

**“THE REAL WORLD”:  
A STUDY OF DOMESTIC ABUSE IN SALFORD**

**Annie Wood**

**Institute for Health and Social Care Research  
School of Nursing and Midwifery, Social Work and Social  
Sciences  
University of Salford, UK**

**Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the  
Degree of Professional Doctorate**

**2015**

## **Acknowledgements**

I am indebted to many people in the production of this thesis. Firstly and most importantly, I am profoundly grateful to the women who volunteered to take part in this study: Michelle, Megan, Mary, Sarah, Carlotta, Serena and Louise. Their honesty and bravery in telling their stories has taught me so much both professionally and personally. Their strength, determination and desire to help other abused women are truly inspiring. I am grateful to all the women who attended the group sessions at Salford Women's Centre and to the women living in the refuges, whether they were interviewed or not, for allowing me into their spaces and their lives, for their warmth and good humour. I can only hope to endeavour that my study is worthy of the time and personal commitment the participants invested in it.

My grateful thanks also go to the manager and group facilitator at SIDASS for helping to recruit participants and for inviting me to attend the support group lunches. A huge thank you must also go to the manager and all the staff at the women's refuges in Salford for their warm welcome and enthusiastic support of the study. Thank you to the manager at Salford Women's Centre for letting me use the interview room at no cost.

Special thanks to Dr Elaine Ball for her staunch support of and interest in my study. Her expertise, encouragement and humour, particularly during the most challenging times of the doctoral process, have been instrumental in the completion of this study. Thank you, also, to Steve Myers for his support and confidence-building and to Dr Steve Hicks for his guidance with ethical matters. Thank you to my manager, Sheena Warmisham, whose support of my study has been unwavering. Thanks, also, to Carolyn Bubb and Helen Dunne. Finally, thank you to my friends and family for putting up with me while I almost disappeared from view in producing this thesis. Special mentions must go to Claire and Sam to whom this thesis is dedicated.

## **Abstract**

Research shows that domestic abuse is a deeply gendered experience with women accounting for the majority of its victims. Its impact on individuals cannot be overstated. This study presents an in-depth examination of the impact of domestic abuse on women in Salford. An ethnographic approach was used in order to highlight cultural factors of a geographical area known for its high rates of domestic abuse. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with seven women recruited from a women's group for domestic abuse survivors held at Salford Women's Centre and at the two women's refuges in Salford. Ethnographic observations were also recorded from my time spent in field settings. Field materials were transcribed verbatim and a thematic approach was utilised for the analytic process. Six over-arching themes were identified: (1) constructs of abuse - including types of abuse experienced, cycle/escalation of abuse and post-separation abuse; (2) impact of abuse - including mental health issues and a loss of self; (3) leaving - including barriers to leaving and motivation to leave; (4) the future - including fear and inner strength; (5) agency involvement - social services, police and non-statutory domestic abuse organisations and (6) cultural factors. The findings were discussed with reference to the works of Judith Butler whose theory of gender performativity utilises a feminist, deconstructive approach to gender identities, providing insights into the nature of intimate relationships in Salford. The study makes an original contribution to the knowledge base on domestic abuse in terms of the methodological strands used which developed a gender-specific understanding of this serious social issue and considered how social work practitioners can best respond to it. The ethnographic approach highlights the cultural influences in attitudes towards abuse and the impact on the performativity of gender roles in Salford.

## **Table of Contents**

<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	2
<b>Abstract</b> .....	3
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	4
<b>Glossary</b> .....	10
<b>Chapter One: Introduction</b>	
1.1 Chapter Introduction.....	13
1.2 Professional and Personal Background.....	13
1.2.1 Qualitative Research.....	15
1.3 Domestic Abuse as Research Topic.....	18
1.3.1 Feminist Research.....	19
1.3.2 Politicising ‘Women’.....	19
1.4 Introduction to the Study and its Aims.....	22
1.5 Domestic Abuse in Contemporary Society.....	26
1.6 Salford as Social Context.....	27
1.6.1 Domestic Abuse in Salford.....	32
1.6.2 Responses to Domestic Abuse in Salford.....	34
1.7 Summary of Thesis.....	36
<b>Chapter Two: A Review of the Literature</b>	
2.1 Chapter Introduction.....	38
2.2 Literature Search Strategy.....	38
2.3 Historical Context of Domestic Abuse.....	41
2.4 The Impact of Domestic Abuse.....	43
2.4.1 The Physical Impact of Domestic Abuse.....	43
2.4.2 The Psychological Impact of Domestic Abuse.....	45
2.4.3 Leaving Abusive Relationships.....	49

2.5 Domestic Abuse and Poverty.....	52
2.5.1 Domestic Abuse and Employment.....	54
2.5.2 Domestic Abuse and Housing.....	55
2.5.2.1 Refuge Provision.....	55
2.5.2.2 Permanent Housing for Abuse Survivors.....	58
2.5.3 Intersectionality.....	59
2.6 Definitions of Abuse.....	62
2.7 Domestic Abuse: Gender Studies.....	67
2.7.1 Research Methods in Studies of Domestic Abuse.....	70
2.7.2 The Myth of Gender Symmetry.....	74
2.8 Domestic Abuse and Social Work Practice.....	79
2.9 Limitations of the Literature on Domestic Abuse.....	88
2.10 Chapter Summary.....	90

### **Chapter Three: Methodology**

3.1 Chapter Introduction.....	91
3.2 Ontological and Epistemological Position.....	91
3.3 Methodological Strands.....	94
3.4 An Ethnographic Approach.....	96
3.4.1 Culture.....	99
3.4.2 Feminist Ethnography.....	102
3.4.3 Researcher Reflexivity.....	104
3.4.4 ‘Giving Voice’.....	106
3.5 Judith Butler and the Performativity of Gender.....	108
3.5.1 Influences on Butler’s Theory of Performativity.....	111
3.5.2 Gender Performativity.....	113
3.5.3 Criticisms of Judith Butler.....	115

3.5.4 Butler and Ethnography.....	118
3.5.5 Applying Butler’s Theories in Research and Practice.....	119
3.6 Ethical Considerations.....	121
3.6.1 Ethical Approval.....	121
3.6.2 Ethical Approaches.....	121
3.6.3 The Principle of Informed Consent.....	121
3.6.4 Confidentiality and Anonymity.....	124
3.6.5 Pseudonyms.....	125
3.6.6 The Participant-Researcher Relationship.....	125
3.6.7 ‘Othering’.....	128
3.7 Collection of Field Materials.....	130
3.7.1 Recruiting Participants.....	131
3.7.2 Details of Participants.....	132
3.7.3 Interviewing Participants.....	133
3.7.4 Field Notes.....	135
3.8 Reflections on Collection of Field Materials.....	135
3.9 Analysis of Field Materials.....	139
3.9.1 Computer Software Programmes.....	142
3.9.2 Analysing Field Materials.....	143
3.10 Reflections on Analysis of Field Materials.....	147
3.11 Chapter Summary.....	148
 <b>Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion</b>	
4.1 Chapter Introduction.....	150
4.2 Ethnographic Observations.....	150
4.2.1 The Women’s Group.....	151
4.2.2 The Women’s Refuges.....	159

4.3 Thematic Presentation.....	165
4.4 Theme 1: Constructs of Abuse.....	167
4.4.1 Physical and Sexual Abuse.....	167
4.4.2 Emotional Abuse.....	169
4.4.3 Threats to Kill.....	170
4.4.4 Abuse of Family and Friends.....	171
4.4.5 Abuse via Technology/Social Media.....	173
4.4.6 Post-Separation Abuse.....	174
4.4.7 Cycle of Abuse/Escalation of Abuse.....	175
4.5 Theme 2: Impact of Abuse.....	177
4.5.1 Depression/Suicide Attempts.....	177
4.5.2 Low Self-Esteem.....	178
4.5.3 Loss of Self.....	179
4.5.4 Self-Blame.....	179
4.5.4 Impact on Children.....	181
4.6 Theme 3: Leaving.....	182
4.6.1 Fear of Abuser.....	182
4.6.2 Economic Status.....	183
4.6.3 Housing.....	185
4.6.4 Isolation.....	186
4.6.5 Public Perception of the Abuser.....	187
4.7 Theme 4: The Future.....	189
4.7.1 Fear of the Unknown.....	189
4.7.2 Looking Forward to the Future.....	190
4.7.3 Inner Strength.....	192
4.8 Theme 5: Agency Involvement.....	193
4.8.1 Social Services.....	193

4.8.2 Police.....	195
4.8.3 SIDASS/Women’s Aid.....	198
4.9 Theme 6: Cultural Factors.....	199
4.9.1 Cultural Constructions of Relationships.....	199
4.9.2 Domestic Abuse in Salford.....	202
4.9.3 Hidden and Open Abuse.....	204
4.9.4 Family Background.....	205
4.9.5 Socio-Economic Status.....	207
4.10 Discussion.....	208
4.11 Chapter Summary.....	221

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

5.1 Chapter Introduction.....	223
5.2 Thesis Summary and Key Findings.....	223
5.3 Recommendations for Practice.....	224
5.3.1 Structural Level: Social Work as an Agent of Change.....	224
5.3.2 Educational Level: Comprehensive Domestic Abuse Training.....	226
5.3.3 Practice Level: Utilising a Family Support Approach.....	227
5.4 Suggestions for Further Research.....	229
5.5 Study Limitations.....	229
5.6 Professional and Personal Impact of Undertaking Research.....	230
5.7 Epilogue.....	234

## **Appendices**

Appendix A: Synthesis Table.....	237
Appendix B: Ethical Approval Letter.....	283
Appendix C: Invitation Letter.....	284



Appendix D: Research Information Leaflet.....	285
Appendix E: Consent Form.....	288
Appendix F: Risk Assessment.....	289
Appendix G: Examples of Raw Data from Participants’ Transcripts.....	291
Appendix H: Analytic Process – Examples.....	293
<b>References.....</b>	<b>295</b>

## Glossary

- CTS**            **Conflict Tactics Scale** - the most widely used tool for collating quantitative information on domestic abuse; a survey based on a behavioural checklist.
- CTS 2**           **Conflict Tactics Scale 2** – a revised scale which includes references to psychological aggression, sexual coercion, negotiation and injury.
- DASH**           **Domestic Abuse, Stalking and Honour-based Violence** – commonly-used assessment tool to identify risk of harm to victims based on a checklist that covers all aspects of abuse.
- HCPC**           **Health and Care Professions Council** – Independent regulatory body for health and social care professions with which all practising social workers must be registered.
- IDVA**           **Independent Domestic Violence Advocate** – employed by SIDASS to advise and support victims of domestic abuse.
- IT**                **Intimate Terrorism** – violence and abuse perpetrated when one intimate partner controls and coerces the other.
- MARAC**        **Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference** – a formal meeting for professionals to identify high risk victims of domestic abuse and assess and manage the risks effectively.
- MVC**            **Mutual Violent Conflict** – an intimate relationship in which both partners are equally as controlling and violent as each other.

- SCV**      **Situational Couple Violence** - violence that is characterised by a general absence of power and control but is a function of the escalation of a specific conflict or series of conflicts.
- SUCRC**      **Salford Unemployed and Community Resource Centre** – organisation formed in the 1980s to address high levels of unemployment in Salford.
- VR**      **Violent Resistance** – violence enacted in attempting to resist intimate terrorism; sometimes referred to as self-defence.
- SIDASS**      **Salford Independent Domestic Abuse Support Service** – non-statutory organisation that offers advice and support to victims of domestic abuse.

*“Violence constructs a culture of its own as it radiates through the crevices of everyday life.”*

- Radha S. Hegde (2009)

*“I’m not frightened of the darkness outside. It’s the darkness inside houses I don’t like.”*

- Shelagh Delaney, Salford-born playwright  
‘A Taste of Honey’ (1959)

# **Chapter One: Introduction**

## ***1.1 Chapter Introduction***

This chapter provides a contextual introduction to my research, the aim of which is to explore the experiences of domestic abuse for women in Salford. I locate the study within a specific social context in which to analyse critically the influence of performative gender stereotypes for abused women in Salford. Epistemologically locating myself within the study, in line with a qualitative endeavour, reveals my personal and professional values and assumptions, thus enabling transparency through researcher reflexivity. As a professional doctorate the rationale for the selection of research methods is explained clearly in the context of a service environment. The chapter contextualises social work practice within the historical and cultural location of Salford, an area noted for its high levels of domestic abuse.

## ***1.2 Professional and Personal Background***

As a practising social worker of twelve years, I am committed to developing reflexively and critiquing the professional environment in which I work. Self-development challenges us to take responsibility for our own autonomous learning trajectories. Social work is an emotionally demanding profession and I had begun to feel a sense of ‘treading water’ in a role where negative outcomes for families were depressingly regular. In undertaking research with a view to seeking new knowledge, opportunities to influence outcomes by taking considered professional risks were enabled, culminating in a doctoral study (Megginson & Whitaker, 1996). Social work itself is “a messy occupation which involves perceptions and feelings as well as material facts” (Knott & Scragg, 2007: p9). This ‘messiness’ highlights the need for continuous reflexivity and personal development in order to manage competently the complexities of working with service-users while recognising the impact of one’s own value

judgements. My own learning style is that of 'theorist' (Honey & Mumford, 1992) in which I endeavour to undertake academic study and produce evidenced-based work with a strong theoretical underpinning. Theoretical knowledge is something with which I felt safe owing to its more concrete, explicit nature, unlike tacit, intuitive or anecdotal knowledge (Schon, 1983). Before commencing this study, I was inclined to think in somewhat 'black and white' terms or 'dualistic thinking' (Bock & James, 1992). Undertaking doctoral analysis enabled me to discover new knowledge, going beyond already-identified sources of knowledge and facing the uncertainties inherent in producing original research to develop my learning style and challenge my personal and professional perceptions. Utilising Judith Butler's anti-essentialist stance has blurred my dualistic tendencies enabling a more flexible and fluid position that takes into account multiple perspectives. I am now able to recognise and work with the myriad 'grey areas' that are an inevitable part of working within complex family situations. Social work is an intrinsically uncertain profession (Adams et al, 2002). In a professional capacity certainty is always more preferable; however, since completing doctoral study I am able to work within more messy environments where outcomes are inherently uncertain. Uncertainty is compatible with a philosophical approach to research that seeks to destabilise one's preconceived notions of the world. To open myself up to new sources of knowledge about domestic abuse involved selecting a methodology that enabled the scrutiny of my personal and professional life within the cultural location I inhabit. This proved to be a far more emotional process than I anticipated as I examined my personal views and practice values under a cultural microscope. The selected methodology, therefore, needed to reflect the emotional nature of the topic and employ it as an effective research tool to produce a nuanced, multi-layered and responsive study.

### ***1.2.1 Qualitative Research***

Qualitative research bridges the gap between theory and emotion by necessarily involving personal thoughts, feelings and values of researchers as an integral part of the research process. The social work profession is one in which one's own emotions are fundamental parts of the role. Strong emotional responses are often provoked that must be managed to maintain professionalism. Managing emotions does not mean they should be ignored or dismissed; emotion is central, rather than peripheral to the reflective process (Moon, 2004). Knowledge and emotion are also inextricably linked in the research process (Holland, 2007). Any attempt to isolate emotion from a study such as this would be fundamentally flawed and difficult to transfer into a practice setting. Recognising the critical role our emotions play in influencing thought processes and determining outcomes is the key to becoming an emotionally intelligent practitioner (Knott & Scragg, 2007).

I gravitated towards the emotionally receptive aspect of qualitative research almost instinctively; with its parallels to social work practice. Undertaking qualitative research in the social work field allows for an "immersion in situations of everyday life" (Shaw & Gould, 2001: p6) in which the lives of individuals are analysed to heighten understanding of a specific issue, group of people or circumstance. Although qualitative data is difficult to replicate (Cawthorne, 2001) its strengths, particularly in the social sciences, lie in its facilitation of a greater emphasis on experience that would simply be inaccessible with the use of a quantitative methodology. As Sinclair (2000) states: "qualitative methods are, in many ways, more adapted to the complexity of the practitioner's world than the blockbuster RCT" (p8). This is a crucial methodological standpoint as I view myself not solely as researcher, but as practitioner researcher and, as such, I cannot separate the study from my role nor would I wish to do so. Social work involves balancing the tangled complexities of individual lives within their varying contexts. Qualitative research enables subtle complexities to be identified, analysed and linked

to wider structural perspectives. I agree with Denzin & Lincoln (2005) that qualitative research should always advance a social justice agenda. Similarly, social work should intrinsically pursue social justice outcomes which justify its interventions with service-users. The advancement of knowledge in social work, therefore, contributes further to the pursuance of social justice. In this sense, another primary goal of this research is to highlight a social issue in which women are disproportionately represented as victims with a view to promoting the social justice agenda that social work initially set out to accomplish.

Qualitative researchers must operate on two different levels (Alevesson & Skoldberg, 2000). The first relates to the topic itself and the knowledge being sought. The second relates to the production of that knowledge and its interpretation and presentation by the researcher. Recognising that knowledge is produced rather than simply found is crucial in acknowledging that research involuntarily involves struggles for power. The inextricable link between knowledge and power is highlighted by Michel Foucault (1988) who asserted that the production of new knowledge simultaneously and inevitably makes a claim for power. The researcher, therefore, has the potential to re-inscribe dominant power structures in which the status quo remains unchallenged. Thus, with knowledge comes the responsibility to be transparent about the ways in which that knowledge was produced, that is, not in a social vacuum in which one steps outside of oneself to produce knowledge that can be held up as 'the truth' (Mills, 2003). The research process, therefore, calls for a reflexive approach in which researcher transparency reveals intrinsic values, judgments and political standpoints that inevitably influence data analysis, choice of methodological framework and, subsequently, new knowledge produced.

To locate myself reflexively within the research study, I write in the first-person rather than as extrinsic, omniscient narrator. The use of the first-person enables a sense of immediacy and adds credibility to qualitative study (McNamara, 2009) while also acknowledging the



researcher as a tool of the research process (Pezalla et al, 2012). This narrative device delineates my own views and values from authors whom I have referenced as well as those of the participants themselves, thus reducing the possibility of distancing myself from the research process that a third-person may augment (Gilgun & Abrams, 2002). I take a positional stance on the 'I': it is imperative that 'I' am visible throughout the study for, "the 'I' only comes into being through being ... named" (Butler, 2004a: p225). The 'I' included here is a theoretical tool in which to expose relational experiences. However, I use Butler as she also cautions against using the first person narrative in an attempt to fulfil overly-simplistic aims. It is not a panacea that mitigates researcher bias nor does it pre-suppose that subjectivity (or subjectivisation – the process of becoming a subject) is a simple concept. According to Butler "the 'I' has no story of its own that it not also the story of a relation – or a set of relations to a set of norms" (2005: p8). In other words, the social self is already implicated in a set of pre-existing social structures that are outside its control. Invoking the 'I', therefore, is a limitational act in that one can never be aware fully of the historical and social contexts in which the 'I' was developed. I utilise Butler here to invoke the 'I' as a performative act in which the narrator positions him or herself in relation to a real or imagined audience thereby directing the act towards another person with a specific aim of connecting with them. Successfully connecting with individuals is imperative for the 'I' only comes into being through others. Merely engaging with others is not enough; we must engage meaningfully and this requires transparency in revealing who 'I' am. The first-person, therefore, is employed as the fundamental ethical basis of this study. Recognising the limitations of the process by which subjects become subjectivised is, as Butler states, "to become other than what I was and so to cease to be able to return to what I was" (2005: p26). This recognition, whilst necessarily involving a sense of loss, enables the research process to be transformative.

