of each dimension, are interconnected and provide a holistic understanding and assessment of NGO effectiveness.

The extent to which organisations can be considered as effective for each of the four dimensions varies. This is because organisations do not need to meet, or satisfy, each dimension to be considered as effective. Put simply, the more indicators that are satisfied, the higher the level of effectiveness. Therefore, the extent to which an organisation can satisfy the indicators of each dimension of effectiveness exists on a spectrum of high, medium, and low effectiveness.

Organisations that can satisfy only one or two measures of an indicator are considered to have low effectiveness. Conversely, an organisation with high effectiveness can satisfy most, or all, of the measures of an indicator. For example, an organisation with high policy effectiveness has clearly demonstrated the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, has

strong visibility due to a strong public profile/presence, and has multiple performance outcomes of influencing and contributing to policies. Whereas the same organisation would be classified as having low organisational policy effectiveness if it was unable to demonstrate adequate resources, and limited funding due to an over-reliance on government, but was nevertheless considered as legitimate.

From this spectrum, I demonstrate models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' effectiveness. These models provide a baseline and guidance for high, medium, and low assessments of levels of effectiveness, which can be presented within a heatmap. For example, evidence that seems to meet the 'optimal' model can be categorised as high effectiveness and can be colourised as green. Moderate evidence for the measures of each dimension can be given a medium rating of effectiveness and can be colourised as amber. Lastly, sub-optimal evidence for the indicators can be categorised as low effectiveness and can be colourised as red. While an organisation can be assessed as having high effectiveness for each dimension, it is unrealistic to expect that an organisation will entirely match the model of optimal effectiveness. Similarly, an organisation assessed as having low effectiveness in one or more dimensions cannot be expected to entirely match the model of 'inadequate' effectiveness. Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12 below outline the models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' effectiveness for each dimension, providing examples of each indicator and what this might entail for organisations.

Table 9: Models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' organisational effectiveness

Organisational effectiveness	
'Optimal' model	*'Inadequate' model*
Well-connected across the sector, within government and the opposition, within the media, and within relevant government departments, which results in various opportunities for advocacy	Little to no connections across the sector, within government and the opposition, within the media, and within relevant government departments, which provides challenges to accessing the policy process
Has a stable and secure income stream, and secure secondary income stream outside of government funding (or can generate one), and thus, could be self-sufficient if needed	May have very little funding, or the funding is insecure and unstable. The organisation is solely dependent upon government funding with no ability to generate income to be self-sufficient
Can manage and use the income it has to enhance its advocacy and effectively run the organisation	An organisation may have a stable income source; however, this income is not being used to enhance the organisation's advocacy and to fulfill its duties, aims, and goals

Number of staff/volunteers is in proportion to the size of the organisation and its duties	Number of staff/volunteers not in proportion to the size of the organisation and its duties; the organisation may be a very small organisation, with no, or a very limited number of, staff and may be over-reliant on the work of volunteers
Viewed as legitimate by the sector, the broader social movement, and by government (and relevant government departments)	Not viewed as legitimate by the sector, and/or the broader social movement, and/or by government (and relevant government departments)

Overall, the 'optimal' model for organisational effectiveness provides a baseline for how an NGO can operate effectively to maximise its influence. Advocacy and outreach can lead to influence, which leads to the achievement of organisational aims and goals. Such an organisation would be considered as having high organisational effectiveness. In contrast, the 'inadequate' model for organisational effectiveness provides an example of an NGO that is poorly operated and managed, which greatly affects the organisation's ability to achieve an influence on policy. Additionally, this 'inadequate' model demonstrates an NGO that may not be achieving its organisational aims and goals, as it falls short in its daily operations. Such an organisation would be considered as having low effectiveness.

Table 10: Models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' political effectiveness

Political effectiveness	
'Optimal' model	*'Inadequate' model*
Has the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, which may allow the organisation to lead the narrative and discussion of a policy issue or solution	No, or limited, ability to set and influence the policy agenda; may be excluded from accessing the policy agenda
Is dynamic and adaptive, meaning it can adapt to sudden, changing circumstances	Dependent upon a particular political party being in government, resulting in stagnant or dormant advocacy efforts when the other party is in office
Can freely criticise government policy decision-making without fear of repercussion, whether this is public criticism or providing frank advice to policy-makers and government ministers privately	Unable to freely criticise government policy decision-making and/or hold government to account due to fear of repercussions; experiences limits to the policy advice that can be given due to this fear

Strong grassroots connections, which informs the organisation's advocacy	No, or limited/poor, grassroots connections. May not prioritise these connections for advocacy
Organisation's reputation is held in high esteem by the sector, the broader social movement, and government/government departments. Viewed as reliable and as an expert in the field by government and the sector	Organisation has a poor reputation with government and government departments; not well-regarded by the sector and may not be considered as belonging to the broader social movement (or one or more combinations of these)
Collaborates with other NGOs within the sector and in other sectors to enhance advocacy; this may include the sharing of resources where needed	Seldom collaborates with other organisations in the sector, and consequently, may not have access to shared resources if needed

Likewise, the 'optimal' model for political effectiveness provides a baseline for an organisation's political standing, which results in numerous opportunities for enhancing its impact on public policy and reaching its organisational aims and goals. Such an organisation would be considered as having high political effectiveness. In contrast, the 'inadequate' model for political effectiveness provides an example of an NGO that has a poor political standing, which greatly impacts the organisation's ability to achieve an influence on policy. This means the organisation may be poorly regarded as a political actor by government departments, the sector, and even the broader social movement it belongs to. Additionally, this 'inadequate' model demonstrates an NGO that may not be achieving its aims and goals in terms of advocacy. This organisation would be considered as having low political effectiveness.

Table 11: Models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' policy effectiveness

Policy effectiveness	
'Optimal' model	*'Inadequate' model*
Strong public profile and visibility; well-known within the sector and by government/government departments; the policy issue is well-known by policy-makers and governments	No, or limited, public profile; may not be known by government/policy-makers; the policy issue may not be known or identified as an issue by government
Has the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, which may allow the organisation to lead the narrative and discussion of a policy issue or solution; has open communication with policy-makers and relevant government ministers/ ministerial staff	No, or limited, ability to set and influence the policy agenda; may be excluded from accessing the policy agenda; no or little communication with policy-makers and relevant government ministers/ministerial staff

Can provide tangible policy outcomes as a result of advocacy and influence, i.e., having contributed X number of policy submissions resulting in the changing of X section of legislation/policy	May be unable to provide any examples of tangible policy outcomes or has limited number of examples

The 'optimal' model for policy effectiveness provides an example of an organisation's advocacy having a direct impact on policy contributions. Such an organisation would be considered as having high policy effectiveness. In contrast, the 'inadequate' model for policy effectiveness provides an example of an NGO that has limited examples of direct influence and impact on public policy. Such an organisation would be considered as having low policy effectiveness.

Table 12: Models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' cultural/membership effectiveness

Cultural/membership effectiveness	
'Optimal' model	*'Inadequate' model*
Membership is satisfied with the organisation's representation and advocacy	Dissatisfied membership; disconnect between the organisation and the membership
Organisation and sector are instrumental in creating cultural and societal shifts and changes (i.e., changes in attitudes towards gender inequality/gendered violence over time)	Organisation and sector have no, or limited, role in creating cultural and societal shifts and changes (i.e., limited to no changes in attitudes towards gender inequality/ gendered violence over time)
Population group being advocated for is satisfied with the organisation's representation and advocacy	Dissatisfied population group; disconnect between the organisation and the membership

Finally, the 'optimal' model for cultural/membership effectiveness provides an example of an organisation accurately representing its membership and the population base it aims to represent. In addition, this model demonstrates whether an organisation's advocacy is aligned with and progressing the goals of the movement it belongs to. Such an organisation is considered to have high cultural/membership effectiveness. In contrast, the 'inadequate' model for cultural/membership effectiveness provides a baseline for an organisation that falls short in representing its membership and the population base it aims to represent, which may feel dissatisfied with the NGO's advocacy. Additionally, such organisations may not be progressing the goals of the social movement they belong to, or their advocacy may not be aligned with the movement's goals. Such an organisation is considered a having low cultural/ membership effectiveness.

To summarise, the assessment of NGO effectiveness is considered individually through each criterion, rather than through an overall assessment of the organisation's impact. An organisation's effectiveness exists on a spectrum, and can therefore be classed as having high, medium, or low effectiveness in each criterion based on the measures. The models of 'optimal' and 'inadequate' effectiveness provide a baseline for the assessment of the spectrum of high, medium, and low effectiveness to be measured against.

4.1.1 Measuring the effectiveness of organisations across differing organisational types

The EC Framework measures the success of advocacy organisations; however, these organisations are diverse in their roles and responsibilities. As outlined in the systematic literature review in the previous chapter, differences exist in how effectiveness is measured across these different types of organisations, which was particularly evident when comparing NGOs and NFP organisations. Within the context of the EC Framework, however, this difference is evident between umbrella organisations and those that engage in service delivery and advocacy (SDA) simultaneously. This is because organisations that engage in SDA will have differing organisational aims and goals, which are not centred solely around advocacy. Consequently, while the definition of NGO effectiveness remains the same, as do each of the dimensions of effectiveness, how these indicators may be measured or interpreted differs when considering the nuances of each organisation. More specifically, the type of organisation, whether it is an umbrella organisation, or it engages in SDA, may require slight alterations to the indicators and measures of each dimension. The table below outlines these differences and which measures may be less important when measuring the effectiveness of specific organisation types.

Table 13: The differences in measures of each dimension of effectiveness for umbrella/advocacy organisations and service delivery and advocacy organisations

Dimensions of effectiveness	Umbrella/advocacy organisations	Service delivery & advocacy (SDA) organisations
Organisational effectiveness	- Adequate resources - Legitimacy (as an advocator and as a peak body) - Funding	- Adequate resources - Legitimacy (as a service provider and as an advocator) - Funding
Political effectiveness	- Collaboration - Grassroots connections - Dynamic and adaptive	- Collaboration - Grassroots connections - Dynamic and adaptive

	- Ability to set the agenda - Ability to criticise policy proposals and decision-making - Reputation	- Ability to set the agenda in terms of advocacy (there is less importance placed on this measure) - Ability to criticise policy proposals and decision-making (based on the on-the-ground knowledge from service and program delivery) - Reputation
Policy effectiveness	- Ability to set policy agenda - Visibility - Performance outcomes	- Ability to set policy agenda - Visibility - Performance outcomes
Cultural and membership effectiveness	- Satisfaction of population group being advocated for - Satisfaction of membership group - Cultural and societal shifts and change	- Satisfaction of population group being advocated for and serviced (individuals affected by DFV, DFV services)

As demonstrated in Table 13, there are some slight differences in how measures of the dimensions of effectiveness are interpreted. For instance, legitimacy as a measure of organisational effectiveness differs depending on the organisational type. The legitimacy of an umbrella/advocacy organisation will be considered in terms of the organisation's legitimacy as an advocator and peak body, whereas the legitimacy of an SDA organisation will be considered in terms of the organisation's service provision and as an advocator. Similarly, the ability to set and influence the policy agenda as a measure of political effectiveness differs depending on the organisational type. An organisation's ability to set and influence the policy agenda will vary based on its role. For example, an SDA organisation's ability to set and influence the policy agenda will be based on its role as a service deliverer and advocate. Therefore, these organisations can use their on-the-ground knowledge for their advocacy. The role of service deliverer, however, may limit these organisations' capacity for advocacy. Lastly, the satisfaction of the population group being advocated for as a measure of cultural and membership effectiveness differs depending on the type of organisation. For instance, for SDA organisations, this satisfaction of those being advocated for extends to those receiving the organisation's services.

To summarise, the EC Framework consists of four dimensions used to assess the effectiveness of NGOs, organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. Each dimension is assessed individually as having high, medium, or low effectiveness. The evidence used to measure each indicator of the dimension may differ slightly based on the type of organisation. The following half of this chapter will discuss each criterion and its dimensions and measures.

4.2 Organisational effectiveness

This section will detail the dimension of organisational effectiveness in depth and will, in turn, explore the three indicators of this dimension: adequate resources, funding, and legitimacy. I will justify the indicators and measures, as well as discuss any possible challenges of these measurements. Table 14 below outlines the three indicators of organisational effectiveness, how these indicators are measured and assessed, and the types of evidence that can be used for this measurement.

Table 14: Organisational effectiveness and how it can be assessed

Organisational effectiveness		
Indicators of organisational effectiveness	**How this is measured**	**Types of evidence that can be used for measurement**
Adequate resources	Size of the organisation Number of paid staff and volunteers; is it proportional to organisational size? Connections held within government/ opposition and government departments, the media, and other organisations in the sector and/or outside of the sector Funding (see below)	Interviews with NGOs to understand organisation size, funding source and income revenue, connections held and with whom. Review of organisation's website and annual reports to determine size of organisation, staff/ volunteers, funding source, and income revenue.
Funding	Can generate, or has, an income stream outside of government funding and grants Can be self-reliant if needed Can manage income and knows how to use it for advocacy Income/funding stability	Interviews with NGOs to understand organisation size, funding source, and income revenue. Document analysis of organisation's annual reports and financial statements.

Legitimacy	In the eyes of government, the sector, and broader social movement	Interviews with policy-makers, bureaucrats, department heads to understand how the organisation is viewed by government. Interviews or surveys with the sector to understand how an NGO is viewed by the sector.

Organisational effectiveness measures the way in which the organisation operates as an indication of success. Prior research has shown the pivotal role organisational factors play in the effectiveness of organisations, which were categorised as processes in the literature review synthesis (see Des Rosiers, 2014; Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019). The rationale behind this dimension is that for an organisation to be considered as effective, it must be managed, operated, and governed well to reach the organisation's aims, goals, and values. Drawing upon the synthesis of processes in Chapter Three, several indicators can be used to determine whether an organisation is operating optimally. These include the organisation's financial status and funding arrangements and source/s, the organisation's legitimacy, and its governance. There are additional indicators overlooked by existing approaches to measuring an NGOs' effectiveness, which can indicate an organisation's effectiveness in this dimension, which enhances indicators in the other dimensions. Drawing on this prior research and synthesis, three indicators of organisational effectiveness have been identified: adequate resources, legitimacy, and funding. Importantly, organisational effectiveness is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness.

4.2.1 Adequate resources

Access to adequate resources is crucial for an organisation's effectiveness, as resources allow the organisation to operate, function, and carry out its duties (Edwards & Hulme, 1995; Des Rosiers, 2014; Petrikova, 2015; Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019). The greater the access to resources, the greater the capacity the organisation has to have an impact on public policy and achieve its organisational aims and goals, and thus to be effective. These resources, which can be measured, consist of the size of the organisation, the number of paid staff and volunteers, and the connections the organisation has. The size of the organisation gives an indication of access to resources, as smaller organisations tend to receive less funding, have less staff, less of a profile, and a reduced political pull (see Amagoh, 2015). Alternatively, a smaller organisation that does not have any service

provision responsibilities may prove to be more effective in lobbying efforts in comparison to a large NGO responsible for the delivery of programs and services. Therefore, the size of the organisation may be linked to its aims and goals. This is because an organisation with ambitious organisational aims and goals in conjunction with service or program delivery responsibilities, but with minimal staff may have a reduced capacity to reach its advocacy goals. If an organisation has only one or two paid staff, the capacity for advocacy and fulfilling other duties is greatly reduced. It is therefore important to measure whether the organisation has paid staff or relies on volunteers, and if the number of paid staff is in proportion to the size of the organisation. In addition, the number of paid staff not only provides an indication of the capacity of the organisation in terms of advocacy, but also gives an indication of whether the funding it receives is adequate for its duties (see Amagoh, 2015).

The connections held by an organisation are another key dimension of its access to adequate resources. These connections may include those held with government and the opposition, as well as government departments and policy agencies, with the media, and with other organisations within the sector. An organisation's connections can also provide an indication of whether it is politically effective (see Tazrelter, 2000; Zhang, 2018). This is because connections can create opportunities for advocacy in the form of contributing to public policy via consultation, raising awareness of policy issues, collaboration on advocacy efforts with other NGOs, and lobbying of government ministers and shadow ministers.

A variety of evidence can be used to assess whether an organisation satisfies these measures of adequate resources. This includes interviews with members of NGOs to understand the size of the organisation, sources of funding and income revenue, and the connections held by the organisation. In conjunction with this, NGOs' annual reports, financial statements, and staff profiles on their website can be reviewed.

4.2.2 Funding

The funding and income of an organisation contributes to its organisational effectiveness. Unsurprisingly, income and funding are crucial factors that affect an organisation's effectiveness which are identified within the literature (see Herman, 1990; Edwards, 1999; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Des Rosiers, 2014; Amagoh, 2015; Singhal, 2019). This is because without adequate funding and income, an NGO is unable to operate, and therefore, is unable to achieve its aims and goals. This establishes a criterion in which income and funding arrangements need to be stable and secure, as this allows NGOs to plan and execute long-term advocacy and organisational goals (Amagoh, 2015: 226-235). The source of the income revenue may also have a consequential impact on other aspects of an

organisation's effectiveness. If an NGO is solely reliant on the government for funding and does not have a viable alternative income stream, the organisation's effectiveness may be reduced (see Amagoh, 2015: 226-235). This is because governments can cut or significantly reduce funding for NGOs, or threaten to do so if the organisation is critical of government decisions (see Maddison, Hamilton & Denniss, 2004). Consequently, if NGOs' funding is reduced or cut entirely, they may not be able to continue their operations without a viable secondary income stream, thus reducing their ability to effectively influence public policy. Therefore, having multiple avenues for funding and a secondary income stream not tied to government can enhance an organisation's effectiveness. This creates greater autonomy for NGOs in their advocacy, as implicit threats by government to reduce or cut funding will not limit the organisation.

Not all organisations, however, will be able to generate a secondary income stream that is independent from government funding. A reliance on government funding may be more common among SDA organisations, as umbrella organisations generate a secondary income stream via their memberships. The sharing of resources through collaboration, which is a dimension of political effectiveness, can be helpful in these circumstances. This is because joint advocacy efforts may counter the inability to generate a secondary income and dependence on government funding. The sharing of resources between NGOs can provide some organisations with greater autonomy, as it reduces their reliance on government funds. This demonstrates the differences in the indicators across types of organisations, and how nuance is a crucial element of the framework.

An NGO simply having access to funding and/or having a stable and secure income stream is not enough to prove organisational effectiveness. The organisation must know what to do with the money and how best to utilise it to achieve its goals and enhance its advocacy. The mismanagement of funds and resources by NGOs may simply include directing large portions of their funds for purposes that are not aligned with the aims and goals the organisation is working towards. Other examples of mismanagement of funds can include criminal activities. Gibelman and Gelman (2001: 54) identified six common patterns of NGO wrongdoing, which includes "personal lifestyle enhancement, parallel enterprises, resource expansion opportunities, theft, mismanagement of resources, and sexual misconduct". While this mismanagement does not need to be on a grand scale, NGOs must be able to effectively manage and utilise their income in accordance with organisational aims and goals.

Evidence that can be used to assess the funding and financial circumstances of an NGO, include reviewing financial statements and the organisation's annual reports for data on

income streams, whether there is a reliance on government funding, the staff-to-volunteer ratio within the organisation, and the size of the organisation.

4.2.3 Legitimacy

Lastly, legitimacy is another common measure of NGO effectiveness within the existing effectiveness measures, as it suggests an organisation is considered as an expert (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Des Rosiers, 2014). Legitimacy is measured by whether the organisation is viewed as legitimate and as an expert in the eyes of government (and government departments and policy agencies), the sector, and the broader social movement the organisation belongs to. Organisations may not be recognised by their sector, which can indicate a lack of expertise and legitimacy, whereas an organisation that is recognised and welcomed by members of the sector could suggest the legitimacy of the organisation. Similarly, an NGO's legitimacy in the eyes of the broader social movement it belongs to is also key. This is because if an organisation is not accepted by the social movement it claims to belong to and represent, the expertise and advocacy of the NGO can be called into question. In addition, government having a working relationship with an NGO that is *not* accepted by the broader social movement may call into question the quality of policy advice being provided. For example, the organisation White Ribbon had been regularly criticised by the broader feminist movement for not being "fit-for-purpose" and for overshadowing the *International Day of the Elimination of Violence Against Women* with *White Ribbon Day* (Price, 2018; see also Bell & Flood, 2020).

In addition, recognition by government and government departments suggests legitimacy, particularly as being seen as legitimate by government increases the likelihood of a working relationship. If such a working relationship exists between the pair, this can also indicate legitimacy. This then accounts for the external factor of the receptiveness of the state and governments, as well as any working relationship feminist organisations have with governments, which can have an impact on organisational effectiveness (see Brinkerhoff, 1999; Zhang, 2018; Pacheco-Vega & Murdie, 2020). The legitimacy of an organisation relates to its political standing, as well as the NGO's reputation, and thus its political effectiveness. Despite this, it is considered as a measure of organisational effectiveness as an organisation's legitimacy affects whether it will receive government funding and access to other resources. This also further demonstrates how the dimensions of effectiveness are inter-related and connected.

If an NGO is considered as a legitimate actor in terms of advocacy by the government and not the relevant sector or broader social movement, this can reduce the organisation's effectiveness for this dimension. This is because this misalignment of legitimacy may be due

to the organisation's advocacy and advice being in line with the government's aspirations rather than the goals of the social movement. In other words, government may be consciously engaging with organisations that lack legitimacy in the sector or the social movement because these NGOs are seen as passive.

The evidence that can be used to assess the legitimacy of an organisation and the sector, and whether an organisation satisfies this measure includes interviews or surveys with members of NGOs and policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads. Additionally, a survey of the broader social movement can be used to understand how the organisation is viewed, as well as reviewing any public criticisms of the NGO. This will allow for the understanding of how an organisation is viewed by the government, the sector, and the broader social movement from all perspectives.

4.3 Political effectiveness

This section will detail in depth the dimension of political effectiveness and will, in turn, explore the six indicators of this dimension:

- Collaboration
- Grassroots connections
- Ability to be dynamic and adaptive
- Reputation
- Ability to criticise policy decision-making
- Ability to set and influence the policy agenda

I will justify the indicators and measures, as well as discuss any possible challenges of these measurements. Table 15 below outlines the six indicators of political effectiveness, how these are measured and assessed, and the types of evidence that can be used for this measurement.

Table 15: Political effectiveness and how it can be assessed

Political effectiveness		
Indicators of political effectiveness	**How this is measured**	**Types of evidence that can be used for measurement**

Collaboration	Does the organisation collaborate with other organisations within the sector? If so, in what capacity and how often does this occur? Does the organisation collaborate with other sectors? If so, in what capacity and how often does this occur? Sharing of resources to gain additional resources (inclusive of finances, staff or volunteers, knowledge/expertise, connections) Does the organisation have a membership and work with this membership? If so, in what capacity and how often does this occur?	Interviews with members of NGOs to understand existing partnerships and whether collaboration is a strategy used for advocacy. Document analysis of annual reports to identify engagements and collaborations with other organisations and/or sectors.
Grassroots connections	Who is on the organisation's board (are they key actors within the sector)? Does the organisation use volunteers and what are these volunteers' connections to the organisation or the broader social movement? Does the organisation engage with on-the-ground services or those with lived experiences? Is the advocacy driven by these grassroots connections? Who does the organisation consider itself accountable to, the membership, the social movement, or government?	Interviews with members of organisations to understand the importance of these grassroots connections to the organisation; whether grassroots connections are prioritised in informing the organisation's advocacy. Document analysis of annual reports to verify interview data and to identify who the board members of the organisations are and their connection to the broader movement; to identify engagement with the community and the organisation's membership/sector.
Ability to be dynamic and adaptive	Can the organisation adapt to changing circumstances (such as changes in government, government funding arrangements/amounts, changes in the working relationship)?	Age of the organisation and/or the jurisdictions in which it operates can indicate an ability to be dynamic and adaptive (long lasting organisations and operating across many jurisdictions and thus under differing governments indicates flexibility with strategies). Interviews with NGOs to identify strategies used to manage changing circumstances.

Reputation	The organisation's individual reputation in the eyes of the government and in the eyes of the social movement/sector (how the organisation is viewed by government and by the sector/movement) The collective reputation of the sector (how the sector as a whole is viewed by government)	Interview or survey organisations and the sector to understand how particular NGOs are viewed and seen within the movement/sector, and how the organisations think they are viewed by government. Interview or survey policy-makers, department heads, and bureaucrats to understand the reputation of the NGO and the sector as a whole.
Ability to criticise government policy decision-making	Does the organisation feel comfortable in criticising policy decisions (whether publicly or privately)? Is the organisation limited in its advocacy due to the fear of repercussions? If so, how does the organisation navigate this? Are there any contractual agreements which bind the organisation and prevent public statements from being made?	Interview or survey organisations to understand the dynamics of the working relationship, how comfortable organisations feel in being about to criticise government decisions, examples of where this has occurred. Interviews with policy-makers, bureaucrats, and government department heads to understand their processes of consultation and managing when there is disagreement. Identification of any form contractual agreements and obligations and what these are.
Ability to set and influence the policy agenda	Does the organisation make submissions to inquiries, sit in on inquiries, have regular contact with ministerial staff or government ministers, have regular contact with department heads or policy-makers, or engage regularly in consultations with government departments? Does the organisation regularly engage with relevant government departments (both formal and informal interactions)?	Interviews with members of NGOs, policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads of relevant government departments and policy agencies to understand the organisation's proximity to the policy process. Document analysis of annual reports, as these reports detail the policies in which the organisation has contributed to via consultation and other means. Annual reports also outline meetings with government ministers and engagements with government departments.

Political effectiveness measures the political standing of an organisation. By this, it refers to the organisation's status as a political actor and advocator, which has an impact on the NGO's ability to influence public policy, reach its organisational goals, and therefore, to be

effective (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Des Rosiers, 2014; Amagoh, 2015; Petrikova, 2015; Kelly, 2007). An organisation can, therefore, enhance its political standing to enhance its impact on policy, thus increasing its effectiveness. There are several indicators within the synthesis of existing effectiveness measures that relate to political effectiveness, which can be found across the synthesis of processes and outputs presented in Chapter Three. Additionally, I include other important indicators of political effectiveness which are overlooked in these existing approaches to measuring effectiveness. These include collaboration, grassroots connections, ability to be dynamic and adaptive, reputation, and the organisation's ability to provide frank and fearless advice. These indicators can be used to measure the criteria of political effectiveness.

4.3.1 Collaboration

Collaboration with other organisations within the sector, and with the sector overall, not only suggests legitimacy, which is an important measure of organisational effectiveness, but it can also enhance NGOs' standing within the sector and government. Collaboration has been found to enhance the effectiveness of organisations, and sectors more broadly, in terms of policy advocacy (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Amagoh, 2015; Petrikova, 2015; Kelly, 2007; Yan, Lin & Clarke, 2018). Within the existing measures of NGO effectiveness, collaboration is commonly referred to in relation to 'partnerships' and often refers to collaborations both within and outside of the sector. Given the inherently complex nature of domestic and family violence (DFV), collaboration both within and outside of the sector with other relevant sectors, is particularly common among feminist organisations. As a result of collaboration, organisations may have greater access to resources through sharing, which can increase NGOs' autonomy. This is particularly crucial in cases where SDA organisations' funding may not be enough to support their advocacy efforts. The collaboration and partnerships between large umbrella organisations and smaller SDA organisations may provide greater opportunities for advocacy otherwise unavailable to smaller NGOs. Similarly, the sharing of resources between larger and smaller NGOs can further enhance the political effectiveness of SDA organisations, as well as producing more outputs. Therefore, collaboration and partnerships can enhance and contribute to an organisation satisfying other indicators of the dimensions within the framework.

A variety of evidence can be used to assess whether an organisation engages in collaboration and partnerships as a strategy to enhance its effectiveness. This includes interviews with members of feminist organisations to understand existing partnerships and whether collaboration is viewed as a strategy for enhancing the organisation's policy impact. Document analysis of annual reports can also be used to cross-reference data gained

through interviews, as annual reports typically outline engagements and collaboration with other organisations and sectors.

