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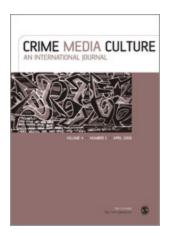
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'Somewhere. Some time. Somehow. Something has to change': Prima Facie and the Cruel Optimism of Feminist Legal Advocacy

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Abstract:	In her play Prima Facie, playwright and lawyer Suzie Miller uses theatre to critique legal responses to sexual violence. This article thus offers an analysis of the play as both feminist theatre and feminist advocacy. We examine the rhetorical and performative strategies it deploys, arguing that they are effective because they mobilise long-standing feminist tropes which use a representative figure of the traumatised victim and the repetition of statistics to position the audience as potential victims of violence. Such strategies, however, fail to account for the complexity of sexual violence, intersectional understandings of it, or its relationship to other structural forms of harm that flow from turning to the state, as articulated by Black feminist scholars. These limitations also function in the play's loop between an indictment of law's failings and recuperating the law as a privileged site for responding to sexual violence. We read this tension as exemplifying the play's enactment of a cruelly optimistic relationship to law, which is, we argue, a recurring feature in feminist cultural advocacy around sexual violence. However, we also suggest that reading the play through the words of its protagonist can open up visions of justice beyond what Carol Smart has described as the 'siren call of law'.

SCHOLARONE™ Manuscripts 'Somewhere. Some time. Somehow. Something has to change': *Prima Facie* and the Cruel Optimism of Feminist Legal Advocacy

Abstract: In her play *Prima Facie*, playwright and lawyer Suzie Miller uses theatre to critique legal responses to sexual violence. This article thus offers an analysis of the play as both feminist theatre and feminist advocacy. We examine the rhetorical and performative strategies it deploys, arguing that they are effective because they mobilise long-standing feminist tropes which use a representative figure of the traumatised victim and the repetition of statistics to position the audience as potential victims of violence. Such strategies, however, fail to account for the complexity of sexual violence, intersectional understandings of it, or its relationship to other structural forms of harm that flow from turning to the state, as articulated by Black feminist scholars. These limitations also function in the play's loop between an indictment of law's failings and recuperating the law as a privileged site for responding to sexual violence. We read this tension as exemplifying the play's enactment of a cruelly optimistic relationship to law, which is, we argue, a recurring feature in feminist cultural advocacy around sexual violence. However, we also suggest that reading the play through the words of its protagonist can open visions of justice beyond what Carol Smart has described as the 'siren call of law.'

Prima Facie, an award-winning one-woman play by Australian playwright and lawyer Suzie Miller, addresses the impossibility of sexual violence survivors finding justice through the legal system. The play tells the story of Tessa, a successful defence barrister who is raped by a colleague. Sexual violence rocks the foundations of her life, but it is the trauma enacted on her by the legal system that causes the most significant harm. *Prima Facie* premiered in Sydney in June 2019, touring Australia before being staged in London in 2022. Following a sold-out London run, in 2023 it travelled to Broadway and has been restaged around Australia.

The unapologetically didactic script aims to educate audiences about sexual assault and the failings of legal responses. Exemplifying the genre of feminist advocacy (Kennedy and McCann, 2020), the play interpolates audiences as witnesses to the injustice visited on rape victims by the legal system, encouraging us to demand that 'something' be made to change. Miller (2022: 7) has described *Prima Facie*'s central concern as a paradox: the principles of adversarial criminal law (the right to a robust defence and the presumption of innocence) clash with the feminist imperative to 'believe survivors' (Gilmore, 2023). The result is that survivors frequently describe the trial as a 'second rape' which compounds the harm of the original assault (Madigan and Gamble, 1991). In considering Miller's aims, we are interested in what the play, as a feminist cultural text, can show us about the dominant representational tropes that are used to give meaning to women's experiences of sexual violence and to the possibility of justice for survivors.

We suggest that the play's framing of the legal paradox is shaped by its own attachments to the reformability of law. Drawing on Lauren Berlant (2011), we argue that the play performs and illustrates the "cruel optimism" of feminist attachments to legal reform as a means of minimizing or even abolishing rape culture. For decades, feminists have offered trenchant critiques of the law's treatment of victims of sexual assault (Madigan and Gamble, 1991), and highlighted alternative modes of justice (McGlynn and Westmarland, 2018). Nonetheless, the law retains what Carol Smart (1989: 160) described as a 'siren call' for many feminists. That is, much feminist legal advocacy remains attached to working through the law to achieve social and political transformation, while recognising that the adversarial legal system, and its specific protocols and conventions, harms survivors and fails to deliver justice. This commitment to law has, however, been increasingly challenged in recent years by black and abolitionist feminist critics, who caution against calling on the powers of the state to respond to sexual and domestic violence, recognising that a carceral approach will harm the most vulnerable women, and the men and children in their lives (Bumiller, 2008; Davis et al, 2022). Nonetheless, the turn to law has become increasingly common in the past several decades in both the legal and cultural domains straddled by the play and remains a dominant feature of what is sometimes labelled 'mainstream feminism' (Srinivasan, 2022: 159).