### ***1.3 Domestic Abuse as Research Topic***

My goal was always to undertake research into domestic abuse to the extent that I never considered any other topic. It is a social issue prevalent in every aspect of my work. I volunteered at a women's centre where support groups were held for survivors of abuse and I also worked with abused women and girls at a women's supported housing project during a social work placement. I counselled child and adolescent callers to a national helpline who were seriously affected by witnessing domestic abuse in their home environments and domestic abuse was, without doubt, the most dominant issue in the child protection cases and care proceedings I case-managed. In my role within a specialist fostering team, the vast majority of the emotionally and behaviourally-complex children in specialist foster placements exhibited the negative impact of witnessing abuse in their homes (Holt et al, 2008) and I have assessed countless numbers of parents and prospective carers for whom domestic abuse was a feature of their childhoods and/or adult lives.

According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research always begins with assumptions. My own experiences of working with a domestic abuse client group inevitably led to the development of assumptions upon which I have reflected during the course of the study (Megginson & Whitaker, 1996). My assumptions are largely informed by the exclusively male-to-female perpetrated domestic abuse cases with which I have been professionally involved. Becoming aware of these assumptions and recognising the impact that my feminist values have had on the construction of my own professional knowledge has been a challenging part of the process but one that has also facilitated new learning about domestic abuse.

### ***1.3.1 Feminist Research***

Defining feminist research is no easy task, not least because feminism itself has so many diverse and sometimes contradictory perspectives. A general definition sees feminism as “a

belief in sexual equality combined with a commitment to eradicate sexist domination and to transform society” (Humm, 1992: p1). More simply, feminism seeks freedom and choice for men and women (Redfern & Aune, 2010). The political aspect of feminism is “a political movement organized around transforming the lives of women” (Lloyd, 2007: p4). The ‘personal as political’ is further emphasised by Irigaray: “The first issue facing liberation movements is that of making each woman ‘conscious’ of the fact that what she has felt in her personal experience is a condition shared by all women, thus allowing that experience to be politicized” (1985: p164). Irigaray’s patriarchal critique not only acknowledges that women are inherently oppressed but also assumes that ‘women’ are a part of a universal group who share certain features and experiences. She sees the feminist movement as giving women power “to make their voices heard” (1985: p127). While this is a worthy aspiration, it is too simplistic a view to leave untroubled (see 3.2.3 for further discussion on ‘giving voice’). Although there are a number of feminists whose work critiques patriarchal structures, Judith Butler was selected as the theoretical underpinning for this study owing to her deconstructive approach that rejects taken-for-granted assumptions of gender differences. Moreover, her emphasis on gendered cultural practices bear relevance to local, grassroots study (see 3.3 for a full discussion of Butler).

### ***1.3.2 Politicising ‘Women’***

Feminist representations of what it is to be female have been criticised for reinforcing regulatory normative conditions. Thus, the concept ‘woman’ becomes a restrictive category that serves to reify femininity and exclude those who fall short of its exclusionary standards (Lloyd, 2007). Brown (1995) states that feminism risks reinforcing the very identity – ‘women’ - that led them to be subjected to oppression and abuse in the first place. In spite of this, Spivak advocates the use of ‘women’ as a category to advance specific feminist political goals (Ray, 2009). In this sense, the category of ‘women’ is employed as a strategic device in order to

present a united political group. Benhabib (1995a) agrees, stating that without the category of 'women' feminism would simply not make sense and its political influence would be lost. Lloyd, however, stresses the need to acknowledge the category of 'women' as "open, contingent and resignifiable" (2007: p46). The notion of re-signification is a challenging concept. The meaning between the signifier and the signified can never be stable enough to be a resignifiable construct. As Lloyd states, 'women' will always be contingent upon the 'other' whichever that might be. This is why I favour Judith Butler as she goes further and takes a deconstructionist approach that seeks to displace the notion of 'women' and 'the other' in order to challenge both. Thus, Butler seeks to destabilize the concept of 'woman' as a social and political category by exposing the linguistic terms the name 'woman', in all its guises, signifies: "Is there some commonality among 'women' that pre-exists their oppression or do 'women' have a bond by virtue of their oppression alone?" (1990: p5). Butler cautions against taking an unproblematic approach to feminist thought that fails to take into account its social context: "feminist critique ought to understand how the category of "women," the subject of feminism, is produced and restrained by the very powers through which emancipation is sought" (1990: p4). Thus, the category of 'women' itself is discursively produced, regulated and legitimated by hegemonic practices, presenting the exclusion of women as natural and, therefore, hidden. Deconstructing 'women' must be considered within the context of the intricate workings of patriarchal systems to render visible the ways in which they function to maintain women's oppression. Butler further criticises the universal notion of patriarchy that fails to account "for the workings of gender oppression in the concrete cultural contexts in which it exists" (1990: p5). To assume that all women are oppressed equally and in the same way fails to progress 'patriarchy' from the purely conceptual to tangible social structures that have profound and varied consequences in the lives of women. The realities of women's lives within the distinct social, geographical locations they occupy are, thus, a key concern that this study seeks to

redress. Uniquely, what this study offered was to give voice to abused women in Salford through the use of an ethnographic approach that highlighted cultural factors while deconstructing the role of gender identities in abusive relationships.

Butler's commitment to deconstructing universal notions of 'men' and 'women' within their cultural contexts has the potential to enhance feminist research into domestic abuse, an issue that I argue in this thesis is incontrovertibly gendered. The feminism that Butler objects to might crudely be referred to as 'middle-class, white women's feminism.' Feminism's tendency to universalise women's experiences with the aim of producing solidarity within the feminist movement often overlooks intersectional factors and thus fails to explore multiple causes and effects of oppression (see section 2.5.3 for further discussion on intersectionality). To counter such criticism, feminists such as Butler emphasise the diverse aspects of women's lives that intersect to produce unique experiences of oppression: "gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities" (1990: p4). What this means is that the multidimensionality of women's experiences can only be revealed through a commitment to deconstructing that which is often held to be fixed and immutable by uncovering the socially-constructed aspect of concepts such as gender, 'race', class and sexuality as advocated by Butler.

Social constructions of gender permeate every institution in society causing gender inequalities to occur on micro and macro levels. My growing awareness and understanding of structural gender inequalities influenced my personal and political values as well as my professional practice. Until commencing this study, however, I had not fully grasped an understanding of the obstacles to leaving abusive relationships. Undertaking research provided an opportunity to develop a much greater awareness of the impact of domestic abuse and the barriers to leaving abusive relationships, thus developing my insight and practice.

## ***1.4 Introduction to the Study and its Aims***

In my role as social worker, I work on a fostering team yet the presence of domestic abuse as an issue is pervasive. It infiltrates every aspect of social work practice but is often hidden or ignored as an issue in its own right. As a practising social worker in Salford, my professional role highlighted the gendered aspect of domestic abuse that is only too apparent in the predominantly male-to-female abuse cases managed by social workers in the locality. While not wishing to suggest that female-to-male or same-sex abuse does not occur in Salford, it has different implications for victims. The aims of this local study are threefold: **1) to gain an in-depth understanding of women's experiences of abuse in the locality 2) to identify and explore cultural factors around domestic abuse within Salford and 3) to extract implications for the social work profession with a view to improving practice.** Salford's high levels of domestic abuse appear to be well known among practitioners and the general public in the area, yet rarely have I heard anyone ask why. Moreover, there is no evidence of public sector investigation into the reasons for such prolific abuse of women in Salford. This study was my contribution to initiating a dialogue as to why domestic abuse is so widespread in Salford rather than to simply accept it as normal.

The focus of the study changed over the course of the research process. Initially, I envisaged undertaking research with two female and two male survivors who had experienced abuse in heterosexual and same-sex relationships in order to gain a dual perspective understanding of gender and sexuality in domestic abuse. Initially, the study was not intended to be specific to Salford. The voluntary organisation Men's Advice Line was extremely helpful in promoting preliminary research in order to recruit male participants although I received no enquiries from prospective participants. I received no response to numerous requests to promote my study from the leading male domestic abuse charity, ManKind. The UK's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual

and Transgender domestic abuse charity, Broken Rainbow, agreed to advertise my study on its website and newsletter but, in spite of numerous emails and telephone calls, it failed to do either. The focus of the study changed as I read increasingly about the topic of domestic abuse. My original focus reflected neither the gender-biased nature of domestic abuse, nor my experiences of working with domestic abuse victims which has been exclusively with women abused by men. Research shows that domestic abuse is a heavily gendered issue. Furthermore, the existence of gender asymmetry in domestic abuse was supported by extensive discussion with child protection colleagues who commented on the shockingly high levels of male-perpetrated domestic abuse on their caseloads in comparison to other local authorities in which they had previously worked. Thus, the locality of Salford became increasingly relevant to this topic.

Discussing the implications of research findings and anecdotal evidence, particularly in relation to the geographical and social location of Salford, involved a more in-depth understanding of the experience of domestic abuse in the locality. Undertaking local study was not only crucial in terms of understanding the social location in which I live and work but professionally-driven studies are very much in line with the ethos of professional doctorate study in which necessary changes are identified at grass-roots level. In electing to study male violence towards women, I am not suggesting that the abuse men experience from women is not worthy of study, however, upon reading the literature, abused men's experiences appear to have become reified, with claims that feminists have attempted to deny women's violent behaviours (Dutton, 1994a; Dutton, 1994b; Dutton & Nicholls, 2005). Subsequently, women, overwhelmingly the victims of domestic abuse, have become marginalised in an arena in which they are manifestly overrepresented. Asserting the myth of gender symmetry in domestic abuse not only pursues an individual agenda aimed at courting controversy by laying claim to presenting 'new' findings but trivialises a dangerous and damaging threat to women's safety. This affects the

funding of services for abused women (Laville, 2014a) and places the blame for the violence they experience firmly on their shoulders. The anger I feel at such gender distortions within the evidence base is clearly influenced by my involvement with female victims of abuse in a personal and professional capacity. It is not possible to separate myself entirely from them by virtue of my gender but also through witnessing the devastating consequences of violence on individuals.

Acknowledging that my own gender cannot be separated from who I am as an individual, practitioner and female researcher was crucial in selecting my methodology. As Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) point out, no position of genderless neutrality can be achieved. Indeed, it is my status as a woman and the personal and political values I hold as a result of my gender that led to a strong desire to undertake research with women with whom I share a geographical and social location. Subsequently, an ethnographic approach was selected as the most effective methodology to highlight the personal and political resonances of the study because ethnography allows the inclusion of experiential knowledge with located knowledge. Findings are presented in narrative and thematic forms and a Butlerian perspective of the performativity of gender is used to link theoretical gender debates to cultural findings, producing a valuable contribution to the field of domestic abuse. In undertaking research with women who had experienced domestic abuse in Salford, I selected an ethnographic approach not only to develop a deep understanding of domestic abuse as a social issue but to draw out cultural factors within the social location. Although domestic abuse is not a social problem familiar only to Salford, I wanted to explore if domestic abuse in Salford had any individual qualities that could be located.

Ethnographic observations were undertaken at a support/information group for abused women held at Salford Women's Centre and at two women's refuges in Salford. Additionally, semi-



structured interviews were digitally recorded with several voluntary participants and subsequently transcribed verbatim. Interview transcripts were analysed using a thematic approach. Reasons as to why these methodological strands were put together to form one analysis is further explored in section 3.2. In short, the aim of the study was to provide new insights into domestic abuse from the experiences of female survivors living in Salford from an ethnography with thematic indicators. Cultural factors are discussed by way of Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity which deconstructs the ways in which gender stereotypes become accepted as the norm, thus providing a feminist analysis. Salford was previously ignored as the focus of specific study in spite of its high rates of domestic abuse thus warranting local research (Trust for London/Henry Smith Charity, 2009). Although Salford's endemic domestic abuse problem is evidenced, research indicates that domestic abuse is increasing on national and global levels. Thus, a wider examination of the extent of violence against women was crucial in placing Salford within a broader social context. However, the significance of domestic abuse and Salford will be returned to throughout the thesis.

### ***1.5 Domestic Abuse in Contemporary Society***

Violence against women is the most pervasive human rights violation in the world (UN General Assembly, 1993; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Golu, 2014). One need only read a daily newspaper or news website to recognise the prevalence of domestic abuse as a social problem. Rarely a day goes by without reference to domestic violence, be it as the subject of news headlines, comments on crime statistics and legislation or a topic discussed with depressing regularity in newspapers and magazines. Domestic abuse is clearly visible as a national and global problem (Branigan, 2013; Rose, 2014) yet a contradiction exists in that domestic abuse continues to increase; even while under the political spotlight. Between 2012 and 2013, 1.2 million women in the UK reported that they had been subjected to domestic abuse. Yet out of 838,000 incidents

(male and female) reported to the police, just 52,500 resulted in a conviction. Although reported incidents increased by 11% between 2010 and 2011, the number of convictions during that period actually fell by the same percentage (Arnett, 2014; Topping, 2013). A study of police assessments suggests more than 10,000 women and children are at high risk of being murdered or seriously harmed by violent current and former partners (Laville, 2014b). Yet a report from HM Inspectorate of Constabulary revealed that police are routinely failing vulnerable victims of domestic abuse, with Greater Manchester being one of four police forces in England and Wales singled out for criticism (Casciani, 2014).

In defence of Greater Manchester Police, it is the largest police division in the North West, the area with the highest rate of domestic abuse in England and Wales (CPS, 2012). Salford's record on domestic abuse is noteworthy in the context of a local authority whose high levels of domestic abuse were specifically acknowledged during an OFSTED inspection of Salford Children's Services in 2015. Anecdotally, local police report that Salford has one of the highest rates of domestic abuse in the country. Although I have been unable to locate a statistic to support this claim, it is evident that domestic abuse is a significant problem in my home town. Salford falls under Greater Manchester Police's jurisdiction and evidence provided later in this chapter points to the significant problem Salford has in relation to domestic abuse, yet the city has never been the focus of specific enquiry. What this thesis seeks, therefore, is to re-dress some of that imbalance and provide evidence-based research, though small, of the experience of domestic abuse in Salford. In addition to police failings, reduced access to legal aid for abused women (Hunter, 2011, Bowcott, 2015) and the closure of vital refuges across the country (Laville, 2014a) has led to an increase in the number of children being taken into care and domestic abuse is now the primary cause of child protection intervention (O'Hara, 2013; Butler, 2014). Over half a million victims of domestic abuse are too terrified to report their experiences to police (Townsend, 2013) and it is estimated that many victims are subjected to

more than fifty incidents before they receive help (Topping, 2015). In the twenty-first century, violence against women has reached, as Jones (2014) states, a national pandemic, costing the economy in England and Wales approximately £16 billion every year (Walby, 2009). Ongoing domestic abuse research is vital in establishing why such a visible and talked-about problem continues to increase while conviction rates fall. Attitudes towards domestic abuse must be interrogated at local, national and global levels to establish the cause of misplaced blame that allows perpetrators to abuse their victims with impunity.

### ***1.6 Salford as Social Context***

Salford is both a geographical location and social context. In order to gain a deeper understanding of a complex social issue, ethnographic study must be located within a broader social context. Thus, it is necessary to consider Salford's historical and contemporaneous cultural position. Salford's roots lie in the industrial revolution with its contribution to the textile industry. Indeed, "no town was more a product of the industrial revolution than Salford" (Greenall, 1974: p107). The cotton mills in Salford were a thriving industry and led to a population explosion that was unrivalled almost anywhere in the United Kingdom (Hampson, 1930). This dramatic increase in inhabitants to urban Salford led to severely overcrowded housing and the emergence of the "Salford slum," thought to be some of the worst slums in the UK (Roberts, 1971). Salford and Manchester became the backdrop for Friedrich Engel's seminal work *Condition of the Working Class* in which he described Salford as "an unwholesome, dirty and ruinous locality" (1845: p99). Nevertheless, the proletariat emerged as an increasingly unified group, forming the basis of the Labour political movement (Garrard, 1974). In spite of new-found political presence, however, day-to-day living for industrial workers and their families in Salford failed to improve.

A 1901 census revealed Salford to have one of the highest death rates in the region, caused primarily by poor housing (Clark & Wagner, 2013). Conditions deteriorated during the Depression era when mass unemployment was rife with one in four Salford men out of work. An unlikely product of this deprived location was art and literature emerging from Salford during the first half of the twentieth century which presented the city as synonymous with both industry and hardship. Salford-born author, Walter Greenwood, vividly documented the harsh realities of daily survival for the city's inhabitants in his 1933 classic novel *Love on the Dole*, as much social document as fictional writing. One character laments:

“Labour never ending, constant struggles to pay the rent, to buy sufficient food and clothing, no time for anything that is bright and beautiful. We never see such things. All we see are these grey, depressing streets; mile after mile of them ... even at its best this is not life” (p86).

The artist, L.S. Lowry, a resident of Salford, became fascinated with its unique industrial landscape and sought to break the silence of the reality of working-class modern life through his paintings; and, in doing so, created beauty from “the ugliness of mean streets” (Clark & Wagner, 2013: p26). Lowry's critics accused him of depicting working-class life through a veneer of nostalgia: “slum life was far from being the jolly hive of communal activity that some romantics have claimed” (Roberts, 1971: p49). Greenwood's novel was criticised for its bleak view of Northern working-class life which merged with Engels' portrait of a neglected, downtrodden city. Thus, the deprivation and experience of Salford is highlighted anthropologically through artistic and literary works. Of course, artistic licence is there to add vivid animation to what is real and will always be based on the perceptions of the artist. Polarity between different portrayals of Salford will not be resolved but highlights the discrepancies in how working class life was perceived dichotomously as either an enduring hardship or a decent, honest way to make a living.

Salford's industrial roots are particularly relevant to current social research in the locality in its artistic and literary portrayal as a predominantly working-class city with industrial labour at the heart of its survival. In spite of its historical and social challenges, Salford, under the leadership of its first elected MP, Joseph Brotherton, became the first municipal authority in the country to establish a free public library, museum, art gallery and public swimming bath in the nineteenth century (Bergin, 1974). The origins of social work as a profession have historical roots in Salford in the late-Victorian era. In spite of London often being identified as the birthplace of British social work with the founding of the Charity Organisation Society, Manchester and Salford are noteworthy for having formed the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society in 1833, a child welfare organisation which sought to provide for homeless and destitute children (Taylor, 2008).

After the Second World War, during which Salford's docks were bombed on several occasions, the city's already precarious economic stability experienced further decline with Salford's status as "tarnished side-kick to Manchester ... an area flaking away into archetypal post-war depression" (Morley, 2013: p205). Throughout the 1970s, its textile industry suffered as international competitors rose to prominence and Salford docks finally closed in 1982 with the loss of more than 3000 jobs. This significant loss of livelihood for thousands of workers impacted on the physical, social and emotional well-being of many of Salford's inhabitants (Bergin et al, 1974). The Salford Unemployed and Community Resource Centre (SUCRC) was founded in the 1980s to address high levels of unemployment in the area, continuing its work today (SUCRC, 2010). However, over the last two decades, the docks, as Salford Quays, have been regenerated into a thriving business and residential area centred around the Lowry Theatre which opened in 2000 (Salford City Council, 2008). The area underwent further development when the BBC relocated several of its key departments to Salford Quays. Known as MediaCity UK, the move has significantly increased employment opportunities in Salford (Bell, 2014).

The prominence of the BBC, Salford University's new media department, the Lowry Theatre and the war museum, as well as numerous bars and restaurants at Salford Quays, has led to the formerly working class docks area to become a gentrified residence and a leisure and media hub, garnering arts, media and tourism, distinct and set apart from the greater part of Salford. There is a dichotomy, therefore, between a geographical location associated with cultural, artistic and journalistic endeavour to economically-deprived housing estates.