4.3.2 Grassroots connections

Grassroots connections are particularly important for advocacy NGOs that belong to a wider social movement, and thus, can provide an indication of this connection to the social movement. This connection to the grassroots and the wider social movement is important as it suggests the organisation is remaining loyal to its aims and goals by being held accountable by these grassroots connections (see Des Rosiers, 2014). These connections also ensure that the organisation's advocacy is driven by the grassroots, rather than for the organisation's own advantage (see Amagoh, 2015: 222; Des Rosiers, 2014: 910). SDA organisations may have strong grassroots connections due to their service provision; likewise, umbrella organisations may have these strong connections due to their membership.

Strong grassroots connections can also provide an insight into the legitimacy of the organisation in the eyes of the sector, and whether the organisation is well-respected by the grassroots and the sector. This is a gap within the existing effectiveness measures, as grassroots connections are seldom acknowledged or measured as a factor of NGO effectiveness. However, the transparency and accountability of NGOs is identified as an important factor that contributes to organisational effectiveness. By looking at the transparency and accountability of NGOs through the lens of grassroots connections, a deeper understanding of the organisation's relationship with the social movement, membership (where applicable), and the organisational goals can be developed. Therefore, this directly relates to understanding the organisation's reputation and legitimacy, as NGOs with strong grassroots connections may have greater legitimacy in the eyes of the sector, the broader social movement, and government. Similarly, these grassroots connections may result in a positive reputation within the sector and the social movement.

A variety of evidence can be used to satisfy the grassroots connections of an NGO and the impact this has on an organisation's effectiveness. This includes interviews with members of organisations to understand the importance of these grassroots connections to the organisation, and document analysis of annual reports to verify interview data and to identify who the board members of the organisations are.

4.3.3 The ability to be dynamic and adaptive

Whether an organisation is dynamic and adaptive is another measure of political effectiveness. The ability to be dynamic and adaptive, such as responding to fast changing

circumstances, is crucial in remaining effective. These changing circumstances include inevitable changes of government, staff turnover in relevant government departments that the organisation may have a working relationship with, and fast-changing policy directions. Organisations that are dynamic and adaptive can be considered as having 'long-term sustainability', as argued by Amagoh (2015: 226-235), whereas organisations with no strategies in place to manage the inevitable changing circumstances of the bureaucracy may indicate disorganisation and suggest the organisation is ill-equipped for effective advocacy.

Collaboration, partnerships, the sharing of resources, and a secondary income stream separate from government funding may enhance an organisation's ability to be dynamic and adaptive. This may increase the longevity of the NGO and support it through changing circumstances, thus enhancing its effectiveness within this dimension.

Several pieces of evidence can be used to satisfy whether an organisation is dynamic and adaptive, which includes the age of the organisation and the jurisdictions in which it operates. The longer an organisation has existed, the more changes in government it has adapted to, and similarly, if an organisation operates across jurisdictions, it is experienced in working in different conditions. In addition, interviews with, or surveys of, members of NGOs can provide an indication of whether the organisation is dynamic and adaptive.

4.3.4 The ability to set and influence the policy agenda

The ability to set and influence the policy agenda is another measure of an NGO's effectiveness. Having the ability to set and influence the policy agenda may indicate a strong political standing and access to the policy process (see Tazrelter, 2000; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Zhang, 2018). This is a beneficial measure of political effectiveness as it suggests the ability to control the policy narrative and proximity to the policy process and policy-makers. Within existing measures of NGO effectiveness, access to the policy process is measured as a factor of effectiveness; however, simply having access to the policy process does not indicate an influence on public policy, only the potential for influence. Therefore, by measuring the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, a more comprehensive analysis of the extent to which organisations can, and do, influence public policy can be made. Connections with other organisations and sectors, the media, and government and opposition can enhance this indicator of political effectiveness. These connections may be used by NGOs to enhance their ability to set and influence the policy agenda by raising awareness of the policy issue and providing a platform for their advocacy.

Measuring the ability to set and influence the policy agenda may be challenging in some circumstances; however, several pieces of evidence can be used to satisfy the ability to do

so. This includes interviews with members of NGOs, policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads of relevant government departments and policy agencies to understand the organisation's proximity to the policy process. In addition, document analysis of annual reports can be undertaken to cross-reference data gained through interviews, as annual reports detail the policies which the organisation has contributed to via consultation and other means. Annual reports also outline meetings with government ministers and engagements with government departments; however, this does not guarantee that an influence on the policy agenda has been made. These meetings do provide an indicator of the organisation's connections and relationships with relevant government departments and government ministers, which can suggest a platform for influence over the policy agenda.

4.3.5 Reputation

The reputation of both the organisation and the sector can have an impact on the organisation's political effectiveness and its capacity for policy effectiveness (see Herman, 1990; Mitchell & Stroup, 2017). An NGO's reputation may affect whether government will engage in a working relationship with the organisation. This may be especially so for advocacy and social movement organisations, such as the feminist organisations in the scope of this thesis. Banaszak (2005) found that in the United States, organisations that were viewed as radical by the government were less likely to be consulted during the policy process. In contrast, the more moderate feminists were seen as more appealing to engage with in comparison to 'radical' organisations and actors.

Similar to legitimacy, the reputation of an organisation within the sector and the broader social movement is a key indicator to be measured when assessing political effectiveness. This may provide an insight into whether the organisation is well-regarded within the sector, and thus, may affect whether partnerships and collaborations with the organisation occur. Likewise, if an organisation is not accepted by the broader social movement, this may raise concerns about the quality of the NGO's advocacy. If an NGO is well-regarded by its sector and the broader social movement, but this is not shared by government, this may suggest that the organisation is viewed as a troublemaker or some other negative label. These organisations may struggle to be awarded with government funding for advocacy or service delivery. This provides an insight into the working relationship between the organisation and government, and whether tensions between the two prevent an NGO from being effective.

There may be observable differences in reputations across differing types of organisations. SDA organisations may have strong reputations for their service delivery according to government, but might not be well regarded for their advocacy, whereas umbrella organisations may have a reputation with some government departments as experts on a

particular policy issue, and thus, may be sought after for their policy advice. Overall, an organisation's reputation affects its political standing; therefore, this is considered an important measure of political effectiveness.

The reputation of an organisation may be challenging to measure, given the subjective and contested nature of the indicator, which may not be revealed. Several types of evidence can be used to satisfy an organisation's reputation, including interviews with, or surveys of, members of NGOs to gain an understanding of the reputation of the sector. In addition, these understandings can be cross-referenced by using interviews with, or surveys of, department heads, policy-makers, and bureaucrats to establish the reputation of both the sector and individual organisations. For instance, interviews with members of feminist organisations in the present study were used to gain an understanding of how the organisation views itself and how it believes it is perceived by both the broader sector and government. Additionally, a survey could be conducted of the broader social movement to understand the reputation of particular organisations. Other evidence may include the formal existence of a working relationship between a government department and an NGO, or the ceasing of a contractual agreement, which *may* indicate tensions in the relationship. This could provide some insight into why a particular NGO no longer receives government funding, for example.

4.3.6 The ability to criticise government decision-making

An NGO's ability to provide frank and fearless policy advice and to criticise government decision-making can also be used as a measure of political effectiveness. This is another gap within the literature, as the extent to which NGOs feel comfortable with criticising government policy decisions and proposals is only considered to be an important measure of effectiveness by one scholar (see Des Rosiers, 2014). This might be due to differences in the income sources of NGOs, as well as differences across countries, states, and sectors in the nature of the relationship between NGOs and governments. For advocacy NGOs, however, this ability to freely criticise government decisions and to freely provide policy advice is crucial for achieving an influence on policy and reaching organisational goals. In Australia, NGOs may not be able to freely provide their expert opinion or advice on policy proposals due to the fear of repercussions, particularly if they receive government funding which the organisation heavily relies on (see Maddison, Hamilton & Denniss, 2004). Consequently, this inability can have a negative impact on the organisation's effectiveness, as the organisation may be unable to assist in the creation of good policy due to the fear of losing their funding. Conversely, organisations that can speak frankly with their relevant government department and/or policy-maker or advisor on aspects of policy proposals or

decisions that pose a risk to women and children affected by DFV may have greater influence on policy outcomes. This further demonstrates how vital it is for NGOs reliant on government funding to have the ability to be self-reliant, if necessary, as this can provide these organisations with a sense of security and reduce the fear of repercussions.

Given the contested nature of this indicator, there are nevertheless some forms of evidence that can be used to satisfy whether NGOs can freely criticise government decision-making and policy proposals. This includes interviews with these organisations to gain an understanding of how they perceive their ability to criticise government decisions and any perceived consequences that might occur. For instance, in interviews with members of feminist organisations, members were asked about the biggest challenges in influencing DFV policy and how this was navigated. Moreover, members of feminist organisations were also queried on what strategies they used if they did not have this ability, and were asked to provide examples where applicable. Information gained through interviews with feminist organisations were corroborated with interviews with policy-makers, bureaucrats, and government department heads, as well as analysing any formal contractual agreements between government departments and feminist organisations.

4.4 Policy effectiveness

This section will detail in depth the dimension of policy effectiveness and will, in turn, explore the three indicators of this dimension:

- Ability to set and influence the policy agenda
- Visibility
- Performance outcomes

I will justify the indicators and measures, as well as discuss any possible challenges of these measurements. Table 16 below outlines the three indicators of policy effectiveness, how they are measured and assessed, and the types of evidence that can be used for this measurement.

Table 16: Policy effectiveness and how it is assessed

Policy effectiveness		
Indicators of policy effectiveness	**How this is measured**	**Types of evidence that can be used for measurement**

Ability to set and influence the policy agenda	Does the organisation make submissions to inquiries, sit in on inquiries, have regular contact with ministerial staff or government ministers, have regular contact with department heads or policy-makers, or engage regularly in consultations with government departments? Does the organisation regularly engage with relevant government departments (in both formal and informal interactions)?	Interviews with members of NGOs, policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads of relevant government departments and policy agencies to understand the organisation's proximity to the policy process. Document analysis of annual reports, as annual reports detail the policies which the organisation has contributed to via consultation and other means. Annual reports also outline meetings with government ministers and engagements with government departments.
Visibility	Does the organisation have a public profile to gain the attention of policy-makers and government? How often does the organisation engage with the media or social media, or make other appearances to enhance the visibility of the organisation and/or policy issue? Does the policy issue have a profile to gain attention (media attention, public attention)?	Interviews with NGOs and policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads to cross-reference each other's claims and gain an understanding of the profile of these NGOs. Organisation's annual reports can also be used to gather statistics on outreach, such as the number of meetings held with government ministers, conference attendance, and the number of media and social media engagements. Examination of organisation's social media profiles to examine engagement and output levels.
Performance outcomes	Tangible policy outcomes of an organisation's influence, i.e., the organisation contributed to X section of X policy, the organisation changed the wording to X policy/legislation	Interviews with members of organisations and with policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads, as well as document analysis of organisations' annual reports, policy documents, parliamentary transcripts, inquiry transcripts, and media releases.

Policy effectiveness measures policy outcomes directly resulting from NGOs' advocacy and policy contributions as an indication of effectiveness. Measuring performance outcomes as an indicator of NGO effectiveness is a common approach within the existing effectiveness literature (see Williams & Kindle, 1992; Australian Council for International Development,

2015). For an advocacy organisation to be considered as effective, it needs to be visible, can set and influence the policy agenda, and have tangible performance outcomes.

4.4.1 The ability to set and influence the policy agenda

The ability to set and influence the policy agenda remains as it stands for political effectiveness, and is considered as vital for policy effectiveness (see Tazrelter, 2000; Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012; Zhang, 2018). This is because the ability to set and influence the policy agenda can be considered as having an influence over the policy process and thus can be considered as a policy outcome. While external factors may affect and alter policy process decision-making, the influence over the policy process remains; for example, stopping the implementation of a proposed policy due to unforeseen circumstances, such as a global health pandemic. Evidence remains as outlined above in political effectiveness.

4.4.2 Visibility

The visibility of an NGO can have an impact on the organisation's policy effectiveness, as an organisation needs to be known and have a platform for its advocacy. Organisations need to have a public profile for policy-makers and government departments to know that, firstly, the organisation exists, and secondly, to engage with the organisation for policy consultation or service delivery. Quite simply, if an organisation has a low public profile, policy-makers and government may not know the organisation exists, and thus may not be engaged with the policy process. Lecy, Schmitz and Swedlund (2012) referred to this as 'name recognition', while Amagoh (2015: 226-235) described this as 'image building' and discussed it in terms of marketing strategies. The evidence that can be used to satisfy the visibility of NGOs is two-fold. Interviews with NGOs and policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads can cross-reference each other's claims and gain an understanding of the profile of these NGOs. Organisations' annual reports can also be used to gather statistics on outreach, such as the number of meetings held with government ministers, conference attendance, and the number of media and social media engagements. This can be cross-referenced with examining organisations' social media profiles to explore levels of engagement and output.

4.4.3 Performance outcomes

Finally, performance outcomes are examples of tangible policy outcomes as a direct result of the organisation's advocacy and contribution. Within existing measures of effectiveness, outcomes are commonly used to determine an organisation's effectiveness (see Herman, 1990; Williams & Kindle, 1992; Edwards, 1999; Coates & David, 2002; Marsh & McConnell, 2010; Amagoh, 2015; Kelly, 2007). This may include an organisation making a submission that identifies a policy issue and proposes a solution, which results in this policy issue being

addressed. Another example would be an NGO assisting with the language use of a policy or legislative draft, or an NGO's advocacy campaign resulting in the desired outcome. This may also include outcomes for membership, cultural and societal outcomes, and policy outcomes.

The extent to which this can be measured is limited, given that it is ultimately the government's decision, rather than NGOs', to change and implement public policy. NGOs can only lobby for policy outcomes and participate in the policy process where available. This indicator of policy effectiveness demonstrates why it is crucial to provide an assessment for each dimension, rather than an overall judgement of an organisation's effectiveness. This is because an organisation may have limited evidence to satisfy performance outcomes, but may have strong evidence for other indicators and dimensions of effectiveness.

The evidence that can be used to satisfy performance outcomes includes examples of policies which NGOs have influenced and/or contributed to. This can be gained via interviews with members of organisations and with policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads, as well as document analysis of organisations' annual reports, policy documents, parliamentary transcripts, inquiry transcripts, and media releases.

4.5 Cultural and membership effectiveness

This section will detail in depth the dimension of cultural/membership effectiveness and will, in turn, explore the three indicators of this dimension:

- Satisfaction of the population group being advocated for
- Satisfaction of the membership
- Cultural and societal shifts and changes

I will justify the indicators and measures, as well as discuss any possible challenges of these measurements. Table 17 below outlines the three indicators of cultural/membership effectiveness, how these indicators are measured and assessed, and the types of evidence that can be used for this measurement.

Table 17: Cultural/membership effectiveness and how it is assessed

Cultural/membership effectiveness		
Indicators of cultural/ membership effectiveness	How this is measured	Types of evidence that can be used for measurement

Satisfaction of the population group being advocated for	Is the population group being advocated for satisfied with the representation of the organisation and the advocacy efforts of the organisation?	Survey of victims and survivors of DFV, or services
Satisfaction of the membership	Is the membership satisfied with the representation of the organisation and the advocacy efforts of the organisation?	Survey of membership
Cultural and societal shifts and changes	By the organisation and by the sector	

Cultural and membership effectiveness measures how effectively an advocacy NGO represents its membership and population base which it claims to represent and advocate for. If an organisation is found to be organisationally, politically, and policy effective, but does *not* have the support and satisfaction of its population base, it would be disingenuous to label the organisation effective. The criteria of cultural and membership effectiveness can be measured in three ways: by the satisfaction of the population group the NGO is advocating for, the satisfaction of its membership if the organisation is a peak body, and by any cultural and societal shifts and changes due to the organisation's advocacy. This overlaps with the organisation's reputation as an indicator of political effectiveness and evidence for both indicators may be used.

It is important, however, to acknowledge that measuring cultural and societal shifts and changes as a direct result of the actions of advocacy NGOs is challenging to say the least. Staggenborg (1995: 342, 350) argued that social movements and organisations can be effective in terms of these societal and cultural shifts, which can result in policy change. This type of change is, however, challenging to measure when assessing an organisation's effectiveness. Nevertheless, the influence and ability to affect social and cultural change should not be overlooked (Staggenborg, 1995: 347):

> A feminist organisation that exerted little direct influence on public policy and accomplished none of its radical goals can be seen as effective if we take into account its mobilisation outcomes and broader cultural outcomes.

Therefore, according to Staggenborg (1995), organisations with low or moderate effectiveness may still be considered effective if they are able to mobilise and contribute to shifting and challenging gender norms that contribute to violence against women. Rather than measuring these changes as a result of *organisations*, societal and cultural shifts could be measured as a direct result of the broader social movement. This allows for more flexibility in measuring wide scale change and provides more accuracy, as wide scale change occurs through social movements and collective action rather than on an individual scale. In the context of the case study in the present research, these changes could be measured by surveying the public on their perceptions of gender norms, gendered violence, and even the influence of the feminist movement. In addition, surveys can be used to measure the satisfaction of the population group being advocated for, as well as the satisfaction of an umbrella organisation's membership. Measuring this satisfaction is vital in ensuring an organisation is meeting its organisational aims and goals, and that the organisation's advocacy is aligned with its intended advocacy. This relates to the organisation's reputation, which is a measure of political effectiveness, as how the organisation is regarded by its membership or population group can provide an insight into the organisation's effectiveness.

Overall, the Effectiveness Criteria Framework, which consists of four dimensions, can be used to measure the effectiveness of NGOs engaging in advocacy. This framework fills a significant knowledge gap, as it provides a measurement of NGO effectiveness that takes into consideration the impact of external factors on organisations' capacity to remain effective. As such, the EC Framework allows for the nuances of an organisation to be considered in measuring the NGO's effectiveness, while providing a standardised framework that can be used across different circumstances. As such, this EC Framework provides a significant contribution to knowledge.

In the following section of this chapter, I apply the EC Framework to the feminist organisations in the case study and will present the results of this application.

4.6 The effectiveness assessment of the feminist organisations

This section will present the results of the application of the EC Framework to the case study of Australian feminist organisations and the initial findings based on this application. I will display the results by type of organisation, beginning with umbrella organisations. It is important to note that this dimension of cultural and membership effectiveness has *not* been applied to the case study of the current research. This was due to time and scope limitations that restricted the ability to conduct surveys of membership satisfaction, and the satisfaction

of the population group being advocated for (i.e., victims and survivors of DFV). Additionally, the difficulty and ethical challenges in surveying the population also provided limitations.

An in-depth assessment was conducted of each NGO drawing on secondary data, internal NGO documentation and the research interview data. To assess the effectiveness of these Australian feminist organisations, demographics data was extracted to provide an initial assessment. This data included the size of the organisation, the number of staff and/or volunteers, a financial breakdown, services delivered by the organisation, and the types of advocacy the organisation engaged in (see Appendix 2 and 3). Following this, the data were organised against the measures of each dimension of effectiveness to showcase evidence of these measures based on a total of 21 interviews and document analysis (see Chapter Three for more detail of the methodology), as demonstrated in Appendix 2 and 3. To provide an example of the assessment of an organisation, below is the assessment of Women's Safety NSW. To see an in-depth assessment of each feminist organisation's effectiveness and the evidence used to measure the three dimensions (organisational, political, and policy) of effectiveness on a spectrum, see Appendix 2.

Women's Safety NSW

Organisational effectiveness

Table 18: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Women's Safety NSW

Adequate resources	██████████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ██████ governmental department (4) • Organisation's 2019-2020 annual report • Other annual reports • Media engagements listed in annual reports/social media

Legitimacy	██	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ████ governmental department (4)

Political effectiveness

Table 19: Political effectiveness assessment of Women's Safety NSW

Collaboration	██	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Annual reports
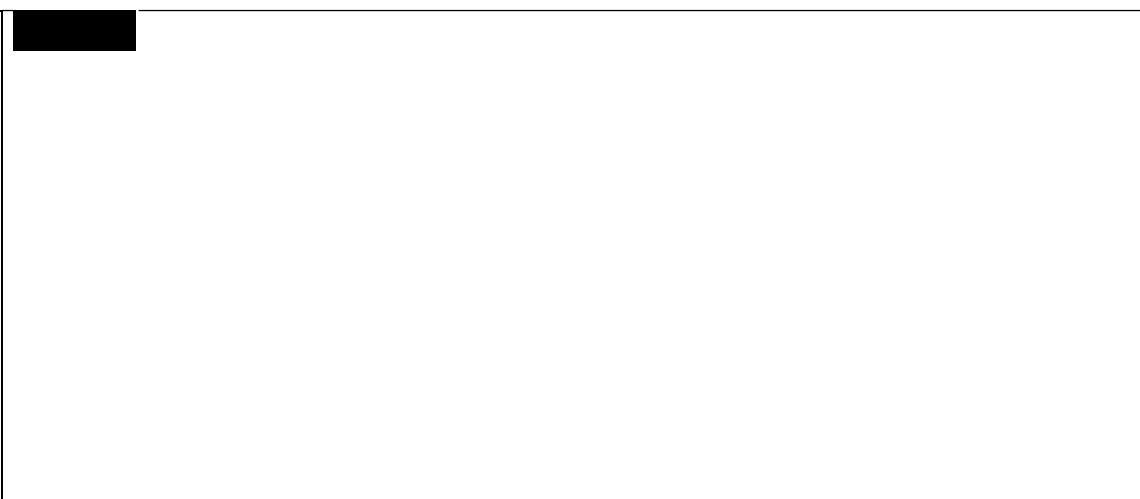
Sharing of resources	████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation
Grassroots connections	████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Annual reports
Dynamic and adaptive	████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ████ governmental department (4)

Ability to set agenda	██	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ███ governmental department • Annual reports
Reputation	██	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation, federal policy advisor, and relevant ███ governmental department (4)

Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	███	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation

Policy effectiveness

Table 20: Policy effectiveness assessment of Women's Safety NSW

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	██████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ████ governmental department (4) • Annual reports

Visibility	■■■	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Annual reports
Performance outcomes	■■■	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and other organisations where Women's Safety NSW was mentioned • Annual reports

Table 21: Comparison of heatmaps of feminist organisations

Umbrella/advocacy organisations

	Organisational	Political	Policy
Our Watch	M	H	H
AWAVA	M	H	H
No To Violence	H	H	H
Embolden	H	H	M
DV NSW	H	H	M
DV Vic	H	H	H
Women's Safety NSW	L	M	M

Service delivery and advocacy organisations

	Organisational	Political	Policy
Women with Disabilities Victoria	L	M	M
Women's Health Victoria	M	M	M
Women's Health West	M	M	L
Yarredi Services	L	M	M

Based on this evidence, organisations were given an assessment of high, medium, or low for each criterion of effectiveness. These assessments are arranged below in heatmaps for each organisation. The results reveal there is a clear difference in effectiveness across the three criteria between umbrella/advocacy organisations and organisations that engage in SDA. Below are the heatmaps for each organisation, organised by organisational type and provides an overview of the assessment of the effectiveness of each organisation.

4.6.1 Umbrella organisation

Our Watch

Table 22: Heatmap of Our Watch

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
M-H*	H	H

As highlighted in Chapter Two, Our Watch is considered the leading organisation in the DFV advocacy space and has an extremely strong working relationship with the federal and state governments. As this working relationship with both the federal and state governments is also the main source of income for the organisation, this reliance on government funding does reduce Our Watch's organisational effectiveness to moderate-to-high. The organisation has strong evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of political and policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having moderate-to-high organisational effectiveness, and high political and policy effectiveness.

Australian Women Against Violence Alliance (AWAVA)

Table 23: Heatmap of Australian Women Against Violence Alliance (AWAVA)

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
M-H*	H	H

The Australian Women Against Violence Alliance was the national peak body for DFV organisations and received funding for this role; however, this government funding was cut in mid-2021. The organisation is still operating despite this change in the funding; however, more time is needed to assess the impact of this on AWAVA's organisational effectiveness. During the period of the case study, however, the organisation was receiving government funding. This reliance on government funding during this period did reduce AWAVA's organisational effectiveness to moderate-to-high. The organisation has strong evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of political and policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having moderate-to-high organisational effectiveness, and high political and policy effectiveness.

No To Violence

Table 24: Heatmap of No To Violence

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
H	H	H

No To Violence is the peak body in Victoria for men's behaviour change services and receives funding for this role, as well as receiving funding across four other jurisdictions. The organisation is unique in that it is also an SDA organisation; however, as the organisation is large, it has the capacity to engage in SDA. The organisation has strong evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of organisational, political, and policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having moderate-to-high organisational effectiveness, and high political and policy effectiveness.

Embolden/CWDVSSA

Table 25: Heatmap of Embolden/CWDVSSA

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness

H	H	M

Embolden/CWDVSSA is the peak body for DFV services in South Australia and, as of 2018, receives government funding for this role. Prior to receiving this funding, the organisation was able to be self-reliant financially from the late 70s when the organisation was established. The organisation has a strong working relationship with the South Australian government. The organisation has strong evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of organisational and political effectiveness, with moderate evidence supporting policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having high organisational and political effectiveness, and moderate policy effectiveness.

Domestic Violence NSW (DV NSW)

Table 26: Heatmap of Domestic Violence NSW (DV NSW)

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
H	H	M

Domestic Violence NSW is the peak body in NSW for DFV services and receives funding from the NSW government for providing policy advice. As such, the organisation has a strong working relationship with the government and relevant corresponding state departments. The organisation has strong evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of organisational and political effectiveness, with moderate evidence supporting policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having high organisational and political effectiveness, and moderate policy effectiveness.

Domestic Violence Victoria/ Safe and Equal

Table 27: Heatmap of Domestic Violence Victoria/Safe and Equal

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness

H	H	H

Domestic Violence Victoria is the leading peak body within the DFV space in Victoria and is funded as such. The organisation does have a strong working relationship with the Victorian government and relevant corresponding state departments. The organisation has strong evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of organisational, political, and policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having high organisational, political, and policy effectiveness.

Women's Safety NSW

Table 28: Heatmap of Women's Safety NSW

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
L	M	M

Women's Safety NSW was the peak body for women's court advocacy support services in New South Wales and received funding from relevant corresponding state departments during the period under examination. The organisation, however, was found to have low organisational effectiveness due to insecure and unstable funding, which was ultimately ceased in June 2021. Without this government funding, the organisation was unable to operate and as such dissolved. While this occurred outside of the period of the case study, it does provide an insight into how government viewed the organisation and the organisation's inability to be self-reliant if necessary. The working relationship with government was not found to be as productive as other organisations; however, the organisation has been influential in contributing to DFV policies. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having low organisational effectiveness and moderate political and policy effectiveness.

4.6.2 Service delivery and advocacy organisations

Women with Disabilities Victoria

Table 29: Heatmap of Women with Disabilities Victoria

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
L	M*	M

Women with Disabilities Victoria is a program deliverer and advocacy organisation positioned between two different sectors, which has an impact on the organisation's effectiveness. For this reason, the multi-faceted nature of the organisation affects its capacity to be effective when engaging with government. The organisation has evidence to support the satisfaction of the measures of political and policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having low organisational and moderate political and policy effectiveness. Political effectiveness is enhanced through collaboration which is reflected in the assessment.

Women's Health Victoria

Table 30: Heatmap of Women's Health Victoria

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
M	M	M

Women's Health Victoria is a service delivery organisation first and foremost, and engages in advocacy where possible. For this reason, the multi-faceted nature of the organisation affects its capacity to be effective in some ways. While the organisation has been influential towards DFV policies in Victoria, collaborates regularly with other women's health organisations, and has strong grassroots connections, the positioning between two different sectors affects the organisation's effectiveness. The organisation has some evidence to support the satisfaction of organisational, political, and policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having moderate organisational, political, and policy effectiveness.