We begin by elaborating on the play's significance in our post #MeToo Era and move on to analysing the representational modes of the script, dramatic performance and metatexts, locating them in broader feminist discourses of rape and sexual assault. Finally, we make the case for seeing the play as representative of a cruelly optimistic attachment to law as a significant element in feminist cultural and political responses to sexual violence and the possibilities for justice. We suggest that the cruel optimism of feminist attachments to law can be seen both in the diegetic realm of the play, as Tessa struggles with her desire to seek justice through the law despite knowing it will disappoint her, and at the meta-textual level, in the paratextual messaging and exhortations to its audience, which enact a similar ambivalence. Cruel optimism functions differently, however in these levels, and the tension between them concludes our reading of the play as a useful cultural text for exploring ambivalent feminist attachments to law.

We regard the play as a powerful textual example of feminist advocacy around survivor discourse and the injustice of sexual violence. We argue, however, that in encouraging the audience to view rape through the single-axis lens of gender difference, which neatly fits the rubric of 'm/f, m >f, and carrying a brief for 'f" (Halley 2006), it blinds the audience to the intersection of sexual violence with persistent racism, queer sexualities and transphobia, and economic precarity -- intersections which undoubtedly change the meaning and significance of pursuing justice through the law (Davis et al, 2022). Placing these issues outside its frame furthers the play's naturalisation of the turn to law, diminishing its

excoriating critique of the legal system, and tying the play affectively and intellectually to the carceral traditions that have dominated mainstream feminist discourse.

Prima Facie as Feminist Cultural Event

As a travelling feminist cultural event, *Prima Facie* has shifted in resonance and accrued significance over time. The original 2019 run, starring Sheridan Harbridge, was produced by Sydney's Griffin Theatre company, dedicated to staging plays by Australian writers. It was subsequently performed in other Australian cities to respectable but subdued critical and commercial success. This production was stark, with a bright light shining on Harbridge, who stood on a platform, only swapping her black suit jacket for red in the second half. Three walls on which large words were intermittently projected were the only other features of the set.

Produced in London three years later in a major West End theatre and starring Jodie Comer, an actor famous for her role in *Killing Eve*, the play acquired new cultural significance. The London production was more elaborate; the stage, set with a desk, several chairs, and floor-to-ceiling bookshelves, approximated a legal office, and Comer engaged with different props and costumes throughout. Minor changes were made to the script, reflecting variations in legal procedure and cultural context. While in both scripts Tessa is marked as having working-class origins, in the UK version this is more specific; she is Northern and attended Oxbridge. The name of her assailant is changed from the Australian 'Damian' to the British 'Julian,' to signify 'poshness' to a British audience. The London production was subsequently released as part of 'NT Live,' a National Theatre programme in which prominent plays are given wider cinematic release following their theatrical run. Comer won 'Best West End Debut Performer' at Britain's Stage Debut awards and the NT Live release is now the highest grossing Event Cinema release in the UK and Ireland. In 2023, the play, starring Comer, travelled to Broadway, and had a new run in Australia, again starring Harbridge. Throughout this article, we refer to the British script, which is now the international standard for future productions.

Promotional and paratextual materials have consistently oriented the public to the play's positioning as a feminist text with a message about the 'real world,' and it has proven highly amenable to being energised by local contexts and events. In 2019, the movement against sexual assault in Australia had not yet achieved the prominence that it would in 2021 following the public advocacy of survivors such as Grace Tame and Brittany Higgins. The more immediate context was instead the successful defamation case by Oscar-winner Geoffrey Rush against *The Daily Telegraph*, where lawyers attacked the testimony of actor Eryn J. Norvill, perpetuating a hostile legal climate for sexual assault allegations. While Sydney's Griffin Theatre Company scrawled the #MeToo hashtag on the program cover, the

slogan for the 2019 Canberra *Playhouse* run - "It's her word against his" — referenced the law's adversarial approach, perhaps alluding to the Rush case. The 2023 Australian production has accrued new relevance, especially considering media attention centring on the abandoned 2022 trial of Bruce Lehrmann, as noted by reviewers (see e.g., Stubbings, 2023).

In contrast, by the time *Prima Facie* premiered in London in 2022, the UK had witnessed significant public debate following #MeToo, with prominent cases including Kevin Spacey at the Young Vic theatre, several parliamentarians facing censure for sexual harassment, and allegations of sexual assault against Prince Andrew. The promotional materials in London relied heavily on Comer's star appeal, but the fact that the production secured a high-profile star speaks to its cultural relevance. The play was scored by 'Self-Esteem,' an acclaimed feminist music artist in the UK. Her single 'I'm Fine,' a song about sexual violence, provided the theme song for the production, with a video clip filmed in the same theatre as the London show. In the *NT Live* cinema release, audiences watched this clip, alongside a promotional video for the 'Schools Consent Project,' a charity promoting the work of lawyers and law students who offer consent education in schools. A round-table discussion about sexual violence and legal reform, which featured Comer, Miller, Schools Consent Project founder Kate Parker, and a female police officer, was chaired and introduced by prominent BBC journalist, Emily Maitlis, who had previously interviewed Prince Andrew about the sexual assault allegations against him.