Salford, with its population of around 230,000 residents, maintains its reputation as a deprived area. Indeed, almost 60% of children in Salford are thought to be living in poverty (Keeling, 2010). The proportion of single-parent families is above the national average and the city has nearly double the national average of those who are permanently sick or disabled (Salford City Council, 2012a). The number of out-of-work claimants in Salford is 1.7% higher than the UK national average and the city is the hardest place in the country to find employment with seventy-six jobseekers applying for every vacancy (Begum & Rhodes, 2013). Salford has the highest rate of empty shops and business premises in the country (Fitzpatrick, 2013a) and the housing situation has reached crisis point with more than 13,000 people awaiting accommodation (Fitzpatrick, 2013b). Recent budget cuts have severely affected delivery of services to many vulnerable people around the city (Stewart, 2013). Concern exists for the emotional well-being of Salford citizens with one in six adults taking prescribed anti-depressants; the sixth highest prescription rate in the country (Rhodes, 2013).

Salford's demographic profile has seen gradual change in recent years. Yet its progress has been markedly slower than surrounding authorities in the North West such as Bolton, Manchester and Oldham, whose populations, with more than three times the number of BME residents, reveal a distinctly more multicultural trend (Guardian, 2011). Indeed, Salford has one of the lowest multi-cultural populations in the North West with BME communities remaining largely clustered around the outskirts of the city. Salford's BME population,

however, has more than doubled since 2001 (Salford City Council, 2012a) indicating that the city is moving towards a more diverse future, reflected in the council's promotion and celebration of multicultural events including Refugee Week, Holocaust Memorial Day, Black History Month and Gypsy Roma Traveller History Month. Salford acknowledged the higher risk of poverty to BME children in its 2010 report *Ending Child Poverty in Salford*, stating its goal to increase employment opportunities for non-white Salford residents. However, what has not been addressed adequately is the extent to which women of all ethnicities in Salford are exposed to domestic abuse and the limits that poverty places on their attempts to leave violent relationships.

### ***1.6.1 Domestic Abuse in Salford***

Crimes figures for Salford show the depressingly high rate of domestic abuse in the locality. Between August 2009 and July 2012, 19,891 incidents of domestic abuse were recorded, far outstripping reported occurrences of hate crimes (1,715), burglaries (4,238), thefts from motor vehicles (5,433) and criminal damage (11,462) (Salford City Council, 2012b). The cost of domestic abuse to social services alone in Salford is estimated at £1.2 million (Trust for London/Henry Smith Charity, 2009). Sadly, domestic abuse has made headline news in Salford on several occasions:

- **Kally Gilligan**, aged 15 years, was shot and killed at her home by her ex-partner, Joshua Thompson, aged 18 years, in Lower Broughton, Salford in 2006 after she ended their relationship. Thompson then committed suicide by turning the weapon on himself (Wainwright, 2006).
- **Clare Wood**, aged 36 years, was found dead at her home in Blackfriars, Salford in 2009. She had been raped and strangled and her body set on fire by her ex-partner, George Appleton, aged 40 years, who was later found hanged. Appleton

had had numerous complaints made against him to police by women who had met him through social networking and online dating sites and found his behaviour to be predatory (Booth, 2009).

- **Linzi Ashton**, aged 25 years, was found dead at her home in Winton, Salford in 2013. She had been kicked, punched, stabbed, beaten with a metal pole and strangled with a cable tie in a “prolonged, appalling and brutal attack” by her ex-partner, Michael Cope, aged 28 years, who was sentenced to a minimum of twenty-seven years in prison. He was known to have stalked and assaulted two women previously (Osuh & Britton, 2014).
- **Rania Alayed**, aged 25 years, was murdered at Arthur Millwood Court in Salford in 2013 by her husband, Ahmed Al-Khatib, aged 34 years, after suffering years of physical and sexual abuse. Al-Khatib disposed of Rania’s body in a suitcase that has never been found. It is not known how Rania was murdered. Al-Khatib was sentenced to a minimum of twenty years in prison (Keeling, 2014).
- **Becky Ayres**, aged 24 years, was murdered at her home in Eccles, Salford in 2014 by her partner, Liam King, aged 25 years. She had been stabbed eleven times in a “ferocious attack.” King, who had a string of violent offences, was sentenced to a minimum of fifteen years in prison (Osuh, 2014).

The murders of all five women were reported nationally, resulting in Salford being subjected to considerable scrutiny in regional and national press. It was not until the murder of Linzi Ashton that public criticism of police involvement led to the launch of two official enquiries by the Independent Police Complaints Commission and by Salford City Council to investigate its own handling of domestic abuse cases (Williams, 2013). The time between 2010, when this study commenced, to 2015 has allowed another three women to be murdered by their ex-partners and indicates clearly the lack of enquiry or reason why Salford has these incidents.



This thesis locates the narratives of these women and others like them within the cultural context of Salford. The research focuses specifically on the experiences of women who have experienced domestic abuse in Salford with insights for local support services offered. The study will also coincide with enquiry outcomes from the IPCC and Salford City Council imminently. The timing is crucial as my study presents a personal perspective of experiences of abused women living in Salford that prevents domestic abuse from being reduced to a series of statistical analyses. In November 2013, Salford City Mayor, Ian Stewart, took a firm stand against domestic abuse in his newsletter, stating that in the twelve months up to September 2013, Greater Manchester Police dealt with 5,861 cases of domestic abuse, an increase of 362 from the previous year (Salford City Council, 2013). With Salford under the spotlight for its domestic abuse record, research into domestic abuse as an experience for women in Salford is exceptionally timely and necessary. My study not only seeks to better understand women's abusive experiences but also to consider the efficacy of agency support and to identify correlations between domestic abuse, cultural factors and gender perspectives within Salford. The relationship between the structural inequalities of patriarchy and the intersecting aspects of each woman's experiences will be scrutinised using Butlerian perspectives of performativity in order to examine the link between Salford and domestic abuse. Butler's argument that bodies are produced and shaped socially will be considered as part of the performative act of abuse. Also, the ways in which social work practice can both mitigate and amplify the suffering of female victims of abuse will be examined.

### ***1.6.2 Responses to Domestic Abuse in Salford***

Frontline workers in Salford must complete an e-learning module on domestic abuse. A one-day domestic abuse awareness course and a two-day course that looks at the impact of domestic abuse on children are optional. The most commonly-used risk assessment tool in Salford (and other local authorities) is the DASH (domestic abuse, stalking and honour-based violence)

assessment. The DASH aims to identify the level of risk to victims of domestic abuse through the use of a checklist that covers all aspects of abusive relationships such as physical violence, threats to kill, emotional abuse, sexual violence, enforced isolation, harm to children and even cruelty to household pets. A score of fourteen or more leads to a referral to a MARAC (multi-agency risk assessment conference). Additionally, cases can be referred where professionals are particularly concerned about the safety of a victim or where the situation appears to be escalating. The aim of a MARAC is not only to identify high risk victims but to assess and manage risks effectively. MARACs are attended by professionals from a range of agencies such as the police, health, social services, housing and SIDASS (Salford Independent Domestic Abuse Support Service). The victim does not attend but is represented by their IDVA (independent domestic violence advocate). The multi-agency component of the conference is important in building a complete picture of the victim and the family. This collaborative approach aims to ensure that a co-ordinated plan of action is produced (Laing et al, 2013) although the efficacy of MARACs has yet to be fully evidenced (Robbins et al, 2014).

Child protection social workers are routinely invited to MARACs when there are children involved but do not attend otherwise. If children are considered at risk, a separate child protection case conference is held thus highlighting the statutory responsibility to protect children. However, there is no responsibility for social services to protect women. The neglect of women by statutory social services was starkly evident when I sought to apply for ethical approval for this study from Salford City Council. I was informed that women's domestic abuse services came under the umbrella of neither Adult's nor Children's Services, therefore ethical approval from the local authority was not required. That statutory services – whose client groups include children, older people, hospital patients, those with mental health problems, learning difficulties and disabilities – consider domestic abuse services outside of their remit alludes to the subtext of abused women as simply 'someone else's problem.' Salford City

Council recently joined forces with its Manchester counterpart to establish a multi-agency team to address child sexual exploitation, after the issue received extensive national coverage in the media (Manchester City Council, 2014). It speaks volumes that no such service has been established to support abused women and their children despite the significant number of domestic abuse referrals. The subtext here is that groups such as children and older people are seen as vulnerable and deserving of protection whilst abused women are not.

Such victim-blaming attitudes must be positioned within the wider social context of high profile cases in the media such as the Oscar Pistorius trial. Pistorius was found not guilty of murdering his partner, Reeva Steenkamp, after he shot her four times through a locked door (he was found guilty of culpable homicide and jailed for a maximum of five years) (Smith, 2014a). The verdict ignored reports of domestic violence perpetrated by Pistorius against Steenkamp and subsequently avoided any real discussion of the dangers to women of abusive intimate relationships (Moore, 2014). Thus a clear inference about the value of women in society and the widespread acceptability of male violence against women is revealed. Gendered violence must also be considered in the context of wider gender attitudes, in which national performance appears to be worsening. Within a global context, the UK's ranking for gender equality slipped from 9<sup>th</sup> place in 2006 to 26<sup>th</sup> place in 2014 (Goodley, 2014).

It is within this pervading social context that social workers assess the risk to women and children, ostensibly to provide protection and support but so often intervening in punitive ways, targeting women as supposedly poor parents; not men as perpetrators. What needs to be examined here is the deep-seated and widely-held belief that holds women as 'acceptable' victims and men as inevitable perpetrators of violence. A study of the literature enabled an analysis that firstly understood deeply-held views and secondly supported an ethnographic approach upon which this study is based.

## *1.7 Summary of Thesis*

The thesis is divided into five distinct but interrelated chapters. **Chapter two** provides a review of domestic abuse literature with particular reference to definitional constraints, prevalence and gender. The gender asymmetrical aspect of domestic abuse is examined critically in the context of quantitative and qualitative research methods. What was found was that when the physical and psychological impacts of abuse are explored, poverty, including employment and housing, was a clear correlate of domestic abuse. Social work practice in relation to domestic abuse is also critiqued. **Chapter three** describes the chosen methodological triangulation of ethnography, a thematic approach to analysis of field materials and Butlerian perspectives, in particular gender performativity, to discuss findings in detail. Participant recruitment and ethical considerations are discussed in the context of reflections from the field. **Chapter four** provides a detailed narrative description of observations made during field work in the settings of a support group and two women's refuges in Salford. The chapter further presents the findings of field material analysis using a thematic approach which are then discussed further with particular reference to the work of Judith Butler. The presentation of narrative and thematic materials maximises practical applicability of the findings in practice settings. The thesis concludes with **Chapter five**, providing a summary of the study and its key findings, study limitations and implications for social work practice. This thesis concludes with suggestions for further research providing a wider, deeper understanding of domestic abuse as a complex issue in Salford.

\*\*\*\*\*

## **Chapter Two: A Review of the Literature**

### ***2.1 Chapter Introduction***

Domestic abuse in Salford must be placed within a wider evidence-based context by identifying key themes and gaps in the literature. Thus, a critical exploration of what is known about domestic abuse in terms of 1) definitional constraints, 2) research methods and 3) gender debates is presented in this chapter. Empirical evidence of the gender asymmetrical aspect of domestic abuse is provided and is crucial to the study which involved only female participants. Gender asymmetry in domestic abuse mirrors my own practice experience in multiple settings in which women are manifestly and consistently over-represented. The chapter begins by presenting evidence of the devastating physical and psychological impact of domestic abuse. The literature identified a clear link to poverty, employment and housing, issues that resonate for participants of this study. Gaps within the evidence base were highlighted to assert a need for further local research which is then located within the context of social work practice. This

study used an ethnographic methodology to produce descriptive and thematic insights into domestic abuse in Salford, a previously under-researched location in the field.

## ***2.2 Literature Search Strategy***

The Cochrane Handbook (Higgins & Green, 2011) was used to define the scope of the research questions and develop inclusion criteria. The first step, guided by Cochrane, accomplished a systematic search of domestic abuse using six key databases (AMED, CINAHL, Cochrane Library, ERIC, ScienceDirect, Academic Search Premier). The methodological steps taken to reduce the evidence to a manageable inventory while making sure the evidence was catalogued accurately was time-consuming but valuable as it enabled full literature immersion (Long & Johnson, 2000). A sample of papers was read to inform correct search terms and I found that domestic violence had far more extenuous meanings than the study required in terms of design and application of methods or analysis. Findings of studies were subsequently synthesised.

The process of synthesising research was completed in five stages as supported by Cooper (1998) using five steps 1) problem formulation, 2) literature search, 3) literature evaluation, analysis and interpretation and 5) presentation of results. The first stage involved defining the conceptual terms for my chosen topic. At that stage in my research journey, I had not yet decided upon my research angle and wanted to be guided by the literature in identifying gaps within the research field, thus a broad scope was established. Using subject heading searches to analyse '*domestic violence*' in the second stage of the process, I constructed a workable definition that optimised verifiable findings. It was imperative that terms used in the literature search reflected the definitional variations of the subject. *Domestic violence* and/or *abuse* were key terms and the evidence base supported this. Additional terms in the title/body of the text with Boolean operators anywhere (including, *intimate partner abuse/violence*, *violence against women* and *gender-based violence*) were included. Full papers were obtained for those that

appeared to be relevant. Duplicate citations were removed and studies that employed 'domestic' incidentally or by way of getting to a more theoretical undertaking of 'violence' were excluded. A "snowball effect" technique was used in which secondary references were accessed and fully read in their original context (Ridley, 2008: p40), a technique with which I became familiar when studying at Master's level (Wood, 2003/2010) leading to the accumulation of a wealth of information. The third stage of the process involved evaluating the relevance of the material gathered. Research could be broadly separated into two categories of quantitative and qualitative studies (or a minority that used a mixed-method approach). My interest was in undertaking qualitative research, however, this did not mean that quantitative studies were dismissed. Reading quantitative and qualitative studies enabled me to develop an understanding of the breadth and depth of domestic abuse. Results were synthesised in table form (see Appendix A). Studies were analysed according to methodology, sample and findings and critical comments were included summarising the strengths and limitations of each study. This framework established an assessment checklist by which to ensure that all studies, regardless of method, were evaluated critically yet consistently using equal criteria considering elements such as representativeness, researcher effect, sampling, replicability, specificity and triangulation. (Booth et al, 2012).

The synthesis table was completed in chronological order of publication in the fourth stage of Cooper's process. This provided an organisational framework which established a recent historical trajectory of the topic. The synthesis table enabled a juxtaposition and subsequently integration of the literature that identified themes that were threaded through the timeline, for example, male-perpetrated abuse against women were numerous and consistent throughout the table. By way of contrast, studies into same-sex abuse were more recent in occurrence. Similarly, I was also able to identify gaps in the literature in terms of methods, for example, a dearth of ethnographic studies was revealed (Aveyard, 2007). The process of synthesising the

research in the fourth stage enabled a systematic way of identifying relevant studies for social work practice which was the starting point for further exploration of the literature. Topics that were crucial for my role as a practitioner related to social issues such as poverty, housing and socio-economic status. Studies focusing on health and legal outcomes were less relevant, however, some such studies were referred to in the final literature review for their relevance to social and cultural views on domestic abuse, for example, studies that highlight negative views towards women seeking justice within the legal system were included in the final stage of presenting the literature.

The presentation of literature in this chapter was directed towards a practitioner audience and, as such, focused on the physical and psychological impacts of abuse as a starting point for social work interventions before moving onto discuss key issues in social work practice such as poverty and housing. Owing to the gendered aspect of domestic abuse practice in Salford, gender was a key focus for this study which is discussed in detail in this chapter. The latter section of this chapter explores social work responses to domestic abuse and critiques current models of practice, alternatives to which are suggested in the final chapter of this thesis. In addition to a wealth of academic reading, I collated numerous newspaper reports and columns, watched television programmes and even fictional films about domestic abuse to develop a greater understanding of how the issue is portrayed in the media and popular culture. Thus, reading/viewing widely enabled full immersion in the topic of domestic abuse which proved beneficial from social, cultural and practical perspectives as further discussed throughout this thesis.

### ***2.3 Historical Context of Domestic Abuse***



Before presenting a contemporary analysis of domestic abuse literature, it is important to understand the pervading and even uncontested views that allow women to be abused from a historical perspective. According to Dobash & Dobash (1979) women have been long considered 'appropriate' victims of violence. In the bible, Eve is castigated for her transgression in the Garden of Eden and Woman is punished by having to bear children (Gelles & Cornell, 1990). Roman husbands were permitted to physically assault and kill their wives for infractions such as public drunkenness and marital infidelity, behaviours encouraged in males (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). From medieval times until the nineteenth century, women were legitimately physically and mentally tortured by their husbands for failing to be 'good' wives. In 1768, the 'rule of thumb' in English law granted husbands the legal right to physically chastise their wives with a stick that was no thicker than a man's thumb, a legal precedent that was adopted by certain states in the US in 1824 (Gelles & Cornell, 1990). It was amid this social and legal climate of female oppression that social work as a profession came into existence.

The catalyst for legal reform came with the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876 which gave protection from cruelty to 'any domestic animal' (Hearn, 1996). The hypocrisy of this new legislation was not lost on those who campaigned for similar laws to protect women. The Wife Beaters Act (1882) was introduced which permitted courts to imprison wife beaters or sentence them to be whipped for subsequent offences (Hearn, 1996). However, the private nature of marriage and the family resulted in violence against wives becoming increasingly hidden behind the seemingly respectable facade of domesticity, thus perpetuating its latent continuance. Moreover, the irony of relying on male benevolence to protect women within a larger patriarchal structure was all too apparent in the decline of all violent incidents within society except wife abuse, the occurrence of which remained constant behind closed doors until well beyond the middle of the twentieth century (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). In this legal and

social context, the division between public and private lives remained strong, allowing the abuse of women in the home to continue, unchallenged, for decades until grassroots feminists began to link the personal and the political by shining a spotlight on women's experiences (Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

Domestic abuse first garnered significant media attention in modern Britain in 1972 when Erin Pizzey opened the UK's first women's refuge in the London borough of Chiswick (Pizzey, 1974, Dobash & Dobash, 1998). Within months, similar refuges opened across the country and in 1975, demand for places was such that a national organisation, Women's Aid, was formed. The Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act (1976) enabled abused women to apply for non-molestation and exclusion orders and gave equal rights to unmarried women. However, police remained reluctant to intervene in what was still considered to be a private 'family' matter (Walker, 1984). Domestic abuse has remained high on the feminist agenda since the 1970s and feminists have worked tirelessly to raise awareness of the extent and impact of the problem. However, society's often ambivalent attitudes towards domestic abuse are evident: rape within marriage was not illegalised in England and Wales until as recently as 1991 (Lees, 2001; Bourke, 2007).

In the twenty-first century, domestic abuse intervention has continued to evolve with the introduction of the Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act (2004) giving police the power to arrest suspected perpetrators at the scene. Restraining orders can be granted even if there is not enough evidence for perpetrators to be convicted of a criminal offence. Significantly, the 2004 act also applies to same-sex and non-cohabiting couples. In spite of these strides forward, domestic abuse is still a disturbingly significant social problem set against a historical backdrop of legally-sanctioned physical and emotional abuse of women by their husbands, seemingly justified by the patriarchal, private nature of the family and the sense of ownership granted by the marriage licence dating back centuries.