Women's Health West

Table 31: Heatmap of Women's Health West

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
M	M	L

Women's Health West is a service delivery organisation first and foremost and engages in advocacy where possible. For this reason, the multi-faceted nature of the organisation affects the organisation's capacity to be effective in some ways. The organisation has some evidence to support the satisfaction of organisational and political effectiveness, but limited evidence for policy effectiveness. For this reason, the organisation has been assessed as having moderate organisation and political effectiveness, with low policy effectiveness in terms of DFV policy.

Yarredi Services

Table 32: Heatmap of Yarredi Services

Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness
L	M*	M

Yarredi Services is a service delivery organisation that engages in advocacy as needed. For this reason, the multi-faceted nature of the organisation affects the organisation's capacity to be effective in some ways. In addition, the isolation of the organisation as a rural service, and the smaller DFV advocacy sector in South Australia compared to the other jurisdictions reduces the organisation's political effectiveness. The organisation has limited evidence to support the satisfaction of organisational effectiveness, largely due to minimal connections. There is some evidence to support the satisfaction of political and policy effectiveness. Political effectiveness is enhanced through collaboration and this is reflected in the assessment.

In summary, these heatmaps of the assessments of the Australian feminist organisations in the scope of this research demonstrate variations in effectiveness levels across organisational types. The following section will outline the results of the application of the criteria of effectiveness factors in greater detail.

4.6.3 The results of the application of the criteria of effectiveness framework

This section will outline the results of the application of the criteria framework to the case study by discussing variations in effectiveness levels across the feminist organisations. I will identify two contributing factors, which can offer an explanation for these differences in the levels of effectiveness among Australian feminist NGOs. Within this, I will discuss two key observations within these variations.

The ways in which feminist NGOs have influenced DFV policies vary depending on the organisation, the jurisdiction, and the context. Two factors were found to have a significant impact on feminist organisation's effectiveness: the type of organisation and the working relationship with government and government departments. This relationship will be discussed and analysed in greater detail in the following chapters; however, it is important to acknowledge the connection between the quality of the working relationship with government and the effectiveness of feminist NGOs. Having a working relationship with government and government departments creates opportunities for influencing and contributing to the policy process at any stage. This relationship may allow organisations an open dialogue to set the policy agenda by bringing policy issues to light, or organisations may assist in the development stage of the policy process. Therefore, this relationship can either enhance organisations' effectiveness or limit their capacity for effectiveness and ability to influence and contribute to DFV policies. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters; however, it is imperative to acknowledge this finding evident in the assessment and results.

4.6.3.1 Variations of effectiveness between differing types of organisations

Importantly, the assessment of the feminist NGOs in the scope of this research are being assessed for the effectiveness of DFV policy influence, rather than an overall assessment. There are two key observations within these variations of effectiveness levels between the different types of organisations: differences in levels of organisations' capacity for advocacy and government's preference for engaging with umbrella organisations.

Firstly, for SDA organisations, the delivery of services and programs is essential and the organisation's highest priority. As a result, advocacy may occur on an ad-hoc basis where resources and time allow. The size of the organisation greatly affects this, as larger organisations with more resources and greater capacity to engage in SDA may be more effective across the effectiveness criteria. Within the scope of the present study, almost all the organisations that engaged in SDA were smaller with limited resources and capacity. Therefore, it is not surprising these organisations were found to have lower levels of effectiveness compared to larger organisations. In addition, performance outcomes varied considerably across the feminist organisations in the scope of this thesis, which could be explained by the differences in organisational type. These differences in performance outcomes could also be explained by

differing strategies used to enhance organisational advocacy, differing access to resources, and nuances in the relationship with government. The political climate in each jurisdiction also affected the feminist organisations' performance outcomes, particularly if certain governments were not receptive to these organisations, or conversely, were more receptive. This is the case in Victoria, which established a Royal Commission into Family Violence following the high-profile murder of Luke Batty and the public interest in Rosie Batty's story. The effect this has on organisations' effectiveness will be explored and discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Secondly, governments prefer to engage with peak bodies and umbrella organisations as this allows for broader consultation in a shorter space of time (see Fraussen & Halpin, 2018: 24). This results in umbrella organisations being most effective in terms of achieving policy influence, and can, in some instances, shut smaller organisations out of the policy process. Smart and Quartly (2014: 348) made similar observations, noting that feminist NGO peak bodies felt as if they were being used to silence women's voices, rather than being used as a way of reaching a larger audience. This subsequently results in smaller organisations being excluded from the policy process. This is not uncommon and is standard practice by governments and bureaucratic institutions; however, this does provide a significant barrier to smaller organisations' advocacy and policy influence (see Fraussen & Halpin, 2018). While the smaller organisations in the scope of this thesis were not completely excluded from the policy process, as evidenced by each organisation having performance outcomes, these performance outcomes were not as significant as those of the umbrella organisations. Umbrella organisations may have greater effectiveness due to having greater access to resources and connections, more staff, and higher public profiles, or it may simply be due to government preferences for engagement. Correspondence and interviews with policy-makers and department heads, as well as reports, supports the notion that peak bodies are preferred for engagement and consultation, as this allows government departments to get a range of perspectives in a shorter timeframe.

This is particularly evident as many of the larger umbrella organisations had a paramount role in the development of key national and state DFV policy responses and policy frameworks. In terms of the NPRVAWC, Our Watch was established under the First Plan of the National Plan, and as such, has had a crucial role in establishing the evidence base. This evidence base has been used by the state and territory governments to inform their policy responses under the National Plan. Consequently, Our Watch has worked closely with each state and territory government to shape their state policy and continues to work alongside these governments as they implement these policies. This is a significant performance outcome, as Our Watch has contributed to and shaped DFV policies across Australia in each jurisdiction, including the National Plan. Additionally, AWAVA also played an important role in the overarching National Plan framework, particularly the Third Action Plan, as well as subsequent policies that come under the NPRVAWC.

Similarly, several state umbrella organisations have had key roles in the development and implementation stages of their state's policy response to the National Plan in addressing DFV. In Victoria, Domestic Violence Victoria played a central role in the Royal Commission into Family Violence and helped shape the recommendations that were made as part of its findings. This is a significant performance outcome, as the state's policy responses implemented each of the recommendations made in the final report. This Royal Commission set the tone for the state's policy response, and as such, this is a significant contribution and performance outcome of the organisation Domestic Violence Victoria. Moreover, No To Violence was a smaller organisation at the time, delivering services across jurisdictions; however, the organisation also heavily contributed to the Royal Commission. This involvement in the Royal Commission saw the organisation grow in both size and capacity, increasing its SDA roles. Women with Disabilities Victoria was also heavily involved in the state's Royal Commission into Family Violence and made 16 recommendations in total relating to gendered violence and people living with disabilities. While the state government made a commitment to implement all 16 recommendations, the ways in which these recommendations were implemented was somewhat mixed.

Likewise, Domestic Violence NSW also contributed considerable policy advice to the state's policy response in addressing DFV, It Stops Here (Domestic Violence NSW, 2014). This advice was predominantly in the implementation phase of the policy process; however, this can still be considered a performance outcome as the organisation helped shape how the policy was carried out. In South Australia, the Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services, now known as Embolden, was paramount in the establishment of a South Australian Parliamentary working group dedicated to DFV. In 2016, the working group released a number of recommendations to the state government to address gendered violence, some of which were later implemented and are evidenced in subsequent implemented policies (see Novak, 2016).

For the smaller organisations and service providers, however, having a direct working relationship with government departments, government ministers, and policy-makers was rare and reported to be more of a struggle. This subsequently affects the ability of these organisations to be effective, which may be reflected in the heatmaps shown previously. Conversely, the collaboration between SDA organisations and umbrella organisations through their membership was identified as a means of enhancing these smaller organisations' political effectiveness. Therefore, smaller organisations can enhance their own effectiveness through using the proximity to government of umbrella organisations. These challenges and difficulties were also reflected in the performance outcomes of smaller organisations, which varied more and were less significant than the larger umbrella organisations. This is because these organisations necessarily prioritised the delivery of their services and programs and thus had less emphasis and resources to devote to advocacy. This working relationship between feminist organisations and government and bureaucratic institutions will be explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

While these organisations' performance outcomes may be less significant, this does not negate their performance outcomes. This is because many of these organisations have been successful in influencing and contributing to policy change due to their on-the-ground knowledge and first-hand experience of policy shortcomings and failures, which they are able to accumulate because of their service delivery commitments. This also means that SDA organisations' performance outcomes may not directly relate to the policies in scope; however, the vast majority fall under the state's policy response to the National Plan. Performance outcomes of these organisations include: heavily shaping the development of additional policy responses addressing DFV; ensuring rural women who have experienced sexual assault have qualified doctors able to conduct examinations without having to travel a lengthy distance; and affixing duress buttons in safe houses or in the homes of those at increased risk of experiencing violence. Other performance outcomes are more recent, as almost all the organisations spoke of their increased advocacy over the global pandemic and calls on governments to adequately respond to the increased risk posed to women and children vulnerable to DFV. Therefore, within this context, being a service delivery organisation has both a positive and negative impact on an NGOs' effectiveness.

Overall, the results of the application of the EC Framework to the case study of feminist NGOs demonstrate significant differences in levels of effectiveness across organisational types within the case study. The results of this application noted that umbrella organisations were found to have higher levels of effectiveness overall, compared to SDA organisations. The following chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of these results and will identify significant challenges and barriers to feminist NGOs' effectiveness.

4.7 Conclusion

Based on the synthesis of the systematic literature review findings and the existing effectiveness measures, I developed a new framework for the analysis of the effectiveness of the feminist organisations under examination. This chapter presented the EC Framework used for measuring NGO effectiveness and presented the results of the application of this framework to the case study of Australian feminist organisations. This provides a significant contribution to knowledge by filling a knowledge gap of NGO effectiveness measures that can be applied to a broad spectrum of NGOs, rather than being movement- or context-specific. My EC Framework consists of the following four dimensions of organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. It was argued that how these factors are defined and measured may differ depending on the type of organisation, and whether the organisation was an umbrella organisation or a service delivery organisation that engages in advocacy where possible. In addition, this chapter presented the results of the application of the EC Framework to the case study. It was found that there is a significant difference in levels of effectiveness between umbrella organisations and organisations that engage in SDA. It was argued that umbrella organisations were found to have higher levels of

effectiveness overall, compared to SDA organisations. By doing so, this chapter has made a significant contribution to knowledge by developing a framework of NGO effectiveness and applying it to the case study of Australian feminist organisations.

The following chapter presents the analysis of the application of the EC Framework to the case study and the challenges of the working relationship with government that affects these organisations' effectiveness that is specific to the feminist movement in Australia. Chapter Five will argue that feminist organisations employ several strategies to enhance their capacity for effectiveness and overall contribution to DFV policies.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ANALYSIS OF FEMINIST NGOS' EFFECTIVENESS

The aim of this chapter is to present the analysis of the application of the EC Framework to the case study of Australian feminist NGOs. To do so, I will draw upon the empirical data from the semi-structured interviews conducted with members and representatives of feminist NGOs, policy-makers, and department heads. This will allow for an understanding of the barriers affecting NGOs' capacity for effectiveness and to identify how these are managed. The previous chapter presented the Effectiveness Criteria framework consisting of four dimensions: organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. This EC framework was applied to the feminist organisations in the case study and found a significant difference in the levels of impact between umbrella organisations and organisations that engage in service delivery and advocacy (SDA).

This chapter begins with a short summary of the EC Framework before identifying and exploring the challenges of the working relationship between NGOs and governments and government departments. I argue that feminist organisations experience several inherent challenges within this working relationship, which consequently has a negative impact on their capacity for effectiveness. I identity three main themes from the findings of semi-structured interviews of the barriers and challenges experienced by these organisations. These include the shifting of responsibility between government departments, government preferences for quick policy solutions to DFV, and the differences in expectations within the relationship and on policy impact. I find these feminist NGOs employ several strategies to overcome these challenges and enhance their effectiveness and overall contribution to DFV policies and explore these in turn. These strategies used by feminist NGOs to overcome barriers include cementing expertise and legitimacy, collaboration and the use of connections, and bipartisanship. By doing so, this chapter will provide a significant contribution to knowledge by deepening the understanding of Australian feminist NGOs, how they operate, and how effective they are in contributing to DFV policy.

5.1 A summary of the Effectiveness Criteria framework

As outlined in Chapter Four, the Effectiveness Criteria (EC) framework consists of four dimensions of effectiveness, each with their own indicators used to measure each criterion. These four dimensions are organisational effectiveness, political effectiveness, policy effectiveness, and cultural/membership effectiveness.

Table 33: The Effectiveness Criteria Framework

Dimensions of effectiveness	Organisational effectiveness	Political effectiveness	Policy effectiveness	Cultural / membership effectiveness[5]
Indicators	- Adequate resources (connections, size of the organisation, paid staff/ volunteers) - Legitimacy (by government, the sector, and the broader social movement) - Funding	- Collaboration - Grassroots connection - Dynamic and adaptive - Ability to set policy agenda - Reputation (individually and collectively) - Ability to give frank advice, including the ability to criticise government policy decisions	- Ability to set and influence policy agenda - Visibility - Performance outcomes	- Satisfaction of the population group being advocated for - Satisfaction of the membership - Cultural and societal shifts and changes (by the organisation and the sector)

Organisational effectiveness refers to how the organisation is governed and operationalised. This is measured by NGOs' access to adequate resources, such as funding, connections, the size of the organisation, and the legitimacy of the organisation both in the eyes of government and the sector. Political effectiveness refers to an organisation's political standing and status; essentially, how much political pull they have. This is measured by seven factors: whether the NGO engages in collaboration with other organisations and the sector, the sharing of resources, whether the organisation has grassroots connections and how strong these connections are, the organisation's reputation, the organisation's ability to set the policy agenda, whether the organisation is dynamic and adaptive, and lastly, whether the organisation can criticise government policy decisions. Policy effectiveness refers to tangible policy outcomes due to the organisation's advocacy. This is measured by the organisation's ability to set and influence the policy agenda, the organisation's visibility, and the performance outcomes of the organisation. Finally, cultural membership effectiveness refers to any cultural and societal change brought on by the organisation and how effective it is at representing its membership and cause. The cultural and membership effectiveness of the 11 feminist organisations in scope has not been assessed due to the time limitations of the research. This did not have an impact on the assessment of the effectiveness of the organisations, as each individual dimension is evaluated separately, rather than through a single overarching assessment.

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[5] It is important to note that the cultural and membership effectiveness of the feminist NGOs in the case study has not been examined due to time limitations of the research.

The following section presents an analysis of the common challenges within the working relationship identified by feminist organisations that act as barriers to NGO effectiveness. This is followed by a discussion of the strategies used by feminist organisations to overcome these challenges and enhance their effectiveness.

5.2 The challenges of the working relationship with the state and governments on organisations' capacity for effectiveness

The results of applying the EC Framework to the case study, in conjunction with the thematic data analysis, revealed the common challenges of the working relationship with the state and governments as experienced by feminist organisations. This section discusses and analyses the barriers and challenges faced by feminist NGOs in their engagement with the state and governmental departments, and how these affect an organisation's capacity to be influential and effective. As a result of barriers and challenges experienced by Australian feminist NGOs, the impact of the working relationship on organisation's policy influence is found to be deeply complex and nuanced. This is because having a working relationship with government does not guarantee effectiveness and policy influence, as how this proximity is utilised, the strategies used when engaging with governments, and the autonomy of the organisation remain key. Importantly, the extent of an organisation's policy influence can remain limited by this relationship if the organisation remains dependent upon government, whether financially or for access to the policy process. Three significant barriers have been identified: the shifting of responsibility between government departments and levels of government, government preferences for quick policy responses to DFV, and differences in expectations of policy influence.

5.2.1 The passing of the buck between government departments and policy agencies

The highly complex nature of DFV, combined with the whole-of-government approach of the four policy frameworks in the scope of the case study, is accompanied by significant challenges for feminist organisations. Feminist organisations often simultaneously engage with several government departments and policy agencies, both for their advocacy and for program or service delivery. This is particularly true for intersectional feminist organisations, which address specific aspects of gendered violence, such as women's health services, Indigenous DFV and homelessness, and women with disabilities experiencing such violence. This diversity among feminist organisations also included umbrella organisations representing these support services. Engagement across several government departments and policy agencies for advocacy and service delivery can result in a range of challenges.

Several feminist organisations reported the 'passing of the buck' between government departments and policy agencies as a barrier to organisations' influence and effectiveness. These organisations described 'getting stuck' in cycles of identifying policy issues to a government department, and subsequently being told the policy issue was not within the department's jurisdiction before being

redirected to another department. Members of feminist organisations reported raising a policy issue with a government department they had been referred to, only to be redirected back to the department they had initially approached.[6] This shifting of responsibility by government departments not only demonstrates a lack of serious intent in addressing gendered violence, it also has a negative effect on feminist organisations' capacity for influence. If feminist organisations are unable to identify a policy issue to government departments, this will consequently affect the working relationship between the feminist organisation and these government departments. Similarly, this shifting of responsibility was also identified by feminist organisations in relation to government funding. Some organisations reported government departments rejecting advocacy and education campaigns for primary prevention as these were not viewed as relevant for their funding and departmental responsibilities.[7] As a result, this acts as a barrier to feminist organisations' capacity to influence DFV policy, and to the organisation's effectiveness.

> We have a bit of tension in that [one government department], which is our core funding, don't necessarily think we should be doing work in the prevention of violence against women with that funding. So, they see it as 'oh well you get funding from [another government department] to do that work' but the [second government department] effectively only gives us top-up funding, it's not enough to actually fund all of our work in the prevention of violence [SDA2].

The 'passing of the buck' between government departments and policy agencies has also been observed in other sectors and across different levels of government. Harrison (1993) observed this shifting of responsibility between different levels of government in Canada in relation to environmental policy. She argued the federal Canadian government relied on the overlapping of jurisdictions to absolve itself from environmental protection responsibilities (Harrison, 1993: ii-iii). This passing of the buck observed in the case study can also be attributed to the dismissal of responsibility by government departments and policy agencies. However, this could also be attributed to a lack of understanding of the intersectionality needed to address gendered violence.

Several organisations recalled their funding department telling the organisation that a particular policy issue or service need was not relevant to the department because it was outside of their jurisdiction. For example, an organisation in the case study which was receiving funding for homelessness services recalled the corresponding department dismissing the correlation with DFV, despite the organisation highlighting DFV as a key contributing factor to homelessness and the responsibility of the organisation to ensure their clientele can access safe housing. Suffice to say that DFV is one of the leading causes of homelessness in Australia (see Murray & Powell, 2011: 31, 103-120). This shows a disregard for the complexity of the issue of gendered violence, which requires a whole-of-government approach to address the complexity of the issue. Those

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[6] For example, SDA1, SDA2, SDA4 shared instances of this occurrence.
[7] As above.

affected by gendered violence interact with several services and government departments, including housing support, police and justice, health services, and community services (Murray & Powell, 2011: 9-10). In addition, this also contradicts the whole-of-government approach taken in the policy frameworks within the case study. A coordinated, whole-of-government approach is required, in conjunction with secure and stable funding, not only to address gendered violence, but also to ensure that the NPRVAWC reaches its deliverables and goals (Hill, 2019: 346). This shifting of responsibility results in feminist organisations and the DFV sector using their limited time and energy to demonstrate why the issue of DFV relates to these government departments, and why it requires a coordinated approach, rather than using their resources for service delivery or policy advocacy. Furthermore, this also demonstrates the importance of collective action for advocacy in achieving an influence and contributing to DFV policy.

> … we talk about safety first because that's with any client, we ask 'are you safe?'. That's the first thing we find out about no matter what we deal with, no matter what, it's always about are they safe, because that's the issue for them. It's not about putting them in a house, it's about having them somewhere safe and trying to make them safe. So that's been recognised so, you know, being able to have that common voice [collectively within the sector], that consistent message has been really important to ensure that it's recognised by the government [SDA4].

This shifting of responsibility not only occurs across government departments and policy agencies, but also across levels of government. The impact of federalism in the sharing of responsibilities, however, may not always act as a barrier for feminist NGOs. Chappell (2000: 152) observed over 20 years ago that feminist actors were able to use federalism to their advantage by finding opportunities for influence across the different levels of government. This may not be as applicable to the feminist organisations in the scope of the case study in this thesis; however, there is capacity to draw upon greater relationships with one level of government to facilitate a relationship with another level.

Hill (2019: 346-347) argued that this lack of a coordinated approach to addressing DFV, and the vague long-term goals set out in the NPRVAWC demonstrates a "haphazard approach". She suggested this may be a symptom of a larger issue, and instead, reflects the apprehension of governments to commit what is needed to address the issue of gendered violence:

> So why aren't we setting measurable goals for reducing domestic abuse? Is the current approach – with its long-range goals – popular with government *because* it avoids accountability?

This leads into the discussion of another common barrier identified by the feminist organisations in the case study. Overall, the passing of the buck by government departments was identified as a key challenge experienced by feminist organisations to the working relationship and their advocacy. While the overarching national policy framework, NPRVAWC, involves a coordinated

and whole-of-government approach to addressing gendered violence, the shifting of responsibility contradicts and undermines this.

5.2.2 The nature of DFV and the solutions: government preferences for 'quick fixes'

Addressing DFV requires systemic, structural social change. It requires both an immediate response in the form of funding support and social services, as well as primary prevention to address the underlying causes of gendered violence. The feminist movement and feminist organisations have been calling for this response for years (Murray & Powell, 2011: 121). While the policy frameworks within the case study focus on addressing violence in both an immediate sense and in terms of primary prevention, feminist organisations reported experiencing resistance from government ministers and policy-makers.

> It's much more difficult to convince all politicians that in order to stop violence against women from happening in the first place, you need to shift the gendered structure of society. […] I think that's one of the barriers, in a general sense, is that policy-makers and government don't want to be told to do structural change. So, I think that's a big barrier – lifting the focus up from the individual to the structural level and the policy level [U4].

From the perspective of feminist organisations, there appears to be a disconnect with government ministers and with governments between the primary prevention measures detailed within the four policy frameworks in the case study and what governments commit to. Members of feminist organisations stated that governments are quick to act on implementing short-term solutions to address gendered violence, but fall short in investing in the primary prevention measures needed to adequately address the policy issue.[8] Prior to the NPRVAWC and subsequent state policy responses, there was a lack of a coordinated approach to primary prevention measures in addressing gendered violence (Murray & Powell, 2011: 121). Despite the shift towards primary prevention, feminist organisations in the case study outlined significant challenges and barriers in their advocacy, and a lack of support from governments.

> Our issue is not amenable to a quick fix; governments like a quick fix and they like a tangible, announcable thing and that they can just fund, and fix and they can tick that. Whereas our issue is really 'oh we're trying to achieve generational social change to the gender inequalities that underlie our society and our culture'. That's a big ask, um, it doesn't fit in an election cycle; it requires governments to change legislation and policy, but also to fund programs on the ground – that's expensive [U4].

> So a lot of this, inevitably, requires large amounts of funding that governments are reluctant to commit to such a nebulous long-term goal [U4].

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[8] For example, U3, U4, U5, SDA2.

This immediate policy response from governments and a willingness to act is most evident when a high-profile incident of DFV shocks the nation. The public murder of Zahra Abrahimzadeh in 2010 by her estranged husband, Zialloh, at the Adelaide Convention Centre, saw the South Australian government respond by introducing an additional policy framework (Fewster, 2012; Government of South Australia, 2014). In 2014, the murder of Luke Batty by his father, Greg Anderson, at cricket training coupled with the advocacy of feminist organisations and Rosie Batty, sparked the Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence (Wheildon et al., 2021). In February 2020, the nation was once again shocked by the murder of Hannah Clarke and her three children, Aaliyah, Laianah, and Trey, by her estranged husband Rowan Baxter (Australian Associated Press, 2022). The Queensland government began the process of criminalising coercive control following the murder of Hannah and her children, with the then Prime Minister Scott Morrison vowing to take action to address DFV and failures in the system (Australian Associated Press, 2020; Fitz-Gibbon et al., 2022). This period also saw increased rates of DFV in 2020 and 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the restrictions put in place to reduce the spread of the virus. The Morrison government announced increased funding to 21 DV services in response; however, support services had yet to receive the funding five months after the announcement was made (Remeikis, 2021). These DV support services were subsequently informed the funding amounts would not be as announced, as state governments were given the responsibility of allocating the funding (Remeikis, 2021).

These high-profile incidents of DFV demonstrate that governments are quick to respond through the injection of funding to the sector. However, as the sense of urgency reduces, so does the immediate need to address DFV. Eliminating gendered violence requires systemic, societal, and cultural change, in which significant financial investment needs to be forthcoming. As argued by Hill (2019: 338), Australian governments make a consistent choice not to address gendered violence through adequately funding essential support services, despite making the commitment to do so:

> It's been almost half a century since feminists opened the first domestic violence shelters. Ever since, they've had to beg for every dollar to keep women safe … No matter how many Prime Ministers 'commit' to ending domestic violence, the fact remains: Australia is a rich nation that tolerates abuse towards women and children.

This was evident in a cost-benefit analysis undertaken by PriceWaterhouseCoopers, Our Watch, and VicHealth in 2015, which found that VAW costs governments approximately $7.8 billion each year in the form of "health, administration, and social welfare costs", with $3.4 billion in economic costs (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, Watch & VicHealth, 2015: 14). They estimated that if no measures were taken to address and prevent gendered violence, costs would rise to $323.4 billion by 2045 (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, Watch & VicHealth, 2015: 4). This government resistance to investing in primary prevention and the DFV sector was most recently evident in the 2022 election

campaign. The Morrison government committed to $2.5 billion over the following five years for DFV services and the second National Plan, with the Labor Party matching this commitment (Fair Agenda, 2022). However, as Fair Agenda (2022) indicated, DFV services and umbrella organisations stated this funding was not enough for the duration of the second National Plan. Instead, DFV umbrella organisations estimated $1 billion would be needed for each year of the second National Plan to adequately fund services (Fair Agenda, 2022; see also Fitz-Gibbon & Seagrave, 2022). This demonstrates a hesitation by governments in Australia to invest in addressing and eliminating VAW and children as it is seen as a costly effort. Hill (2019: 337-366) argued this is a deliberate choice, as funds are often invested in other sectors and areas which are given a higher priority:

> When it comes to funding shelters and community legal services, governments don't just cry poor, they run the fiction that if these services receive more funding, others in need will go without.

> Governments – state and federal – have the money. Withholding it is their choice. Forcing refuges to turn women away is a choice. Making the sector plead for funding is a choice.

Overall, addressing and eliminating gendered violence requires long-term solutions as well as cultural and societal change. Feminist organisations identified this as a significant barrier to their advocacy and the working relationship with bureaucratic institutions, as governments prefer quick and easy policy solutions. This preference is evidenced by the lack of adequate funding by governments needed for primary prevention measures and for DFV services to undertake their duties.

5.2.3 The challenges of managing differing expectations in the relationship

Influencing and contributing to the policy process is a complex system, and NGOs have a number of expectations about how this should occur. This section examines the challenges identified by feminist NGOs and policy-makers in relation to these expectations of, and barriers to, advocacy.

In the first instance, NGOs can experience challenges in getting policy issues onto the political agenda. While NGOs can set and influence the agenda, which can be enhanced through a variety of strategies, it can also be made more complicated by the *government's* agenda. One barrier identified by the feminist organisations in the case study is getting a policy issue on the agenda when it is not a priority for the government of the day.[9] Some organisations expressed this as a significant challenge, often resulting in the issue they had identified not being addressed.

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[9] For example, U2, U7, SDA2, SDA4

> … that can be a barrier, if it's something that we've identified, but they haven't or don't want to deal with [SDA4].

> … I've come to realise more and more that there's often agendas and politics at play within government institutions that we're never aware of … [U2].

This challenge was particularly prominent for SDA organisations which experienced roadblocks when attempting to set and influence the agenda.[10] While this could be due to the differences in the nature of the working relationship with bureaucratic institutions between SDA and umbrella organisations, there are additional factors at play. These additional factors include the agenda and politics of bureaucratic institutions, as highlighted by a member of one of the feminist organisations in this study. These behind-the-scenes agendas and political machinations include ministerial directions, budget limitations, and the feasibility of feminist NGO demands. Policy-makers themselves expressed frustration in wanting to action the policy advice and the suggestions provided by feminist organisations, but were often unable to.