In each context, the paratextual and promotional elements asserted the play's status as a feminist cultural event. While there is no one single 'feminism,' there is an identifiable 'feminist discursive public' within the Western Anglophone cultures within which the play has travelled, and which, we suggest, constitutes its ideal audience (Rentschler and Thrift, 2015: 39). In contemporary cultural politics, concern for the harms and injustices of sexual violence is one of the most notable elements in the constitution of this public (Hemmings, 2018). This feminist public has both stimulated and provided a forum for a genre of feminist representational practices concerning the problem of sexual violence and its solutions, which is marked by a centring of the figure of the survivor and a tendency to link questions of justice to criminal law (Hall, 2004; Serisier, 2018). These tropes are drawn on and reproduced by cultural texts such as Prima Facie, which help to constitute both the cultural reality of sexual violence and authoritative feminist responses to it, making other feminist responses less visible and less imaginable. These tropes also help to explain its positive critical reception, its sold-out seasons, and its affective impact on audiences - as witnessed, in our experience, in enthusiastic audience response and standing ovations. In what follows we explore the play's use of these tropes and their consequences for the vision offered by the play of possibilities for justice in relation to sexual violence.

The Scene of Rape and the Abstract Victim

Prima Facie is split in half by a powerfully dramatized rape scene, which Tessa simultaneously describes and enacts for the audience. After a night of dinner, drinking and consensual sex with Julian, she suddenly feels "ill, dizzy, drunk" (Miller, 2022: 47). Nonetheless, he carries her from the bathroom to bed, holding her wrists while professing to 'make love' to her. The shift from consensual sex to rape is marked by Tessa's comment that he is 'in a different place, I'm not there with him. He doesn't seem to know...[or] care' (48) — as he ignores and overrides her 'sexual sovereignty' (Alcoff, 2018: 8). Speaking to her later, Julian attempts to over-write Tessa's experience of 'rape' as 'just sex' (Gavey, 2005), telling her he can hardly remember what happened because he "drank so much...we both did" (Miller, 2022: 75). Ultimately, Julian's trial will dramatize the law's tendency to adopt Julian's exemplary male point of view (Alcoff 2018; Naffine 2019). In adopting Tessa's perspective throughout, however, the play insists on her right, and the right of women generally, to determine the boundary between consensual sex and rape.

The rape scene is a pivot point. The stage directions note 'a space and time exists between the last scene and what is to come...a space with a tonal shift' (Miller, 2022: 52). Everything is different after the rape, especially Tessa herself. The successful barrister and the rape survivor are almost incommensurable figures. The former is sure of herself, confident and even cocky. Her mode of speech is quick and aggressive, with the script and the performance using verbal and physical humour to enact, for instance, drunken nights out with colleagues. In the second half, as the stage directions note, Tessa 'is different now. Less articulate. Less confident. Less quick' (53). Her refrain of 'this is me' (53) while taking us through every tortuous step of entering the courthouse, followed by her recitation of the '782 days' she has been waiting for the trial, compound the shift in pace and affect. She makes no jokes in the second half, nor does she inhabit the stage as fully, remaining largely in one place, and moving slowly.

In the second half, Tessa increasingly takes on a representative function as a figure of women's suffering, telling the court and the audience what rape victims in general feel, think and remember. The play shifts from relaying Tessa's particular story to enacting a fable that increasingly implicates and involves the audience. The affective force of this dramatic mode is accomplished through mobilisation of longstanding feminist tropes. Specifically, *Prima Facie* mobilises what Rachel Hall (2004: 12) argues are two linked representational devices deployed by feminists to highlight the seriousness of rape. These are the 'abstract figure of the woman as victim' and the repetition of sexual violence statistics dramatized to represent rape as a ubiquitous and inescapable problem.

Tessa's name links alliteratively to the idea of testimony, and to one of the most famously wronged women of English literature, Tess of the D'Ubervilles. Like Tessa, Tess is an economically disadvantaged white woman who becomes romantically involved with a more privileged white man. He enacts harm against her which, due to gendered social hierarchies and legal inadequacies, cannot be redressed. In both texts, we are invited to feel, in Hardy's words, that 'twas a thousand pities it should have happened to she, of all others' and that the text is telling us something fundamental about women's suffering (Hardy, 1992: 80). In other words, both Tess and Tessa exist as individual characters and as 'abstract' figures of women's suffering in the face of injustices associated with sexual violence (Hall, 2004). The non-consensual sex and the harms that flow from it, as figured in the novel and the play, are illuminating in their contrast. In Hardy's novel, famously ambiguous about whether the encounter was rape or 'seduction', the act of sexual coercion itself is not the primary source of harm. It is, rather, the catastrophic after-effects -- the smearing of Tess's reputation, the illegitimate child she bears, and her eventual execution as a murderer - that make her a tragic figure. In contrast, the playscript ensures there is no room for ambiguity regarding rape, which is represented as the singular trauma of Tessa's life. Unlike many women who experience date rape, Tessa does not doubt that she has been raped, nor blame herself (Gavey, 2005). In the play, rape and its consequences are definitive, and clear to the survivor and the audience, if not to the legal system.

The texts also offer contrasts regarding intersecting structures that produce injustice. Hardy's novel is concerned with the intersection of gendered vulnerability with social and economic inequality, which makes it especially costly for a woman in Tess's class position to resist the advances of a man of wealth. While the class differences between Tessa and Julian are made clear, they are not presented as causal in relation to sexual violence or its harms; they figure only peripherally in Julian's ability to hire a top lawyer. Instead, Tessa's class origins primarily assist in the play's mobilisation of a common plot sequence in feminist representations of rape: the 'reverse conversion' narrative, in which rape is represented as a singular, exceptional event that destroys a 'perfectly good intact life' which must then be pieced back together (Brison, 2002: 110). The fact that Tessa has transcended her class origins to become a 'thoroughbred' - a successful lawyer who consistently wins her cases - positions her as an archetypal neoliberal success story, and an exemplar of 'neoliberal feminism' (Rottenberg, 2018). Her success, however, serves to emphasise the destructive effects of the rape, which reduces her to an abstract victimised 'everywoman'. In making Tessa's success before the assault essential to the play's tragic register, the play inadvertently exposes the ethical and political risks that works of feminist advocacy open themselves to when they rely on the trope of reverse conversion - the idea that rape is more egregious the more one has to 'lose'.