## ***2.4 The Impact of Domestic Abuse***

### ***2.4.1 The Physical Impact of Domestic Abuse***

Domestic abuse is the leading cause of health inequality for women (WHO, 2002). Survivors have reported being punched, kicked, choked, bitten, pushed down stairs, thrown up against walls or floors, pushed into fires and raped (Johnson, 1995). Physical injuries included cuts, bruises, broken bones, damaged eyesight, damage to internal organs, stab wounds and fractured skulls (Pahl, 1985). In a study of female survivors, participants reported being attacked with a variety of weapons including broken bottles, knives, scissors, sticks and household tools (Jones, et al, 1986). As well as serious injuries sustained as a result of physical assaults, the stress of being in an abusive relationship causes women to be more susceptible to illness and disease (Hagion-Rzepka, 2000; Leibschtz, 2000). The likelihood of coronary heart disease, chronic neck or back pain (Vives-Cases et al, 2010) and gastrointestinal illnesses (Drossman, 1995) is higher in abused women. Domestic abuse, particularly sexual abuse, is also associated with health issues such as migraine (Cripe et al, 2010) and sleep disruption (Humphreys et al, 2009; Woods et al, 2010). Abused women are more likely to suffer from eating disorders (Oram et al, 2013), smoke (Davidson et al, 2001), drink excessively (Galvani, 2006) use drugs (Tolman, et al, 2001; Humphreys et al, 2005) and expose themselves to risky sexual practices (Silverman et al, 2011) than non-abused women. In a study of women survivors of abuse, several participants disclosed incidents of self-harm as coping strategies (Abrahams, 2010).

Such descriptions of the consequences of violent assaults starkly demonstrate the extremities of the abuse suffered and the physical dangers of violent relationships. Moreover, they point to an ongoing need for research into domestic abuse to provide comprehensive support to survivors while working towards prevention in the long-term. The research timeline indicates that studies initially focused on physical injuries before moving on to explore resulting longer-term health problems including mental health issues; particularly relevant to Salford where

health inequalities are rife. For health and well-being, the city is ranked as one of the most deprived local authorities in the country with a life expectancy well below the national average (SCCG, 2014). The literature demonstrates the doubly negative impact for abused women who may be disadvantaged by their location in Salford and subsequently suffer further injuries and ill-health at the hands of their abusers. Yet, the absence of domestic abuse research in Salford presents no insight into the impact of physical injuries on existing health issues. Being able to illustrate the type of violence women suffer through the literature is extremely helpful, in spite of some studies being somewhat dated, yet sociological or ethnographic studies were less evident. Theorising domestic abuse and patriarchy was a common feature in the literature, less so ‘real life’ accounts from abused women, resulting in domestic abuse being a term unanchored and pervasive. This study seeks to redress that imbalance and undertake a local study reconnecting the voices of women to the literature in order to examine domestic abuse within its context.

In addition to physical injuries “any act of violence and abuse holds within it a psychological component in which humiliation, shame, the establishment of control and an assertion of power are components. Therefore, no physical health effect is without its concomitant mental health effects” (Humphreys, 2007a: p122). Thus, the psychological impact of domestic abuse must be addressed alongside treating physical injuries.

#### ***2.4.2 The Psychological Impact of Domestic Abuse***

Research shows that the psychological effects of domestic abuse vary in nature and severity and can include stress, irritability, anxiety, panic attacks and depression (Walker, 1985; Jaffe et al, 1986; Golding, 1999; Dienemann et al, 2000, Humphreys & Thiara, 2003, Hearn, 2009). Stark & Flitcraft (1996) found that abused women were five times more likely to commit suicide than non-abused women. Another study identified that female survivors of domestic

abuse develop symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder at rates of 74 - 92% compared with rates of only 6 - 13% in non-abused women. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is also associated with impaired immune function, obesity, Pre-Menstrual Syndrome, increased risk of diabetes, depression and suicide (Scott-Tilley et al, 2008). Women's low socioeconomic status is an increased risk factor in developing PTSD, making them more susceptible to re-victimisation (Vogel & Marshall, 2001). Rape and other forms of sexual violence are particularly associated with the development of PTSD (Bisson & Shepherd, 1995).

The literature review indicates that emotional abuse is perhaps the most damaging form of domestic abuse and causes severe and long-lasting effects on survivors (Williamson, 2010), effects that have been compared with the torture of hostages (Graham et al, 1988). Researching the emotional impact of domestic abuse enables a better understanding of why women are unable to leave abusive relationships. A qualitative study of abused women identified a number of themes in participants' experiences (Lutenbacher et al, 2003). Feelings of shame, hopelessness, low self-esteem and guilt were common as well as a feeling of disconnection between their public and private lives as the women became more isolated from friends, relatives and the local community. Few women were aware of support services and all identified a number of barriers to disclosing abuse including fear and intimidation from their partners and a desire to avoid external judgmental attitudes. One woman who spoke to her priest was criticised for not being a better wife and mother, thus barriers to leaving were evident, even in pastoral relationships. Chatzifotiou (2000) stressed the emotional impact of living in an abusive situation: "The environment is a tense one even when no violence is being perpetrated because the possibility of violence is always present. Thus ... constant fear is still engendered by living in a relationship with serious threats of violence" (p3). What is highlighted in the literature is the state of fear and anxiety that women consistently have to endure, even when violent incidents are episodic. In a series of in-depth interviews with women

who endured chronic domestic abuse, Bostock et al (2009) identified that when participants were not physically abused every day, a sense of gratitude developed that the abuse was sporadic and this led some women to question whether they were being abused at all. Self-blame was a key finding of Hoff's qualitative study of nine women who had escaped violent relationships by going into refuge accommodation (1990). Hoff points out:

“by internalising the cultural norm that women are largely responsible for the success or failure of human relationships, she interprets her mate's behaviour as somehow her own doing ... the shame arises from her perceived failure. It moves her to keep the violence to herself and presages the progressive and often extreme isolation in which battered women later find themselves” (p43).

I agree with Hoff that the gender roles women perform keep them entrapped in abusive environments by maintaining cultural expectations that convince them to be a woman is to be in a successful relationship. As such, Hoff and others show that self-blame is a common entrapment and is as much a sociological construct as a psychological process as self-blame cannot be separated from the weight of cultural expectations. This is particularly true of sexual violence which adds a further element of shame into the spiral of self-blame. Russell's research into rape within marriage highlighted women's sense of sexual obligation in which they were forced to acquiesce to their husbands' sexual advances (1990). Many participants believed they had no right to refuse sex with their husbands. If women feel obliged to perform sexual acts against their will or believe they deserve beatings from their partners, they are unlikely to leave violent relationships. Again, gender is a significant issue here as women clearly subscribe to gendered notions of intimate relationships in which male partners' sexual wishes and desires are prioritised. In this context, male violence (and patriarchy) is allowed to flourish. Overwhelming feelings of shame caused by internalised blame described by abused women

lend much to developing an understanding of why women feel unable to leave violent relationships.

While my thesis supports the notion of self-blame as a key feature expressed by all participants it further reveals the complicit shame that statutory services reinforce in confronting physical injuries (see section 2.8). Thus, injuries become visible signifiers that invoke a sense of shame. Professional agencies are influenced by cultural factors and vice versa. Women blame themselves. Society blames them and service provision props up or even verifies those influences. A further difficulty, as my thesis demonstrates, is when shame is linked to an environment where money, housing and childcare are factors in domestic abuse relationships that serve to compound a sense of shame and self-blame, making leaving a supremely difficult endeavour. Hence, a significant issue for social work research is to improve practice in helping abused women to request and accept support and for agencies to recognise the multiple features of abusive relationships. Improving practice can only be achieved with a better understanding of domestic abuse as an experience and professionals must be provided with a pragmatic theoretical framework within which to make sense of its complexities.

Although, as outsiders, it is difficult to fully comprehend domestic abuse, Abrahams' application of Maslow's hierarchy of needs aids our understanding of the impact of domestic abuse and provides her own perspective as to why women feel unable to leave abusive relationships. Abrahams (2007) applied Maslow's theory to understand the impact of domestic abuse on women who had left abusive relationships. According to Maslow (1987) individuals have basic physiological needs for food, water, shelter and clothing. Additionally, they further strive to achieve higher ideals and aspirations. Abrahams (2007) asserts that abused women's sense of physical and emotional safety is taken away, leaving them and their children with only a basic drive to survive. Self-confidence and feelings of worthiness are destroyed while abused women focus solely on the day-to-day matter of surviving physical, sexual and emotional

abuse. Abrahams' use of Maslow provides an understanding of the extent to which abused women's lives become reduced to a daily battle to survive. While this understanding is useful, Maslow's theory fails to account for gender dynamics rendering women particularly vulnerable to abuse, something my study seeks to redress with the help of a Butlerian approach. Her work disrupts the structuralist notions of Maslow and Abrahams to provide a post-structuralist explanation of how agency can both reinforce and contest women's identities as victims. Like me, Butler does not attempt to deconstruct structure itself. Instead, she seeks ways in which alternatives to women's oppression can be constructed to enable women to gain independence from the weight of oppressive structures. In doing so, Butler reveals a discourse that questions the pervasiveness of violence towards women and offers new visions for women's lives.

In spite of some limitations, Abrahams' work benefits from its in-depth and longitudinal nature which highlights the lasting impact of domestic abuse and the support women need to overcome it (2010). What is clear from Abrahams' study is that long before women leave is the desire to do so.

### ***2.4.3 Leaving Abusive Relationships***

The reductionist approach to domestic abuse which sees the solution as simply a matter of staying or leaving violent relationships has been criticised for its overly-pathological analysis. Women are seen as 'choosing' to stay in violent relationships, implying a freedom that is simply not available. This places psychological characteristics of individual women as responsible for ongoing abuse whilst ignoring intersectional barriers to leaving within wider socio-political contexts (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Burman & Chantler, 2005). My study not only details the concrete barriers to leaving violent relationships such as lack of housing, financial difficulties and social isolation but highlights emotional barriers such as loss of self, depression and fear. Thus, women living with abuse have many hurdles to contend with before



leaving is possible. These hurdles are dealt with in myriad ways on a day-to-day basis while leaving the relationship does not yet present as a reality.

In a review of the *Violent Men Study* (Dobash et al, 2000), Cavanagh identified that women in violent relationships are far from passive and, indeed, are in an everyday struggle to avoid and minimise violence and abuse within the home, employing a range of direct and subtle strategies. Strategies to avoid violence included providing their partners with food and drink, being physically affectionate and agreeing with everything they said so as to maintain a relatively calm atmosphere (Cavanagh, 2003). More direct strategies to confront the violence included verbal and physical confrontations, asking the abuser to leave the home, telling other people about the violence and ultimately leaving the relationship. These varied responses dispel the notion of passivity in abused women as suggested by the theory of 'battered woman syndrome' (Walker, 1984), evidencing women's active attempts to avoid and confront the violence they were being forced to live with (Cavanagh, 2003). Such strategies also demonstrate that women actively try to protect their children from an abusive parent, rejecting the overused indictment of 'failure to protect' that is endemic to domestic abuse intervention in my professional experience. The complexity of abusive relationships, which were initially based on love and commitment, and the guilt that many women feel over separating children from their fathers must be recognised (Cavanagh, 2003). Strategies to avoid abuse must be examined within the context of the cycle of violence that is a key feature of domestic abuse literature.

The cycle of violence within intimate relationships lends much to an understanding of why leaving violent relationships is a difficult process (Walker, 1979). The cycle begins with the first phase of tension-building in which minor incidents might occur. The acute second phase is when physical abuse of the woman takes place. Third is the honeymoon-respite phase in which the abuser seeks to make amends with his partner before beginning the cycle again. This

third stage is a crucial part of maintaining the violent relationship as it lures the woman into a false sense of security and reminds her that abuse is not the only aspect of her relationship. In this way, the third phase serves as a reinforcer in which the woman's identity as wife or girlfriend is validated. This cycle of violence was further developed by a domestic violence project in Minnesota as the 'Duluth model', based on the 'Power and Control Wheel.' This model has since been adapted in domestic abuse literature in its focus on the coercive and controlling aspects of domestic abuse within a patriarchal society (Shepard & Pence, 1999). The Duluth model enables a greater understanding of the barriers to leaving relationships with its insight into how the three stages of the cycle work together to produce conflicting feelings of fear and gratitude, depression and hope. What must be remembered (and clearly demonstrated in this study) is that perpetrators are not initially violent, therefore, the honeymoon-respite phase could be interpreted by women as their partners' return to the previously non-abusive men that they knew in the earlier stages of the relationship. Experiencing the cycle many more times with incidents escalating each time, is necessary for the woman to realise that her partner's abusive behaviour is the reality and not the exception.

As abuse increases in severity and frequency, women increase their resolve to escape from the relationship (Pakieser et al, 1999) and, indeed, research demonstrates that many women actually do manage to leave violent relationships successfully (Binney et al, 1981; Hoff, 1990; Abrahams, 2007/2010), some leaving spontaneously, others after years of methodical planning (Lutenbacher et al, 2003). One of the key contributions domestic abuse literature makes is the recognition that leaving an abusive relationship is a process rather than a single act. It may take numerous attempts to achieve successfully as women's confidence gradually increases with each attempt at leaving until they are finally ready to make a new life for themselves. Once women resolve to leave their violent partners, it is essential that practical support is available.

Professionals need an understanding of the ways in which various intersectional factors affect women's experiences of abuse to act as further barriers to leaving.

## ***2.5 Domestic Abuse and Poverty***

Feminists, while not without their detractors, have made the biggest contribution to domestic abuse research by highlighting that domestic abuse can occur across the classes; it affects women from all social groups (Wilcox, 2006). This is important in preventing certain groups of women being stigmatised or marginalised, ensuring that domestic abuse is widely recognised and, therefore, more likely to be addressed as part of a political agenda. Middle class men and women are less likely to be researched or to come to the attention of public and social services, therefore the numbers of women and children abused in middle class families may be considerably under-estimated (Hague & Malos, 2005). In spite of this, a number of studies indicate a clear correlation between domestic abuse and poverty with low-income women, especially single women with children being particularly vulnerable to abuse and less likely to have the resources to escape it (Benson & Fox, 2004; Walby & Allen, 2004; Cawthorne, 2008; Goodman et al, 2009; Weiss, 2009; Hetling & Zhang, 2010). In addition to abused women's financial dependence on their perpetrators, this study further revealed the social stigma and sense of shame of being forced to rely on welfare payments.

Poverty can be defined as lacking basic necessities such as food, clothing, adequate shelter and access to medical care (Markward & Yegidis, 2011). Davis (1999) states "violence affects poor women in two critical ways: it makes them poor and it keeps them poor" (p18). Abused women are often completely cut off from financial resources with no access to bank accounts (Lerman, 1984). One study found that the more financially dependent women are on their partners, the greater the risk of suffering serious injury (Strube & Barbour, 1983). Women who have

children bear the financial responsibility of caring for them when they leave violent relationships and their ex-partners may use financial means to continue controlling women by emptying joint bank accounts or prolonging divorce or custody proceedings at great cost to the victims (Horn, 1992). Women who have fled to distant locations and assumed new identities may find it difficult to gain employment, being unable to list previous employers as referees for fear of revealing their old identities or alerting previous employers to their new address (Davis, 1999).

Women in receipt of welfare payments are particularly vulnerable to domestic abuse with shocking evidence that one in three women on welfare are abused (Tolman & Raphael, 2000; Walby & Allen, 2004). Women who were financially reliant on their violent ex-partners had no choice but to rely on welfare payments to survive (Boone et al, 1999). Women who escape violent relationships often struggle financially owing to existing welfare systems. Patrick et al (2008) interviewed single women in receipt of welfare payments about their experiences of seeking child support from their abusive ex-partners. Several participants had applied for exemptions in seeking child support payments for fears for their safety. Agency responses varied from supportive to intrusive and judgmental. Several participants were unaware that an exemption could be sought. Women who refused to give details of their ex-partners for fear of harm were penalised by having their benefits cut. Continued harassment of ex-partners serves to ensure that violent men are financially better off because their ex-partners are more likely to request an exemption from seeking child support payments (Patrick et al, 2008). This perpetuates the cycle of poverty for abused women while violent men experience no such hardship.

Research concerning domestic abuse and poverty provides a greater understanding of why many women remain in abusive relationships. Fear is a factor as the research shows but poverty is a key indicator to keeping women in violent relationships: “Women faced with choosing

between beatings and starvation may too often choose beatings, exposing themselves and their children to prolonged abuse that will perpetuate both violence and poverty” (Davis, 1999: p28).

This presents a picture of poverty as almost insurmountable, yet another barrier to leaving which influences and restricts women’s choices.

### ***2.5.1 Domestic Abuse and Employment***

Domestic abuse has profoundly negative effects on women’s employment, both in finding work and maintaining it (Zorza, 1996; Lloyd, 1997). Zorza found that 96% of abused women experienced problems at work with a quarter of the women losing employment owing to the effects of domestic abuse. Over half had been harassed by their partners at work. One study showed that abusive men switched off their partners’ alarm clocks so they would be late for work or job interviews (Raphael, 1996). Another study revealed that women’s partners disrupted childcare and travel arrangements in order to prevent them from getting to their place of work. One woman’s partner damaged her possessions while she was at work, leaving her reluctant to leave her home again. Some male partners harassed women at work via telephone calls, causing problems with employers. Others deliberately caused visible injuries to faces and arms so that their partners would not be able to go to work. Additionally, women’s physical and mental health was also affected by the abuse which impacted negatively on their attendance at work. In spite of these attempts at sabotage, all participants interviewed recognised the connection between financial independence and being able to leave violent relationships (Lloyd, 1997).

Domestic abuse can prevent women from being able to find or maintain a job but women may also lose welfare benefits if they are seen as not actively looking for work. Murphy (1997) points out that many abused women concentrate simply on daily survival and that a long-term commitment to employment outside the house is simply not a priority. However, the impact of

domestic abuse is rarely taken into account by welfare agencies. Thus, women become the victims of the “feminisation of poverty” (Brenner, 1987: p447) in which women are obstructed from gaining the resources to improve their financial situations. Studies highlight the need for tailor-made back-to-work programmes to help domestic abuse victims build the skills and confidence to be able to work successfully outside the home (Murphy, 1997; Raphael, 1997). The need for ongoing education for professionals is key here in helping them to understand the importance of employment in mitigating domestic abuse but also the barriers to employment for many women.

Employment for abused women can act as a protective factor against domestic abuse and poverty in a number of ways. Firstly, women are less likely to rely on their abusive partners for financial provision, thus increasing their opportunities to leave. Secondly, employment can help to boost women’s self-esteem and autonomy, particularly in building their own support networks in which their partners have little or no involvement. Thirdly, employment enables women to spend more time away from their abusers, thus possibly reducing the frequency of abusive incidents (Gibson-Davis et al, 2005; Bowlus & Seitz, 2006). The ways in which employment can both mitigate and exacerbate domestic abuse are important in understanding the complexities of women’s support needs. Poverty is not only linked to employment and finances but to housing provision which emerged as a central theme in the literature review.