> Yeah, you've gotta be pragmatic, there's lots of stuff we'd like to do but you've gotta be pragmatic about what we've got the resources to do. Sometimes there are advocacy groups that I agree with what they're saying, but there's many complexities that we're juggling as well [P1].

Policy-makers' and public servants' responsibility is to the relevant government minister, and therefore, they need to follow ministerial direction. In addition, government departments are limited in what they can implement, and policy change can only achieve a certain amount for such a complex social issue. This further demonstrates the issue of addressing DFV, as it requires long-term change in the form of structural, cultural, and societal shifts.

The ways in which policy advice and recommendations from feminist organisations are implemented, if at all, varies.[11]

> I think there's different scenarios, so one is that they just don't listen to anything you say, and it doesn't make it into the recommendations. One is that it makes it into the recommendations and the recommendations aren't adopted. And the other one is that it makes it into the recommendations, the recommendations are adapted, and then, they are implemented in a really bad way. And then you might have a deluxe version where it makes it into the recommendations, it's implemented, they're adopted, and they're implemented in a good way [SDA1].

This reinforces the argument that providing policy advice and consultation does not guarantee a performance outcome. As argued by Maloney, Jordan and McLaughlin (1994: 25): "many groups are granted *access* to decision makers, but few have a significant *influence* over substantive policy

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[10] SDA4
[11] As experienced by SDA1, SDA4, U2, U5, U7.

outcomes". This is particularly evident where the political agenda may obstruct expert advice on policy proposals or decisions. There is an inevitable political nature to policy-making. For example, if a government minister is committed to delivering a campaign promise that may not align with the evidence base or policy advice from feminist NGOs and women's DFV services, the minister's direction may prevail.

> ... it didn't get in, but that's because [of] ministerial decision-making ... [U8].

This is where tensions can arise between feminist organisations and policy-makers or government departments, as differences in expectations arise. Some organisations can find themselves in particularly tense situations, including being responsible for delivering a program they were not supportive of during consultation.[12] For other organisations, these tensions are apparent when they are excluded from the consultation phase of the policy process, and are thus unable to influence or contribute to the policy process.[13] This was particularly so for the smaller organisations in this study, who expressed simply wanting the opportunity to contribute to the discussion and to have an influence, regardless of whether their advice was taken on board.[14]

> Sometimes government will work at their own level, you know, make decisions and then let us know what their decision is. Sometimes there's been – they've said that they'll be consulting but in fact they're not, they're actually telling us. So, there's been examples of that, so that's a huge barrier, you know, it's very frustrating too, we like to be consulted and have a say, even if they chose to operate differently, that's, you know, but at least we've had an opportunity. But sometimes it feels like you're not actually being heard at all [SDA4].

From the perspective of a government department and policy-makers, policy-making and implementation requires a lengthy process. This includes collating advice from stakeholders, gathering an international evidence base, and seeking on-the-ground advice. Consultation needs to be limited to prevent the policy process from extending for too lengthy a period, and to ensure the advice is manageable and thus more likely to be acted upon.

> ... as a general rule, when it comes to implementing, translating recommendations into legislation, we usually do consult with a relatively small pool of stakeholders. Usually, it can just be limited to people who actually use the relevant piece of legislation [P5].

Some feminist organisations expressed that they felt government consultation was tokenistic in some instances, particularly where government departments seek the organisation's advice and perspective on a proposed policy, and then appear to ignore their contribution. Several organisations spoke of instances in which they felt that a government minister had decided on a

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[12] As experienced by U2.
[13] As expressed by SDA4.
[14] SDA4.

policy proposal prior to consultation taking place, and that any advice was ignored during the consultation period as the minister was set on introducing the policy.[15] These organisations felt that, in such circumstances, consultation was tokenistic and only being carried out as part of the normal policy process. They expressed that, in these circumstances, their ability to influence and contribute to policy decision-making was non-existent.[16] On the other hand, policy-makers felt they could not meet these organisations' expectations and were limited in their abilities and capacities.[17] One policy-maker reflected that there was much misunderstanding about what government departments do and what they can achieve. Nevertheless, in this instance, both the department and the organisation found ways to ensure the working relationship was collaborative and productive:

> So, we found a lot of benefit in really working with our stakeholders to work out what parts of their organisation need to be at that table and what parts need to be at this table, so we can get stuff done [P2].

Evidently, what is missing in this working relationship is a mutual understanding of each other's processes and expertise. Some feminist organisations have the advantage of having staff members who had previously worked in policy for government and in government departments, and therefore, had an insight into the operation of the policy process from both perspectives. Having this insight not only aids the working relationship between feminist organisations and government and government departments, but it can also enhance these organisations' policy effectiveness. Both the policy-makers and the feminist organisations in the case study agreed the key to a successful relationship is trust and honesty.[18] This was viewed as a way of managing expectations and easing tensions as they appear.

> So those relationships [where you can pick up the phone and give a heads up on something] are really beneficial for both the community and sector, because they know that government is actually listening to them and doing what they want. Although, as a government official, you should always be able to tell someone 'We're not going to do that, that's a bad idea' or 'I don't think that's feasible at this current point in time' [U8/P9].

These informal interactions between feminist NGOs and government departments are central to a cooperative relationship (Coston, 1998: 370). According to Coston (1998: 370), a cooperative working relationship between governments and NGOs exists when "there is a free flow of information between the two sectors, in which each informs the other of its respective operations where it is deemed necessary". While not every NGO will have this type of relationship with their

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[15] U2, U7, U8, U9, SDA4
[16] As expressed by U2, SDA4.
[17] As expressed by P1, P2.
[18] U2, U3, U4, U5, U8, U9, P2, P3, P6, P7, P8, P10.

relevant government departments, these informal interactions were common among the feminist organisations in the case study.[19]

> Yeah informal relationships are important, I think. […] I think that informal stuff is just as important as the formal stuff. It might not be as overt, but it's just as important [U9].

> We do this less but there are also potential opportunities to build relationships with Ministerial staffers. And I'm not talking public servants, I'm talking the staffers of the Ministers – because I think it's increasingly clear that they have enormous amounts of influence in the policy process, but it's not always easy to engage with that level because it's quite informal and it's quite unpredictable [U4].

Informal interactions are not only vital for cooperative relationships, but can also streamline engagement. One member of a feminist organisation reflected that these informal interactions allowed for policy advice to be given and for micro-policy consultation to occur when time and resources were limited. By doing so, organisations can enhance their effectiveness and influence public policy.

> If you do have the time and you do have a good, trusted relationship to actually have a decent meeting with the bureaucrat that is trying to flesh out the sort of planning and implementation, if you like, of a new policy or program, you influence the quality of it substantially [U3].

A cooperative working relationship in which trust between government and NGOs is central can, therefore, reduce the impact of these challenges and barriers. For this to occur, however, there needs to be mutual trust and respect in which organisations do not feel repressed by engaging with government (Coston, 1998: 372).

> Informal I would say it's also extremely important because, for all the reasons we know, because bureaucrats, […], yeah really important because they're busy, you need to just sort of make them – two things, you need to just make them understand and frame the problem in the right way because that will influence all the little decisions that need to make everyday going into the future and small corridor conversations can even do that and if they do – if you do have the time and you do have a good trusted relationship to actually have a decent meeting with the bureaucrat that is trying to flesh out the sort of planning and implementation, if you like, of a new policy or program, you influence the quality of it substantially [U3].

Not all NGOs will have this kind of dynamic in their working relationships with bureaucratic institutions; however, this dynamic can change and evolve. The working relationship between each NGO and each government department and policy agency is unique. Therefore, a cooperative relationship may be held with one government department, but not all departments. Therefore,

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[19] As expressed by U2, U3, U4, U8, U9, SDA2, SDA3, P2, P6, P7, P8, P10.

both NGOs and government departments also need to manage differing expectations across each working relationship.

In short, NGOs and government each hold different expectations of the working relationship and of each other. Tensions can arise between them when these expectations are not managed or met, which can act as a challenge and a barrier to the working relationship between NGOs and bureaucratic institutions.

5.3 Strategies used by feminist organisations to enhance effectiveness in the face of challenges

The analysis revealed that while feminist organisations experience the aforementioned challenges, which can have an impact on the organisation's capacity for effectiveness, feminist NGOs use several strategies to overcome these barriers and enhance their influence. This section will discuss and analyse these identified strategies which include three commonly used techniques. These include feminist organisations' cementing their expertise and legitimacy as grounds for engagement given the complexity of addressing gendered violence. Collaboration with other feminist organisations within the sector is another commonly used strategy for effectiveness. There are, however, some limitations of these partnerships, which will be discussed below. Finally, bipartisanship is another strategy used to overcome challenges in the working relationship, along with strategic interactions with other political actors.

5.3.1 Cementing expertise and legitimacy as grounds for engagement

Advocacy organisations are involved in the policy-making process due to their expertise (Maddison & Edgar, 2008: 190). Despite this, feminist organisations reported a need to prove their expertise to be considered as legitimate by government and policy-makers. Members of these organisations experienced a continuous need to prove their expertise to maintain a 'seat at the table' and access to the policy-making process.[20] This was viewed as a distraction from the organisation's priorities and policy advocacy, with one organisation remarking that it is a constant battle. This was not limited to smaller organisations or those with less of a history with government. In fact, organisations with long-standing relationships with government identified this as a continual barrier to their advocacy.

> I suppose those challenges around actually being heard, being seen to be a legitimate player, having our role both as representatives of specialist family violence services, but also leaders of the sector accepted and understood and utilise[d] [U2].

> And so, even though we've kinda got this status as a national women's alliance, and we are present in the policy debates, yeah I think that we still struggle to be perceived as experts [U1].

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[20] U1, U2, U5, U7, U8, U9, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4.

Feminist organisations reaffirm their expertise by drawing upon the data and establishing a strong evidence base to support their advocacy. For these organisations, it is vital to ensure their advocacy is informed and driven by on-the-ground knowledge and lived experience.[21] Drawing on the lived experience of the public to inform policy positions and identify policy gaps and points of advocacy is particularly important for organisations that may not have any staff or volunteers with lived experience. Incorporating the lived experiences of victims and survivors of gendered violence also humanises the policy issue. For example, one member of a feminist organisation often employs this technique when speaking to policy-makers and politicians. This is a common strategy as it pressures the public sector to understand the consequential impact of these policies and humanises the policy issue.

A shared view among several organisations is that many ministerial advisors and staff are young men who predominantly originate from privileged backgrounds and may not have any lived experience of DFV.[22] Therefore, sharing the stories of those who have survived or unfortunately lost their lives because of men's violence against women highlights the fact that real people and lives are affected by the policy decisions being made.

> They all sit there, and they're horrified by that. For us as a domestic violence committee, [it's] how we get them to support what we want [U6].

> I would say 'this is what's happening to women, this is what's happening for women, this is the implications on their health, wellbeing, and safety'. And you might use four different anecdotal stories on what's happening to women and the impact on your policy decision [U9].

Maintaining these survivors' anonymity is paramount to feminist organisations. Several organisations spoke of the importance of not 'parading' those with lived experiences around in front of government ministers, in an attempt to gain further funding or policy change.[23] A mutual technique among the feminist organisations in the case study is to gather multiple survivors' stories into one.[24] Doing so not only ensures the women's anonymity, but can also be used to add 'shock value', thus increasing the likelihood of the minister or policy-maker remembering the story. Wheildon et al. (2021) examined the impact that Rosie Batty and her advocacy has had on the Victorian DFV policy response. They argued that by sharing her story publicly, Rosie Batty was able to frame the problem of DFV (Wheildon et al., 2021: 8-11). This resulted in Rosie collaborating with the same feminist organisations in the scope of this research, and becoming an effective policy entrepreneur (Wheildon et al., 2021: 8-11). Feminist organisations may also share the lived

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[21] As expressed by U1, U2, U5, U7, U8, U9, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4.
[22] As expressed by U2, U6, U9.
[23] U6, U9.
[24] U6, U7, U8, U9.

experiences of victim-survivors of DFV in the mainstream media to further humanise, and begin a public conversation on, the policy issue.[25]

These strategies used by feminist NGOs to cement their status as experts on the issue of DFV remain a success. Department heads and public servants made it clear that these feminist NGOs and umbrella organisations were viewed as experts.[26] Despite many government departments employing those with their own expertise and knowledge of the issue of DFV, engagement with feminist organisations is prioritised. This is because these relations are considered vital by government departments and policy-makers:

> I mean, it would just be politically crazy to not do that because if you work with those groups and then they can see that you've listened, I mean you're halfway there, so - it'd be very unadvisable to not do that and to not listen to those experts [P7].

According to policy-makers, feminist organisations hold their expertise due to their role in service delivery and/or for their connection to on-the-ground services rather than through their ideological positions, namely their feminist perspective.[27] To be noticed, however, organisations and service deliverers need to have a public profile, thus also contributing to their policy effectiveness.

> Government, public service agencies are going to consult with the agencies that have, sure the political or community profile, but also the service delivery responsibilities, funding elements, the responsibilities for carrying out what those government agencies are accountable for. Not because they're feminists or because they are aligned in their thinking to whatever government agency is doing because government agencies don't think in terms of their purpose ... there shouldn't be engagement based on ideology, but on policy and service delivery needs [P2].

This view was shared among the feminist organisations in the case study, as organisations reflected that their working relationship with governmental departments is due to their capacity for service delivery and expertise.[28] In fact, many of the organisations confessed that they do not advertise their feminist identity in case it is seen as partisan or 'rocking the boat'.

> I don't think that's something that we necessarily hide, but I think that it's very different from saying that we're focused on women and children and from - to saying we're focused on gender inequality because for instance, part of my role is focusing on promoting primary prevention of gender-based violence and a lot of that looks at, you know, how does gender inequality contribute to gender-based violence and when we start having those conversations you can start to see a bit of disconnect. So, people can see what you know, they might agree that women and children, well because the data is there and the evidence is there, that it

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[25] U1, U2, U6, U7, U8, U9.
[26] P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10.
[27] P2, P5.
[28] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U8, U9, SDA2, SDA3.

disproportionately impacts on women, but to then bring people along to the shared understanding that its gender inequality that is actually the underlying context within which, you know, there are other things that drive that um gender-based violence, I think it's much harder to have those conversations [U7].

This expertise in the DFV sector is what draws government to engage and consult with such organisations, rather than the feminist label:

I don't know if government would consult with, say an organisation like [redacted] for their feminist credentials, it would rather be, consulting them because of their expertise in the area. I guess that comes back to the difference between consulting to ... insight to tap into operationalisation knowledge, or consulting to get insight into more ideological or theoretical insight [P5].

Banaszak (2005) argued that moderate organisations are more appealing to governments as they are perceived as less radical in their demands and advocacy. Therefore, even with the feminist label, if organisations are considered as 'moderate' in their demands, government may be more likely to engage with them in comparison to more 'extreme' or 'radical' feminist organisations. This is where connections with other feminist organisations and service providers may be useful, as collaborating with these connections may be one way to enhance effectiveness. This could be achieved by either neutralising their more extreme views or even enhancing them to make the 'moderate' organisations' demands more appealing to government.

The notion of expertise, however, raises some concerns. This is because 'expertise' is inherently subjective and is based solely on the perspective of who has determined the expertise. It is important to firstly explore how 'expertise' is defined within the concept of NGO advocacy. In general terms, expertise refers to skill and knowledge, and excelling in specific contexts. According to Shanteau et al. (2003: 1), traditional definitions and understandings of expertise are found in providing correct answers. They argued that this, however, is not an accurate definition of expertise, as most circumstances requiring expertise do not have correct answers to begin with (Shanteau et al., 2003: 1). In addition to this, Shanteau et al. (2003: 2) argued that experience does not equal expertise; in other words, the number of years in an industry does not automatically make an individual an expert, citing several studies that found no correlation between years of service and expertise (Shanteau et al., 2003: 2). Therefore, in the context of the expertise of feminist NGOs, simply being a long-standing organisation does *not* indicate expertise as the sole determining factor.

Peer identification is another common way in which expertise is measured. This, however, may not be an accurate means of assessing expertise, as this can be based on popularity and profile rather than on other aspects of expertise, such as knowledge and consistency (Shanteau et al., 2003: 3-4, 6). Being well regarded within the sector is, therefore, an important factor used when

considering the expertise of an NGO in conjunction with other factors. Additionally, connection to membership is a key feature for legitimacy and cementing expertise (Fraussen & Halpin, 2018). Representation of the membership can provide evidence of legitimacy and expertise in the eyes of bureaucratic institutions and policy-makers (Fraussen & Halpin, 2018: 25).

While knowledge is a crucial element of expertise, Shanteau et al. (2003: 6) argued that knowledge itself is not enough to warrant expertise; rather, it is a culmination of factors, including consistently providing the same advice and the ability to discern information that make the difference. Therefore, NGOs' 'expertise' should be considered as being made up of a multitude of factors, including knowledge, being highly regarded within the sector and by its membership, and who is involved in the organisation.

Another crucial aspect of determining 'expertise' which needs to be considered is by whom and for whom these NGOs are considered as experts and as legitimate. Policy-makers, government departments, government ministers, and government can consider advocacy groups as having expertise, which provides these organisations with legitimacy. This label, however, may not be shared within the sector. For example, controversial environmentalist Bjørn Lomborg was legitimised by the Australian government and considered as an expert, while the sector and other scholars questioned his legitimacy (see Percival, 2002). While Lomborg does believe in the existence of climate change, he is notoriously 'anti-alarmist', having argued that climate change is not a crisis, and has even been criticised for misrepresenting statistical data to support his claims (Percival, 2002: 265-267). In 2015, several attempts were made by the Australian government to establish a research centre for Lomborg at an Australian university, notably the University of Western Australia and Flinders University (see The University of Western Australia, 2015; Milman, 2015). These attempts failed and a partnership was not established due to backlash from staff, students, the sector, and the wider public. Despite the criticism, however, it is evident that the Australian government at the time viewed Lomborg as an expert, given his academic status and the government attempts to establish a research centre, while the sector did not.

Similar observations were noted within the DFV sector when Bettina Arndt was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia in 2020 for her advocacy on gender equity, specifically advocating for men's equal rights. This was a hugely controversial appointment within the sector due to her anti-woman rhetoric and public criticism of survivors of DFV (see Masters, 2020; Knowles, 2020). This appointment gave legitimacy to Arndt's offensive claims. These included claiming that women make up accusations of DFV to 'get back at' men, and that the rape crisis on university campuses is made up (Masters, 2020). In addition, Arndt supported comments made by a Queensland detective who was subsequently removed from the case of the murder of Hannah Clarke and her three children after suggesting that Rowan Baxter was "driven too far" (Ferguson, 2020). Despite these comments, the rejection from the sector, and criticism from victims and

survivors of DFV and sexual violence, the appointment cemented her status as an expert, legitimising the anti-woman rhetoric. Therefore, while being considered as an expert and legitimised by government may allow for greater opportunities for influence and to enhance NGO effectiveness, this needs to be explored through a critical lens. Policy-makers and governments can potentially provide legitimacy and 'expertise' to any political actor that supports the government of the day's political agenda. In addition, NGOs that publicly criticise government decision-making could have their legitimacy or their expert label revoked. Government recognition alone does not equal legitimacy or expertise.

In short, feminist organisations cement their status as experts, and thus, seek to legitimate themselves as a strategy for gaining access to the policy-making process. This is not without its challenges, however, as feminist NGOs find themselves needing to constantly reaffirm their expertise to government.

5.3.2 'There's strength in numbers': utilising collaboration and connections

Remaining well connected and using these connections for collaboration and partnerships was identified as another common strategy feminist NGOs use to enhance effectiveness and manage challenges and barriers. Maintaining strong connections within the sector and in other relevant sectors, and with bureaucratic institutions, on-the-ground services, key individuals, and the media were identified by feminist organisations as vital for their advocacy efforts.

Feminist organisations are very strategic in how they gain and use these connections to enhance their effectiveness and achieve an influence on DFV policy, often employing a plethora of techniques. Visibility is a common shared strategy among these feminist organisations for maximising their policy impact, as having a public profile is seen as reaping many benefits.[29] These benefits include providing the organisation with a platform for consciousness raising and advocacy, raising awareness of policy issues, and putting the organisation on the radar of policy-makers. As one member of a feminist organisation stated, 'government cannot work with you or consult with you if they do not know you exist'. Thus, gaining a public profile may be the first step for many feminist organisations in initiating a working relationship with bureaucratic institutions. Connections with policy-makers or department heads are also useful in providing an 'in' when it comes to influencing public policy and strengthening the relationship with government departments and policy agencies.[30] Existing connections may be maintained where an individual had previously worked for a government department, but now works for a feminist NGO. Not only do these individuals provide connections, they also provide a deep understanding of how the public sector

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[29] U1, U2, U5, U7, U8, U9, SDA2., SDA3.
[30] U2, U5, U8, P9.

operates, what gets the attention of governments, and what government appreciates in a working relationship with NGOs.

> Politics is a very specific skillset, so unless you have a former political staffer or someone who's been relatively senior in the bureaucracy, it's really difficult to understand the different ways to influence public policy [U8/P9].

One way in which NGOs gain connections and increase their visibility is through media appearances, such as news and radio segments, interviews, and the issuing of press releases.[31] This allows feminist organisations the opportunity to showcase their advocacy and service delivery, as well as to raise awareness of the organisation itself, and by doing so, promoting the organisation and cementing their expertise (see Wallack, 1994: 420-421). The more connections a feminist organisation has with the media, the greater the likelihood of media engagements for the organisation to raise awareness. Nevertheless, the mainstream media is not the only form of media that is used by feminist NGOs to influence public policy. A strong social media presence was identified by these organisations as another strategy used to gain a public profile, and to raise public awareness and spark public debate,[32] which is a commonly applied strategy used by advocacy NGOs (Guo & Saxton, 2014; Chalmers & Shotton, 2016). This strategy was particularly popular among organisations that felt constrained in their relationship with government, being unable to publicly criticise policy decisions for fear of repercussion.[33] This is because when communication with government and policy-makers is sparse and may not be open to the input of feminist organisations, the media can provide a platform as a gateway for conversation.

> To be honest I feel like we do have a lot of impact, and so I think that that's through the fact that we have such strong grassroots engagement, so we really do listen to our grassroots, we reach out to them on the issues that they have, if we hear something, we'll then survey across the sector to find out if this is what everyone is experiencing and then we'll translate that into a like a brief and then we brief the government and then we tell them. You know, then we put that in the media and then we've got the public - then we engage the public in discussion and because of that, that can cause the government to have to consult with us on that. So, basically, we're pretty nimble and we're pretty raw and we're pretty grassroots and we have to make ourselves visible and we have to make ourselves heard because that's all we've got really [U5].

In addition, the use of social media as a tool for enhancing NGO advocacy can result in new connections being formed, which may result in collaboration and partnerships (Guo & Saxton, 2014: 58). This use of multimedia avenues for broadcasting, lobbying, and enhancing advocacy efforts are forms of outsider tactics, often involving confrontational strategies (Richards & Heard,

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[31] U1, U2, U5, U7, U8, U9.
[32] U3, U4, U5, U7, U8.
[33] U5, U8.

2005: 26-27). Social media, along with using their other connections, can be a useful tool for NGOs when they experience roadblocks in their advocacy via traditional 'insider' strategies.

This raising of public awareness and education on gendered violence contributes to the broader goal of creating a cultural and societal shift. Through the collective challenging of the normalisation of gendered violence and the harmful gender norms that contribute to this, feminist NGOs can create macro policy change. Staggenborg (1995: 348) argued that while some feminist organisations may appear ineffective in terms of policy advocacy and outcomes, these organisations may be effective in terms of societal shifts and cultural change. Staggenborg (1995: 353) suggested that "although successes of many feminist organisations tend to be hidden, they are likely to have an impact on subsequent rounds of collective action". Therefore, gaining a strong public profile through social media and engagement with media outlets is important advocacy work that can result in favourable outcomes for the organisation. This not only includes societal change on a macro level, but also on a micro level as it exposes feminist organisations to new connections and contacts which can lead to collaboration.

Collaboration with other feminist organisations, service providers, or similar sectors often results from these connections. These connections are long held, as many individuals working for feminist NGOs are feminist activists with rich histories. As such, collaboration between feminist organisations is seen as common sense within the sector, as each organisation shares the common goal of reducing and eliminating gendered violence.[34] Coalition lobbying is a common strategy among NGOs, as collaboration results in greater effectiveness, enhances lobbying efforts, and amplifies voices (see Kluver, 2011: 500; Nelson & Yackee, 2012; Scott, 2013).

> I think coalition building is really important, so trying to get onto the same page with other organisations in the space, so we're all singing from the same song sheet [SDA2].

Several organisations in the case study reported drawing upon, and enhancing, the expertise of other feminist organisations. This often occurs through the referral of other organisations and their expertise on specific matters, such as men's behavioural change programs, during inquiries to Senate hearings or parliamentary inquiries.

> We approached that [Senate inquiries] by really supporting each other's submissions, "I think the Women's Legal Service said …' or 'I encourage you to read this submission' because that really expands the collegiality of the sector, and if they are of the same opinion, it's a lot more powerful [U8].

Similarly, larger feminist organisations with more connections, resources, and political standing often amplify smaller feminist organisations to provide opportunities for influence.[35] For example,

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[34] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4.
[35] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5.

organisations belonging to a peak body have previously collaborated in sending a joint letter to a government minister to enhance the strength of advocacy, as well as peak bodies across the sector coming together to write joint letters to ministers. Other less common approaches among feminist organisations include various forms of collaboration such as signing and supporting petitions and creating joint media releases and statements.

> I think that almost all of our work is in partnership. It's very rarely that we do something on our own or that we're not seeking [to] work in partnership [U2].

Therefore, it is unsurprising that collaboration between feminist organisations is a regular occurrence and is seen as vital for influencing public policy by the organisations and the sector as a whole. Working with other feminist organisations within the sector was the single most used strategy for influence,[36] as it was viewed as drawing upon the expertise of other organisations and members.

> So, I'm really big on collaborating and utilising the expertise and skills of people, um and harnessing those in the sector, and different sectors as well it's about looking at the, you know, political timing, when there are opportunities and actually saying you know 'hey there's a time, there's the perfect opportunity now for us to raise this as an issue we might have been advocating for that for a really long time, there's an opportunity now let's all get together now and do something', um but you know that's not about disrespecting the other processes going it, it's about going okay we could be more effective in our partnerships and collaborations [U5].

This finding supports others within the broader NGO advocacy literature, as collaboration and participation in advocacy coalitions is one of the most used strategies for enhancing effectiveness and influence (Nownes, 2006, as cited in Nelson & Yackee, 2012: 339). Each of the 11 organisations spoke of examples of collaborating with other organisations in the sector, and even in other sectors, to enhance their advocacy and effectiveness. Such collaborations are viewed favourably among feminist organisations because feminist NGO members reported feeling a sense of there being 'strength in numbers' when it comes to collaborating for advocacy and influencing policy. Several individuals indicated that multiple voices calling for the same policy or for policy change makes it hard for government to ignore. The formation of a coalition "signal[s] to policymakers that a policy position has the support of a large and varied group of interests" according to Mahoney (2007: 368).

This collaboration and coalition forming has additional benefits, which include the sharing of resources, skills, and knowledge (Mahoney, 2007; Nelson & Yackee, 2012). This is particularly true

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[36] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4.

for smaller organisations that have less capacity and resources, which limits their effectiveness and policy influence.

> We could all work together better and we could all share resources better, we could collaborate better, we could share information and we're already also under-funded and also under resourced, if we, you know, if we rose above that [challenges] I think we could achieve so much more [U5].

These organisations typically have less financial ability, smaller staff and volunteer numbers, and fewer connections. Collaborating with larger organisations enables these smaller organisations to access more connections, resources, and even staff or volunteers to enhance their collective effectiveness. Conversely, larger organisations, which are typically umbrella organisations, can benefit from collaboration with smaller organisations, which are typically SDAs. This is because these larger feminist organisations are typically umbrella organisations with access to on-the-ground knowledge through their membership base. These grassroots connections can then be utilised to inform the coalition's advocacy.