Similarly essential to the play's efficacy is the deployment of a recurring 'one in three' statistic. The figure first appears in Scene Three, a flashback to Tessa's first day at law school, as she remembers the feeling of not belonging, seated between two students from elite private schools. The Dean asks the students to look to their left and right, warning them that 'one in three' will not complete the degree, and even fewer will go on to have a successful legal career. For Tessa, it is clear that "I am the one who will not make it.... I don't belong here' (Miller, 2022: 28). Both Tessa and the audience know, however, that she has escaped this statistic. While the male to her left completed, the girl to her right, who became her best friend, left to pursue acting. In the climactic penultimate scene, 'Finding One's Voice,' Tessa echoes the words and actions of the Dean, stating that 'the truth is that one in every three women are sexually assaulted' before telling the audience/gallery 'Look to your left, look to your right. One of us...' (Miller, 2022: 95).

Statistics produce a sense of 'truthiness' which locates the play as speaking to and about the extra-diegetic, or 'real' world, with the actor advised to address 'the audience as/or the court gallery' (Miller, 2022: 95; Wainer, 2016). There are, however, no self-evidently 'true' figures for sexual violence as all numbers are an estimate and 'one in three' is, for instance, higher than the statistics used by Australia's National Association of Services Against Sexual Violence (one in six) or the UK's Rape Crisis Centre (one in four).¹ In the play's rhetoric, one-in-three enables the call to 'look to the left, look to the right', demonstrating that, as a feminist rhetorical device, statistics do not 'communicate "the reality of rape" in numbers'", as much as they 'performatively compound it' (Hall, 2004: 7). Tessa's address to the audience tells women to 'fear for their own bodies and to imagine rape as a relentless force that merely shifts its location from one woman's body to another's' (Hall, 2004: 7-8). Binding women together through shared vulnerability, the statistical figures obscure the intersecting risks that are intensified by race, disability, or sexual identity, among other factors. Instead, Tessa calls the audience to recognise themselves in her representative status as an abstract figure of women's inescapable vulnerability to sexual violence.

As women are called to identify as united in potential victimhood, race as an issue is notably absent from the script. While there is nothing that would obviously preclude a woman of colour from performing the title role, it is, we suggest, not accidental that both actors have been white. The fact that whiteness remains unnamed in relation to a legal domain that is explicitly designated as economically privileged and male, means that within the play race cannot matter. The play's vision of justice normalises the whiteness of both the institutions of power and the feminist subject who might

¹ See https://rapecrisis.org.uk/get-informed/statistics-sexual-violence and https://rapecrisis.org.uk/get-informed/statistics-sexual-violence/ respectively.

contest them, constraining the play to the kind of 'but for' logic that Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) has critiqued more broadly in feminist attempts to oppose systemic harm and discrimination. In this logic, harm is only legible, legally and socially, when it can be cast as having one underlying cause. And so, the logic of what bell hooks identifies as white feminism's reliance on a "common oppression" (hooks, 1984: 6) in practice promotes 'single-axis' narrative forms like the 'reverse conversion narrative'. Such forms ultimately recentre the figure of the successful, white woman like Tessa as the primary concern of feminist advocacy, in insisting that 'but for' her gendered vulnerability to sexual violence she would be a neoliberal success story (Crenshaw, 1989; Brison, 2002). While such narrative forms can be powerful, in a courtroom or a theatre, their power relies in part on their selective vision, which risks reproducing the illegibility of the more complex life stories that constitute the reality of rape for most women who experience it, just as they refuse the reality that other vectors of power, such as race, are also essential for grappling with the problem of sexual violence (Srinivasan, 2021: 178).

This logic, and the presumption of whiteness, not only in relation to Tessa, but especially to Julian, place debates and questions about the racialized harms of criminalisation and incarceration outside the remit of the play's feminist legal imaginary. In an era shaped by 'Black Lives Matter' as well as #MeToo it is only by casting the scene of law within a white feminist schema that black and abolitionist feminist critique of both the law and white feminist depictions of it are avoided (Davis et al, 2000; Richie, 2000; Gilmore, 2022). How might the affective economy of the play, its single-axis critique of law, and its construction of the law's reformability be shifted, for instance, if the audience were invited to imagine Julian as black or Tessa as homeless? The imbrication of feminism and law within the play is a major theme for the remainder of our analysis.