## ***2.5.2 Domestic Abuse and Housing***

### ***2.5.2.1 Refuge Provision***

Domestic abuse refuges are a vital source of safety and support for women fleeing violent partners (Binney et al, 1981; Hoff, 1990; Abrahams, 2007). Refuges are traditionally highly confidential in their locations and women are forbidden from disclosing the address to family and friends (Haaken & Yragui, 2003). The hidden location of refuges perpetuates the view that

women must be separated from men to be protected. This separation can replicate the isolation that women often experience within abusive relationships. In addition, the secret location of refuges may inadvertently contribute to the continuing socially and politically hidden nature of domestic abuse, refuting everything grass-roots feminists worked so hard to overcome. Thus, “battered women’s shelters have come to occupy a social symbolic place within feminism, in part because the need for shelter vivifies so palpably the brutal side of the patriarchal family” (Haaken, 2010: p106). A strong argument for the published locations of refuges is to encourage a sense of community responsibility towards residents and the issue of domestic abuse itself (Haaken & Yragui, 2003). Of course, women’s safety remains the priority for all refuges but one study revealed that disclosing locations of refuges was not associated with an increase in threats from residents’ former husbands or partners (Rempe, 2001). Haaken (2010) points out that the locations of many refuges are secret in theory but actually visible, giving women a false sense of safety:

“[Refuges] may operate more as fantasy than reality, not simply because abusive men can still find their female partners or because many women return to violent households. Rather, the problem lies in the isolation of shelters from a larger feminist strategy to claim public space and to make the larger social world – as well as the domestic sphere – safer and more hospitable for women” (p126).

Haaken’s point exemplifies the literal and metaphorical isolation of abused women through the use of hidden refuges and the exclusion of women’s issues on the wider social agenda. Thus, abused women are rendered literally and politically invisible by a society that would sooner turn its back on their afflictions than acknowledge complicity in their suffering. That refuge provision is funded primarily by the voluntary sector is a telling statement on the value of women’s safety in society for which the state does hold itself responsible.

A shortage of funding means that many refuges have unsatisfactory standards of living: “The shelter’s sub-standard physical features served as a symbolic reminder of society’s devaluation of women: not only are [they], rather than their assailants, required to leave their homes, but for many their substitute ‘home’ represents a drastic reduction in their standard of living” (Hoff, 1990: p149). In spite of this, the urgent need for refuge places demonstrates that women are proactive in leaving their violent partners: “Overcrowded refuges across the country bear witness to the fact that many women are desperate to find a way out of violent relationships and that the process of leaving is neither simple nor without humiliation” (Binney et al, 1981: p20). The number of requests for places from women and children caused dilemmas for workers who were encouraged by their councils to limit the number of women and children admitted so as to control overcrowding. However, refuge staff were reluctant to turn away families seeking emergency accommodation, fearing this would prevent them asking for help in the future.

Despite its inadequacies, the provision of refuge accommodation is greatly valued by abused women for a number of reasons, not least the friendships they developed with others who had experienced the trauma of living with abusers (Binney et al, 1981; Smith, 2014b). Thus, “the power of the shelter was in the form of sisterhood it created – one that displaced the patriarchal family as the legitimate protector of women” (Haaken, 2010: p115). Refuges also provide therapeutic support for residents in the form of short-term counselling to positive effect (McNamara et al, 2008). Abrahams (2007) emphasised that women’s overwhelming need when leaving abusive relationships is safety, something which refuges clearly provide. Refuges are consistently rated more positively than any other agency or service (Mullender & Hague, 2001) a key reason I undertook ethnographic research in this field as I hoped to extract from the non-statutory service any insights for the statutory service in which I work.



### ***2.5.2.2 Permanent Housing for Abuse Survivors***

Several researchers stress the importance of women and children fleeing domestic abuse subsequently being provided with safe and secure permanent housing (Binney et al, 1981; Levison & Harwin, 2001; Morley, 2001; Hague & Malos, 2005). A lack of housing options is seen as one of the biggest deterrents for women to leave abusive relationships and a significant factor in why some of them return (Pascall et al, 2001). Simply, “women are staying in violent situations because it is a straight choice between that or homelessness” (Moore, 2012: p1). Gaining suitable long-term accommodation is extremely difficult and women who have left violent partners are often classed as ‘intentionally homeless’ allowing local authorities to refuse alternative accommodation. Women are asked to provide written evidence of domestic abuse by housing workers who have little training in domestic abuse issues (Garboden, 2011) and are less than sensitive in their handling of such cases (Pascall et al, 2001). Thus, women are left in precarious situations, often with young children.

The detrimental effect on women and children of inhabiting temporary accommodation for long periods of time has been well-documented (Binney et al, 1981). Frequent moves between temporary addresses impacted negatively on women’s employment and children’s education as well as access to health and social services. The majority of women moving on from refuges were entirely reliant on the local authority to obtain their own housing. From personal experience, social workers have little influence as to whether housing departments allocate housing to abused women and their children, even when child protection plans are in place. Abrahams (2010) found that women waited excessive time periods to secure their own properties and, subsequently, accommodation was poor quality. Women, whose lives were on hold until they were able to move into their own properties, often felt pressured into accepting

poor housing in spite of their reservations. Women were moved to areas where they had few or no support networks, contributing to a lack of control of their lives (Levison & Harwin, 2001). In spite of this, moving to their own accommodation was a source of pleasure and pride for many women (Abrahams, 2010) illustrating the importance of securing safe and appropriate housing; not just to protect abused women but to enable them and their children thrive.

### ***2.5.3 Intersectionality***

The literature demonstrates that poverty, employment and housing are significant factors in the lives of domestic abuse victims. Gender and poverty are significantly correlated with domestic abuse with women less likely to work outside of the home and have access to independent sources of funds. The ways in which gender and poverty overlap lead to an integral discussion about the notion of ‘intersectionality’ (Crenshaw, 1989/1991) in which different aspects of women’s lives converge to create specific circumstances that impact on their experiences of gender oppression. Crenshaw criticised positioning ‘race’ and gender as mutually exclusive categories and argued instead for the acknowledgement of black women’s multi-dimensional experiences where racism and sexism are not viewed as discrete experiences. White feminists’ tendency to ignore the ways in which their own ‘race’ functions to mitigate certain aspects of sexism and misogyny (Crenshaw, 1989) has been criticised for perpetuating black women’s status as one of the most oppressed groups in society (Davis, 1982; hook, 1989; Hill Collins, 2000).

Feminism must take into account the intersectional and experiential aspects of women’s lives to create feminist principles that are inclusive and accessible to all women. Recognition of intersectionality as a concept and as reality in women’s lives is essential in understanding the social context of women’s experiences (Liu, 2001), moving away from the simplistic binary construction of ‘man’ and ‘woman’ that Butler (1990) critiques. Intersectionality is now seen

as an integral part of feminist theory that has moved from the margins to the centre of feminist debate (Kerner, 2012). Indeed, McCall (2005) and Hancock (2007) have expanded discussions of intersectionality to focus on the notion of categories used to define various groups within society. Although it could be argued that the use of categories is necessary as a basic organising principle of the social world, they must be deconstructed to reveal the power relations within and between each one (Walby et al, 2012). In this respect, Butler's deconstructive approach to binary categorisations lays bare many elements of socially-constructed interactions that are misleadingly attributed to physical and biological determinants. In doing so, she highlights that those who fail to occupy legitimate subject positions are forced into marginalised positions - "non-places" - that, politically, render them virtually invisible (Butler, 2002: p20).

In spite of intersectionality's positive contribution to feminist debate, it is not without its limitations. Its theoretical positions do not necessarily include all black women and African women's experiences have sometimes been sidelined (Christian, 2000). Accusations of racism towards white feminists are criticised for being too simplistic. Indeed, black feminists' attempts to bring their own agendas into the mainstream were criticised by setting up 'black feminist' groups which were viewed as endorsing the racist segregation they were supposedly seeking to destroy (hooks, 1982). Intersectionality relies heavily on the experience of slavery that was once endemic for black women in America. However, the abuse and subservience of women existed long before this period of American history, therefore slavery is an intersectional but not causal factor in the abuse of women. Mainstream feminists' efforts to include black and minority ethnic women's agendas have sometimes inadvertently reinforced negative racial stereotypes that position non-white women as the 'other' (hooks, 2000; Gloria, 2001) thus failing to achieve the process of "acculturation" (Williams & Berry, 1991: p632) in which two groups of individuals from different cultural backgrounds come together and establish a shared language and mutually agreeable goals. The advantage, however, of using an intersectional

approach to feminist research is that it explicitly reflects on ‘otherness’ and deconstructs that which is often taken as essential and fixed, that is, gender, ‘race,’ sexuality and class (Ludvig, 2006). Intersectionality centres around its predominant focus on the ‘triangle’ of gender, ‘race’ and class (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Anthias, 2012; Roberts, 2014) therefore fails to offer an adequate analysis of how sexuality intersects with other aspects of women’s identities, thus falling into the very trap it seeks to avoid. Critics also suggest that intersectionality, while highlighting the oppressions of certain groups, does not necessarily address how and why such oppressions occur and who is doing the oppressing (Bose, 2012). Intersectionality has been further criticised for undermining the political cohesion of the feminist movement and merely ‘recycling’ and repeating black feminist standpoints (May, 2014). This repetition, however, is a key component of Butler’s theory of performativity, in which identities are constructed through repetitious acts. It is this repetition that provides opportunities to break with existing norms. Butler’s hopeful stance is somewhat at odds with Salford’s demographic profile which indicates that acculturation within the city is a distant aspiration. What performativity lends to intersectionality, however, is the tools to deconstruct the consequences of ethnic, gender and class identities aided by an ethnographic approach that highlights cultural factors in the locality.

In spite of criticisms, intersectionality lends much to feminist research in seeking to deconstruct taken-for-granted sources of knowledge and experience. Intersectionality makes visible marginalised locations and enables a more nuanced analysis of the complexities of women’s lives (Garry, 2011). Furthermore, intersectionality enables links to be made between abuse of individuals and the epidemic of violence against women within a global context, while recognising the different ways in which women are affected. This posits violence against women, not as private act but as political issue, simultaneously acknowledging the universality and heterogeneity of women’s experiences (Reilly, 2007). Moreover, the ways in which aspects of women’s identities intersect to impact on their lives parallel the ways in which women’s

experiences of different types of abuse – physical, sexual, emotional, financial – intersect to cause cumulative damage as evidenced by the findings in this study.

The domestic abuse literature around intersectional concepts of health, impact of abuse, socio-economic status, housing and ethnicity most commonly uses the term *domestic violence* which does not reflect adequately the enormity of the experiences described in the preceding section. Discussions around the damaging effects of domestic abuse raise important questions as to how an experience comprising physically, emotionally, sexually and financially abusive elements can be sufficiently defined.

## ***2.6 Definitions of Domestic Abuse***

Domestic abuse includes a range of behaviours that are not specifically violent but includes nuances of other types of behaviour that come under the umbrella term of ‘abusive’. Women’s Aid defines domestic abuse as: “physical, sexual, psychological or financial violence that takes place within an intimate or family-type relationship and that forms a pattern of coercive and controlling behaviour” (2009: p2). The UK government’s definition takes a progressive approach to include sexuality and partnership: “Any incident of threatening behaviour, violence or abuse (psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional) between adults who are or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality” (CPS, 2009: p10). This definition denotes a wider scope that applies to a larger section of society. Moreover, reference to antecedents is included by specifically mentioning individuals who were previously in intimate relationships, a crucial point as research shows that abuse can escalate at the end of a relationship (Jones, 1991; Radford, 1993; Wilson & Daly, 1993; Mullender & Morley, 1994; Humphreys & Thiara, 2002; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Smith et al, 2011). In much of the literature, the terms ‘domestic violence’ or ‘intimate partner violence’ are most frequently used, emphasising the physically abusive aspect of the problem

(Beaulaurier et al, 2005, Flinck et al, 2005, Zink et al, 2005, McHugh & Frieze, 2006; Stamm, 2009).

The epistemological challenge is to question whether domestic violence contains a systematic enough set of propositions to be defined as “any incident of threatening behaviour, violence or abuse ... between adults who are or have been intimate partners or family members” (CPS, 2009: p10). Gelles (1997) goes some way in using a family violence model by enabling the links between intimate partner abuse, child abuse and elder abuse to be more visible. I would argue that violence between related family members should be excluded from the definition of domestic abuse and should instead be referred to as ‘family violence’ which delineates its different characteristics from violence experienced within the confines of intimate relationships. I would also argue that Gelles falls short in that his model of violence serves to obscure the abuse of women within the home, as adult women may be assumed to be less vulnerable than children or older people who are protected by statutory safeguarding procedures. My emphasis on partner abuse differentiates ‘family violence’ from domestic abuse, bringing into focus the culturally specific experience of abuse within intimate relationships and the ways in which gender roles are performed within social contexts. Family violence only blurs this focus and detracts from addressing gender constructs. I assert that language used to define women’s experiences requires further consideration to accurately reflect the phenomenon.

Moreover, I argue that the use of the term ‘domestic’ is a misnomer. The dictionary definition of the word is “of the home or family” or “enjoying or accustomed to home or family life” (Concise English Dictionary, 1999: p424). This definition applies a highly innocuous meaning and I argue that the term ‘domestic abuse/violence’ is an oxymoron, belying the criminal act – in which numerous victims are raped and murdered - as well as the terror of the experience itself. The word ‘domestic’ has historical gender connotations with domesticity being the

traditional realm of women and this has a “neutralising” effect that hides its gendered meaning, reinforcing the notion that violence and abuse within intimate relationships is a private matter (Sloan-Lynch, 2012: p786). The division of public and private spheres serves to keep women (and the abuse they experience) hidden from view while men perpetrate their abusive behaviours with impunity, continuing to operate freely outside the domestic sphere. The abuse of children is referred to as ‘child abuse’ and the abuse of older people described as ‘elder abuse’. In other words, the definition reflects the phenomenon. Domestic abuse, as I will evidence later in this chapter, is a social problem experienced disproportionately by women, yet this is obscured by the euphemistic term ‘domestic’. Furthermore, ‘domestic’ implies that abuse occurs only within the confines of the victim’s home whereas the findings of my study clearly demonstrate that abuse also occurs in public, via the internet and, indeed, long after the relationship has ended. Thus, employing Judith Butler’s theory of ‘performativity’ in which language surreptitiously constructs rather than describes or reflects reality (1990), the ways in which the severity of domestic abuse is minimised by the language used to describe it is noteworthy. Butler’s work lends a discourse to this thesis in that it enables me to construct an argument in which to highlight the ways in which abusive relationships rely on gendered constructions of identity.

A linguistic analysis of domestic abuse requires what Kirkwood (1993) refers to as, “a language of abuse” to clearly reflect its true pattern without minimising danger or impact. In some ways, the term ‘intimate partner abuse’ is a more appropriate description, however, even this does not sit easily with my feminist aspirations. The terms ‘gender-based violence’ or ‘abuse against women’ may be more appropriate descriptions (Mooney, 2001; Damonti, 2014; Walby et al, 2014), however, they are rarely used outside of academia. While ‘domestic abuse’ is not my preferred prefix with its neutralising effect on the crime it is the most widely acknowledged

definition in the public's consciousness and the definition currently used in social work in the UK and, as such, is employed here.

The work of Johnson takes steps to surmount any trivialisation of domestic abuse and I am keen to underscore its value. Johnson (2006) separates domestic violence into four distinct categories: firstly, 'situational couple violence', defined as "violence that is not embedded in a general pattern of power and control but is a function of the escalation of a specific conflict or series of conflicts" (p1127). 'Intimate terrorism' is described as "violence enacted in the service of taking general control over one's partner" (p1127). 'Violent resistance' is "violence utilised in response to intimate terrorism" (p1127). Lastly, 'mutual violent conflict' refers to both partners being equally controlling and violent towards each other (Johnson, 2006). Johnson distinguishes intimate terrorism as the type of abuse that is widely regarded as occurring in domestic abuse situations (Johnson, 1995). To include situational couple violence, characterised by the absence of power and control, in general domestic abuse statistics distorts the evidence and leads to inaccurate conclusions in research. Johnson points out that intimate terrorism is primarily perpetrated by men against women, demonstrating a clear inference of gender asymmetry, as opposed to situational couple violence which disputes gender polarity (Archer, 2000; Leone et al, 2007). Johnson criticises research which suggests that as many men are beaten by female partners as women by men, described as "battered husband syndrome" (Steinmetz, 1978: p448). Johnson (1995) states that 'battered husband syndrome' is a huge misconception based on interpreting data on situational couple violence as intimate terrorism. Intimate terrorism is underrepresented in national samples for survey research as victims of this type of violence are unlikely to be captured by survey research owing to the risk of their abusers finding out while perpetrators of intimate terrorism have nothing to gain by participating in studies that document their abusive behaviours. Women often resort to violent methods of resistance in order to defend themselves from increasingly violent assaults from



their partners, therefore, violent resistance is more commonly used by women in order to defend themselves from intimate terrorism assaults (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Research methods that do not allow for this type of violence to be distinguished contribute to the notion that women are equally as violent as men which I argue is not the case. Studies that appear to reveal gender symmetry in the perpetration of violent assaults are based on the percentages of men and women who acknowledge perpetrating acts of violence. Thus, the context, frequency and physical consequences of violence are ignored (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Studies that fail to analyse domestic abuse in the context of Johnson's categories of violent acts do not distinguish violence as situational, terrorising or resistant.

There are weaknesses in Johnson's categories of violence as they tend to view violent acts as typologically separate incidents rather than part of a continuum of abuse (Kelly, 1987; Fergusson et al, 2005). I would argue this underplays the emotionally abusive aspect of intimate relationships and does not fully appreciate the power of coercive control. The issue of control in violent relationships is not well-addressed by Johnson who assumes it to be simply present or absent according to category. Anderson (2008) questions Johnson's differentiation between attempting to control a situation, as in situational couple violence, and attempting to control an individual, as in intimate terrorism, stating that: "because the situation involves a conflict between partners, controlling the situation necessarily involves at least some attempt to control a partner" (p1159). Thus, the confluence between situation and abuse cannot be easily rendered as supported by Frye et al (2007) whose study of situational couple violence in relationships identified that elements of control were present. A difference exists, however, in the highly misogynistic attitudes of perpetrators of intimate terrorism as found by Holtzworth-Monroe et al (2000), a distinction that Johnson and Frye do not make. Stark (2006) refers to intimate terrorism as "coercive control" (p1021) in which the private nature of personal relationships allows "privileged access of perpetrators to victims" (p1021) in a setting (domesticity) that is

already rife with gender inequalities. Johnson's conceptualization of control, therefore, can be held up to criticism, viewing it as a discrete act rather than a social and political structure that serves to maintain the traditional male hierarchy, both in and out of the home. I also criticise Johnson's category of mutual violent conflict as particularly dubious for operating on the assumption that both partners' violence and control have the same objectives, ignoring social and contextual factors that would render such a situation highly unlikely. Furthermore, there is little empirical evidence to support the existence of mutual violent conflict or its effects.

A significant gap in the literature is the lack of clear distinctions between *types* of domestic violence, necessary for services to address adequately the needs of its service-users. For example, the conflation between intimate terrorism and situational couple violence means that domestic violence is sometimes viewed as mutual and episodic when it is, in fact, one-sided and escalating in nature. Johnson's definitions of violence within intimate relationships are useful in highlighting the differences in context, however, his academic definitional terminology could be problematic in terms its inaccessibility by and transferability to members of the public who may not associate their own experiences of abuse with the scholarly language of the academic. Nevertheless, Johnson's work brings to the fore one of the key debates in domestic abuse research, that of gender.

## ***2.7 Domestic Abuse: Gender Studies***

Numerous studies reveal that women are more likely than men to experience all types of domestic abuse (Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Walby & Allen, 2004; Coleman et al, 2007; Gibbons, 2011). Women constitute the highest percentage of people killed by a current or former partner with worldwide estimates being 40 - 70% of female murder victims compared to 4% - 8% of male victims (Krug et al, 2002). A number of key UK studies highlight the gender polarity of domestic abuse.