Overall, the collaboration and coalition forming among feminist organisations is the preferred strategy used to enhance their effectiveness, reflecting common practices in NGOs more broadly. Feminist NGOs use connections held within the sector and with other feminist actors to initiate these coalitions. Connections through the media and the use of social media to build more connections was another common strategy identified in the analysis. This collaboration between feminist organisations is not without its difficulties, however.

5.3.2.1 The limits of collaboration

There are a number of challenges that exist in collaborations between NGOs which can act as a barrier to these organisations' effectiveness. From the perspective of the sector, the most significant challenge and barrier in relation to collaboration is competition driven by governments because of the lack of available funding.[37] Feminist organisations in the case study reported a scarcity of resources and the consequential competitive nature caused by the shortage of funding sources has resulted in clashes of personalities within the sector.[38] As organisations or individuals within organisations fight to secure their funding, a wedge can be driven between feminist organisations. Some organisations mentioned instances where members of other organisations have been consumed with wanting what is best for the organisation, distracting them from the broader issues at hand.[39] This was particularly evident in Victoria because of the Royal Commission into Family Violence, which saw a massive injection of funding to implement the recommendations of the Commission in a short space of time. While this was welcomed by the

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[37] U5, U6, SDA2
[38] U5, U6, SDA2
[39] As expressed by U6, SDA2.

sector, almost every Victorian organisation in the case study raised the issue of the unintended consequences of this mass injection of funding: increased competition and hostility within the sector.[40] In the eyes of these feminist organisations, government was driving competition and distrust within the sector. Some organisations reflected that this funding also drove a wedge between partnerships and collaborations with other feminist organisations. One organisation recalled:

> [Government] approaching one members of a partnership and offering them a piece of work that then, kind of, effectively undermines perhaps a joint position … so it can be a challenge to hold that all together [SDA2].

This fostered distrust not only between feminist organisations, but also between feminist organisations and government and government departments, thus straining these working relationships.[41] The impact and consequences of this is not only in relation to organisational effectiveness, but also on the political and policy effectiveness of organisations. In addition, the mass injection of funding into the sector in Victoria resulted in competition and hostility between feminist organisations in other ways. Some of the participants recalled new organisations taking on DFV services to simply qualify for funding, which overshadowed existing organisations and services desperate for increased funding.[42]

> I think one of the unique situations we've been in is because of the amount of money and awareness of family violence in the system, it's enlarged the sector so much that we've been relegated into quite a passive position [U2].

This, however, is by no means limited to Victoria, as feminist organisations across the board spoke about the competitive side of collaboration within the sector.[43] Competition and tension between organisations and within the sector are not new issues, nor are they specific to Australia. This competition and rising tensions between feminist organisations was also observed in the feminist movement in the United States in the mid-1990s (Staggenborg, 1995: 339):

> Tales of in-fighting, marathon meetings at which nothing is decided, and other organizational disasters raise the question of whether these groups can be effective.

Friction between feminist NGOs can have an impact on their effectiveness, both individually and collectively, as competition can become a distraction from their advocacy. One member of a feminist organisation identified that this can also result in the silencing of smaller organisations or voices.[44] Smaller organisations, or those who occasionally engage in advocacy while mainly being

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[40] U2, U8, SDA1, SDA2
[41] U2, SDA2
[42] U2, SDA2
[43] U5, U6, U8
[44] U6

responsible for service delivery, have already been found to have reduced effectiveness. By being overshadowed by dominant and larger organisations, smaller organisations' opportunities for advocacy and engagement with government and government departments may have a significant impact on the organisation's effectiveness.

This friction between organisations was also evident in other ways, which interestingly included differences in ideology and understandings of what 'good' policy should be that would address and eliminate VAW. For example, a policy-maker reflected on a situation between two key peak bodies within the sector in one jurisdiction, in which they disagreed on approaches to addressing gendered violence. The policy-maker recalled that one peak body felt the other was undermining their knowledge of DFV and the negative impact this had on the implementation of policy.[45] This not only highlights the diversity within the feminist movement and the DFV sector in Australia, both nationally and state-wide. This also demonstrates that the scarcity of funding and other resources fosters competition with the feminist NGO sector, which creates a 'survival of the fittest' mentality.

> It can be challenging to build alliances and coalitions with other organisations because you're seen as competing with them for funding [SDA2].

Hathaway and Meyer (1993-1994: 164) argued that competition between organisations is most likely to occur when resources are scarce, as the main priorities of these organisations are their survival. This tension between feminist organisations and within the DFV sector can then also affect the working relationship the sector has with governmental departments. As observed by Hathaway and Meyer (1993-1994: 162), organisations that share a common goal are incentivised to collaborate to enhance their influence on public policy; however, they are also nurtured to compete in order to ensure the organisation's survival.

> Sometimes the women's sector doesn't play very nicely together, because everyone is wanting to protect their own patch and drive for their own funding for their particular program. So yeah, I think that one of the frustrations of working in the sector is sometimes I feel like ultimately, we're all wanting to achieve the same goal but sometimes there are challenges in actually working collaboratively to do those things [SDA2].

Organisations attempting to claim expertise over a niche policy DFV area are doing so to stand out, differentiate themselves, and gain the attention of policy-makers (Hathaway & Meyer, 1993-1994: 162). Collaboration between organisations occurs when they have more to gain by collaborating than working independently (Hathaway & Meyer, 1993-1994: 164). Hathaway and Meyer (1993-1994: 165) proposed that competition can be managed by maintaining a level of solidarity and autonomy.

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[45] U9

In short, collaboration between feminist organisations within the DFV sector enhances these organisations' effectiveness and the success of the movement. There are, however, downsides to such collaboration and partnerships because of limited funding opportunities. The scarcity fostered by government drives competition between organisations, which was found to not only negatively affect these partnerships within the sector, but also the working relationship with bureaucratic institutions.

5.3.3 Remaining bipartisan yet strategic in interactions

Remaining bipartisan is another commonly employed strategy used by feminist organisations to enhance their effectiveness and maximise their impact on DFV policy. Feminist NGOs are strategic in their interactions with government, the opposition, and political advisors to government ministers and shadow ministers. Each of the feminist organisations in the study identified that maintaining a relationship with both the minister holding relevant portfolios and the shadow minister is vital for enhancing effectiveness.[46] By maintaining relationships with both the government and members of the opposition, feminist NGOs remain bipartisan in their interactions as a strategic move. As one member of a feminist organisation explained:

> We write many letters to the minister and other relevant ministers and the shadow ministers. So, for instance, if we write to the shadow minister and they're in support, it can be quite helpful because then they write to the relevant ministers – 'as the Shadow Minister, I support these recommendations' or 'I think this is a problem and you need to look at this' … We've noticed that recently this can be quite a useful strategy if you have shadow ministers who are engaged and want to be, [and] are open to doing that kind of thing [U7].

These connections with the opposition are beneficial for feminist organisations that do not feel comfortable with publicly or privately criticising government decision-making or policy proposals. In these instances, some feminist organisations use the oppositions' ability to lobby and apply pressure on government where the organisation is unable to do so itself.[47] This type of engagement and strategy is risky, as organisations can appear partisan. This runs the risk of being detrimental to any funding agreements that may be held with government, as well as potentially harming the working relationship with government. There needs to be a strong balance in the strategic engagements with the opposition and government. For example, one organisation spoke of being hyper-vigilant in their interactions with government and the opposition so as to not upset either side.

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[46] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4
[47] U2, U7, U9, SDA2, SDA3

> It [engaging with the opposition] can't be obvious. You can't have an obvious relationship with the opposition. […] It's really important to have relationships with the opposition because they hold the government to account and will highlight things that they don't agree are funded [U8].

Remaining bipartisan eases the transition in the relationship with government following an election. Engaging with the shadow minister is also beneficial in that when government inevitably changes hands, the opposition and relevant staffers are already aware of policy issues as these relationships are pre-existing. There is inevitably going to be some disruption caused by the changing over of governments. Feminist organisations identified that one way to further ease this, as well as assisting with remaining bipartisan, is by maintaining strong relations with ministerial advisors.[48] This is because the bulk of the interaction is with ministerial advisors and other relevant staff, rather than with the minister directly. The handover transition period allows feminist organisations to use their existing connections with ministerial staff to engage with the new staff and become acquainted with the new minister if there are no existing connections. Similarly, the changing of staff within the feminist organisation also requires a transition, and in some cases, results in the loss of some connections.

> I think if there's a change of personnel, either a government level or in the organisation, there needs to be, from an organisational level, we need to ensure there's a handover. But if there's a change of personnel in the departments, or change of government or minister, those things can interrupt it and you have to rebuild those connections again. They [the new personnel or minister] don't know what opportunities we have created by providing information, so I think that is probably one of the biggest barriers [to our influence] [SDA4].

Interestingly, feminist NGOs within the case study do not appear to experience many ideological barriers. Whilst some organisations may position themselves as more partisan-aligned, this strategy was seldom employed by the feminist organisations in scope, as bipartisanship remains a priority. This bipartisanship allows feminist NGOs to work with changing governments, as well with various governments and political parties in power across jurisdictions. Ideological challenges may be experienced by other NGOs, particularly LGBTQ+ organisations due the lack of bipartisan agreement on the salience of the policy issue. In short, remaining bipartisan is a key strategy used by feminist organisations as a means of enhancing their effectiveness. Organisations are strategic in how, when, and who they interact with to increase their access to the policy process and achieve influence. This is particularly important for ensuring a smooth transition in the changing of governments following elections or when personnel change in government departments.

Overall, an interesting observation to note is that these challenges experienced by the organisations in the case study, in conjunction with the strategies used to overcome these difficulties, may not necessarily be specific to Australian feminist NGOs. Rather, these experiences

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[48] U2, U6, U8, U9

and strategies are likely to be shared by Australian NGOs in other sectors, such as environmental NGOs.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to analyse the effectiveness of feminist NGOs by examining the barriers to an organisation's capacity to achieve a policy influence and identify how this is managed. By doing so, this chapter provides a significant contribution to knowledge by deepening the understanding of Australian feminist NGOs, how they operate, and how effective they are in contributing to DFV policy. This chapter found that while the working relationship does enhance NGOs' effectiveness, feminist organisations experience several barriers and challenges. These challenges include the shifting of responsibility by government departments and policy agencies, the government's preference for 'quick fixes' to gendered violence, and differing expectations in the working relationship. I argued that these feminist organisations employ several strategies to overcome these challenges and enhance their effectiveness and overall contribution to DFV policies. These strategies include cementing expertise and legitimacy to encourage engagement with government, and using their connections within the sector, with the media, and with other feminist organisations. This, however, was found to have some limitations as the scarcity of funding opportunities fosters competition between organisations. Finally, remaining bipartisan and strategic in their interactions with the opposition and political advisors was identified as another strategy used by feminist NGOs to overcome barriers.

The following chapter builds on these findings by exploring how feminist NGOs approach the working relationships with governments, arguing these experiences of feminist NGOs reflects the need for refinement of the insider/outsider dichotomy to capture the nuance of the working relationship. The following chapter will present the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies as an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy, and by doing so, will provide another significant contribution to knowledge.

CHAPTER SIX: EXPLORING HOW FEMINIST NGOS APPROACH THE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENTS

The aim of this chapter is to firstly present the findings of the interviews with members of feminist NGOs to understand the experiences of how these NGOs work with government. In addition, this chapter aims to discuss the implications of these findings in relation to the literature. Lastly, this chapter will discuss how the empirical data can inform a new way of thinking about these working relationships, and in doing so, will introduce my typology of NGO-state relations. The previous chapter found that while the working relationship does enhance the effectiveness of NGOs, feminist organisations' experience several barriers and challenges, which have a negative impact on the relationship. I found that these feminist NGOs employ common strategies to counter such barriers. With this in mind, this chapter discusses the contextual background of the working relationship between feminist and advocacy NGOs and governments in Australia. This is important as it provides a greater understanding of the ways in which past experiences shape how feminist organisations approach the relationship and engage with governments. Following this, I present the three main themes from the findings of the semi-structured interviews with members and representatives of feminist NGOs in relation to how they approach their working relationships with government. These main findings include the nature of the funding relationship, the self-identity of feminist NGOs and the fear of co-option, and lastly, the fluidity of the working relationship as evident in the interactions between feminist NGOs and government departments. I argue these experiences of feminist NGOs reflect the need for refinement of the insider/outsider dichotomy to capture the nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and governments, as both sets of actors tend to take a strategic approach. This chapter will then discuss the implications of these findings and how they intercept with the literature on the insider/outsider dichotomy, before outlining how the empirical data can inform a new way of thinking about these relationships. I will then present my typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies as an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy, and by doing so, provide another significant contribution to knowledge.

6.1 Understanding the contextual background of the working relationship between feminist NGOs and governments in Australia

This section will provide the contextual background to the working relationship between governments and feminist NGOs in Australia to demonstrate how past experiences can shape how the working relationship is approached by these organisations and different state and federal governments.

Historical tensions between the feminist movement and states and governments affect how these working relationships are currently viewed and approached. The radical stream during the second

wave of feminism viewed the state as a patriarchal structure, responsible for reinforcing the oppression of women (see MacKinnon, 1989). Consequently, the state was seen as the 'enemy' and untrustworthy by the feminist movement; to achieve gender equality, the patriarchal structure would need to be revolutionised. In contrast, liberal feminism saw the state as a means to ending women's oppression if women were present in the state and had equal representation. Within the Australian feminist movement and political activism history, feminists working inside the state became normalised through the birth of the femocrats. As outlined in Chapter One, feminist bureaucrats entered the Australian political sphere, providing a feminist perspective to policy and decision-making by working alongside politicians as political advisors. Mazur and McBride (2008) argued that femocrats demonstrated to the movement that feminist actors and activists could operate within the state and successfully influence public policy, create social change, and gain achievements for the feminist movement.

Feminist organisations are not alone in experiencing challenges in how they approach the relationship, as some states, and typically, conservative governments have been historically apprehensive towards social movements and special interests (Tilly, 1979; Della Porta, 1995; Staples, 2007; Staples, 2012). Some state structures have long attempted to repress social movements and special interests (Tilly, 1979; Della Porta, 1995). As a result, conservative governments have a history of viewing social movements cautiously and with a sense of distrust. More specific to Australia, NGOs have been framed by neoliberal conservative governments as having a lack of accountability and were seen as a threat to the market (Staples, 2012: 74-75). Despite this history, policy-makers and department representatives strongly acknowledged the feminist movement and the progress made by feminist activists in the interviews; viewing feminist activists and feminist NGOs as experts when it comes to DFV and noting that it is crucial to engage with these actors as a source of knowledge and evaluation.[49]

> [Government department] isn't around because, you know, some government decided to create [government department]. We are here because of the advocates and activists of the past and therefore we have an obligation to engage [P3].

Over the period of the case study, the working relationship between feminist organisations and government has continued to evolve at both the federal and state levels. Prior to the National Plan (NPRVAWC), a whole-of-government approach to addressing DFV did not exist. The introduction of a whole-of-government approach was accompanied by reluctance from feminist organisations, concerned about engaging with multiple government departments and policy agencies at once. Some feminist organisations in the case study recalled experiencing initial distrust in what government departments would do with the information and whether it would be used against

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[49] P2, P3, P4, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10

them.[50] Nevertheless, a coordinated and whole-of-government approach to addressing DFV, as reflected in the states' policy responses to the National Plan, improved these feelings of distrust and hesitation. This ultimately saw an improvement to the ways in which both feminist organisations and government approached the working relationship. One umbrella organisation at the time of the interview was in the process of developing a partnership agreement with the coordinating state government department to manage the relationship and expectations around this partnership. According to this umbrella organisation, prior to this there was hesitation on both sides about entering a partnership agreement; however, both the organisation and the government department saw the value in having such an agreement. For the organisation, this partnership agreement did not alter the role of the organisation which, from their perspective, was to apply pressure on the government department to achieve policy outcomes.

> All of our work has an element of working with various arms of government in Victoria. So sometimes we have to also remind our partners, our counterparts in government that okay, we understand that you have your work if being driven by things that you don't necessarily have control over, but that doesn't mean that it's not our role to pressure you around this [U2].

As identified in Chapter Five, feminist organisations may have a working relationship with one government department that has open communication and is considered a positive relationship, while at the same time, having challenging working relationships with other departments.

As demonstrated in the findings of Chapter Five, feminist NGOs experience barriers and challenges in their working relationship with governments and government departments, which has an impact on their effectiveness. Chapter Five found that these organisations use several strategies to overcome these barriers; however, these attempts may not always be successful. The strategies used by feminist NGOs may differ depending on the type and nature of the relationship with each government and government department an NGO engages with. Similarly, these strategies may affect how feminist NGOs strategically approach the relationship and engage with government. It is important to understand this contextual background as it provides a greater understanding of the ways in which a range of experiences shape how feminist NGOs approach their engagement with the state and governments.

6.2 Feminist NGOs and their experiences of how they approach the working relationship

The interviews with members and representatives of feminist NGOs identified three main themes and recurring patterns in how these organisations approach the working relationship:

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[50] As expressed by U2, U6.

1. The nature of the funding relationship and the impact this has on the interactions
2. How feminist NGOs' identities change and shift as they engage with governments, and the fear of co-option that occurs within the working relationship
3. The fluidity of the working relationship, as both feminist NGOs and government departments strategically engage with each other.

I will discuss each main theme in turn, drawing upon quotes from the semi-structured interviews with feminist NGOs and policy-makers and the literature to demonstrate how this affects the working relationship.

6.2.1 The nature of the funding relationship

The nature of the funding relationship was identified by representatives and members of feminist NGOs in the case study as a factor that can affect how these organisations approach the relationship. This is because at the centre of most working relationships between NGOs and governments in Australia is funding (see Wulfsohn & Howes, 2014). While the nature of the funding relationship can affect how feminist NGOs approach the relationship in both positive and negative ways, reliance on government funding can result in a dependence upon government.[51] This dependence can then hinder the organisation's capacity for advocacy and effectiveness.

> In Australia, it's very hard, I mean you'd be really hard put to find any feminist organisation or organisation working on violence against women that isn't dependent on government funding, basically [U3].

Almost all the feminist organisations in the case study are reliant on government funding as their main source of income, and for the majority, their only source of income.[52] As outlined in Chapter Four, organisations need a stable and secure funding source to be considered as organisationally effective. Given that the majority of feminist NGOs in Australia are reliant on government funds, their funding is seldom stable and secure. Feminist organisations reported that insecure funding results in a reduction in the number of paid staff as their funding is cut or reduced, emphasising the continued uncertainty in their advocacy efforts.[53] Consequently, feminist organisations reported struggling to develop long-term goals and strategies for their advocacy due to this instability:

> A lot of the funding we get is fixed-term project funding, so there's no security around the work, there's not a long-term vision around the work, and we can be quite driven again by the opportunities that government gives us, that we kind of have to comply with, versus being able to identify our own business needs, our own organisational needs and then getting that funded [U3].

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[51] SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4, U2, U3, U5, U6,
[52] U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4
[53] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, SDA2

In contrast, receiving ongoing stable government funding provides NGOs with a level of autonomy and flexibility in their advocacy, allowing for long-term planning.[54] This ongoing funding may be more common for service delivery and advocacy (SDA) organisations who receive funding for the delivery of services and programs, rather than for advocacy. Therefore, funding arrangements not only differ across government departments, but also across different types of organisations.

> Our relationship with the health department because that's ongoing funding, we have a long relationship with them that's fairly flexible and we're largely able to determine our own priorities that we use that funding for [SDA2].

This highlights another challenge identified by some of the feminist organisations in the case study, in which the funding they receive from government is not for advocacy, but for providing policy advice or program delivery. One member of an umbrella organisation reflected:

> I don't think we're actually really funded to do advocacy. So, yeah that's the biggest challenge! That we're not actually funded for advocacy, we're actually funded to give advice, which is very different. So that's the biggest constraint, that we're not actually funded to do that work. So, when that national group that we work with, none of our organisations are actually kind of given funding to do that work, it's just that we can see you know those issues are ones that we're concerned about. So, the way that we do it is that we actually have to rotate so that the costs of teleconferences are shared between members [U7].

Partnerships and connections with other feminist advocacy organisations and services within the sector therefore play an important role in countering the effects of insecure government funding. For example, the South Australian peak body of women's DFV services, the Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services SA (now Embolden), has been operating since the late 1970s and only recently started receiving government funding as the peak body in 2018. Prior to this, the organisation relied heavily on donations, membership fees, and the sharing of resources with its member organisations.

> As a peak, it finally got government funding late 2018, so we'd always continued our work without any funding for a long period of time, just based on donations and membership fees and so forth … because all of the domestic violence services and related services saw the benefit of it, we put our efforts, our volunteer effort if you like, into keeping it going. So, it was always senior staff from DV services or related services that attended and so they were people that were able to make decisions about, you know, if they had a little bit of extra money or paying the memberships fees, that kind of stuff. So, yeah, that kept us going really.

The insecure and unstable nature of government funding can result in a sense of fear that funding can be withdrawn or cut significantly at any given time, thus greatly affecting NGOs' ability to

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[54] U3, U4

operate and influence policy. Feminist organisations, therefore, reported experiencing a lack of control over their own organisation as they feel beholden to government.[55] For example, Women's Safety NSW, which is the peak body for the NSW women's DV court advocacy services, was defunded in June 2021. Prior to this, the organisation's government funding was very insecure and unstable, evident by the relevant government minister notifying the organisation that they were no longer interested in funding the organisation:

> We've made submissions in relation to our resources and they've basically said that, the minister in budget estimates said that [they're] not interested in providing any more funding for Women's Safety NSW. That [they're] more interested in funding more frontline services. So, you know essentially, and the same from our funding body, they were gonna reduce our funding way back down to not even having one full-time person and no office, and then we've managed to lobby to have it up to what we've got now, so we still won't even have an office, but we've two full-time staff for one more year. I think that doesn't make us feel very confident or supported or valued.

At the time of the interview with a member of the organisation, Women's Safety NSW had recently had its funding reduced:

> We're about to lose our office because we just can't afford to pay the two wages with our continued funding that they provide and the additional funding. So, basically, I don't know any other peak body that operates with such little funding and has as much influence as what we do and, to be honest, I feel like we do have a lot of impact.

Despite this instability of funding, the organisation reflected that it was able to have an impact on DFV policy due to its strong grassroots connections. However, given the organisation was dissolved following the ceasing of government funding, this demonstrates how the nature of the funding relationship affects NGOs' effectiveness and how they approach these relationships. The withdrawal of funding, or a significant reduction in funding, could also result in exclusion from the policy process. This reliance on government funding is not limited to feminist organisations, and is in fact the norm for umbrella and advocacy organisations in other sectors, including the community services sectors (see Melville, 1999; Cheverton, 2005).

Subsequently, NGOs that are reliant on government funding can feel pressured to behave in a certain manner or remain somewhat 'passive' in their advocacy due to the fear of repercussions. This passivity of advocacy-based NGOs tied to social movements was particularly evident during the period of the Howard government (see Maddison, Hamilton & Denniss, 2004; Maddison & Denniss, 2005; Phillips, 2007; Arvanitakis, 2009). Phillips (2007: 28) categorised the Howard government's relationship with NGOs in two ways: 'taming' and 'training', the former being a

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[55] U2, U5, U6, U7

strategy to tame NGOs into passivity by threatening to defund and exclude them from the policy process (Phillips, 2007: 28), and the latter being a means of training organisations into obedience by rewarding them with perks, such as access to the policy process, funding, and using these organisations for service delivery (Phillips, 2007: 28). While these restrictions placed on NGOs under the Howard government no longer exist as they once did, a number of limitations remain intact through covert intimidation. Several feminist organisations reported that the fear of repercussions continues to exist due to implied threats by government, and in some cases, the level of fear has returned to that of the Howard era.[56]

> I would say that it's gotten worse in recent years [U8].

Other organisations mentioned that their funding agreement with government departments prevented them from speaking publicly *without* government approval.[57] This not only restricts an organisation's autonomy, but also limits its advocacy. The reliance upon government and government funding exacerbates the power imbalance that exists between the state and governments and NGOs. Van Wessel et al. (2020: 731) argued that this power imbalance within the working relationship between NGOs and government is a significant limitation to the advocacy provided by these organisations.

> It's a difficult path to tread and sometimes you really upset them [ministers and/or governments] and then you know at the end of the day, we are funded by government, and so sometimes that can make us feel insecure as to whether we are going to get the ongoing funding. That happened recently, we had the funding withheld, withheld, withheld, withheld and they weren't going to fund us and then they finally funded us, but they didn't fund us enough. So, we're just working our guts out and we're just underfunded and that limits our ability to do as much as we would like [U5].

This is not a new phenomenon, in fact, Maddison, Hamilton and Denniss (2004) noted this in their seminal research on the NGO sector in Australia. They argued that "it is clear that the higher the level of government funding, the more constrained NGOs feel" in regard to criticising government (Maddison, Hamilton & Denniss, 2004: 34). In their study, organisations spoke of needing to forewarn government about their public statements, and funding agreements forbidding public criticism, echoing the obligations of feminist organisations. Maddison, Hamilton and Denniss (2004: 35) reported that many NGOs spoke of not "biting the hand that feeds you", which was echoed by the feminist NGOs in the current case study. In addition, some feminist organisations felt they wanted to offer positive reinforcement to government departments for prioritising DFV as a policy issue and for working towards addressing the issue.

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[56] As expressed by U2, U5, U6, U7, U8.
[57] U2, U8

> … We want to applaud them for the focus that they have on family violence,
> so you don't want to be biting the hand that feeds you [SDA2].

Members of feminist organisations reported having to make an assessment on whether their advocacy was worth the potential risk of repercussion, and that in some instances, 'you need to pick your battles', as one member of a feminist organisation explained.[58] For one organisation, the risk of repercussions was worthwhile if it meant a reversal of a policy decision that would place greater risk on women and children at risk of violence. For example, in this instance, the feminist organisation strongly advocated against a government decision, which resulted in the relevant minister severing connections with the organisation. The member of the feminist organisation stated that as a consequence of the advocacy campaign, the NGO no longer receives funding from this minister and claims it never will. Conversely, other organisations reported feeling they were in a position to be frank with their advocacy and policy advice due to how women and children were affected by such policy decision-making.

> At times we have had to make special meetings with the relevant person
> and say 'look this is going to get women and children killed' or 'this is not
> going to work for services on the ground' or 'this is actually setting women
> up for failure', you know, whatever it is, we have to say it because that's part
> of our advocacy ... [it] has been a part of our critical work over the past few
> years. Not always listened to, I'm not saying we've always won, and it's not
> a win or lose thing, but it's just using our voice constantly [U9].

This demonstrates the diverse experiences of Australian feminist NGOs and the impact that receiving government funding has on their advocacy and how the working relationship with government departments is approached. For some organisations, how the working relationship is approached may differ according to which political party or minister is in power, as the fear of repercussions may be too significant.[59] Conversely, some feminist NGOs may have a strong, co-operative relationship with certain government ministers or policy-makers, which can reduce the impact of this fear of repercussions, and influence how the organisation approaches the working relationship. These feminist organisations are strategic in their interactions and advocacy to ensure the working relationship remains built on trust, to enhance the organisation's effectiveness:

> The [organisations] have been subjected to some restrictions on, speaking publicly but that is no
> longer the case in a formal contractual sense, however, I think that the very nature of the
> funding relationship, does make it, there's a kind of built in, there's a built in aversion to, well a
> built in reluctance perhaps to go really hard in a public sense on an issue, because of, and it's
> not just to do with funding, it's also to do with maintaining a kind of position as a trusted or semi-

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[58] As expressed by U2, U5, SDA2, U9.
[59] SDA3, SDA4, U8

trusted advisor to governments. So, I think that's very much across the board, not just [the organisation], but in NGO advocacy overall [U1]

Therefore, the funding arrangements have a critical impact on the organisation's effectiveness and how it operates, as well as the working relationship with government. Unstable and insecure funding can have a negative impact on feminist NGOs' advocacy, while stable ongoing funding can provide a greater sense of autonomy for these organisations. Other factors may affect how feminist NGOs approach the working relationship when funding is involved, according to which political party is in power. Given the prior experience of advocacy NGOs under the Howard government, many NGOs remain fearful of conservative governments.