Tessa's *Voir Dire*: The Paradoxes of Legal and Feminist Knowledge About Rape

The climactic penultimate scene, 'Voir Dire aka Finding One's Voice', acts as a second pivot point in the play, shifting from a depiction of Tessa as victim, to Tessa as a voice of critique and potential reform. She disrupts the progression from her traumatic cross-examination to the inevitable jury verdict by speaking up, flouting the restraints on her role as a witness. In response, Julian's lawyer demands a *voir dire*. When the judge tells her she has 'limited scope,' Tessa, rather than being silenced by the combined intimidation of the defence barrister and Judge, continues to speak. Miller (2022: 9) has described the impact of Tessa finding her voice in this scene as calling 'us all to action'. In this way, the play draws on and enacts the feminist 'narrative politics' of speaking out, which asserts that political insight, and change, is produced through experiential narratives of survivors. While this genre was, in the 1970s, grounded in collective practices of consciousness-raising, the play reflects more

recent practices of survivor testimony, typically framed as the voice of a single exceptional speaker who imparts truth to the world (Serisier, 2018). The wording of the *voir dire* scene echoes, for instance, Chanel Miller's Victim Impact Statement, which became a global media phenomenon drawing attention to the harms of sexual assault and its treatment by law. Both legal devices provide a platform for a heroic individual to broadcast a political message 'to girls everywhere,' acting as a 'lighthouse' or beacon of hope (Baker, 2016). In neither text is there a sense that the speaker is supported by a collective; rather she has found the personal courage to express her truth, and become an advocate for, rather than a participant in, a larger collective of survivors.

But Tessa's exceptionality extends even further. She justifies her right to speak not only on her authority as a survivor, but through her 'unique position' as both a barrister and a complainant (Miller, 2022: 92). The scene thus brings the paradox framed in the play - between the need to believe survivors and the due process of law - to a head. It also, we suggest, provides a clear articulation of the tension within the play between Tessa as lawyer and as victim-survivor, which complicates the relationship between survivorship and knowledge that the play asserts, complicating its vision of the relationship between testimony, justice, and law.

In the first half of the play, Tessa defends the brutality of the adversarial trial process as essential to the functioning of law. From her perspective, the system works, and she enjoys her role within it. In an early scene, she explains that the role of the defence lawyer is not to "know the truth" but to "NOT know the truth." The lawyer's task is to tell the 'best version' of the client's story by finding gaps in the complainant's testimony, even if doing so means that some guilty people, including alleged rapists, go free (Miller, 2022: 35). The only point in which this commitment is troubled is in her interaction with Jenna, a rape survivor who claims to be testifying so that other women will not suffer. As the defence barrister, Tessa experiences a moment of guilt when she sees Jenna 'fold in two' after her client is acquitted, which the play infers is largely due to Tessa's damning cross-examination. She closes down this moment where her empathy troubles her faith in her profession, stating simply, 'I can't think like that' before she and the play move on (41).

By contrast, in the "Voir Dire" scene, Tessa, finds she can only think 'like that'. The audience witnesses Tessa's transformation through the trauma of being on the other side of a skilful but brutal cross-examination. As a survivor, Tessa advocates for changing legal process to give survivors a fair hearing, one which is informed by awareness of the effects of trauma on memory. The play itself performatively endorses this position by presenting Tessa's testimony, and her enactment of her affective state, as the authoritative truth, with the audience located as witness to her truth rather

than in the role of judge or jury, and, implicitly, by having Tessa testify to the error of her previous stance.

The resolution of the tension between Tessa's subject position as lawyer and as rape victim is not, however, quite that simple. Instead, it is displaced by a further paradox. While the play advocates for believing survivors, Tessa's most powerful address is enabled because she not only 'speaks as a survivor' but also as a barrister, interpreting the survivor's testimony through the lens of legal expertise (Alcoff and Gray-Rosendale, 1993). Through the *voir dire*, Tessa insists that the law and the audience should listen because of her unique insight as a survivor. But it is her professional status as a lawyer, and the legitimacy that position confers, that enables her to know a *voir dire* exists, let alone claim the right to speak, an option not available to everywoman complainants such as Jenna.

The slippage in the *voir dire* scene between the speaking positions of survivor and expert/advocate recurs in the extra-diegetic world, and the paratextual elements surrounding the play. For instance, the roundtable which accompanies the *NT Live* screening focuses on reforms such as additional training for judges and the creation of specialist courts. In the roundtable, journalist Emily Maitlis describes advocate Kate Parker, a lawyer and founder of the Schools Consent Project, as a 'real life Tessa.' Additionally, there is an unstable relationship in the play between Miller's and Tessa's voices, particularly when the play, through Tessa, addresses the audience and exhorts them to act. This exhortation is reproduced, and given more substance, in Miller's extensive commentary about the play, in which she puts forward her own programme of law reform. Significantly, neither Miller nor Parker claim to speak as survivors, or on the basis of knowledge obtained from survivors. Miller's authorship of Tessa's 'survivor voice' was based, she states, on knowledge gained in law school and legal practice, and she has not referred to consulting survivors or survivor organisations when writing the play. The voice and identity of the advocate thus shadows and at times overpowers the fictional voice of Tessa as survivor, using the affective charge of survivor testimony to validate voices of legal and feminist expertise.

These distinct positions and voices produce paradoxical knowledge about and representations of the law itself as a site for knowing and judging sexual violence. Reflecting in her *voir dire* on what she has lost both from the rape and from the 'second rape' of the trial, she tells the court/audience:

I have lost my dignity and my sense of self,

I have lost my career path, friends, peace of mind, my safety, The sense of joy in my sexuality. But *most of all*, I have lost my faith in this,

The law,

The system I believed would protect me (Miller, 2022: 91, emphasis added).