Stanko's (2001) innovative domestic abuse research analysed statistics produced by every police force in England, Wales and Northern Ireland over a twenty-four hour period. The data revealed that 81 - 86% of domestic abuse victims were women assaulted by men, whereas only 8% were men attacked by women (4 - 7% were male-to-male assaults and 2 - 4% female to female). Data from Scottish police forces revealed even higher rates of male violence with 92.3% of incidents being perpetrated by men against women. Stanko pointed out the difficulty that varying definitions of domestic abuse among police forces across the UK had in producing the findings. The Association of Chief Police Officers' (ACPO) definition of domestic abuse included all family members whereas the Home Office definition more specifically referred to intimate or former partners. Each police force produced information using both definitions so as to establish which figures related specifically to partner abuse. Data was then produced separately for each definition. The findings are remarkably consistent which indicates high validity. The study is limited by a reliance on police officers to record accurately relevant cases and an uncertainty as to whether thresholds for domestic abuse categorisation differ between police forces. Despite limitations, however, Stanko's findings corroborate the male-to-female nature of domestic abuse, citing overwhelming evidence for gender-asymmetry in domestic abuse cases in the UK.

An analysis of police records produced from three separate samples (692 perpetrator profiles) over a six-year period in the North East of England (Hester, 2009) revealed unambiguous gender patterns with men significantly more likely to be repeat offenders. In contrast, 62% of female perpetrators had only one recorded incident. The highest number of repeat incidents for any woman was 8 compared to 53 incidents for one male perpetrator. In dual perpetrator cases, men had 330 recorded incidents; women only 70. Hester concludes "the data indicate that the intensity and severity of violence and abusive behaviours from the men was much more extreme" (Hester, 2009: p8). The longitudinal aspect of this study is particularly useful in

tracking behaviours over time although the quality of some police recordings was a limitation and the context was not always clear in some cases. Hague & Malos (2005) contend that police and court statistics on domestic abuse are likely to be the most reliable indicators of its extent as well as the gender of the victims and perpetrators, therefore Stanko's and Hester's studies are particularly credible and likely to reflect accurately the gendered nature of domestic abuse.

Interviews with 95 men and 95 women regarding their use of violence and aggression found that men reported significantly fewer violent incidents than were reported by their female partners (Dobash & Dobash, 2004). Indeed, 40% of the men acknowledged that their female partners had not used any violence towards them at all while men perpetrated every type of violence more often than women. 20% of women reported that their partner had forced them to into sex whereas the men reported no sexual violence towards themselves. Crucially, men frequently reported women's violence towards them in derisory terms, showing no fear or intimidation. This contrasted strongly with women's responses of fear to the violence they experienced. Dobash & Dobash (2004) summarised their findings: "Women's violence differs from that perpetrated by men in terms of nature, frequency, intention, intensity, physical injury and emotional impact" (p343). Kimmel (2002) summarised the findings of a number of studies and concluded that male violence occurs four times more frequently than female violence, with intimate terrorism being perpetrated overwhelmingly by men at rates of more than 90%. Thus, a clear pattern of gender asymmetry emerges from the evidence base from studies using reliable methodologies.

Recent convictions rates reported that the number of women convicted of domestic violence assaults more than doubled from 1500 in 2005 to 4000 in 2010 (Cavill & Fursman, 2011). The report questioned whether women are becoming more violent or whether men are more likely to report abuse than previously. This is an often-cited phenomenon reported in the media and is startling if recounted without the secondary evidence that the same report also revealed the

number of men convicted of domestic violence assaults almost doubled from 28,000 in 2005 to 55,000 in 2010. Of course, this evidence is less sensationalist for newspapers. If conviction statistics are at all representative of the number of domestic abuse cases, women constitute more than 90% of domestic abuse victims, a rate even higher than was revealed in Stanko's research over ten years ago. Again, this indicates strongly that violence in intimate relationships is not gender-symmetrical. Reporting such inequalities has forced researchers such as Gelles to modify earlier findings with later research to attempt to balance out such polemics. Gelles, whose original research identified that violent acts were perpetrated by men and women in near-equal numbers, has since stated: "That women are perpetrators of intimate violence there can be no doubt but research shows that nearly 90% of battering victims are women and only about 10% are men. The most brutal, terrorizing and continuing pattern of harmful intimate violence is carried out primarily by men" (2004: p1-2). This led me to establish new parameters for my own study based on male perpetration of violence towards women. Much of the evidence presented in the studies above is statistically-based and, while valid, the parameters of my study revealed the voices behind the statistics, locating them in their 'real world' settings, thus making an original and rigorous contribution to the literature.

### ***2.7.1 Research Methods in Studies of Domestic Abuse***

The selection of research methods used in this study sought to highlight the devastating impact of domestic abuse on the participants and identify cultural factors within Salford. To this end, a qualitative methodology was utilised. Research methods are of crucial importance to produce accurate information about the severity of domestic abuse (Desai & Saltzman, 2001). The central focus of discussion within the evidence base is the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), the most widely used tool for collating quantitative information on domestic abuse (Straus, 2007). Some studies applying the original CTS, designed to look at the way conflict occurs within relationships based on a behavioural checklist, suggested that women could be equally as

violent as men (Straus, 1979; Straus et al, 1980). However, such conclusions were heavily criticised for ignoring emotional and sexual abuse and the context in which the violence occurred: “The CTS did not give any weight to the social consequences or the effects of the violence, to how the recipient felt afterwards and what happened then. It ignored the traumatic life events that could follow and the way in which these differentially affect women and men” (Hague & Malos, 2005: p13). In other words, gender roles were ignored and social contexts rendered meaningless.

A revised conflict tactics scale was devised (CTS2) which includes references to psychological aggression, sexual coercion, negotiation and injury (Straus et al, 1996). The revised scale sought to focus on the experience of domestic abuse as well as its frequency, however, criticisms remain. Dobash & Dobash (2004) highlight many limitations of the CTS tools. Firstly, intent and severity are often lost in establishing who committed violent acts. Discussions around ‘kicking’ for example could be seriously misconstrued. A woman kicking a man in the leg who was attempting to strangle her is very different to a man kicking his pregnant partner in the stomach. Yet, within the parameters of the CTS, these two acts cannot be distinguished without further qualitative study. The nature and intent of violent acts committed by men and women differ greatly with women’s acts of self-defence being labelled as violent attacks. Although the CTS2 does consider emotional and psychological abuse, it does not clearly define what this is. Dobash & Dobash refer to the question of whether the participant has ever made threats to leave, listed under the category of psychological abuse, with no consideration as to the context in which the ‘threat’ is made. Thus, according to the CTS2, an abused woman stating her intention to leave her abusive partner could be considered psychologically abusive towards him. Again, the CTS2 scale fails to differentiate between the nature and intent of verbal threats and to delineate verbal and physical abuse. Thus, punching and kicking acts are grouped together with shouting and screaming. This could produce

misleading results if the male partner is perpetrating acts of violence and the female partner is shouting and screaming at him to stop.

Studies using CTS methods can produce misleading findings. Nazroo (1995) undertook quantitative research into domestic abuse using the CTS and found approximately equal numbers of violent incidents perpetrated by men and women. However, when he directly interviewed the participants he found that male violence was far more severe with women sustaining 100% of the most serious injuries and mental trauma. Another study identified that, of 22 men who had previously identified as victims of domestic abuse, 13 had actually been perpetrators of the violence. When re-interviewed, 13 of 46 men in a similar study admitted that they had never been victims of domestic abuse (SECRU, 2002). Self-reported violence always relies on the honesty of the participant, whether male or female, but one can surely assume that the many women who flee their homes to refuges are, indeed, genuine victims of abuse whereas men are rarely forced to leave their homes (Christodoulou, 2011).

A purely act-based approach to researching domestic abuse, augmented by CTS tools, inevitably reduces women's experiences to a series of isolated acts that "are stripped of theoretical and social meanings and, as such, provide an inadequate basis for describing or explaining the violent acts of men and women" (Dobash & Dobash, 2004: p332). Fundamentally, the CTS tools do little to inform or understand the experiential aspect of domestic abuse, seeking to focus instead on who does what to whom and how often. That the CTS tools have been misguidedly co-opted as evidence of gender symmetry within abusive relationships demonstrates lack of clarity and failure to gain any real insight into a profoundly damaging issue. Moreover, the CTS tools assume that couple violence is associated with disagreement and conflict (McHugh & Frieze, 2006). However, Johnson's category of intimate terrorism does not reflect disagreement or conflict, but specifically abuse and control. Intimate terrorism is based on a cycle of coercion and control inflicted by one person on another, often

unpredictably with no obvious trigger (Hoff, 1990). It does not, therefore, represent mutual conflict or any other conflict per se. To consider how conflict occurs within these relationships is missing the point. Abuse is an entirely separate concept. My point is that the CTS tools use purely quantitative methods to document and analyse a highly personal and emotionally damaging experience, the nature of which can never be fully captured by quantitative methods.

The dangers of reducing the complex dynamics of domestic abuse to a series of ticks on a checklist within a survey without further qualitative exploration of the intention behind the violent act, the context and the physical and emotional impact of the violence, are evident. Without knowledge of the context in which the violent acts take place, it is simply not possible to reject the notion that women use violence primarily in self-defence and/or retaliation (Johnson, 1995; Saunders, 2002; Dobash & Dobash, 2004). Moreover, discussions about context must take into account historical precedents in which the private institution of marriage contributed to the patriarchal domination of women in an environment that was portrayed as safe but effectively trapped women in violent situations that were concealed from public view (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dobash & Dobash, 1984; Pleck, 1988; Dobash & Dobash, 2001; Warrington, 2001). Anderson (2010) further states that, “it is not the frequency or the severity of acts of control and violence but rather the location of the perpetrators and victims who experience the acts that is gendered” (p731-732) and, as such, researchers must consider the context of gender rather than the context of violence. The gendered and cultural structures of domestic abuse are effectively hidden by interpreting situational couple violence as intimate terrorism which negates its heavily gendered discourse. Qualitative approaches offer alternatives to positivistic quantitative studies claiming validity using survey methods. To present a more balanced view of domestic abuse as an issue, my study sought to restore participants’ abuse experiences to the social and cultural backdrop against which they occur. Butler provided some means of doing this. Her notion of performativity enabled a discussion



of domestic abuse that took into account cultured practices of gender identities that unconsciously influenced abused women and the options available to them. Other research approaches such as phenomenology, grounded theory or case study might support the testimonies of the women in my study but at the cost of cultural insights from the locality in which the women lived. An ethnographic approach was able to identify factors in the location of Salford as key features of domestic abuse. Although qualitative research has its limitations, its interpretive frameworks provide a more fully-rounded picture of women's domestic abuse experiences. An ethnographic approach enabled an examination of how damaging cultural myths about domestic abuse arise.

### ***2.7.2 The Myth of Gender Symmetry***

Gender-based analyses of domestic abuse research have been criticised by some researchers. Dutton & Nicholls (2005) confidently state that women are equally as violent as men. They defend the use of the CTS2 in domestic abuse studies stressing its accuracy in detecting violence, its ability to detect context and the extent of injuries as well as identify the gender of the main perpetrator. They further criticise Johnson's distinctions between situational couple violence and intimate terrorism, arguing that they were based on non-representative samples and only served to draw attention away from female violence. They purport that feminist researchers are perpetuating a paradigm that, "denies female violence while generalising male violence patterns from the 'patriarchal terrorist' group to all batterers and, in some cases, men" (p705). However, Johnson (2006) criticises sampling strategies for over-stating the representativeness of sampling in random surveys which often have high refusal rates and are far from random. Moreover, Stark (2006) points out that male-to-female domestic abuse is "qualitatively different than other forms of abuse or assault in that it extends over time and through social space and exacts a significant toll that cannot be explained by injury or violence" (p1020). The fear and isolation that still exists for battered women after an abusive relationship

ends marks it out as a unique phenomenon that cannot be easily captured by a quantitative methodology. According to Dutton & Nicholls (2005) feminist researchers misguidedly adhere to their own political ideologies in an attempt to ensure the continuance of service provision for survivors. They reject the notion that their claims would lead to scarce resources being withdrawn from women's support and safety services. However, in the current political and financial climate, women's support services have already suffered substantial funding cuts (Valios, 2011; Pitt, 2011; Ishkanian, 2014), forcing a number of refuges to close (Laville, 2014a) with many more facing closure (Dunning, 2011; Salman, 2011). Thus, contrary to Dutton & Nicholl's claim, feminist researchers' concerns about the reduction of funds to existing services are entirely legitimate.

Dutton & Nicholls (2005) further criticise researchers whose beliefs about the world tend to be based on personal experience as, "a highly erroneous basis for making social judgements as we tend to give too much weight to single, salient experiences and to subsequently discount contrary data to the 'confirmatory bias' we have established" (p682). However, the experiences of frontline workers in the police, social services, housing and health services (my own included) who work with victims of domestic abuse every day are extremely valuable and research that portrays domestic abuse as gender-symmetrical simply does not reflect the reality of women's lives as observed by those who support them (Yllo, 1993; Dobash & Dobash, 2004). Critics of the CTS are seen as non-scientific (Yllo, 1998) and experiences of abused women are often trivialised by researchers who subscribe to patriarchal perspectives of knowledge acquisition. Some authors go as far as to state quite candidly that feminist qualitative methods are seen as less valid and reliable than quantitative methods:

“[feminist researchers'] way of 'knowing' about the topic has not been gleaned through the scientific method which, supposedly, enables an 'objective' analysis. Rather, their understanding is grounded in body and feeling as well as mind. The fusion of thought

and feeling is regarded as diminishing rather than enhancing knowledge” (Yllo, 1998: p41).

Feminist researchers are, therefore, fully cognisant of their subjective positions to produce more robust data. My view is that research is an intrinsically political activity which scientific researchers seek to deny, a notion that Hoff (1998) refers to as “the myth of neutrality” (p274). That feminist qualitative research seeks to focus on the personal and private spheres of women’s lives, previously ignored by typically male researchers, does not render it diminished (Allen, 2011). Maynard rightly states: “feminism must begin with experience ... since it is only from such a vantage point that it is possible to see the extent to which women’s worlds are organised in ways which differ from those of men” (1994: p14).

One could argue that some social scientists fall into the trap of “reification” (Hoff, 1990: p49), in which concepts such as ‘patriarchy’ and ‘sexism’ are seen as ‘things’ without demonstrating the connection between male-dominated institutions (including research) and the subjective understanding and behaviour of individual violent men: “Men know from experience that they can usually get away with violence against wives ... their victims, not they, will be held accountable” (Hoff, 1990: p49). Haaken (2010) criticises Dutton & Nicholl’s repeated attempts to “cast feminists as censorious and powerful enough to block scientific advancements at the national level” (p5). Haaken also criticises Dutton’s failure to differentiate between different strands of feminism by using a neo-Marxist view of radical feminism as his point of reference:

“[The] collapsing of feminist and Marxist categories under the rubric of radical feminism overlooks the complex history of feminist scholarship, including differences in liberal, cultural, radical, socialist and Marxist feminist positions on conceptualising violence. In summarily dismissing feminism, Dutton fails to map the very terrain on which he stakes his claims” (Haaken, 2010: p5-6).

It is difficult to reconcile Haaken's and Dutton's polemic positions but what Haaken is really objecting to is that abused women now find themselves in the unenviable position of being blamed by their violent partners and the wider community for the abuse they experience (LaViolette & Barnett, 2000). Such victim-blaming attitudes even extend to the legal system in which abused women seek justice for their abuse, evidenced by Gilchrist & Blisset (2002) in their research with sixty-seven magistrates. The study found that magistrates frequently minimised, denied and excused men's violent behaviour while blaming victims for the abuse they experienced. One magistrate asked if an injury was still considered an assault if the victim did not require medical treatment while a suggestion of probation was made for a perpetrator who had had a 'hard day'. Magistrates also questioned if there was a course the victim could attend so that she could "learn how to avoid being hit" (p359). Attitudes such as these may explain why only 4% of 869 violent incidents resulted in a conviction in the North of England with just 0.5% receiving custodial sentences (Hester, 2005). It is all too easy to see how women can absorb the view that they are to blame for their own abuse when victim-blaming attitudes are so blatantly evident in the criminal justice system ostensibly designed to protect them.

In addition to being blamed for the abuse they suffer, women are accused of perpetrating violence when trying to defend themselves: "To say that men and women reach equality when it comes to marital violence literally adds insult to injury" (Saunders, 1998: P108). Schechter (1998) states that, when one person has power over the other, "a relationship of domination exists. Battering deprives women of their dignity and control over their lives and is, therefore, an integral part of female oppression" (In Yllo & Bograd, 1998: p300). This is not the social reality that men usually experience. The above authors emphasise that violence against women is not a historical anomaly. Rather, the historical trace that allowed men, through the centuries, to perpetrate crimes of violence against women continues in many forms of oppression or complex rubric. The residual mark that men can oppress unabated or unjudged (and, as much

of the literature shows, without self-reproach) is symptomatic of the enduring inequality that Saunders and others highlight. Yet, if domestic abuse is reversed and men are subject to violence, very different conclusions are drawn. As a result, abused women are forced into the marginalised spaces of which Butler speaks, rendering them silent and invisible.

Issues of gender and prevalence in domestic abuse are clearly controversial ones. However, there is significant empirical and anecdotal evidence to assert strongly that domestic abuse is gender-asymmetrical with male-to-female violence occurring at rates of around 90%. Furthermore, gender inequality is perpetuated by key institutions in society, such as the criminal justice system, not only failing to secure justice for abused women but blaming them for the abuse they experience. Moreover, discussions that ignore the gendered nature of domestic abuse are unhelpful in attempting to tackle this most physically and psychologically damaging of social problems. This is summed up by LaViolette and Barnett who use emphatic terms when drawing equivalences between violence and gender:

“There is no research that can say the cost of women’s violence in any way matches that same violence perpetrated by men. The body of evidence suggests that there should be no argument. Diffusing energy into an ongoing gender war takes away from the critical task of developing effective intervention and prevention strategies” (2000: p109).

LaViolette & Barnett’s imperative statements come from the assurance of an overwhelming body of research which indicates that women are predominantly the victims of domestic abuse. The literature highlights that domestic abuse is a gender-asymmetrical social problem impacting negatively on abused women who have already internalised the blame that their violent partners attribute to them. Women are forced to see themselves as responsible for the abuse perpetrated against them while also enabling men to abdicate responsibility for their violence. Framing domestic abuse in this way has profoundly negative consequences for

abused women, particularly as service providers often reinforce damaging myths about domestic abuse in their day-to-day practice.

## ***2.8 Domestic Abuse and Social Work Practice***

I have demonstrated the ways in which the intersectional factors of poverty, housing and unemployment are clearly linked to domestic abuse, an issue that must recognise its gendered construction and specific impact on vulnerable women. I now consider how such factors coalesce to generate specific complexities for the social work profession. Women with children are more vulnerable to abuse than those without (Mirlees-Black, 1999; Walby & Allen, 2004); therefore, domestic abuse is strong feature of social work with children and families (Dobash & Dobash, 1985). Yet abused women have not been well served by social work interventions, partly owing to the absence of statutory provision for domestic abuse victims, causing the problem to be framed almost exclusively in child protection terms. Historically, social work's emphasis on domestic abuse utilised a familial perspective in which abuse was seen as the result of family dysfunction. The aim of interventions was based on the importance of keeping families together (Gordon, 1989) with expectations that women tolerated violence for the sake of their children (Johnson, 1995). The pendulum later swung in the opposite direction with women now being given ultimatums to leave their violent partners or risk losing their children (Humphreys, 2000). By over-emphasising family stresses, social work has operated in a social vacuum, ignoring the context of abuse within structural inequalities.