6.2.2 Feminist organisations' identity and fear of co-option

For some feminist umbrella organisations, this reliance on state and government funding can lead to internal conflict about future strategic goals.[60] Several members of umbrella organisations reflected that their organisation felt at times like a quasi-government agency:

> I think the idea we had in [organisation] was, yes we were more or less quasi-government agency because at that point we were almost uniquely funded by government [U3].

This has been observed within the literature, as according to Melville (1999: 30), a source of tension and internal conflict for peak bodies and umbrella organisations is the working relationship with government, which essentially results in the organisation becoming an extension of the "state bureaucracy". Due to the dependence on government funding, many umbrella NGOs experience feeling that the organisation's autonomy is limited (Melville, 1999: 30). This can result in the organisation struggling with its identity, as these NGOs attempt to manage the competing demands of the feminist movement and government.

> There's definitely been times … when I've really struggled with that and feeling that our radicalness as a feminist organisation is impinged upon by the need to, kind of, be within the state somewhat and our autonomy being eroded because we've kind of become this agent of government, implementing government policy and programming, and particularly when we've provided feedback on something that hasn't been accepted and then we're an agent of implementing a program that we don't support. Trying to navigate the politics of escalating our issues and not escalating, and when we use the media and not use the media [U2].

The role of umbrella organisations is to represent marginalised populations through political participation, engage with the policy-making process and contribute to policy, and to undertake consultation on behalf of the state (Melville, 1999: 29). However, these feminist umbrella organisations receiving government funding experience conflict in terms of who the NGO identifies

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[60] U1, U2, U3, U5, U7

with: the feminist movement or the government. This affects how these feminist NGOs not only approach the working relationship with government, but also their advocacy efforts.[61] For one feminist organisation, a representative recalled there being immense pressure in the early years of the NGO to be more 'in' than 'out', and the tensions this caused within the organisation.

> And on the other hand, there was a pull, particularly from the rest of the staff […] intellectually saying 'if we go down that path [of being a quasi-government agency], we won't be able to influence as effectively as we could otherwise' [U3].

Evidently, these NGOs question whether the organisation's loyalty remains with the movement and their membership or with government (see Gelb, 1995: 129). Therefore, some feminist NGOs questioned the working relationship with government and government departments, as this engagement is often viewed as resulting in co-option (Melville, 1999: 28). For feminist organisations, there is a fine line between engaging with government to achieve an influence on policy and being co-opted by government into a passive role. As one member of a feminist organisation argued:

> I think you have to be careful about how you do that [interacting with government] because you, you don't want to get kind of co-opted into ways of thinking and behaving, I think yeah it depends a bit on how a worker wants to position themselves on a spectrum, you know, from fierce advocate to government supporter [SDA1].

Australian feminist NGOs were found to struggle with the identity and loyalty of the organisation due to their dependence on government funding. Some organisations experienced being co-opted by a government department at times or running the risk of co-option. This internal conflict on strategic goals by feminist NGOs affects how they approach their engagement with government, as these organisations attempt to remain loyal to the feminist movement.

6.2.3 The fluidity of the working relationship: when engaging with government changes from a strategy to a status

Feminist organisations identified engaging with governments as their central strategy, thus consciously deciding to work alongside, and with, governments to achieve policy outcomes for women and children affected by DFV.[62] Engaging with governments and government departments as a means of gaining access to the policy process is common among feminist organisations and NGOs more broadly.

> We just think, it's relationship, relationship, relationship [SDA3].

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[61] U2, U3, U4, U7
[62] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4

I think that we come from the perspective of wanting to work with everyone else because we can't do this on our own [U6].

I might describe [the organisation] as an inside track approach, um, and there are some limitations to that, so yeah, we're largely inside the tent, we are – we try to maintain good relationships with bureaucrats and advisors and ministers, and provide, you know, evidence-based advice on what we see the best policy settings and practice approach [SDA2].

I think the feminist organisations, regardless of their philosophies, have to walk hand-in-hand with government in a lot of respects. Not always, because I think feminist organisations absolutely have a right to stand on their own, but in the development of policy, you need to be there together to some extent, don't you? But I think feminist organisations, as strong as we are, we can't do it alone [U9].

Therefore, having a working relationship with governments and various government departments is prioritised and seen as critical by these feminist organisations.[63] This engagement occurs in many ways, through both formal and informal interactions, which varies across departments and jurisdictions. These variations in how feminist NGOs engage with government departments, policy-makers, and bureaucrats can have an impact on the outcomes of such advocacy.

… a lot of that stuff happens at a lower-level bureaucratic level, so somebody will send it [policy proposal or draft of a strategy] to me or ask me to look at it for example. So that's a bit more informal, helpful advice and support, and some jurisdictions don't ask for that – some do and some don't, it just depends [U4].

So, the inside work – the better the relationship you have with allied bureaucrats, like with friendly bureaucrats and friendly ministers (when they exist), is like gold because you can really, if you can build a trusted relationship where they will pick up the phone and know that you're not going to then run to the media or whatever, and they can ask you questions and that, you can really have a huge amount of influence like that. Um, to the extent where I've seen where I've seen with myself and with other feminist organisations and stuff, really craft policy hand-in-hand with bureaucrats who otherwise wouldn't have had the idea sort of thing [U3].

Sometimes, the outcome of this advocacy is dependent on exogenous factors, such as whether government departments have quotas to fill, ministerial intervention, or whether there is tension within the working relationship. Feminist NGOs then pivot in the strategies they employ in order to overcome these barriers, as demonstrated in Chapter Five.[64]

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[63] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4
[64] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4

> We have always tried to maintain a close relationship with the relevant government people. Sometimes it's worked and sometimes it hasn't, and that's simply, really, because of individuals rather than the fact that government didn't want to do stuff about domestic violence policy [U9].

There is a common misconception both within the existing literature and in the feminist movement more broadly, that suggests engaging with governments requires these NGOs to be placid and moderate to appease government and ensure the relationship runs smoothly. This is not always the case, as Banaszak (2005: 168) argued that feminist insiders are not confined to only using 'insider' strategies and tactics. She observed that feminist insiders in the United States engaged in a variety of tactics, including outsider strategies from within. Consequently, she argued that these feminist insiders were far from placid and moderate; however, they were strategic in how they engaged with government (Banaszak, 2005: 167). While feminist insiders used their own strategies to be effective, protest tactics were used as last resort options (Banaszak, 2005: 167). As previously argued, this can exacerbate identity issues that may arise from this working relationship with governments. From the perspective of one representative of a feminist organisation, a strong "outsider" presence is needed to support the internal advocacy efforts of NGOs engaging with governments.[65]

> The more I work in advocacy and influencing, the more I see that dynamic of being absolutely crucial. If you don't have either of those things playing, you don't get quality movement [U3].

This outsider presence could be in the form of policy entrepreneurs, who can act as an aggressor where these organisations are unable to. Wheildon et al. (2021) highlighted the key role that victim-survivors of DFV play in advocating for social and policy change by examining the role of Rosie Batty. They attributed her outsider status as an important contributing factor to her policy influence (Wheildon et al., 2021: 8, 11). Wheildon et al. (2021: 11) argued that it was Batty's disconnect from the DFV sector and government that strengthened her influence, together with her lived experience of such violence.

Feminist NGOs engaging with governments via a working relationship can, however, act as an aggressor to place internal pressure and lobby for policy responses. These organisations can privately hold government and government departments to account while appearing to be compliant to the sector. For example, several representatives of feminist NGOs reported having this dynamic with one government department[66]:

> At times, we have had to make special meetings with the relevant person and say 'look this is going to get women and children killed' or 'this is not going to work for the services on the ground' or 'this is actually setting women up for failure', you know, whatever it is, we have to say it because that's part of our advocacy. We've had to say to somebody 'that's not going to be

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[65] U3
[66] Also U2, U8

okay, you need to rethink that, you can't do it that way', you know, so I think that is and has
been a part of our critical work over the past few years. Not always listened to, I'm not saying
we've always won, and it's not a win or a lose thing, but it's just using our voice constantly, I
guess. I think [organisation] even though we've had some rough times, we've always been very
vocal and very active in our liaison and work with the government. Simply because we saw it as
absolutely critical [U9].

This strategy of engaging as a private aggressor may require a level of trust within the working
relationship, as some organisations may not have this dynamic due to the fear of repercussions.

… we have got the types of relationships I guess where there are key people that we go to that
we know are trusted and that maybe you can have quite frank conversations with, so we have in
some ways I guess people on the inside [U2].

These repercussions, however, may not be in the form of reduced funding, but rather, exclusion
from the policy-making process. Governments and government departments can selectively
choose when to include and exclude NGOs in the policy process. This can also occur when there
is a formalised working relationship, as this does not provide guaranteed access to the policy
process. Sudden exclusion from the policy process provides a significant challenge to NGOs'
advocacy and effectiveness in influencing DFV policy. Therefore, not only can feminist NGOs
engage strategically with governments and government departments, but these same strategies
can be employed against these organisations.

It's just something that's always there, but you're not always aware of it. You're not always
aware of when you're using it as a strategy, you're not always aware of when it's being used on
you as a strategy by government, and how to move in between and when you want to make
yourself an insider and not [U2].

This demonstrates the fluidity of the working relationship between NGOs and government. In other
words, how these organisations engage with government changes and evolves often, and vice
versa. Therefore, this finding offers partial support for the existing literature on the insider/outsider
positioning. As outlined in Chapter One, the insider/outsider dichotomy is commonly framed within
the academic literature in two ways: as a *status* or as a *strategy* (see Grant, 1989; Maloney,
Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994). Insider or outsider status refers to when the positioning has been
imposed on an organisation, whereas when the positioning is referred to as a strategy,
organisations are strategically engaging with government to gain access to the policy process
(Beckwith, 2007: 322-323). The experiences of the feminist organisations in the case study
demonstrate the need for greater nuance, as they highlight the strategic nature of the working
relationship for both actors, and thus how the relationship ebbs and flows over time.

Beckwith (2007: 321) argued that feminist movements and organisations can be suppressed by the state until they have no choice but to operate independently. At the same time, the state can promote government-friendly feminist organisations and further exclude others (Beckwith, 2007: 321). Therefore, governments and government departments may exclude specific organisations if their advice does not align with a proposed policy or program of the department, and instead, seek to engage with organisations that do.[67] For example, one member of a feminist organisation described their exclusion from a project as a strategic move by the government department, because the NGO advised against a proposal the department was moving forward with.

> This is one of those examples where government definitely keep us as outsiders because to be accountable to us would have serious implications to them in this piece of work [U2].

This can create an additional source of tension within the working relationship and may affect how feminist organisations approach their engagement with governments, government departments, and ministers.

> Sometimes it's [the relationship] a bit conflictual simply because, you know, MPs sometimes see the benefit of doing it their way rather than the best way [U9].

Similarly, several representatives from the case study organisations reported feeling ignored at different points throughout their working relationship with government and being shut out of the policy process on specific policy issues or proposals.

> There's a feeling sometimes that we're not - of course government come to us with only certain things that they want us to be involved in, then we hear about or we know there are other things going on that we just can't get in any leverage in for whatever reason [U2].

These instances of exclusion may occur more regularly under particular governments where ideological differences exist between the government of the day and the feminist NGO, whereas, if the ideology of the government and the feminist NGOs is aligned, these organisations may be more involved in the policy process and have a closer working relationship with government. Therefore, some organisations may find themselves having greater effectiveness under specific political parties.

Overall, the fluid nature of this working relationship affects how feminist NGOs strategically approach their engagement with government, and consequently affects the influence these organisations have on DFV policy. The main themes in the findings from the interviews with members of feminist NGOs demonstrates the need for refinement of the insider/outsider dichotomy to capture the nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and governments.

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[67] As expressed by U2, U5.

6.3 Rethinking the insider/outsider dichotomy: introducing a new typology for NGO-state relations

This section will discuss the implications of these findings and how they intersect with the literature on the insider/outsider dichotomy, before outlining how the empirical data can inform a new way of thinking about these relationships. I will then introduce my typology for NGO-state relations and will categorise the feminist NGOs in the case study to demonstrate the different types of relationships.

This research has found that having a working relationship with the state and governments does have an impact on NGOs' effectiveness in influencing and contributing to public policy. Each feminist organisation within the case study reflected on the importance of having a working relationship with government to contribute to DFV policies.[68] Proximity to government is seen as a means of increasing an organisation's influence and providing opportunities for influence that would otherwise be unavailable (see Banaszak, 2005).

> My perspective is proximity is good, you need to be close to government, but you still need to be able to call them – call them out when they do something 'wrong' [U8].

The working relationship is also viewed as mutually beneficial for NGOs and government departments in relation to the creation of policy.[69] This is because these organisations provide expertise and knowledge, which aids in the development and implementation phases of the policy process. Bureaucratic institutions provide NGOs with a platform and the opportunity to shape public policy and achieve organisational aims and goals.

> I think that feminist organisations, regardless of their philosophies, have to walk hand-in-hand with government in a lot of respects. Not always, but I think feminist organisations absolutely have a right to stand on their own, but in the development of policy, you need to be there together to some extent, don't you? … But I think feminist organisations, as strong as we are, we can't do it alone [U9].

This sentiment was evidently shared between members of feminist organisations and policy-makers, bureaucrats, and department heads within the case study. This relationship, however, is accompanied with many challenges and barriers that have an impact on NGOs' capacity for effectiveness. Melville (1999: 31) described the relationship between peak bodies and governments as a "two-way street" involving a range of tensions. Spalter-Roth and Schreiber (1995: 125) observed that while American feminist organisations' relationships with government experienced difficulties and tensions, they were successful in ensuring that feminist issues remained on the policy agenda. This, however, may not have been in the form in which the

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[68] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4
[69] U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, SDA1, SDA2, SDA3, SDA4, P1, P2, P3, P4, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10

organisations would have preferred and required some compromise (Spalter-Roth & Schreiber, 1995: 125).

As outlined in Chapter One, current understandings of the insider and outsider positioning describe the two as a dichotomy; however, the relationship is far more fluid than this dichotomy allows. Banaszak (2005: 169) argued that the definitions are not a clear dichotomy and there is often overlap between the two. She outlined that these two positionings are often 'blurred' in that organisations and activists rarely fit narrowly within either definition (Banaszak, 2005: 152-153). Katzenstein (1998: 196) supports this, having argued that considering insiders and outsiders as a dichotomy is a significant limitation when discussing the relationship between social movements and governments. Even the concept of state feminism refers to a blurring of the two, outlining collaboration between the feminist movement and women's policy agencies to achieve policy outcomes through lobbying the state from within the relationship (Kantola & Squires, 2012: 382). This overlap was evident in this case study of Australian feminist NGOs. Page (1999: 210) outlined that this is not a clear dichotomy, "a group is not simply an insider or an outsider". Rather, what occurs in practice is that organisations possess features of both, which changes over time (Page, 1999: 210). As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the working relationship between feminist organisations and the state and governments is fluid and always evolving. Not only do these feminist NGOs engage strategically with governments and government departments, but so do these government actors. These strategic engagements impact how effective feminist organisations are in influencing and contributing to DFV policy. Therefore, the insider/outsider dichotomy requires refinement to capture the nuance of this working relationship and the many forms in which the relationship can exist.

6.3.1 The Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies

To address the significant limitations of the current framing of the insider/outsider positionings as a dichotomy, I propose a typology of NGO-state relation strategies drawn from the case study. The Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies was drawn from the qualitative data in the current study and reflects the strategies used by feminist NGOs in their engagement with the state and governments. In this section, I will detail this typology, drawing examples from my case study and the discussion in this chapter.

Typologies are a commonly used analytical tool in the social sciences as a means of classifying different types of systems (Collier, LaPorte & Seawright, 2012: 217; see also Collier, LaPorte & Seawright, 2008). In accordance with the basic template for multi-dimensional typologies outlined by Collier, LaPorte and Seawright (2012: 222-223), the overarching concept is the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies. This typology reflects the nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and the state/government, and the variations which are evident within the relationship and how it is approached by these organisations. The typology is based on the four

common patterns across the working relationship within the case study and the literature reviews, and reflects the strategies employed by mainly feminist NGOs and government departments. Forming the typology based on observations made from within the case study and the literature allows for a more accurate reflection of the ways in which NGOs engage with government and the state. These four categorisations of NGO-state relation strategies are: pragmatic, stoic, flip-flop, and partisan-aligned.
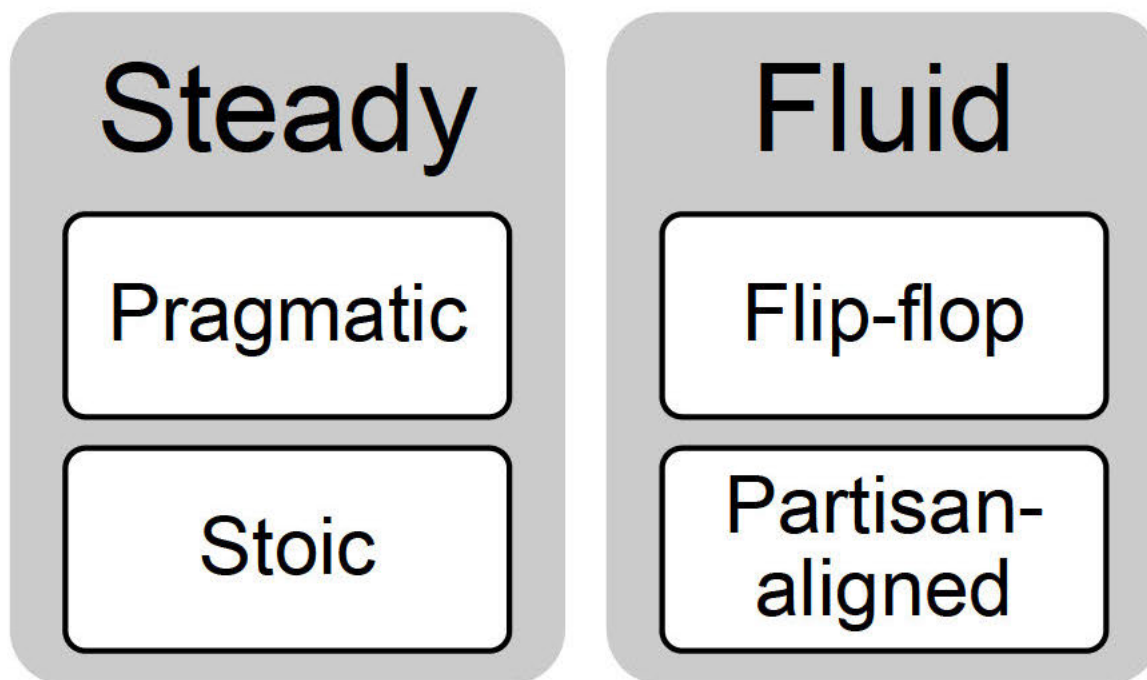
Steady	Fluid
Pragmatic	Flip-flop
Stoic	Partisan-aligned

Figure 3: The Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies

The pragmatic NGO state-relation strategy describes organisations that approach the relationship strategically. These organisations recognise the challenges and difficulties that occur when working with government, but manage these challenges as they arise. Therefore, a pragmatic strategy may appear passive to the sector as a whole and to organisations employing other strategies. The pragmatic organisation, however, is strategic in where it exerts its energy. These organisations, therefore, retain their autonomy within the working relationship and adapt by shifting strategies as circumstances change. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, many feminist NGOs employ a level of flexibility in the way in which they approach the working relationship with governments. This allows organisations to pivot and shift strategy as needed when exogenous factors impact their effectiveness and the way in which these NGOs engage with governments.

The stoic strategy describes a long-suffering organisation that tolerates the challenges and difficulties of working with government while remaining publicly quiet. These organisations, however, hold government to account and exert internal pressure on them. Like the pragmatic strategy, the stoic organisation may appear passive and compliant to the sector and other NGOs,

while acting as an aggressor privately. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, some NGOs are strategic in their interactions with government departments and, as such, may have formed a trusting relationship. This may allow the organisation to feel safe in acting as an aggressor privately rather than publicly.

These organisations maintain an element of fluidity in the advocacy strategies they use and in their interactions with governments and government departments. As demonstrated in earlier discussions, government departments, and government more broadly, can act strategically in their engagements with feminist NGOs. The pragmatic and stoic organisations remain fluid in their strategies and interactions with government to account for this.

The positioning within the state and governments, however, remains relatively steady. The pragmatic and stoic NGO-state relation strategies are not absolute, meaning organisations can shift their positionings and strategies at any given time. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, organisations can be excluded from the policy process in various ways, including through funding cuts or in omission from consultations. When this occurs, an NGO may shift its positioning from pragmatic or stoic to partisan-aligned or flip-flop. For example, funding cuts under the governance of one political party may result in the organisation becoming a flip-flop or partisan-aligned organisation.

The flip-flop NGO state-relation strategy describes an organisation that oscillates between idealistic antagonist and being pragmatic. These organisations struggle with managing their role as an aggressor that applies pressure on government for accountability, and with approaching the relationship realistically and with ease. As a result of this internal conflict, the NGO changes how it approaches the working relationship with government and subsequently employs different strategies in relation to advocacy. For example, a flip-flop organisation may act as a public aggressor towards government, advocating for action on a particular policy issue, and then appear passive in its engagement with government on other policy issues. This may also reflect the strategies employed by government and government departments in engaging with NGOs. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, governments or government departments may change how and when they include feminist NGOs in the policy process. Therefore, the flip-flop strategy may also be reflective of a government's strategic approach to the working relationship with NGOs.

Finally, the partisan-aligned strategy employed by NGOs describes organisations that change their activism and pressure based on the political party in power. In the context of the case study, these organisations may shift their advocacy and activism based on the feminist leanings of the women's policy agency with which the organisation primarily engages. For partisan-aligned organisations, influence on the policy process is most evident when certain political parties are in power, and thus, activism and energy is enhanced when the preferred political party is incumbent. A partisan-aligned organisation may employ this as a strategy itself, or the organisation may be excluded from

the policy process and pressured to be dormant when a particular political party is in government. This reflects the findings in the empirical data which found that governments act strategically towards which political actors they allow access to the policy-making process.

The flip-flop and partisan-aligned relation strategies can be described as fluid, meaning these organisations change their positioning with government and advocacy strategies based on differing circumstances. These organisations may change their positioning and strategies at any given time, meaning circumstances may provide the organisation a means to transition to pragmatic or stoic. This may be due to a change in the political party in government, which may share ideology with an advocacy NGO, thus allowing these actors access to the policy process. Alternatively, a stoic organisation may become a partisan-aligned or flip-flop organisation if its internal pressure results in deep tensions in the relationship leading to exclusion.

Based on my interpretation of the empirical data and each feminist NGOs' experience in engaging with governments during the period of the case study, Table 31 presents my categorisation of each organisation. These categorisations were formed by drawing upon the interactions between feminist NGOs and relevant governmental departments, the ways in which the relationship is approached, and the obstacles in the relationship. Previous chapters have demonstrated there are many factors affecting the working relationship, and as these factors change, so does the relationship. Therefore, organisations can change type as they shift and adapt to these circumstances.

Table 34: Categorising the feminist NGOs in the case study

Feminist organisation	Type	Reasons for categorisation
Our Watch	Stoic	- Interviewees expressed the nature of the relationship as very close, due to being positioned almost within government (a relationship with governments is necessary and must be co-operative) - Due to the unique positioning of the organisation, Our Watch's key strategy is to remain publicly quiet whilst utilising the relationship to apply internal pressure - Organisation may appear passive to the sector but internally aggressive - Autonomous despite relationship with governments - Highly strategic with interactions (when to apply pressure, when and how to engage)
Domestic Violence Victoria	Stoic	- Domestic Violence Victoria maintained fluidity and could be categorised as both pragmatic and stoic. - The organisation held a strong working relationship with a particular governmental department, which is central to the organisation's policy influence, however, can be categorised as stoic due it's strategies in the interactions with relevant governmental departments (i.e., being strategic about when to apply pressure and when to tolerate issues for long-term goals) - Interviewee expressed the nature of the relationship as challenging yet necessary - Applied internal pressure where deemed important on particular issues

No To Violence	Pragmatic	• The organisation remained highly strategic in its interactions with governmental departments across jurisdictions and utilised various strategies to enhance its policy influence • Interviewees expressed the nature of the relationship as co-operative and necessary • Organisation may appear passive to the sector but is able to apply pressure privately
Women's Safety NSW	Flip-flop	• Interviewees expressed the nature of the relationship as frustrating and the constant changing nature of the relationship (being included and then excluded from the policy process by government) • The organisation struggled in how it approached the relationship, particularly as a result of significant barriers and challenges outside of Women's Safety NSW's control • Strategies identified by interviewees changed depending on the circumstances
Australian Women Against Violence Alliance	Pragmatic	• Interviewee expressed the nature of the relationship as challenging but co-operative • The organisation remained strategic in its interactions with governmental departments across jurisdictions and utilised various strategies to enhance its policy influence
Coalition of Women's Domestic Violence Services SA	Stoic	• Interviewee expressed the nature of the relationship as vital, challenging, yet co-operative • Highly strategic with interactions (when to apply pressure, when and how to engage) • Autonomous (financially) from government • The organisation's independence allowed CWDVSSA to act as an aggressor privately in its interactions with relevant governmental departments

Women with Disabilities Victoria	Pragmatic	• Interviewee expressed the nature of the relationship as challenging yet necessary • Strategic with interactions (when and how to apply pressure and engage on certain policy issues) • Maintained flexible and pivot in the strategies used as circumstances change
Women's Health West	Partisan-aligned	• Interviewee expressed having greater co-operation with one political party, however, this ebbs and flows • Varies strategies were identified by the organisation in attempting to break through the ideological divide, such as appealing to the electorate •
Yarredi Services	Pragmatic	• Interviewee expressed the nature of the relationship as challenging yet necessary • Strategic with interactions (when and how to apply pressure and engage on certain policy issues) • Maintained flexible and pivot in the strategies used as circumstances change • Reliance on umbrella organisation to enhance pressure applied to government • Applied internal pressure where deemed important on particular issues

Women's Health Victoria	Pragmatic	• Interviewee expressed the nature of the relationship as challenging yet necessary • Strategic with interactions (when and how to apply pressure and engage on certain policy issues) • Maintained flexible and pivot in the strategies used as circumstances change • Applied internal pressure where deemed important on particular issues

One feminist organisation within the case study could be categorised as a partisan-aligned organisation. While there may be times during the working relationship and when engaging with different government departments that reflect a partisan-aligned strategy, most organisations fit within the pragmatic and stoic types. One organisation is categorised as flip-flop due to the strategies used in the approaches they take to engage with governments; however, this categorisation also reflects the strategies used by government within the relationship.

In short, the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies reflects the strategies used by both NGOs and governments in how the working relationship is approached. This typology offers an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy as it allows for the nuances of the working relationship to be considered. In doing so, this typology offers a significant contribution to knowledge, as this typology is not just applicable to the case study of feminist NGOs, but to NGOs more broadly.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the interviews with members and representatives of feminist NGOs to understand the experiences of how these NGOs engage and work with government. The chapter began by discussing the contextual background of the working relationship between feminist and advocacy NGOs and governments in Australia, as this provided a greater understanding of how these past experiences shape how feminist NGOs approach engaging with governments. Following this, I presented the three main themes from the findings of the semi-structured interviews with members and representatives of feminist NGOs in how they approach their working relationship with governments. These main findings included the nature of the funding relationship, the self-identity of feminist NGOs and the fear of co-option, and the fluidity of the working relationship as evident in the interactions between feminist NGOs and government departments. I argued that the experiences of feminist NGOs reflects the need for refinement of the insider/outsider dichotomy to capture the nuances of the working relationship between NGOs

and states and governments. I proposed my Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies as a means of capturing the intricacies and nuances of the relationship and, by doing so, providing another contribution to knowledge. In the following conclusion chapter, I summarise the findings of the present study in relation to the research questions and make recommendations for both NGOs and government and government departments in how to best approach the relationship to enhance effectiveness.