The play here leans on the logic of exceptionality in the reverse conversion narrative, where we feel Tessa's tragedy in ways that we could not feel Jenna's, not only because she is telling us her story, but precisely because she was a successful lawyer who had invested so much. It is this exceptionality that is also mobilised to highlight the problem of the law: if even a successful barrister can be denied justice, the system must be truly broken. But also, it is the law itself as an object of value that is revealed as the most important and precious thing. Here too the play, however inadvertently, lays bare its commitment, shared with #MeToo, to "faith in the coercive powers of the state" (Srinivasan, 2021: 170) – the same male state that is the object of its critique.

However, there are multiple versions of the law in the play, and the lost law described here is vastly different from the law that Tessa explained in the first half of the play. She loved that law for allowing her to compete and win thrilling adversarial battles. The needs of victims like Jenna were quite ancillary and nobody, least of all Tessa, thought that the law was there to protect them. Tessa occupied her seemingly powerful and agentic position within the law embracing its masculinist competitive mode and refusing to 'think like that' when it comes to identifying the gendered injustice of normal legal process (West, 1988). To inhabit this position, Tessa blinds herself not only to her role in enabling injustice but also to the fact that the law, to which she has devoted her life, will not support her when she is herself a victim. In this way, Tessa is caught in a paradox between the figure of the agentic expert and the victimised survivor which this legal framework produces. But there is a different representation of law as a valuable and reformable object, which is held up by Miller in her role as feminist advocate. This attachment differs from Tessa's 'thoroughbred' delight in the game of law. This is an attachment that insists that the law remain a privileged site of address even as its failure to enact its own promises of justice is simultaneously revealed and invoked.

Feminism's Cruelly Optimistic Attachments

The play's ambivalent attachment to law offers an insight, we argue into the 'cruel optimism' that characterises an attachment to legal reform, and the reformability of law, in much feminist advocacy around sexual violence. Continued investment in an institution that not only fails us but, as the play so powerfully shows, does us harm is indeed an example of when 'something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing' (Berlant, 2011: 1). In this section, we focus on the play's ambivalent attachment to the law as a reformable and recuperable object, something in which it is worth continuing to invest even as it remains an obstacle to flourishing.

The law is rendered a reformable object of attachment in the play through the selective critique that it offers. As a trial drama, the play limits its critique of the injustice of the criminal justice system to the trial, and specifically to the defence and cross-examination, with the cross-examination scene

subtitled 'AKA The Silencing.' While this is understandable generically, it is noteworthy that the play features a police interview (Scene 9) and forensic examination (Scene 11). Both are represented as unpleasant but there is little acknowledgement of them as sites of trauma, injustice and attrition from the criminal justice system.² At no point does the play suggest, for instance, that either the police or the prosecutor might refuse to proceed with prosecution because Tessa was intoxicated, had consensual sex on the night in question, or refused to hand over her mobile phone, despite all of these being a common experience of survivors (e.g. Hohl and Stanko, 2015). Indeed, the only hostility Tessa experiences from the police is when the interviewing officer discovers she is a defence barrister: "Now you need us, though, don't you?" (61), thereby aligning the police and wider prosecutorial system with the play's own critique and limiting the extent to which the play allows for considerations of the 'paradox' of the criminal justice system as a site of injustice for rape.

The representation of the trial emphasises the institutional and epistemological maleness of the criminal law (Naffine, 2019). Tessa notes on entering the court that all the personnel, from the Judge to the usher, are men, stating 'I am the only one. The only woman' (Miller, 2022: 72). During her *voir dire* she broadens this observation, noting that 'the law has been shaped by generations and generations of men' (94). In contrast, in the final moment of the *voir dire* scene Tessa locks eyes with a female police officer, a 'young woman in a uniform usually worn by men,' and this moment makes her feel 'something good' (Miller, 2022: 96). However, the audience is already aware, having seen Tessa in the first part of the play, that female personnel, such as a female defence barrister like Tessa herself, would not necessarily help. Prior to entering the court, Tessa explicitly notes that having four women jurors may not make a difference because 'women can be just as bad at believing other women' (70). Here the play enacts a characteristic ambivalence in its representation of the law as a reformable object. The audience is told that the problem is at least in part an over-representation of men in law, which can be addressed through figures such as the female police officer, even as it acknowledges that individual women, including Tessa herself, are perfectly capable of enacting the structural violence the law metes out to rape survivors (West, 1988).

At points, however, the play does indicate that what has been termed 'the man problem' of criminal law is not simply about who is in the room on a given day (Naffine, 2019). In her play notes, Miller writes that the problem is that the law is 'shaped by male experience,' and Tessa claims that 'a woman's experience of sexual assault does not fit the male-defined system of truth' (Miller, 2022: 7;

² This is explored in another prominent post-#MeToo feminist cultural event, *Unbelievable*, a limited-run series released on Netflix in 2019. Based on a true story, it shows a survivor unjustly charged by police with making a false report of sexual violence.

94). Here, we might expect the play to focus on classic ways in which the law 'taints' women's testimony, filtering it through victim-blaming myths that women provoke rape through their dress or behaviour and that they lie about it for personal gain afterwards, but this is not the play's focus (Gilmore, 2017). The defence barrister does raise some of these classic tropes in the cross-examination, notably alcohol, the idea that Tessa concocted the allegation for career advancement, or as revenge for Julian spreading rumours about their sexual encounters. In each case, however, Tessa narrates these as a misstep, forcing the barrister to 'cover up what he didn't see coming' (Miller, 2022: 89). Indeed, rather than harming her these questions, with their crude misogyny, help her 'find her way,' leading her to remind the barrister that she reported the rape almost immediately (Miller, 2022: 89-90).