Abused women's views of social work interventions vary widely. Binney et al (1981) found that more than 50% of their sample of abused women living in refuges who had received help from social workers was satisfied with the response, particularly where practical assistance to access refuge provision was given. Similar levels of satisfaction were found by Bowker (1983) and Pahl (1985). A study of refuge provision in Ireland noted positive responses towards social

workers from 127 women (Casey, 1987). However, McGee (2000) found that out of 48 women contacted who social services, only ten were happy with the outcome. A Northern Irish study found that over two thirds of abused women found social workers unhelpful (McWilliams & McKiernan, 1993) while Borkowski et al (1983) discovered that social workers were considered less helpful than health visitors, GPs and solicitors. More recent studies show little change in the trend. Keeling & Van Wormer (2012) interviewed 15 women in refuges about social work involvement. Many described being treated in an “aggressive” way by social workers (p1359) with little empathy for the extreme threats and coercion women experienced from male perpetrators. International social work fares little better. Stark & Flitcraft’s US study revealed a lack of acknowledgement of domestic abuse as an issue despite its clear presence on caseloads with interventions largely focusing on “maternal deficits” (1996: p87).

Social work practice imposes a “blanket category” of emotional abuse on children who witness domestic abuse (Mullender, 2001: p44) placing it squarely and solely in the child protection arena. Children living in abusive environments are made subject to child protection plans, with one study finding that it was the most common reason for case conferences to be held (Baynes & Holland, 2012). In spite of this, case conferences rarely challenge the abusive behaviour of perpetrators, leaving the mother to shoulder the blame for the abusive home environment. One study revealed that the mother’s ability to protect her children was raised in 60% of case conferences but only 19% considered whether the male could protect his children (Farmer, 2006). In an analysis of child protection files, Humphreys (1999) identified contradictory patterns of avoidance and confrontation in addressing domestic abuse. The language used to describe violence failed to name domestic abuse, using phrases such as “fighting” or “marital conflict” (p80). Domestic abuse as an issue was often under-prioritised with mothers’ mental health or alcohol use taking precedence, evident in one case which documented a mother’s drinking and neglect but failed to mention that she had been assaulted by her partner so

seriously that she had been hospitalised four times. Women were expected to engage with counselling to deal with mental health issues caused by domestic abuse with no understanding of the wider systemic context (Humphreys, 2000). Such an approach pathologises the mother while ignoring the actual source of the violence (her partner). Where domestic abuse was acknowledged it was often dealt with confrontationally, using heavy-handed threats to remove children. The most common theme was the minimisation of domestic violence unless there was a clear “atrocious story” (Humphreys, 2000: p11) involving very serious injuries. Baynes & Holland (2012) found similar problems in terms of minimising domestic abuse, using “sanitised” (p63) language to describe serious violence and laying responsibility for children’s safety and welfare with mothers. In contrast, violent men were almost invisible despite 42 of 63 men having a history of violent assaults (Humphreys, 2000). Thus, risk assessments often focus on the behaviour of the victim and not the risk the abuser presents to women and children (Debonnaire, 2012).

Social work’s approach to domestic abuse fails abused women in a number of ways. Interventions focus almost exclusively on the welfare of children, precluding the notion that women need support services in their own right. Women are viewed through the lens of motherhood with few attempts to understand the impact of abuse on women themselves. Lapierre’s qualitative study of 26 women in the Midlands identified that motherhood was taken for granted by social workers and women’s needs were largely ignored (2010). Lapierre stressed the need to understand mothering as a social institution laden with entrenched assumptions about what is considered ‘good’ mothering, particularly in the context of his findings in which participants’ mothering was ritually targeted by perpetrators threatening violence towards children and even threatening to report women to social services. Morris (2009) identified perpetrators’ intentions to destroy mothers’ relationships with their children by undermining their parenting to cause “maternal alienation” (p415). Thus, domestic abuse



must be recognised as a premeditated attack on the relationship between mothers and their children (Mullender et al, 2002; Humphreys et al, 2006) instead of women's failure to protect their children. The removal of children from abused women is, therefore, less protective than it is punitive.

Women are often criticised for failing to protect their children from male perpetrators (Mullender, 1996; Humphreys, 1997b/2000; Radford & Hester, 2006; Lapierre, 2010; Baynes & Holland, 2012). Such criticism often centres on women's perceived failure to leave abusive partners, despite little consideration of the practical and emotional barriers to doing so. The assumption that women and children will be safe once away from an abusive partner is not only naïvely simplistic but could expose them to even more dangers, bearing in mind that separation is one of the most significant risk factors that triggers an escalation of violence (Hague, 2001). What is neglected is social workers' engagement with women on a more personal level. Women know their abusers more than anyone and may not feel safe leaving, fearing this may be the catalyst for an even greater campaign of violence (Boushel, 1994; Danis, 2003) therefore, women's own strategies for protecting their children from violence are valid.

Women are further criticised for the myth that they not only choose violent men but seek them out repeatedly (Baynes & Holland, 2012), a criticism I have witnessed in practice on numerous occasions. One child protection social worker advocated for the permanent removal of a young woman's children despite having fully complied with a written agreement not to have any contact her violent ex-partner because "if it isn't him, it'll be someone else." It was the woman's first and only relationship. Such erroneous judgments displace recognition of women's vulnerabilities to abuse while, again, obscuring men's accountability for it. Social workers also neglect to recognise the specific ways black and minority ethnic women experience abuse and, consequently, fail to meet their needs (Mama, 1989).

Social work's emphasis on mothers' responsibility to protect their children contrasts with interventions with perpetrators which veer from ineffective to non-existent. By focusing on women's responsibility to protect their children, men are effectively absolved of any responsibility to change and often disappear from professional view (Stanley, 1997; Devaney, 2008). There are a number of reasons for men's invisibility in domestic abuse cases. Firstly, fear of violent men can lead to social workers avoiding contact with them (Humphreys, 2007b; Stanley et al, 2012a), a fear that perpetrators can exploit to their own advantage to ensure minimal engagement occurs. Secondly, perpetrators can present as charming in professional settings, leading to a process in which the social worker is 'groomed' into believing women's behaviour or mental health issues are the key problems for intervention (Allen, 2013). By focusing on women's behaviour as the basis for interventions, practitioners highlight traditional family roles in which women are carers and nurturers (Johnson, 1995). Women are seen as little more than "instruments for meeting children's needs" (Mullender, 1996: p96). Thus, far from challenging gender stereotypes, social work practice often inadvertently reinforces it. Male violence is normalised and women are expected to live in the world as it is (Foley, 1994).

Studies emphasise the importance of perpetrator programmes in understanding how coercive control functions to keep women trapped in abusive relationships (Humphreys, 2007b; Westmarland & Kelly, 2013). Perpetrator programmes also place responsibility for violence and abuse squarely where it belongs: with violent men. For change to happen, men have to become visible in domestic abuse cases (Stanley et al, 2012a; Westmarland & Kelly, 2013). Although feminists have criticised the diverting of valuable resources away from abused women onto violent men (Stanley, 1997), acknowledging men's abusive behaviours is the only way to hold them accountable for domestic abuse while moving the focus of blame away from abused women. Although I considered that my study inadvertently does the same by focusing on women and not perpetrators, it does so with a compassionate emphasis aimed at

understanding the experience of domestic abuse as a starting point for practice development. Ethnography provided opportunities for participants to be observed and interviewed in their own time and space with no timescale restrictions impeding engagement between the women and me. The findings, which include personal, social, cultural and organisational insights into domestic abuse, clearly illustrate the efficacy of my approach.

Clearly, changes are needed in social work practice. Hester & Westmarland, (2005) developed an assessment tool (The Suffolk Tools for Practitioners) to screen for and respond to domestic abuse appropriately. The tools were underpinned by the Duluth model which focuses on women's empowerment and accountability of perpetrators. The result was greater understanding of elements of coercive control and practitioners' increased confidence in dealing with domestic abuse as an issue. Disclosures of abuse trebled as a result. However, the Duluth model has its limitations (see section 4.47) and I caution that practitioners need to acknowledge that atypical abuse experiences must not be excluded or minimised. The Suffolk tools have yet to be rolled out effectively across the UK. Good practice means asking all service-users about domestic abuse, making it clear it is a recognised issue and a topic that can always be discussed (Hester, 2006). Mullender (1996) advocates clearly displaying posters and leaflets about domestic abuse support services in the receptions of social services' offices to demonstrate a sympathetic response, something that is noticeably absent in Salford with its generic town hall reception. Studies advocate a 'child in need' approach to domestic abuse rather than the current predominant child protection framework (Radford & Hester, 2006; Mullender, 1996; Featherstone et al, 2014). Women need to be listened to and believed as the fundamental basis of intervening in domestic abuse cases (Chaplain, 1988; Stanley et al, 2012b; Melchiorre & Vis; 2013). The ways in which women not only continue to parent their children as effectively as possible but do so under the most horrendous circumstances must be acknowledged as must the barriers and risks to leaving. Parenting difficulties need to be seen

as caused by the stress of living with an abuser (Damant et al, 2010). Thus, the provision of a more sensitive and supportive service to women and children requires a change in the way practitioners work. However, this is an empty platitude if a holistic approach to change is not pursued. This thesis seeks to address practice deficits through recommendations made in the conclusion (section 5.3).

However, in the same way that it is easy to blame women for the abuse they experience, it is easy to criticise social workers for inadequate interventions when they lack sufficient knowledge, skills and resources (Humphreys & Stanley, 2006). Heffernan et al (2014) used a quantitative approach to explore social workers' understanding of domestic abuse, identifying concern for the welfare of children and women, but with a gap in social workers' understanding of domestic abuse and how it is actually experienced, often attributing it to drug and alcohol use. Bent-Goodley's qualitative study (2007) identified that knowledge about domestic abuse needed to be applied critically in practice settings.

Research also examines multi-agency approaches. Radford & Hester's seminal work on professional responses to domestic abuse (2006) highlights the contradictory approach that occurs when different agencies operate in isolation. Radford & Hester view agencies as different "planets" with different emphases. Planet A consists of non-statutory agencies such as Women's Aid which utilises the domestic abuse approach in which male abuse of women is recognised. Social services exist on Planet B, operating from a child protection position in which mothers are seen as failing their children. Planet C refers to the legal arena, of which contact with children is a part, in which violent men are often positioned as good fathers. Each planet's focus clashes with one another, presenting a fragmented and contradictory approach in which men and women are alternatively seen as the source of the problem.

Social workers often pressure women to leave their violent partners only to insist that violent men have contact with their children in spite of the risks. Indeed, women and children have died or been seriously injured and abducted as a result of contact visits (Hester et al, 1997; Saunders, 1998). “Contact at all costs” (Harrison, 2006: p147) even in the face of evidence of violence assumes that men’s rights to see their children are prioritised over women and children’s safety. Women can be seen as hostile or uncooperative for not wanting to allow contact despite opportunities for perpetrators to continue manipulating women through their children (O’Hara, 1993). The planet model is a good analogy of a system that orbits around women in the hemisphere of domestic abuse but, despite having women at its centre, they are contradictorily supported, blamed or positioned as oppositional to ‘good’ fathers. Thus, social workers’ involvement with families is never neutral: it can help or severely hinder. Social workers’ failure to understand not only the experience of domestic abuse but how it functions within a wider patriarchal system fails women and children in need of support. In the main, women are ignored in their own right, blamed for the abuse they experience and labelled bad mothers for seemingly failing to protect their children from violent men. At worst, because of non-neutral agency agendas, women are murdered. Indeed, social work, at its worst, merely replaces a controlling personal relationship with a professional, paternalistic one in women’s lives. A co-ordinated, multi-agency approach is the only way to overcome the contradictory agency responses highlighted in the ‘three planet’ approach (Radford & Hester, 2006; Laing et al, 2013; Zannettino & McLaren, 2014; Hester, 2011).

Social work with domestic abuse cases must be considered within the profession’s historical context. The welfare context of contemporary social work has changed radically since the 1980s under different governments. Social work practice has been reduced to operating within target-specific business plans that measure success by outcomes of individual and organisational ‘performance’ through the use of league tables and competitively-framed,

arbitrary rating systems (Harris, 2008). Service-users are positioned as consumers with an overwhelming emphasis on minimising public expenditure. Social workers are tasked with providing value-for-money interventions within externally-set timescales, disguised in the discourse of 'best practice.' Thus, the moral and ethical role of social workers as agents of social change has gradually and insidiously been eroded: "When we obscure the essential human and moral aspects of care behind ever more rules and regulations we make the daily practice of social work ever more distant from its original ethical impulse" (Bauman, 2000: p9). In other words, meeting government targets are prioritised over the needs of service-users; technical and managerial skills are valued over professional knowledge and skills, undermining social work's political origins (Marston & McDonald, 2012).

The de-politicisation of social work leads to practitioners feeling increasingly disconnected from service-users while losing sight of wider structural influences that affect people's lives, thus weakening collective conscience. Smith (2011) asserts that "in many respects, social work has been seduced into believing that solutions to complex social and moral questions can be reduced to bureaucratic fiat and regulatory apparatus" (p9). I argue, supported by Jones (2015), that social work education is being shaped by those who have little understanding of social work itself. Knowledge becomes fragmented and overly-technical, neglecting the fundamental moral value base of the profession.

The challenge then is for the social work profession to find a way back to its roots as a fundamentally moral and ethical force for social change (Chu et al, 2009; Smith, 2011). Returning the focus to social work's moral endeavour would contextualise domestic abuse within the structural inequalities that produce it. Making time to hear women's individual stories is the foundation to providing a compassionate response to families in need of protection and support while reducing the propensity to produce "conveyor belt social work" (Ferguson,

2004: p211). This study was my attempt to atone for the profession's failures by giving women in Salford a platform upon which to share their experiences.

## ***2.9 Limitations of the Literature on Domestic Abuse***

Discussions around the limitations of domestic abuse research include methods used to produce and analyse data and the conflicting findings they construct. A clear dichotomy exists between quantitative and qualitative methods in the literature, the former described in objective terms while the latter are more subjective. 'Objective' research is associated with the rational, hegemonic viewpoint of the (usually male) scientist who is (apparently) distanced from the research while, in contrast, subjective research is seen as involving a more emotional response to the research topic, a characteristic associated with feminism. In this way, qualitative research (and feminism) is often positioned as inimical to scientific endeavour while quantitative research is often viewed from a feminist perspective as 'bad' (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991; Mies, 1991; Morawski, 1997; Speer, 2002; Beetham & Demetriades, 2007; Spierings, 2012). This approach not only ignores the bias inherent in any research study regardless of method but diminishes the value of different types of research. It could be argued that research itself is a patriarchal construct with the binary division of objective and subjective research paralleling the binary division of male and female genders highlighted by Judith Butler (1990). However this polarised view of different research methods has serious limitations in that it oversimplifies the complexities of any methodology. Jarviluoma et al (2003) argue that quantitative research can never be fully objective: "Research is not just constructed by the brain but by the whole human being ... there is no 'innocent' research" (p22). In this respect, reflexively acknowledging the impact of my own emotions and values was an integral part of the study in making explicit my own position within the research and, indeed, the literature review, particularly with reference to gender debates.

The literature review reveals a dearth of ethnographic studies that position domestic abuse in real-world settings, locating women's experiences within their cultural contexts with a view to identifying specific cultural factors within the location. Furthermore, many of the studies relating to social work practice are now some years old and, while still relevant, do not speak to the changes that have occurred in the profession in recent times. This study sought to redress such limitations by focusing on women's lives in Salford with a view to excavating knowledge that will translate into practical advancements for the profession.

### ***2.10 Chapter Summary***

I have argued that gender is an integral debate in domestic abuse research. This literature review strongly indicates that women are far more likely to be the victims of domestic abuse and that continued research with female survivors is not only warranted but necessary. Gender must be acknowledged as a cultural construction in need of deconstruction as it can be assigned differently at different points in time by different groups in society (Jarviluoma et al, 2003). Thus, gender can be as contradictory and paradoxical as any other set of subjective identifications such as 'race', class or disability. Feminist researchers must exercise caution when applying 'gender' as a fixed and naturally-occurring concept that can be used to explain social problems. Butler (1990) avoids this trap by emphasising the performativity of gender which is constructed according to social setting, culture and time span.

The physical and psychological impact of domestic abuse was explored in this chapter. Issues such as socio-economic status, housing and poverty are relevant to supporting victims of abuse to transition to a new and safer landscape. Discussions around what domestic abuse is and what it means for individuals are perhaps more relevant for social work than investigating how often domestic abuse occurs. The aims of this study were to undertake qualitative research with women in Salford (a previously ignored location for domestic abuse research) using an



ethnographic approach that takes into account cultural factors and social context. This study utilises a participatory approach with women in Salford with a view to recognising the value of local knowledge and cultural contexts embedded in their experiences. A thematic approach using Judith Butler's work is applied as a theoretical and conceptual framework for discussion of the findings in relation to gender debates, providing a non-rigid approach to the construction of gender identities that does not assume fixity in the way gender roles are performed.

## **Chapter Three: Methodology**

### ***3.1 Chapter Introduction***

The chapter describes the process of identifying an appropriate method of inquiry for the study and reflects on experiences of recruiting participants, undertaking overt observations, selecting the sample and undertaking interviews while maintaining an ethical approach to the research. Field material analysis is explored and the rationale for the use of a thematic approach with ethnographically-collected materials in order to enhance the findings is presented.

### ***3.2 Ontological and Epistemological Position***

Before discussing this study's methodological approach, it is necessary to clarify my ontological and epistemological positions. The notion of 'women' is a central question for feminist theory, one that is far from simple: "feminism assumes it know what women truly are,

a foolhardy assumption given that every source of knowledge about women has been contaminated with misogyny and sexism” (Alcoff, 1994: p96). I agree with this and support Butler’s view that ‘women’ must be troubled to reveal patriarchal influences and challenge exclusionary standards of what it means to be a woman. My view of women and the world echoes that of Irigaray (1985) in that ‘women’ is a social and politically constructed category, based on shared experiences of oppression. This is not to assume that ‘women’ are homogenous and an exploration of intersectionality in this thesis (section 2.5.3) highlights the heterogeneity of women’s experiences. I take an anti-essentialist position in viewing ‘women’ as socially constructed rather than assuming a fixed, biological facticity that pre-determines their experiences. Essentialist assumptions are embedded in the foundations of patriarchy. Anti-essentialist positions challenge the monolithic terms by which patriarchy oppresses women and presents opportunities for social change (Stanley & Wise, 1990). However, a paradox exists in which a strong commitment to an anti-essentialist position is, in itself, a form of essentialism, therefore, one’s position is effectively already jeopardised. Furthermore, as Fuss (1989) argues, anti-essentialism necessarily relies on essentialism as part of its social constructionist argument although the constructionist perspective places ‘essence’ in its relevant social and historical contexts thereby disputing notions of pure femininity that essentialism promotes. Moreover, Fuss points out that feminism’s political agenda is central to its aims, therefore, politics emerges as ‘essential’ to feminism. Echoing the view that thinking is essential and constitutive of feminism is a stance I take, however, it is not enough to recount that essentialism promotes stereotypes of ideal womanhood. De Lauretis (1993) distinguishes between essentialism and “essential difference”, the latter being a more conceptual notion that recognises anti-essentialist positions. I support this view as it acknowledges that the paradox of essentialist discourse. What is required is a “plurality of difference” (Alcoff, 1994: p96) that seeks to deconstruct and destabilise notions of ‘women’. The epistemological stance I take in this thesis, then, is social

constructionism which seeks to interrogate essentialist claims of what it means to be a woman. I agree with Eichler (1985) that all knowledge is constructed and feminist researchers must be open about their subjective positions. Social constructionism, then, is the most apposite theoretical and epistemological underpinning for this study.