CONCLUSION

This research has demonstrated that the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments is inherently complex. The complex nature of the working relationship affects NGOs' abilities and capacities to influence public policy, and thus, impacts these organisations' effectiveness. Feminist organisations' relationships with the state and governments were found to be accompanied by significant challenges in terms of effectiveness. The research found that within the context of the case study, the closer the relationship with government, the more effective a feminist organisation is in influencing DFV policy. This relationship, however, is deeply complex and is accompanied by significant challenges for Australian feminist NGOs, which thus impacts these organisations' effectiveness. While these organisations can act strategically to focus their efforts and enhance effectiveness despite these challenges, the extent of an organisation's influence is limited by this relationship. Therefore, the impact the working relationship has on feminist NGO effectiveness is more complex than simply enhancing feminist organisation's policy influence. The complexity of this working relationship, and the external factors that affect the relationship, can be reflected in a typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies. This conclusion will begin by summarising the key findings of this research in relation to the research aims and questions in accordance with each chapter. I will then provide both the theoretical and practical implications and significance of these findings by detailing the three contributions to knowledge they have made. By doing so, I present a number of recommendations for NGOs and government institutions on how to best navigate the relationship for optimal outcomes. Finally, the research concludes with directions for future research to continue the exploration of NGO effectiveness in other contexts and settings.

Review of key findings

This section provides an overview of the key findings of the research in chronological order, according to each chapter. I begin by outlining the case study used in this research to assess the effectiveness of Australian feminist NGOs in influencing DFV policy before reviewing the key research findings from each chapter of the thesis.

The case study of Australian feminist organisations

The thesis introduced the research problem of whether the working relationship between NGOs and government, government departments, and the state affects these organisations' influence and contribution to DFV policy outcomes, and thus their effectiveness. This research problem was divided into four research objectives and was examined within the scope of a case study of Australian feminist organisations' influence on DFV policy. The case study was narrowed to the influence of these organisations on DFV policy over a six-year period between 2010-2016, and across four jurisdictions: nationally, and in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The

four policy frameworks examined were the *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children* (Federal), *A Right to Safety/Taking a Stand: Responding to Domestic Violence* (South Australia), *It Stops Here: Standing Together to End Domestic and Family Violence in NSW/It Stops Here: Safer Pathway* (New South Wales), and the *Ending Family Violence/ Family Violence Rolling Action Plan 2017-2020* (Victoria).

The literature review findings

The thesis began by presenting an analysis of the current understandings of the influence of NGOs on the policy process and policy formation. The insider/outsider positioning was found to be a common approach to explaining and describing the working relationship between NGOs and bureaucratic institutions and states. This insider/outsider positioning is, however, framed as a dichotomy; organisations are either considered as insiders or outsiders in terms of their working relationship with governments (see Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994). Similarly, these positionings are again framed as either being a status or a strategy (see Doyle, 2000; Dryzek et al., 2003; Maddison & Denniss, 2005). An insider/outsider status refers to organisations having the positioning imposed upon them by government, whereas an insider/outsider strategy refers to the organisation employing the chosen positioning to enhance its influence and effectiveness.

While this insider/outsider positioning is a useful way of explaining and describing the working relationship between NGOs and government and government departments, it was found to require considerable refinement. I argued this refinement was needed as the current framing of the insider/outsider positioning as a dichotomy did not accurately reflect the daily realities of NGOs and the complexity of the working relationship. Moreover, the framing of the insider/outsider positioning as a dichotomy within the existing literature falls short in considering important external factors that affect the relationship. This was particularly evident when examining how NGOs and feminist actors engage with government departments and the state, which is more nuanced than the insider/outsider dichotomy.

The 'effectiveness' of NGOs

How the policy influence of NGOs relates to their effectiveness is clouded within the existing literature. The findings of a systematic literature review on the different approaches to defining and measuring 'effectiveness' found that the existing definitions and approaches to NGO effectiveness are contested, and often limited, which has resulted in a lack of agreed measures of NGO effectiveness (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012). The definitions and measures of NGO effectiveness were found to be either too specific to niche contexts, or too broad and general for the purposes of this thesis, and thus fail to encapsulate effectiveness and how it can be measured (see Lecy, Schmitz & Swedlund, 2012). I argued that this lack of consensus and clarity on how NGO 'effectiveness' can be defined and measured has resulted in a deficiency of tangible measures to assess this impact.

The existing measures of NGO effectiveness were broadly summarised as processes, outputs, and outcomes. While several themes and patterns were identified within the systematic literature on the impact of exogenous factors on NGOs' effectiveness, this is seldom reflected in the existing measures. It was therefore argued that these existing measures fail to take into consideration exogenous factors that have an impact on organisations' abilities and capacities to be effective, which are vital factors to be considered in assessing an organisation's effectiveness. This highlighted the need for an effectiveness measure of NGOs that allows for nuance and that does not take an all-or-nothing approach to measuring organisations' impact. In addition, a further limitation observed in the analysis is the minimal interaction between existing effectiveness measures, which has resulted in an overabundance of definitions and methods representing significant gaps in the knowledge of such measures. I argued that a blanket label of an NGO being effective or ineffective is therefore not useful because organisations can be effective in one area while being ineffective in others.

To provide clarity on the concept of NGO 'effectiveness', I defined effectiveness as the success of an organisation based on its organisational aims, goals, and mission, with a particular focus on policy impact (see Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983). This provides a definition of effectiveness as it relates to the influence of NGO actors in the process of policy-making. Based on the synthesis of existing measures and definitions and the gaps within these approaches, I developed a new framework for the analysis of the effectiveness of the feminist organisations in the case study. This Effectiveness Criteria Framework is an expansion on the synthesis of existing effectiveness measures, which addresses the limitations of these approaches.

The Effectiveness Criteria Framework consists of four dimensions: organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. Organisational effectiveness measures the operation of NGOs as an indication of effectiveness. Three indicators are used to measure organisational effectiveness: adequate resources, organisational legitimacy, and the circumstances of the organisation's funding. Political effectiveness measures the political standing of an NGO as an indication of the organisation's effectiveness. Six indicators are used to measure political effectiveness: collaboration, grassroots connections, the ability to be dynamic and adaptive, the ability to set the policy agenda, the reputation, and the ability to give honest advice including criticism. Policy effectiveness measures tangible policy outcomes as a direct result of an NGO's advocacy as an indication of its effectiveness. Four indicators are used to measure policy effectiveness: the ability to set and influence the policy agenda, organisational visibility, and performance outcomes. Lastly, cultural and membership effectiveness measures the representation of an NGO's membership and population which it is advocating for. Three indicators are used to measure this: the satisfaction of the population group being advocated for, satisfaction of the membership, and cultural/societal shifts and changes.

An organisation is not required to fulfill each dimension of effectiveness to be considered effective; however, organisational effectiveness is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. As organisations do not need to meet each indicator to be considered effective within each dimension, the extent to which an organisation can be considered effective for each dimension varies. The more indicators of each dimension that are satisfied, the higher the level of effectiveness of the organisation. Therefore, organisations can be considered as having high, medium, and low effectiveness for each dimension of effectiveness measures.

Importantly, the EC Framework is designed to measure effectiveness independently of the working relationship and positionings of NGOs. As the EC Framework is multi-factor, it can measure a range of configurations in which NGOs could be highly effectiveness, across different factors, rather than measuring specific relationships between NGOs and governments. The development of the EC Framework addresses a significant knowledge gap within the existing literature and allowed the research question to be examined and answered.

The application of the EC Framework to the case study

As the systematic literature review revealed, there are differences in how effectiveness is measured across different organisational types. I argued that how these factors are defined and measured may differ depending on the type of organisation. Organisations that engage in both service delivery and advocacy (SDA) will have different organisational aims and goals than umbrella organisations. Therefore, how the criteria of effectiveness are measured and defined will vary based on the type of organisation. This was supported by the application of the criteria of effectiveness factors to the case study, as it found a significant difference in the levels of effectiveness between organisational types. Umbrella organisations were found to have higher levels of effectiveness overall, compared to SDA organisations.

This demonstrates the importance of a working relationship with the state and governmental departments, as umbrella organisations were found to have a more productive relationship than SDA organisations. This is because governments prefer to collaborate and consult with umbrella organisations to receive policy advice from a large cohort within a short timespan (see Fraussen & Halpin, 2018: 24). These differences were found to be attributed to other factors which also affect the working relationship with governments and the state. The size of the organisation greatly affects an organisation's impact on public policy, as larger organisations with more resources and a greater capacity to engage in SDA may be more effective across the dimensions of effectiveness. Therefore, having a working relationship with government was found to impact feminist organisations' effectiveness in influencing and contributing to DFV policy outcomes, however, there are important caveats.

Performance outcomes were found to vary considerably across the feminist organisations in the study, which could be explained by the differences in organisational type. In addition, these differences in performance outcomes could be explained by differing strategies used to enhance organisational advocacy, differences in access to resources, and nuances in the relationship with government. The political climate in each jurisdiction also affected the feminist organisations' performance outcomes, particularly if certain governments were not receptive to these organisations or, conversely, were more receptive. Many of the larger umbrella organisations were found to play a paramount role in the development of key national and state DFV policy responses and policy frameworks. While the smaller organisations in the study were not completely excluded from the policy process, as evidenced by each organisation having performance outcomes, these performance outcomes were not as significant as those of the umbrella organisations.

Having a working relationship with government and government departments creates opportunities for influencing and contributing to the policy process at any stage. This relationship may allow organisations to facilitate an open dialogue to set the policy agenda by bringing policy issues to light, or organisations may assist in the development stage of the policy process. Therefore, this relationship can either enhance organisations' effectiveness or limit their capacity for effectiveness and the ability to influence and contribute to DFV policies. This research found that within the context of the case study, having a working relationship with government can enhance feminist organisations' effectiveness. However, this is deeply complex and not straight-forward. Having a working relationship with government does not guarantee effectiveness and policy influence. Semi-structured interviews with members of feminist organisations and relevant public servants, policy-makers, and department heads revealed that this relationship is, however, intricate and accompanied by significant challenges for feminist NGOs.

Understanding the effectiveness of Australian feminist NGOs

The analysis revealed that feminist organisations' experience several inherent challenges within the working relationship, which consequently has an impact on their capacity for effectiveness. Several challenges and barriers were identified as common experiences in the case study, regardless of organisational type. This includes the highly complex nature of DFV as a wicked policy problem, resulting in the shifting of responsibility by government departments and hesitation by government to invest in long-term policy solutions. Different expectations in the working relationship between feminist organisations and the state and governments were also identified as additional barriers and challenges for NGO advocacy. These barriers and challenges, however, may be experienced to a greater extent by some organisational types than others.

The highly complex nature of DFV, combined with the whole-of-government approach of the four policy frameworks in the scope of the case study, was found to provide significant challenges for feminist organisations. As feminist organisations often engage simultaneously with several

government departments and policy agencies, both for their advocacy and program or service delivery, coordination challenges can be experienced. The shifting of responsibility between government departments was identified as a common challenge for feminist organisations. Several feminist organisations reported the 'passing of the buck' between government departments and policy agencies as a barrier to the organisation's influence and effectiveness. The 'passing of the buck' between government departments and policy agencies has also been observed in other sectors and across different levels of government (Harrison, 1993: ii-iii). However, the shifting of responsibility by government departments can also be attributed to a lack of understanding of the intersectionality needed to address gendered violence.

Addressing DFV requires systemic, structural social change, which involves both an immediate response in the form of funding support and social services, as well as primary prevention to address the underlying causes of gendered violence. This was identified as another challenge and barrier for feminist NGOs' advocacy and working relationships with government due to government preferences for 'quick fixes'. Feminist organisations reported experiencing resistance from government ministers and policy-makers, despite the policy frameworks within the case study having a focus on addressing violence in both an immediate sense and in terms of primary prevention. From the perspective of feminist organisations, governments are quick to act on implementing short-term solutions to addressing gendered violence, but fall short in investing in the primary prevention measures needed to adequately address policy issues. This was found to create tension in the working relationship between feminist organisations and governments and government departments.

Lastly, differing expectations in the working relationship between feminist organisations and the state and governments can provide barriers and challenges for NGOs' advocacy. While NGOs can set and influence the agenda, which can be enhanced through a variety of strategies, it can also be complicated by the *government's* agenda. SDA organisations, in particular, were found to experience roadblocks when attempting to set and influence the policy agenda. This could be due to the differences in the nature of the working relationship with governmental departments between SDA and umbrella organisations; however, additional factors were also identified, including the agenda and politics of government departments, as highlighted by a member of a feminist organisation. These behind-the-scenes agendas and political machinations include ministerial directions, budget limitations, and the feasibility of feminist NGOs' demands. Policy-makers themselves expressed frustration in wanting to action the policy advice and suggestions provided by feminist organisations, but were often unable to. This finding reinforces the notion that providing policy advice and consultation does not guarantee a performance outcome (Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin, 1994: 25). This was often found to result in differing expectations, which can create tensions between feminist organisations and policy-makers or government departments. Some organisations can find themselves in particularly tense situations, including being responsible for

delivering a program they were not supportive of during the consultation process. For other organisations, these tensions are apparent when they are excluded from the consultation phase of the policy process, and are thus unable to influence or contribute to the policy process.

I found that while feminist organisations' experience these challenges, which can have an impact on the organisations' capacity for effectiveness, they use several strategies to overcome these barriers in order to enhance their influence. Feminist organisations were found to cement their expertise and legitimacy to encourage engagement with government and government departments. Feminist organisations reaffirm their expertise by drawing upon the data and establishing a strong evidence base to support their advocacy. For these organisations, it is vital to ensure their advocacy is informed and driven by on-the-ground knowledge and lived experience to add validity to their advocacy. Another way in which this is achieved is by drawing on the lived experience of survivors of gendered violence. Drawing on lived experience to inform policy positions, and identifying policy gaps and points of advocacy is considered particularly important for government departments that may not have any staff with lived experience. In addition, incorporating the lived experiences of victims and survivors of gendered violence also humanises the policy issue. From the perspective of policy-makers, feminist organisations' hold their expertise due to their role in service delivery and/or for their connection to on-the-ground services, rather than because of their ideological positionings, namely their feminist perspective. Added to this, while feminist organisations centre their advocacy on feminist principles, feminist NGOs were found to not broadcast this when engaging with government due to a fear of appearing too radical. To be noticed by government and government departments, however, organisations and service deliverers need to have a public profile, and this also contributes to their policy effectiveness.

Remaining well-connected and using these connections for collaboration and partnerships was found to be another commonly used strategy by feminist organisations to overcome barriers and obstacles. Feminist organisations are very strategic in how they gain and use their connections to enhance their effectiveness and achieve an influence on DFV policy, often using a plethora of techniques to gain these connections. Enhancing the organisation's visibility was seen by feminist organisations as having many benefits, including providing the organisation with a platform for consciousness raising and advocacy, and putting the organisation on policy-makers' radar. Existing connections with policy-makers or department heads were found to be useful in providing an 'in' when it comes to influencing public policy and strengthening the relationship with government departments and policy agencies. In addition, I found that collaboration with other feminist organisations, service providers, or similar sectors often results from these connections. These connections are often long established, as many individuals working for feminist NGOs are feminist activists with rich histories. Coalition lobbying is a common strategy among NGOs, as collaboration results in greater effectiveness, enhances lobbying efforts, and amplifies voices (see Kluver, 2011: 500; Nelson & Yackee, 2012; Scott, 2013). This collaboration and coalition forming

has additional benefits, which include the sharing of resources, skills, and knowledge (see Mahoney, 2007; Nelson & Yackee, 2012). Therefore, collaboration between feminist organisations was found to be an important strategy for enhancing effectiveness, particularly for smaller organisations with less capacity and fewer resources, which limits their effectiveness and policy influence. Some implications may arise from partnerships and the collaboration with other feminist organisations and/or relevant sectors. Competition driven by governments and government departments due to limited funding was found to be the main contributing factor to this. This fostering of competition was reported to drive a wedge between feminist organisations and, in some cases, resulting in personality clashes.

Lastly, remaining bipartisan yet strategic in their interactions was found to be another common strategy used by feminist organisations to overcome barriers to advocacy. Feminist NGOs were found to be highly strategic in their interactions with government, the opposition, and political advisors to government ministers and shadow ministers. Each of the feminist organisations in the study identified that maintaining a relationship with both the minister holding relevant portfolios and the shadow minister is a vital strategy for enhancing effectiveness. Remaining bipartisan was found to be key, as appearing partisan can negatively affect the working relationship with government. Therefore, by maintaining relationships with both the government and members of the opposition, feminist NGOs remain bipartisan in their interactions as a strategic move. These interactions with the opposition, however, were found to be a useful strategy by feminist organisations as a means of placing pressure on government when the organisation itself feels unable to.

How the working relationship was found to impact NGOs' effectiveness

The legacy of the femocrat era has normalised engagement with governments to achieve policy outcomes that advance the rights of women and contributed to the commonality of Australian feminist NGOs' working relationships with governments. The research found that within the context of the case study, the closer the relationship with government, the more effective a feminist organisation is in influencing DFV policy. This finding has important caveats, however, given that this relationship is deeply complex and is accompanied by significant challenges for Australian feminist NGOs. These challenges negatively impact these organisations' effectiveness. Having a working relationship with government does not guarantee effectiveness and policy influence, but rather, how this proximity is utilised, the strategies employed when engaging with governments, and the autonomy of the organisation all have a mediating role. While these organisations can act strategically to focus their efforts and enhance effectiveness despite these challenges, the extent of an organisation's influence can remain limited by this relationship if the organisation remains dependent upon government. Therefore, the impact the working relationship has on feminist NGO effectiveness is more complex than simply enhancing feminist organisations' policy influence, that is to say that having access does not equal influence.

The working relationship between feminist organisations and governments and government departments has many advantages and was found to be a central strategy for advocacy. Engagement with governments and government departments as a means of gaining access to the policy process was found to be common among feminist organisations. Proximity to government is seen as a means of increasing an organisation's influence and provides opportunities for influence that would otherwise be unavailable (see Banaszak, 2005). The working relationship is also viewed as mutually beneficial for NGOs and government departments in the creation of policy. This is because these organisations provide expertise and knowledge, which aids in the development and implementation phases of the policy process. Government and government departments provide NGOs with a platform and the opportunity to shape public policy and achieve organisational aims and goals. However, I found that while these organisations can act strategically to focus their efforts and enhance effectiveness, despite these challenges, the extent of an organisation's influence is limited by the working relationship.

The strategies used by feminist NGOs may differ depending on the relationship and the type of relationship that is held with each government and government department an NGO engages with. Similarly, these strategies may affect how feminist NGOs strategically approach the relationship and engage with governments. These interactions were also found to be shaped by past experiences of advocacy NGOs and the feminist movement in Australia. These past experiences are evident in historical tensions between the feminist movement and states and governments, as the radical stream of feminism saw the state as a patriarchal structure, responsible for reinforcing the oppression of women (see MacKinnon, 1989). As well, some states and, typically, conservative governments have been historically apprehensive towards social movements and special interests (see Tilly, 1979; Della Porta, 1995; Staples, 2007). Advocacy NGOs in Australia have a fraught relationship in engaging with governments, due to the previous neoliberal conservative Howard government, which placed heavy restrictions on these organisations (Staples, 2012: 74-75). Feminist organisations reported experiencing reluctance over the introduction of this whole-of-government approach due to concerns about engaging with multiple government departments and policy agencies at the same time. Despite this, the coordinated and whole-of-government approach to addressing DFV being reflected in the states' policy responses to the National Plan improved these feelings of distrust and hesitation. This ultimately saw an improvement to the way in which both feminist organisations and government approached the working relationship. Understanding this contextual background provides a greater appreciation of the ways in which past and other experiences shape how feminist NGOs approach their engagement with the state and governments.

It was found that each of the feminist organisations in the scope of the case study received government funding, with many reliant on government for their only source of income. At the centre of most working relationships between NGOs and governments in Australia is funding (see

Wulfsohn & Howes, 2014). These funding arrangements were found to have a significant impact on organisations' effectiveness and how they operate, as well as the working relationship with government. This adds to the inevitable power imbalance between feminist organisations and bureaucratic institutions, in which feminist organisations are in constant fear of losing government funding, resulting in the loss of access to the policy process. The interviews conducted for this study revealed that the reliance on government funding is often the source of internal conflict about future strategic goals for many feminist organisations. Feminist organisations reported feeling like a quasi-government agency at times, resulting in significant identity struggles as these NGOs attempted to manage the competing demands of the feminist movement and government. I argued that this affects how these feminist NGOs not only approach the working relationship with government, but also their advocacy efforts. Feminist organisations revealed that the consequences of engaging with governments included running the risk of co-option and being forced into a passive advocacy role.

This struggle with identity was further evident among feminist organisations that grapple with holding governments to account within the working relationship. For some feminist NGOs, the fear of repercussions impacts the ways in which they interact with and approach the relationship. It was found that these repercussions can occur in various forms, including reduced funding and exclusion from the policy-making process. Several members of feminist organisations reported instances of these repercussions in the form of exclusion. These instances of exclusion may occur more regularly under particular governments where ideological differences exist between the government of the day and the feminist NGO. I found that governments and government departments also use strategic engagement within the working relationship with feminist NGOs. The sudden exclusion from the policy process provides a significant challenge to NGOs' advocacy and their effectiveness in influencing DFV policy. This finding reflects the fluidity of the working relationship between NGOs and governments, as it demonstrates how these organisations engagements with government evolve and change over time. As such, this finding offers partial support for the existing literature on the insider/outsider positioning, which frames the two as either a status or a strategy. These experiences of the feminist organisations in the case study demonstrate the need for greater nuance, as they highlight the strategic nature of the working relationship by both actors, and thus, how these relationships ebb and flow over time.

As the working relationship between NGOs and governments was found to be fluid and ever-changing, the relationship can exist in many different forms and continues to evolve over time. This is because exogenous factors, such as the political party in government, the funding arrangements of the organisation, and the strategies used by feminist NGOs and government departments were found to affect the working relationship. Therefore, I argued that the insider/outsider dichotomy required refinement to capture these nuances of the working relationship and the many forms in which these relationships can exist.

Now, more than ever, greater policy focus is being shown towards reducing and eliminating gendered violence. Despite this, rates of gendered violence in Australia remain high (Hill, 2019: 344). The findings of this research provide an in-depth understanding of the role that NGOs and governments have in addressing wicked policy problems and how this relationship and co-design process can be enhanced.

The Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies

Based on these findings from the analysis and the empirical data from the case study, the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies was developed to capture the intricacies and nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and the state and governments. The conceptual typology included four categorisations of strategies: pragmatic, flip-flop, stoic, and partisan-aligned. Pragmatic refers to an organisation that approaches the relationship strategically; recognising the challenges and difficulties that occur when working with government, but managing these challenges as they arise. A flip-flop organisation may oscillate between idealistic antagonist and pragmatic, struggling with managing its competing roles. Stoic refers to a long-suffering organisation that tolerates the challenges and difficulties of working with government while remaining publicly quiet; however, also holding government to account and placing pressure on government internally. A partisan-aligned organisation is more effective under the governance of particular political parties. This typology can be used to assess the working relationship between governments and NGOs more broadly. The typology reflects the nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and states/government, and the variations which are evident within the relationship and how these are approached by these organisations.

In summary, this thesis aimed to identify whether having a working relationship with the state and governments enhances NGOs' policy influence. A case study of Australian feminist organisations was used to examine this working relationship and the impact it has on feminist NGOs' policy influence in specific regards to DFV policy. The Effectiveness Criteria Framework was developed and applied to a case study to measure and determine these organisations' effectiveness in influencing and contributing to four DFV policy frameworks across four Australian jurisdictions. It was found that the closer the relationship with government, the more effective a feminist organisation is in influencing DFV policy. This relationship, however, is deeply complex and is accompanied by significant challenges for feminist NGOs, as having a working relationship with government does not guarantee effectiveness and policy influence. As a result, the extent of an NGO's influence is limited by this relationship.

Theoretical implications and significance of research findings

This research provides three significant contributions to knowledge by addressing the gaps in the extant literature:

1. Developing an NGO effectiveness measure that can be applied to a broad spectrum of NGOs, rather than being movement- or context-specific, and that takes into consideration the impact of exogenous factors on organisations' capacity to be effective;
2. Proposing an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy in the form of an NGO-State Relation Strategies typology that captures the intricacies and nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and the state; and
3. Providing a deeper understanding of Australian feminist NGOs, how they operate, and how effective they are in influencing improvements in DFV policy.

Firstly, this research has provided a theoretical contribution to the scholarship on NGO effectiveness with the development of the Effectiveness Criteria Framework. As this EC Framework can be used to measure NGO effectiveness, it fills a significant knowledge gap within the existing literature. This framework was then applied to the case study of Australian feminist organisations to assess these organisations' effectiveness and influence on DFV policy.

This research has provided an additional theoretical contribution to the scholarship of the insider/outsider positioning of NGOs, and has proposed an alternative to the insider/outsider dichotomy with the development of the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies. This typology can be used in scholarship going forward to explain the nuances in the working relationship between NGOs and states and governments. The development of this typology therefore provides a significant contribution to knowledge as it addresses a limitation within the existing scholarship.

Lastly, this research has provided a deeper understanding of Australian feminist NGOs in how these organisations operate and their working relationship with the state and governments across Australia. As demonstrated, current understandings of the influence and impact of the feminist movement on Australian policy-making is largely understood in terms of the legacy of femocracy, with Australian feminist NGOs seldom being explored. As feminist NGOs currently dominate the DFV sector in Australia, this research has provided a theoretical contribution to knowledge by demonstrating how these organisations' contributions to policy relates to their working relationship with government.

Practical implications and significance of research findings

In addition to the aforementioned theoretical significance of the research findings, there are also a number of practical implications of the research. This research provides an insight into the working relationship between feminist NGOs and governments and government departments which can assist both NGOs and government in how this engagement is approached.

Based on the analysis and findings of the research, several recommendations can be made to enhance the effectiveness of the working relationship between NGOs and government institutions. For organisations using a pragmatic or stoic strategy, the use of formalised agreements between

NGOs and relevant government departments and policy agencies may yield useful (see Van Wessel et al., 2020). Formalised agreements and contracts can protect both the organisation and the government department and provide a greater sense of security, creating ease going into the working relationship. This may assist in the facilitation of both the organisation and the government department to establish clear boundaries and expectations. These formalised agreements, however, will not guarantee an effective working relationship alone; instead, the advocacy of NGOs needs to be prioritised and recognised as valuable (Edgar, 2008: 41). Edgar (2008: 40-41) outlined that when these formalised agreements are in place, there are several conditions which should be adhered to in order to ensure effective outcomes. These include government awareness of the agreement and what it entails, regular evaluations of the agreement to ensure it remains beneficial for both parties, and consequences in the form of penalties if the agreement is not adhered to (Edgar, 2008: 40-41).

Greater financial support that is unrestricted is vital to ensure the working relationship between NGOs and governments is effective. Governments need to ensure NGOs have access to stable and secure funding without limitations on their advocacy, whether these be explicit or implied restrictions (see Edgar, 2008: 40). In addition, as a means of reducing dependence upon government, NGOs that rely on government funding should look to establish a secondary income stream, where possible, to provide a further sense of security and stability. This can also reduce dependence upon left-wing political parties in government, and in turn, reduce tensions between conservative governments and NGOs. This can allow NGOs to retain their autonomy and provide greater freedoms and flexibility in the strategies they use for advocacy and the lobbying of governments. Having an additional income source can reduce the effect of the fear of repercussions, as NGOs are able to financially support themselves if government reduces or cuts funding. This could be in the form of the sharing of resources between NGOs and the sector, as this proved to be successful for one feminist organisation in the case study of this research.