Instead, the play focuses its critique on legal demands for survivors to produce a neat and coherent narrative. Speaking as a 'victim-survivor,' Tessa tells the court that 'the rape and perpetrator are vividly recalled, the peripheral details not so clearly' (Miller, 2022: 94). This references the key exchange in the cross-examination, which concerns the way in which Julian restrained Tessa during the rape. During questioning, Tessa can 'feel a terrible wrong being done to me right now' as the barrister focuses on a seeming inconsistency in her account. Where she says Julian was holding both her hands and covering her mouth, the barrister insists that this would require three hands. She realises his question 'makes me look confused. Because I am' before remembering that Julian was holding both of her hands in one of his, a point she then makes 'with clarity' (Miller, 2022: 86-87, emphasis in original). In relation to her later argument, however, this is not a 'peripheral detail' but a crucial element of the perpetrator's use of force, which constitute the event as rape. The confusion is consistent with the far more unpredictable patterns of recall and memory lapse associated with trauma than the more coherent logic that Tessa asserts in her voir dire (Herman, 1992). In asserting the primacy of traumatic recall, however, the play works against the exceptionalism that it wants to claim for rape. Similar patterns of traumatic recall may be associated with other forms of violent and gendered crime. The problem, as feminist research has consistently shown, is that any apparent lapse or inconsistency in the testimony of rape survivors is used to justify their 'tainting' by doubt, suspicion and overt misogyny in a manner that is simply incommensurate with that applied to testimony of other traumatised witnesses (Gilmore, 2017; Madigan and Gamble, 1991). In practice, victims of other crimes may also find that the fragmented nature of traumatic recall damages their credibility in the eyes of the law with its desire for straightforward narrativization.

Even as it offers a critique of the law's inability to accommodate traumatic narrative, however, the play consistently insists that this critique applies only to rape survivors. Tessa asserts that the 'law of sexual assault spins on the wrong axis', implying that otherwise the legal system functions well (Miller,

2022: 94). It is clear, however, that there are multiple ways in which the law 'spins on the wrong axis', including well-documented systemic patterns of racial injustice, where people of colour consistently receive higher rates of conviction and higher sentences for all crimes, including sexual violence, while crimes perpetrated against women of colour receive consistently lower conviction rates and sentences (Davis, 1985; Richie, 2000). Ultimately, the repeated insistence on the exceptionality of rape as the only site of law's failure operates to reassert an attachment to the law even in the moments of the play's most powerful critique.

The Siren Call of Law

According to Miller, Tessa 'finds her voice' when 'sees the law for what it is' – 'an imperfect human construct, consequently evolving with social changes' (Miller, 2022: 9). As activist theatre, Miller's intention is bound up within a continuing attachment to the law, and to possibilities for reform. Berlant's formulation of cruel optimism is particularly useful here because it speaks to multiple elements of Smart's (1989: 160) depiction of the 'siren call of law': that is, its seductive appeal, resulting harm, and the fact that being aware of the harm does not nullify the law's appeal. Berlant (2011: 25) notes that "one makes affective bargains about the costliness of one's attachments, usually unconscious ones, most of which keep one in proximity to the scene of desire/attrition". This means that the 'the loss of what's not working' continues to be 'more unbearable than the having of it' (27). To give up on belief in the law's ability to deliver justice feels worse than retaining an attachment to the law despite the well-known failure of even 'successful' legal reforms, such as rape shield laws, to deliver better outcomes for survivors (Corrigan, 2013).

When Miller has Tessa declare in the opening of the *voir dire* that of all her losses, it is losing her faith in the 'system that I dedicated my life to' that is the biggest loss 'of all', we are given a sense of why it is that Miller, or feminist legal advocates generally, might find the loss of this system more unbearable than continuing to devote effort to changing it. What is at stake for Miller (2022: 7) is suggested in her declaration that 'I firmly believe that 'innocent until proven guilty' is the bedrock of human rights, despite the fact that 'its application in sexual assault cases served to undermine rather than uphold any real fairness'. The play is devoted to insisting that there is a value in the 'unique position' of the feminist lawyer, both in the play and in the 'real life Tessas' such as Kate Parker (Miller, 2022: 93). Manifesting the contradictory but affective attachments that underpin the feminist lawyer's identity, the play offers both critique of the law and further investment in it through the promise of what Miller (2022: 8) describes as an 'authentic intersection between art and social change', the promise that things can and will be different if only the right reform can be found, while avoiding the most systemic and damning critiques of law. Additionally, through the figure of Tessa as a successful female barrister,

the play reveals its attachment to the 'anti-discrimination paradigm', which views feminism through the lens of access to and equality within professional spheres (Srinivasan, 2021: 164).

Read through Miller, Tessa might be seen as a sacrificial figure, doomed to answer the sirens' call to provide a rationale for the continued investment of the feminist legal advocate. However, she can also be read as a dramatic figure which exceeds Miller's authorial intentions, and gestures beyond cruelly optimistic attachments to law. Early in Part II, she expresses the conviction that will carry her for the rest of the play: 'there's this person inside me, the girl who fought and fought to be seen... She's brave and if I do nothing, I think I could lose her' (Miller, 2022: 66). Even following the legal indignities of waiting 782 days for trial, and a gruelling cross-examination when she knows that the verdict is likely to go against her, she continues her appeal to law. But as the quote indicates, this is not because she is necessarily invested in the reformability of law, but because the discursive universe of the play has given her no other option for being brave and fighting for her sense of self.