Drawing upon the Netherlands, the '*Dialogue and Dissent*' program partners advocacy NGOs with a governmental department with the aim of reducing the power imbalance in the co-design process (Van Wessel et al., 2020). As outlined by Van Wessel et al. (2020: 729-730), the government department provides funding to these NGOs for the working relationship. The Dutch government states that these "must be based on mutual trust and respect for each other's identity, expertise, experience and networks, as well as respect for each other's independent roles and responsibilities". Bringing together the recommendation of formalised agreements and greater unrestricted financial support, the '*Dialogue and Dissent*' program provides a potential avenue for the working relationship between NGOs and governments to be enhance. The working relationship between the NGOs and governmental department within the program, however, was not immune to challenges. Echoing the findings in the current study, Van Wessel et al. (2020) argued the

success of these relationships and the '*Dialogue and Dissent*' program is largely dependent on various contextual factors.

In a more general sense, having an effective working relationship between NGOs and governments requires clear and honest communication to ensure the engagement is productive and results in policy outcomes (see Coston, 1998). This can provide a steady foundation for the working relationship to build trust from both the perspective of NGOs and government and government departments. Being able to have honest and frank discussions regarding what is feasible and what is not can increase trust within the relationship and may result in a more effective working relationship.

For NGOs more specifically, letting go of the insider/outsider positioning as a dichotomy, and shifting the perspective of the working relationship as an 'either/or' situation is recommended. The research findings have demonstrated that the working relationship naturally ebbs and flows and occurs in many different forms. NGOs can simultaneously engage with the state and governments and lobby for policy changes. This can allow for the managing of expectations and maintaining a flexible approach to the working relationship, which may be key in ensuring the working relationship remains effective. As a result, the insider/outsider dichotomy is not useful in framing an approach to advocacy and engagement with government and government departments.

Finally, NGOs can use the Effectiveness Criteria Framework to evaluate their effectiveness and identify areas which require improvement. By doing so, NGOs can enhance their effectiveness by revising their strategies for advocacy.

Limits of the research

As outlined in the Introduction Chapter, this research has a number of limitations. Firstly, the COVID-19 global pandemic impacted the data collection phase of the research, as this study was conducted between 2019 and 2022. Despite the efforts made to mitigate the impacts of this, the global pandemic deeply affected the cohort earmarked for participation in the interviews. Feminist organisations approached for participation in the research were identified via secondary data and document analysis as having influenced or contributed to one or more of the policy frameworks in the case study. However, not every feminist NGO approached was available to participate due to their increased workloads as a result of the pandemic. Consequently, despite my best efforts to include an intersectional perspective with a diverse cohort of Australian feminist NGOs, no LBGTQ+ specific organisations or migrant specific feminist organisations were involved in the study.

Secondly, one of the research objectives was to develop a framework of NGO effectiveness and apply it to the case study of Australian feminist organisations. The Effectiveness Criteria

Framework consists of four dimensions of effectiveness: organisational, political, policy, and cultural/membership effectiveness. Time and scope limitations prohibited the assessment of the cultural/membership dimension of effectiveness of the 11 feminist organisations in the scope of the research. Additionally, the difficulty and ethical challenges in surveying the population also provided limitations. This did not have an impact on the assessment of the effectiveness of the feminist organisations, as each individual dimension was assessed independently, rather than providing a single overarching assessment. Nevertheless, a gap remains in understanding the cultural and membership effectiveness of these feminist NGOs in the case study.

Thirdly, this study examined the Effectiveness Criteria Framework in the scope of the case study of Australian feminist organisation to evaluate the effectiveness of these NGOs in influencing DFV policy. As a result, the specific findings about effectiveness may not be generalisable to other social movement organisations, policy domains, or to NGOs outside of the Australian context. Similarly, the observations may regarding the working relationship between Australian feminist NGOs and governments may not be generalisable to other political contexts.

Future research recommendations

Future research is needed to address the main limitation of the study by assessing the cultural and membership effectiveness of the feminist organisations in the case study of this research. This future research should assess the cultural and membership effectiveness of Australian feminist organisations to understand the impact of these NGOs in terms of primary prevention and cultural and societal change.

Additionally, future research should expand on the findings of this study in relation to other settings and contexts. Further research is needed to examine the applicability of the Effectiveness Criteria Framework to other NGOs in different sectors and in differing state structures and systems of government. This will allow for a deeper understanding that the role of the type of state and systems of government have on NGOs' capacity for effectiveness in terms of influencing and contributing to public policy. Insight can be drawn from the experiences of NGOs in other sectors or states and systems of government in how they navigate the working relationship.

Lastly, there is a need for future research to be undertaken to assess the applicability of the Typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies to NGOs in other sectors. By doing so, insight can be gained on differences in the working relationship between the state and governments and NGOs across differing sectors and the impact this has on the strategies employed by organisations for advocacy.

This research aimed to identify if the working relationship between NGOs and the state and bureaucratic institutions enhances organisations' policy influence. This relationship, however, is

deeply complex and is accompanied by significant challenges for Australian feminist NGOs, which thus impacts these organisations' effectiveness. While these organisations can act strategically to focus their efforts and enhance effectiveness despite these challenges, the extent of an organisation's influence is limited by this relationship. Therefore, the impact the working relationship has on feminist NGO effectiveness is more complex than simply enhancing feminist organisation's policy influence. Differences were observed in effectiveness levels between umbrella and SDA organisations. There are, however, caveats given this relationship is deeply complex and produces significant challenges for feminist organisations. While these organisations can act strategically to focus their efforts and enhance their effectiveness despite these challenges, the extent of an organisation's influence is limited by this relationship. The current framing of the working relationship between the state and NGOs through the insider/outsider dichotomy falls short of capturing this complexity, as it fails to consider external factors that are beyond the organisation's control, which have an impact on the working relationship. In addition, limited understandings of NGO effectiveness provided a knowledge gap. To address this, the thesis developed an Effectiveness Criteria Framework and applied it to the case study of Australia feminist organisations. By examining these organisations' effectiveness and the factors impacting their capacity to remain effective, this thesis was able to develop a typology of NGO-State Relation Strategies. This typology captures the intricacies and nuances of the working relationship between NGOs and the state. Overall, this research provides three significant contributions to scholarship by filling knowledge gaps in terms of NGO effectiveness, the working relationship between these organisations and government, and how Australian feminist NGOs operate, and how they influence DFV policies.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview schedule

Feminist organisations

Preamble: Anonymity

              Transcript

              Trigger warning

Section 1 – Introduction:

- Could you please briefly explain to me a bit about your organisation and what your role is with the organisation?

Section 2 – Policy impact and working with government:

- What level of interaction does your organisation have with the state and/or federal governments?
- How would you describe your organisation's impact on domestic violence and violence against women public policies?
- What strategies does your organisation use to maximise its policy impact?
- What, in your opinion, are the main barriers your organisation faces in influencing public policy?
- In your opinion, does your organisation's interaction with the state/federal government(s) impact the organisation's ability to contribute to public policy?
- Overall, how would you describe your organisation's relationship with government?
- When engaging with government, who do you mostly engage with (i.e., policymakers, policy advisors to the Ministers/Senators, specific Departments, etc.)?
- Which specific policies has your organisation contribute to?

Section 3 – Working with the sector and other organisations:

- To the best of your knowledge, does your organisation work with other feminist organisations? If so, which organisations and in what capacity?
- How important are these relationships with other feminist organisations to your own organisation?
- How do these relationships with other feminist organisations impact your ability to contribute to public policy?

Section 4 – Positioning:

- How would you describe your relationship with the state in terms of being an insider or an outsider?

Public servants and policymakers

Preamble: Anonymity

              Transcript

              Trigger warning

Section 1 – Introduction:

- Could you please briefly explain to me a bit about what your role is within your department?

Section 2 – Engagement with feminist actors and the working relationship:

- From your experience, what type of advocacy groups, organisations or services are consulted when it comes to domestic and family violence policies?
- Based on your knowledge, how common is it to consult with feminist/women's organisations on domestic and family violence policies?
- How have these organisations influenced or contributed to domestic and family violence policies?
- Was there anything in particular about these feminist/women's organisations that drove your department to utilise these organisations in the development of these policies?
- In your experience and knowledge, how important is it for your department to maintain working relationships with these organisations?
- Based on your knowledge, do these feminist/women's organisations mostly approach your department to provide policy advice or does your department mostly approach these organisations for policy consultation?
- How does this consultation process occur?
- What does having a working relationship with these organisations look like for your department?
- Does your department utilise informal interactions, such as grabbing a coffee and having a chat, in addition to formal interactions?

Appendix 2: The effectiveness assessment of feminist organisations

Women's Safety NSW

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ████ governmental department (4) • Organisation's 2019-2020 annual report • Review of other annual reports • Media engagements listed in annual reports/social media
Legitimacy	████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ████ governmental department (4)

Table 35: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Women's Safety NSW

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Review of annual reports

Sharing of resources	███████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation
Grassroots connections	███████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ███ governmental department (4)
Dynamic and adaptive	███████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ███ governmental department • Review of annual reports
Ability to set agenda	███████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ███ governmental department • Review of organisation's annual reports
Reputation	███████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation, federal policy advisor, and

	███████████████████████████ (232)	relevant ████ governmental department (4)
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	██████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation

Table 36: Political effectiveness assessment of Women's Safety NSW

Policy effectiveness
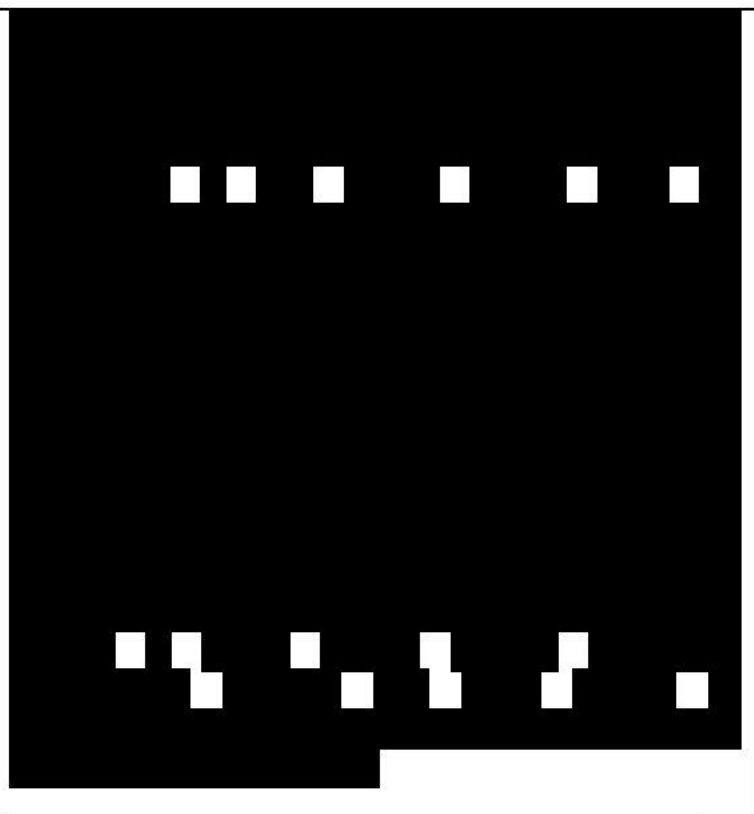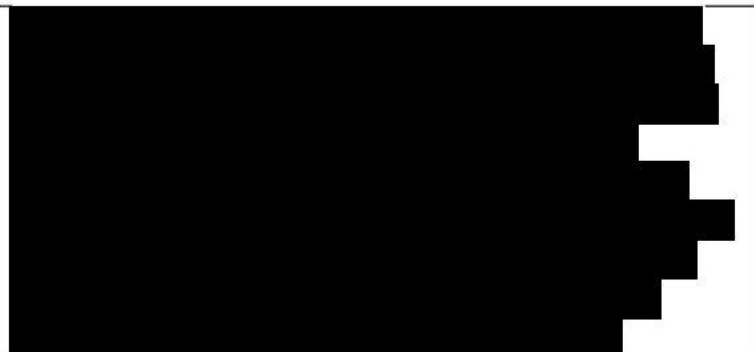
Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant ████ governmental department (4) • Review of annual reports
Visibility	████████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Review of annual reports

Performance outcomes		• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and other organisations where Women's Safety NSW was mentioned • Review of annual reports

Table 37: Policy effectiveness assessment of Women's Safety NSW

<div align="center">

Our Watch

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Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources		• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Review of organisation's annual reports • Review of financial statements • Review of organisation's website
Legitimacy		• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant government departments (10)

	████████████████████████████████	• Review of organisation's annual reports • Review of policy framework documents

Table 38: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Our Watch

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant organisations • Review of organisation's annual reports and other organisation's annual reports, which mention Our Watch
Sharing of resources	████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation • Review of organisation's social media platforms, which highlight other organisations
Grassroots connections	████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation

		• Review of organisation's annual reports • Review of organisation's website
Dynamic and adaptive	███	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation, relevant government departments (10), and other organisations that mentioned Our Watch
Ability to set agenda	███	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation and relevant government departments (10) • Review of organisation's annual reports • Review of organisation's website • Review of annual reports • Review of policy framework documents
Reputation	██	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation,

		federal policy officer, relevant government departments (10) • Review of policy framework documents
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation

Table 39: Political effectiveness assessment of Our Watch

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation, federal policy officer, relevant government departments (10) • Review of policy framework documents • Review of annual reports • Review of organisation's website
Visibility	████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation, federal policy officer, relevant government

	████████████████████ ████████████████████	• Review of policy framework documents • Review of annual reports • Review of organisation's website
Performance outcomes	████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████	• Interviews (2) with representatives of the organisation, federal policy officer, relevant government departments (10) • Review of policy framework documents • Review of annual reports

Table 40: Policy effectiveness assessment of Our Watch

<div align="center">

Yarredi Services

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Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of AGM report for financial statement and staff numbers

Legitimacy	████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████ ████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, other organisation (1), relevant government department (1)

Table 41: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Yarredi Services

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Sharing of resources	████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████████ ████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Grassroots connections	████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████████ ████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of AGM report
Dynamic and adaptive	████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Ability to set agenda	████████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative

		of the organisation
Reputation		• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, federal policy advisor, relevant government department (1)
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice		• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation

Table 42: Political effectiveness assessment of Yarredi Services

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda		• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, other organisation (1), relevant government department (1)
Visibility		• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation

Performance outcomes	███████████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation

Table 43: Policy effectiveness assessment of Yarredi Services

Australian Women Against Violence Alliance (AWAVA)

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	███████████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual report
Legitimacy	███████████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, federal policy advisor, other organisations where mentioned

Table 44: Organisational effectiveness assessment of AWAVA

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	███████████████████████████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative

	████████████████	of the organisation, other organisations where mentioned
Sharing of resources	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Grassroots connections	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual report
Dynamic and adaptive	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Ability to set agenda	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Reputation	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation, federal policy advisor
Ability to criticise governmental	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative

decisions and provide frank advice	████████████████ No To Violence ████████████████ ████████████	of the organisation

Table 45: Political effectiveness assessment of AWAVA

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Visibility	████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation, other organisations where mentioned, relevant governmental department (1)
Performance outcomes	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of organisation's website (Quarterly updates)

Table 46: Policy effectiveness assessment of AWAVA

No To Violence

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources		• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Legitimacy		• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, other organisations, relevant governmental departments

Table 47: Organisational effectiveness assessment of No To Violence

Political effectiveness

Collaboration		• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, other organisations

Sharing of resources	███████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Grassroots connections	███████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation and relevant government departments (3)
Dynamic and adaptive	███████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Ability to set agenda	███████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation and relevant government departments (3) • Review of policy framework documents

Reputation	██████████████████████ 245 ██	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, federal policy advisor, other organisations where mentioned, relevant government departments (3)
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	███	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation

Table 48: Political effectiveness assessment of No To Violence

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	███████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation and relevant government departments (3) • Review of policy framework documents

Visibility	████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual reports
Performance outcomes	████████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation and relevant government departments (3) • Review of annual reports

Table 49: Policy effectiveness assessment of No To Violence

<div align="center">

Embolden/CWDVSSA
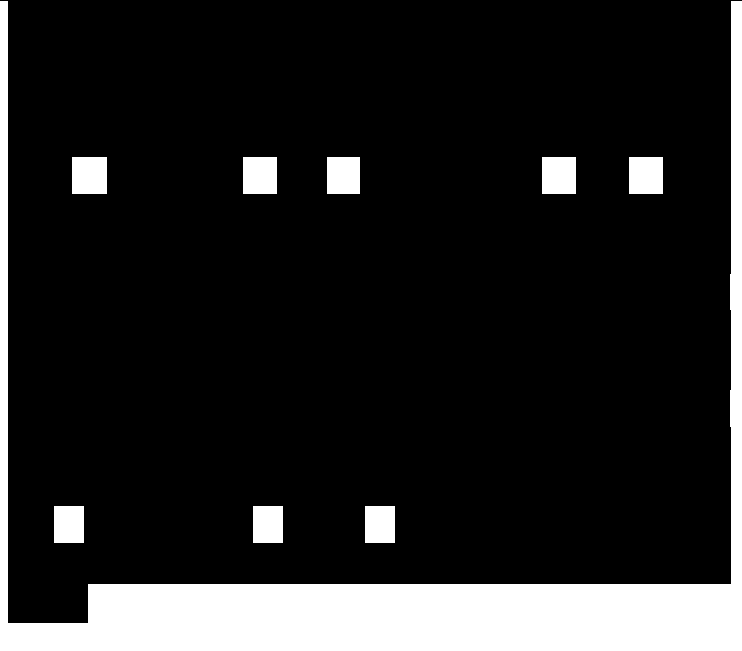
</div>

Organisational effectiveness

| Adequate resources | | • Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation and relevant government departments (1)
• Review of annual reports
• Review of organisation's website |
| Legitimacy | | • Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, other organisations where mentioned, relevant government departments (1) |

Table 50: Organisational effectiveness assessment of CWDVSSA

Political effectiveness

| Collaboration | | • Interview (1) with representative of the organisation |

Sharing of resources	███████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Grassroots connections	███████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Dynamic and adaptive	███████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Ability to set agenda	███████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Reputation	███████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with relevant governmental department, federal policy advisor

Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	███████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation

Table 51: Political effectiveness assessment of CWDSSA

Policy effectiveness
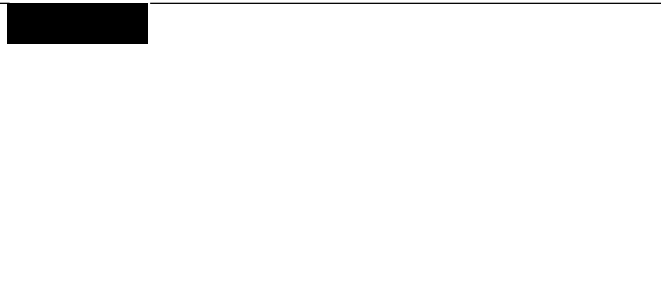
Ability to set and influence policy agenda	█████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Visibility	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual reports
Performance outcomes	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual reports

Table 52: Policy effectiveness assessment of CWDVSSA

Domestic Violence NSW

Organisational effectiveness
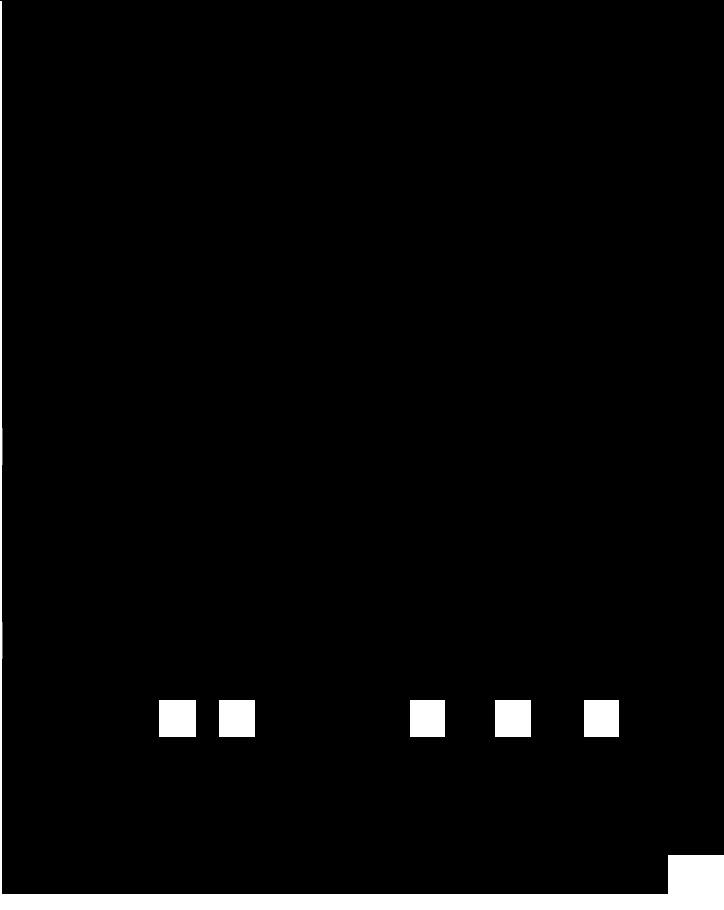
Adequate resources	■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of 2013-2014 and other annual reports
Legitimacy	■■■■■■	• Interview (4) with relevant governmental department

Table 53: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Domestic Violence NSW

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual report

Sharing of resources	███████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual report
Grassroots connections	███████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation • Review of annual report
Dynamic and adaptive	███████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation
Ability to set agenda	███████████████████	• Interviews (1) with representative of the organisation, relevant governmental department (4)
Reputation	███████████████████	• Interviews (4) relevant governmental department, federal policy advisor

Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	████████ 252 ████████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation

Table 54: Political effectiveness assessment of Domestic Violence NSW

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████	• Interview (1) with representative of the organisation, relevant governmental department (4)
Visibility	████████	• Review of annual reports
Performance outcomes	████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation and relevant governmental department (4) • Review of annual reports • Review of policy framework documents

Table 55: Policy effectiveness assessment of Domestic Violence NSW

Women's Health Victoria

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	██████████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation and relevant governmental department/s; annual reports
Legitimacy	██████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, relevant governmental department, other organisations

Table 56: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Women's Health Victoria

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Sharing of resources	█████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Grassroots connections	██████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Dynamic and adaptive	██████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Ability to set agenda	██████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Reputation	██████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, federal policy advisor
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	██████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 57: Political effectiveness assessment of Women's Health Victoria

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Visibility	██████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Performance outcomes	███████████████████████████████ 255 ███████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 58: Policy effectiveness assessment of Women's Health Victoria

Domestic Violence Victoria

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	██	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, relevant governmental departments; annual reports
Legitimacy	██████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation and relevant governmental departments

Table 59: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Domestic Violence Victoria

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	██████████████████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, other organisations • Review of annual reports

Sharing of resources	■■■■■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Grassroots connections	■■■■■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Dynamic and adaptive	■■■■■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Ability to set agenda	■■■■■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation; annual reports
Reputation	■■■■■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, relevant governmental departments, federal policy advisor
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	■■■■■■■■■■	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 60: Political effectiveness assessment of Domestic Violence Victoria

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	██████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation; annual reports
Visibility	████████████████████	• Review of annual reports
Performance outcomes	████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, relevant governmental departments

Table 61: Policy effectiveness assessment of Domestic Violence Victoria

Women's Health West

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources		• Interview (1) with representative of organisation; annual reports
Legitimacy		• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, relevant governmental departments

Table 62: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Women's Health West

Political effectiveness

Collaboration		• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Sharing of resources		• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Grassroots connections	█████████	• Review of annual reports • Review of organisation's website
Dynamic and adaptive	█████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Ability to set agenda	█████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Reputation	█████████	• Interview (1) with federal policy advisor, relevant governmental departments
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	█████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 63: Political effectiveness assessment of Women's Health West

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Visibility	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, other organisations, relevant governmental departments
Performance outcomes	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 64: Policy effectiveness assessment of Women's Health West

<div align="center">

Women with Disabilities Victoria

</div>

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation • Review of annual reports • Review of organisation's website
Legitimacy	████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, relevant governmental departments

Table 65: Organisational effectiveness assessment of Women with Disabilities Victoria

Political effectiveness

Collaboration	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Sharing of resources	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Grassroots connections	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, organisation's website
Dynamic and adaptive	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Ability to set agenda	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Reputation	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation, federal policy advisor
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 66: Political effectiveness assessment of Women with Disabilities Victoria

Policy effectiveness

Ability to set and influence policy agenda	████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation
Visibility	██████████████████████	• Review of annual reports • Review of organisation's website
Performance outcomes	██████████████████████	• Interview (1) with representative of organisation

Table 67: Policy effectiveness assessment of Women with Disabilities Victoria

Appendix 3: The Effectiveness Criteria Framework tool for assessing NGO effectiveness

Organisational effectiveness

Adequate resources	Size of the organisation; number of paid staff and volunteers; funding sources, any conditions if there is a contractual agreement in place; funding amount and length of funding (where applicable); if there is a secondary income source; whether there is an ability to be self-reliant on secondary income (where applicable); connections held – as per organisation's website, annual reports, financial statements, media engagements, media releases, and interviews with members of the organisation and/or policymakers.
Legitimacy	Whether the organisation is viewed as legitimate by the sector and government, how the organisation is viewed – as per interviews with organisations and policymakers, collaborations/partnerships with other organisations.

Table 68: Organisational effectiveness measuring tool

Political effectiveness

Collaboration & the sharing of resources	Partnerships with other organisations and whom; membership of peak bodies/umbrella organisations; collaborative activities and outputs (i.e., join press releases, joint submissions, belonging to working groups or coalitions, discussion papers, etc.); whether any sharing of resources occurs because of partnerships/collaboration – as per interviews with members of organisations, annual reports, outputs.
Dynamic and adaptive	What strategies are in place to adapt to changes (i.e., engagement with all MP's regardless of whether in government or Opposition); working relationship across levels of government – as per interviews with members of organisation.
Grassroots connections	Who the board of governance consists of and their connection to the movement/relevant to the organisation; use of volunteers; regularity of events with membership/grassroots – as per interviews with members of organisations, annual reports, organisation's website.
Ability to influence and set the policy agenda	Working relationship with government and governmental departments; examples of raising/identifying policy issue; relationship with Ministers/policy advisors; access to policymakers/Ministers/departmental heads; connections to the media – as per interviews with members of organisations and policymakers, annual reports, consultation lists.
Reputation	What the organisation's reputation is in the eyes of government/governmental departments, and the sector – as per interviews with members of organisations and policymakers/departmental heads
Ability to criticise governmental decisions and provide frank advice	Perceived notions of potential repercussions or experiences of repercussions when advice was unwelcome/not received well; perception of the working relationship with government and governmental departments – as per interviews with members of organisations.

Table 69: Political effectiveness measuring tool

Policy effectiveness

Ability to influence and set the policy agenda	As above
Visibility	Whether the organisation has a strong public profile and is known by government and governmental departments (policymakers/departmental heads); number of meetings with Ministers, Shadow Ministers, Departments; number of communications with Ministers (i.e., letters sent); social media statistics; number of written submissions or attendance in inquiries; number of media engagements or opinion editorials; number of quotes in the media – as per interviews with members of organisations and policymakers/departmental heads, organisation's annual reports; organisation's social media profiles; media.
Performance outcomes	Examples of tangible performance outcomes (i.e., direct influence on policy or contribution to policies or legislative changes) – as per interviews with members of organisations, policymakers/department heads, organisation's annual reports, engagements/involvement with policy announcements with government.

Table 70: Policy effectiveness measuring tool

Cultural/membership effectiveness

Satisfaction of the population group being advocated for	Satisfaction of the population group being advocated in terms of the representation of the organisation and the advocacy efforts of the organisation
Satisfaction of the membership	Satisfaction of the membership in terms of the representation of the organisation and the advocacy efforts of the organisation
Cultural and societal shifts and changes	By the organisation and by the sector

Table 71: Cultural/membership effectiveness measuring tool