Even so, as noted above, her speech exceeds the boundaries of the courtroom, both as she blurs the 'fourth wall' and calls on the play's audience to act as witnesses to the injustice of the trial, and even within the world of the play. As she finishes speaking, she feels 'a wave of sadness. Not despair, just pure sadness,' as she knows 'the jury won't find Julian guilty.' And yet, 'a weight has been lifted' as she sees 'three journalists writing madly, court artist staring at me, taking notes.' As with Chanel Miller's statement, the failure of law to listen to survivor speech can provide the impetus for survivors to go beyond the courtroom, sharing their experiences in the public sphere and encouraging others to speak out. For the character Tessa and real-life Chanel Miller, however, there is no necessary or explicit turn back to law; by going beyond the law, through journalism, social media, and Miller's memoir (2019), they have found other avenues to tell their stories.

It is the determination of survivors to look beyond the law even as they speak back to it that complicates the cruel attachment to law that we argue is dramatized in the play. Through the dialectic of moving beyond and speaking back we can see a thread of continuity between the otherwise bifurcated Tessa of the first and second half of the play. While in the first half, she lambasts prosecutors for seeking 'jail time' instead of justice, in the second half she laments the failure of the legal system to convict Julian, leading her to declare both it and herself to be 'broken' (97). Even here, however, she does not express a desire for 'jail time' as such, rather she speaks of recognition and accountability: 'The legal system made me look like a liar. Julian will never have to say sorry, never have to admit what he did, never have to...' As with many survivors, the vision of justice evoked by Tessa goes beyond that offered within and by the criminal justice system (McGlynn and Westmarland,

2018). Through such statements, the play reveals its ambivalence about turning to the law to reduce the prevalence of sexual violence while remaining attached to legal reform.

Tessa's implicit critique exceeds the representation of law as broken only in relation to assault. She is right that jail time is not justice, and indeed, justice is not a primary concern of the system whose inner workings she reveals to us in the first half of the play. Nobody receives justice in the second half: obviously not Tessa but, we might also say, not Julian, who will not reckon with the wrongness of his actions and so, we might imagine, will fail to change his behaviour. Tessa ends on a note of radical uncertainty, 'I do not know what to cling to.' And she asks how to 'walk out of the courtroom' and 'leave the building' before stating her one certainty, that 'somewhere. Some time. Somehow. Something has to change. The linking of the two statements suggests not only that 'somewhere' is not the legal domain of the court, but also, to make that change Tessa will have to leave her cruelly optimistic attachments behind, refusing to heed the siren call of law. Searching for a way to 'leave the building,' for her 'somewhere' and 'somehow' might mean, we suggest, looking beyond the law.

Conclusion

We have offered a critique of *Prima Facie* not to dismiss it, but because we believe that it matters as theatre and as feminist advocacy, as indicated by its success. As affective political theatre it reinforces the declaration of contemporary feminist and survivor movements 'that we have an epidemic and all accusers must be believed' (Alcoff, 2018: 1). Its significance as an example of feminist advocacy, and a source of critical analysis, is found, first, in its successful portrayal of legal failings around sexual violence as a serious problem. Beyond this, it is important to consider how it frames this problem, shaping how it is understood, and what solutions are therefore possible.

Reading the play through the lens of cruel optimism, we propose, can help us identify the cruelly optimistic attachments of mainstream feminism, which simultaneously recognise law as harming survivors of sexual violence while simultaneously maintaining it as a reformable object. In its elaboration of its foundational legal paradox, the play presumes the ongoing centrality of law in responding to sexual assault, and, in so doing, helps to cement this centrality. This attachment is sustained, we suggest, less through belief in the possibility of our current legal system to deliver justice, than through other motivations, such as investment in the professional identity of an advocate, or the good feelings that come from working towards imagined positive change.

Further, the affective power of the play, relies significantly on a series of long-standing representational practices that locate white, middle-class women as the ideal subject of feminist interventions around sexual violence These tropes limit our capacity to fully understand the harms of rape and of carceral responses to it, including the most vulnerable women, and to re-imagine our

conceptions of justice. It also reinforces a perception of mainstream, white and professional feminist advocacy as encompassing all feminist thought and politics in this area, naturalising it and its long-standing tendencies as the singular alternative to the status quo. To expose the limits of this framing, and to question the effects of its affective power, we draw on the scholarship of black and abolitionist feminist thought, showing that this is not the only way of understanding feminism or of framing the problem of sexual violence.

Similarly, in reading *Prima Facie* as enacting paradoxical feminist attachments, we read aspects of the play, and particularly the voices of Tessa and Miller as, at least at times, in a productive tension with each other. Focusing on Tessa's voice allows us to read the play as ending with an openness that exceeds the intentions of its author and gestures toward a feminist politics with a less cruelly optimistic attachment to the law. This does not necessarily mean abandoning the law entirely, but it does mean resisting the siren call that presents law as an obvious solution to complex social problems. Such critical readings, we believe, are one way for us, as feminist readers and critics, to engage with the play's call that "Somewhere. Somehow. Something has to change."

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