One of the key aims of this study was to gain insight into cultural factors in Salford. To this end, an ethnographic approach was most suitable (see section 3.3). Cultural practices are based on understanding shared meanings in everyday life. Such practices can be differentiated from structures in society which have a far wider remit and consist of tangible structures such as legislation, policies and procedures enforced by specific institutions in society such as government and the justice system (Van Loon, 2001). However, structures can also be unconscious such as the regulatory norms that subtly influence the way individuals live their lives (Butler, 1990). Ethnography seeks to understand localised knowledge and meanings, therefore, a cultural, rather than a structural, perspective is more suited. From a constructionist perspective, structures within society are not inherent but are constructed over time and space. A post-structuralist approach challenges essentialist assumptions of patriarchy and places more emphasis on subjectivity and the ways in which structures are always being (re)constructed. This view dovetails with Judith Butler's theory of gender construction through performativity, also a process that is never complete (see section 3.5.2). Utilising a post-structuralist perspective of social constructionism enabled a more in-depth examination of the ways in which cultural factors influence participants' lives. Stanley & Wise (1990) assert that the emphasis in feminist research should be on gender rather than women. This thesis sought to achieve a balance between exploring women's experiences and critiquing how their gender identities are constructed through cultural practices in Salford. This was achieved by combining ethnography with a Butlerian analysis of field materials.

Using an ethnographic approach provided opportunities to demonstrate the multiple realities of women's lives, highlighting common and unique factors (Fetterman, 1989). Cultural feminism relies on the notion of an essentialist category of 'women' whereas post-structuralism refutes such a claim (Alcoff, 1994). Combining a cultural approach with the post-structuralist theory of Judith Butler in an ethnographic study enabled a nuanced exploration of participants' gendered experiences of domestic abuse through a cultural lens. The methodological approach to this study is now further explored.

### ***3.3 Methodological Strands***

Presented below is a table summarising key features of the methodology.

<b>Strand 1</b> <b>Ethnography</b>	<b>Strand 2</b> <b>Thematic Approach</b>	<b>Strand 3</b> <b>Judith Butler</b>
---------------------------------------	---	---

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anthropological/sociological approach.</li> <li>• Enabled rich and detailed narratives.</li> <li>• Interpretive approach.</li> <li>• Cultural portraits were drawn and cultural rituals captured.</li> <li>• Intersectional factors in the women's lives were examined.</li> <li>• Entering the women's spaces enabled relationships to be built up with participants.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accessibility to the field materials.</li> <li>• Theoretically flexible enough to support the women's narratives.</li> <li>• Illustrated shared themes, personal and cultural.</li> <li>• Interpreted depictions of domestic abuse, recognising key features of women's social and cultural lives.</li> <li>• Compatible with ontological and epistemological values.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social constructions of male/female identities.</li> <li>• Women's stories were examined through performativity of gender rather than as victims.</li> <li>• Cultural constructions of gender were examined.</li> <li>• The role of gender stereotypes was examined in relation to performativity.</li> <li>• Critique of domestic abuse through critical gender analysis.</li> </ul>
--	---	--

Table 1

An ethnographic approach was a methodologically viable way of accessing women who would otherwise have been hidden behind statistics. The anthropological and sociological elements of ethnography enabled immersion in the women's refuges and support group which produced rich and detailed descriptions of participants' life stories. Ethnography enabled an interpretive understanding of domestic abuse testimonies from which cultural portraits and rituals were captured through observations and interviews (see section 3.4). The fundamental philosophical principles of ethnography facilitated a critique of domestic abuse that augments a critical gender analysis. Additionally, the gender asymmetrical nature of domestic abuse was explored through feminist perspectives of research methods. A feminist approach prioritised the women's narratives within the study and enabled intersectional factors in the women's lives to be examined critically (see section 3.4.2).

The theoretical foundation for the study needed to take into account both gender and cultural perspectives. Judith Butler's view of gender as a cultural construct augmented both ethnographic and feminist perspectives enabling a sociological understanding of the ways in

which male and female identities function to maintain structural inequalities. Butler provided a cultural context that was bigger than Salford and the local ethnographic study in the first steps. This was unique as it provided a contrast to local study and sought to strengthen this study by examining the women's stories through performativity of gender rather than as victims (see section 3.5).

A thematic approach provided accessibility to the field materials and was theoretically flexible enough to support the women's varied narratives. Each narrative was unique but the richness of this study came from illustrating the shared themes, personal and cultural, the thematic approach enabled. Interpreting depictions of domestic abuse was vital for this study. As an ethnographer I wanted to give back something that made sense to participants in recognising key features of their social and cultural lives. The flexible yet nuanced analysis the thematic approach enabled was compatible with the ontological and epistemological values of the study (see section 3.9).

The three strands of the methodological approach complemented each other in producing a well-rounded, in-depth study. Feminist ethnography enabled access to a formerly silenced group of women, providing an opportunity for their voices to take centre stage in a study that sought to make sense of their experiences. A thematic approach to analysing field materials maximised their value by being flexible enough to identify similarities and differences in the women's narratives. Themes provided an unlimited opportunity to identify personal, social and cultural factors that, organisationally, were pragmatic enough to produce recommendations for practice settings. Butler was utilised to discuss findings from gender perspectives, recognising the gendered aspect of participants' experiences which concur with findings from the literature review. However, the uniqueness of the study in using all three methodological strands together provided new insights into domestic abuse in Salford. An in-depth exploration of each strand now follows.

### ***3.4 An Ethnographic Approach***

Selecting a suitable philosophical approach for my research was not an easy process although, as it transpired, it could be said that ethnography selected me. When the study changed to focus solely on women in Salford, I realised that the most effective way to draw out cultural factors within Salford as a geographical and social location was to utilise ethnographic methods to explore my chosen topic. In order to discuss the implications of a geographically and socially specific setting, it was necessary to explore, not only the experience of domestic abuse, but the phenomenon as it is understood in the specific cultural location of Salford. This led to a new research focus on the experiences of domestic abuse for women in Salford and the cultural setting in which field materials are embedded.

The importance of the link between culture and location is recognised in ethnographic research in that individuals in a local setting may assign specific emphases to the relationship between their experiences and the particularities of their setting (Wulff, 1988). The small-scale nature of the study (a number of women was observed and seven individuals were subsequently interviewed) enabled a more detailed analysis of the data obtained from observation and interviews leading to the identification of a “microculture” (Wulff, 1988: p23) which can later be compared or contrasted with those of other localities. Ethnography fundamentally has its roots in anthropology in which researchers entered a new setting with the purpose of learning about the culture of the people contained within it. The emphasis of traditional ethnography was to observe day-to-day interactions between individuals in a ‘real life’ setting. Interviews were also a key part of gaining deeper knowledge into the lives and experiences of participants. Within this framework, the researcher was seen as ‘the other’ (Deegan, 2001: p11). Ethnographic research by one who is “anthropologically strange” (Maso, 2001: p137) can make explicit the common assumptions that are taken for granted within a community or culture.

Key proponents of the Chicago School of Ethnography, such as Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, analysed, not only the characteristics of a particular group but symbolic interactions and the meanings attached to them by group members (Deegan, 2001). This study, therefore, takes its lead from the Chicago school in seeking to understand underlying meanings as well as observable interactions.

Traditional ethnography was criticised for seeking to distance the researcher, to too great an extent, from the culture in which they claimed to be fully immersed (Schwandt, 1994). Subsequently, a number of ethnographers – Hughes, Becker and Geer – broke away from traditional ethnographic roots and to aim to develop closer involvement with participants which subsequently led to greater attention being paid to the researcher's own personal characteristics, values and beliefs (Sanders, 1999). Covert observation, in which the researcher infiltrates a community without the knowledge or permission of the participants, also sought to re-dress the 'outsider' perspective of the researcher, though it has been criticised for its ethically dubious position (Bulmer, 1980; Dingwall, 1980; Warwick, 1982). It has been argued that participant observation is the most scientific approach to sociological research because it involves direct access to the group of people it purports to study (Gans, 1999/2010).

The cultural and local aspect of my study and the opportunity to undertake overt observations of support groups and refuge life made ethnography the most suitable approach to illuminate my new research focus. Brink & Edgecombe (2003) argue that ethnographic study is not about describing a culturally distinct population; rather undertaking participant observation in a culturally defined location is the hallmark of ethnography. In line with this view, my thesis is partly based on extractions of participant observations within the setting of a women's centre and two refuges. Involvement with the participants did not begin and end with the interviews. More time was spent in the field and relationships were fostered with some of the women to a greater extent than was initially anticipated, adhering to the ethos of ethnographic study.



Moreover, I have been immersed in the cultural setting of Salford most of my life and much of my working life has focused on working with domestic abuse as a social issue within that setting. Immersion in the location in this way is not without its inherent tensions from a research perspective as assumptions can be made about an area well-known to the researcher that are not necessarily evidenced-based, however, tacit knowledge is also an important aspect of making sense of a cultural location. In spite of this tension, my interest in Salford as a context for social work practice and as my home led me to spotlight the area, something that has not been done before in the domestic abuse arena.

My understanding of ethnographic studies prior to commencing my own was that they were extremely time-consuming with long periods spent in the field observing and interviewing participants. In this study, over four months was spent in the field, a relatively short space of time, however, as a long-term Salford resident, I am familiar with the entire locality through my personal experience and professional role. Furthermore, it is the cultural context of a study that renders it ethnographic rather than the length of time spent in the field (Wolcott, 1987). Small-scale ethnographic studies can be seen as “the modest beginnings of an ethnography” rather than a “mini-ethnography” in view of the fact that ethnographic study is never complete (Wolcott, 1987: p10). The lives being studied continue long after the researcher has left the field and the final picture presented is, at best, partial. However, even a partial picture can provide an important cultural snapshot: rich insights into a specific culture at a particular time and place.

### ***3.4.1 Culture***

Culture, an integral part of ethnography, has numerous definitions. It can be defined as “the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour” (Spradley & McCurdy, 2000: p4). According to Handwerker (2002), “culture consists of the

knowledge people use to live their lives and the way in which they do so” (p106). In simpler terms, culture can be defined as “everything that people have, think and do as members of a society” (Ferraro, 2001: p22). One of the key tenets of culture is that it includes patterned ways of behaving that are shared with others. Indeed, for something to be considered cultural, it must have a shared meaning. Culture, therefore, is not an individual experience but a constructed concept and always open to interpretation (Hutnyk, 2006). This is what makes culture problematic as it must be deconstructed in the same way that gender must be destabilised. This study refers to a microculture in that Salford’s culture identifies with and adheres to a wider cultural climate and, therefore to locate issues of domestic abuse that are pertinent for the women in this study, one must necessarily step outside it and view Salford as a cultural construct. Thus the issues for abused women, particularly with children, in an economically deprived climate such as Salford are recognised. This study’s original contribution, therefore, is on local culture to draw out cultural insights for social work practice in the locality. However, Judith Butler (1997) asserts that local culture must be placed within wider socio-political frameworks to avoid the experiences of specific groups being reduced to the “merely cultural” (p265). Although Butler’s post-structuralist stance seeks to destabilise the basis of structures in society, she recognises that what is required is a systematic understanding of social and cultural frameworks, where ‘social’ can be understood as a more universal concept as opposed to ‘cultural’ which is more local and specific.

This study includes a culture within a culture in the use of testimonies from two African women who were living in Salford at the time of fieldwork. Both women’s experiences were very different. One, a Kenyan woman, came to the country as a new bride to a British man while the other, a woman from Ghana, came to the UK with her Ghanaian husband where she was forced to work. These women’s experiences add different insights into the experience of domestic abuse, such as the difficulty for women who have no recourse to public funds to

access refuge provision. However, for the purpose of this study which is Salford-specific, cultural variance was not used a variable as the key focus was gender. Women comprise the vast majority of domestic abuse victims in Salford and it is predominantly women with children who come to attention of social services. Thus, to maximise this study's contribution to practice development, gender was highlighted as the key feature.

Culture carries with it various assumptions and expectations, the bases of which ethnography seeks to question, as deconstructing cultural notions holds transformational possibilities (Spivak, 2006). Social work is often specifically concerned with cultural and contextual diversity (Archer, 2009) as workers practise in specific localities and develop a sense of the cultural and political issues within their domain. Consequently, they interact with service-users within those cultures. Ethnography focuses not only on the experiences of a group of people but also the cultural factors with which they operate (Creswell, 2007). Domestic abuse is the issue with which I most frequently come into contact in my working life. Salford's high-levels of domestic abuse fully warrant ethnographic study into women's abuse experiences. As a social worker living, working and studying in Salford, I have an interest in exploring its culture. Violence itself has its own culture to be studied (Maso, 2001) and ethnography was the most effective methodology of drawing out the culturally specific aspects of the domestic abuse experience with a view to producing implications for social work practice in Salford.

Prior to selecting ethnography as the key research approach, a number of methodologies was considered and rejected. The initial plan was to take a phenomenological approach to data collection as the aim was to understand the holistic experiences of domestic abuse survivors, however, phenomenology focuses on the assimilation of participants' experiences rather than acknowledging their diversity and uniqueness (Fleming, 2003). Phenomenology also does not facilitate a cultural and contextualised analysis of data and the local aspect of the study would have been lost by utilising this approach. Case study methods were also considered as the rich,

in-depth picture of life produced from such data held significant appeal (Stake, 2008; Yin, 2009; Thomas, 2011). However, interviews were undertaken with seven women, five of which were selected for further analysis and the subsequent data produced from interviews and participant observations was simply too voluminous for thorough case study analysis. Selection of one or two participants as case studies was an option but was rejected on the basis that an ethnographic approach enabled a number of participants to talk about their abuse experiences with some reference to their backgrounds whilst retaining the cultural and local aspect of the study. Thus a contribution to domestic abuse debate was made and, as anticipated, will contribute to the findings of two forthcoming public enquiries into domestic abuse in Salford (see section 1.6.1).

Ethnography has its limitations. Wolcott (1999) points out that ethnographers can never completely capture the experience of another person any more than one could ever convey every part of one's own persona. Ethnography is time and context-specific as well as facilitated by the interpretations of the researcher, therefore, its findings are largely irreplicable. However, it is specificity that makes ethnography a useful tool in capturing a picture of a particular point and place in time inasmuch as the "spatial and symbolic boundaries of communities ... and their internal worlds" are ever-changing (Meadow, 2013). A specific cultural picture documents changes and locates cultural research within the context of its own historicity. Wolcott insists that all ethnographic studies are idiosyncratic owing to the combination of the researcher's values and the project itself. This idiosyncrasy makes generalisations difficult but largely redundant as cultural specificity, not generalisability, is the primary goal of the ethnographer. The specificity of domestic abuse as social problem required a gender-sensitive approach for this study, recognising the overrepresentation of women as victims of abuse. With this in mind, my aim was to take a feminist approach to ethnographic study as discussed below.

### ***3.4.2 Feminist Ethnography***

Feminist ethnography has its roots in a number of disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and cultural history. Ethnography's aim of putting the culturally shared experiences of a specific community under the microscope enabled women's lives to be examined in ways that other, more generalisable research methodologies were unable to access by their tendency to reflect the interests of dominant groups in society (Skeggs, 2001). Claude Levi-Strauss (1963) was particularly influential in the emergence of contemporary feminist ethnography by focusing on the inherent structural nature of communities. His rational and closed view of those structures led to a divergence for feminists who, by and large, actively seek to redress the structural imbalances they explore through research (Faubion, 2001). Texts such as Golde's landmark *Women in the Field* (1970) and Rosaldo & Lamphere's *Women, Culture and Society* (1974) proved to be watershed studies of the lives of women (Marcus, 2001). Ethnographers' commitment to spending time in the field building reciprocal relationships with participants highlights specific cultures and the structural effects they reflect. This is perhaps best exemplified by Skeggs' highly influential work, *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable* (1997). Skeggs' longitudinal ethnography, based on observations and interviews with a number of young, working class women who were studying social care courses, revealed the extent to which participants' identities were inextricably linked with stereotypical ideas of womanhood in which 'caring' was seen as a skill which women innately possessed and was, therefore, a career at which they could excel. Additionally, the pinnacle of success was to be married and to gain the identity of 'wife.' Skeggs' work produced rich details of participants' lives, embedding them within the structural landscape of patriarchy which questioned women's identities within their cultural setting and considered how female-orientated professions are defined as such. Skeggs' study highlighted the ways in which ethnography can provide insight into women's experiences, therefore, it is a methodology that strongly augments feminism.

The aim of presenting an ethnographic study in line with my own personal feminist values leads to the question of what makes ethnographic study ‘feminist.’ Huisman argues that “the feminist values of reciprocity, equality, engagement, empathy and activism” are concomitant with the fundamental values of ethnographic research (2008: p372). In contrast, Skeggs (2001) argues that there is nothing inherently feminist about ethnography per se while Reinharz sees any ethnographic research undertaken by feminists as feminist ethnography (1992) although Reinharz’s view assumes feminists to be a homogenous group. Researching domestic abuse and maintaining space for abused women’s voices to be heard could be assumed to meet feminist aims. However, simply researching women’s lives does not render a study feminist, particularly as there are many different ideologies that fall under the ‘feminist’ rubric (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Naples, 2013). Skeggs (2001) highlights a key difference between feminist ethnography and ethnographies of women’s lives. Feminist ethnography not only presents women’s life stories but also challenges assumptions about gender and generates theories that are better able to explain the complexities of gender. Such research excludes neither men nor individuals in same-sex relationships as feminist studies can highlight the negative influence of patriarchy on the lives of all members of society, regardless of gender or sexuality (Hester & Donovan, 2009). Nagel (2013) highlights “the tension between feminism as an analytic perspective and feminism as political project” (p463). This tension can only be resolved through a commitment to critical reflexivity by locating oneself within the context, for example, by using ethnographic means to occupy the same spaces as the women who are being studied in this research.

### ***3.4.3 Researcher Reflexivity***

Haraway (1988) insists that all knowledge is produced by individuals who occupy uniquely subjective positions in the social world and therefore no knowledge emerges from an objective position. Such situated knowledge firmly dispels the myth of the ‘god trick’ in which

knowledge is erroneously presented as having its roots in a universal location entirely without human influence. Research is always situated and, indeed, constructed within its historical context, social location, linguistic interactions and theoretical developments, all of which are highly influenced by the personal views and political aims of individual researchers (Lang, 2011). Deconstructing the impact of my own personal, political and cultural influences necessarily involved reflexive engagement with the research process in order to turn the critical gaze inward. The value of reflexivity lies in its ability to transform subjective values into learning opportunities (Finlay & Gough, 2003). Reflexivity is not a one-off act but should be a continuous process throughout the research endeavour (Gough, 2003). There are also multiple reflexivities that are in a constant state of evolution. Wilkinson (1988) identifies three forms of reflexivity: firstly, personal reflexivity requires that researchers make visible their own values and beliefs. Secondly, functional reflexivity relates to the researcher's relationship with the participants and the interactions between them. Thirdly, disciplinary reflexivity requires that the researcher critically positions the research within a broader social spectrum, acknowledging time and place, thus recognising the inherently political nature of research. This study makes explicit my own personal and professional feminist values and discusses in detail my attempts to integrate with the participants in their settings, acknowledging the differential power relations between us. My study is then located within the cultural setting of Salford and also within a wider national and global context. Barry (2003) adds an additional category of theoretical reflexivity which challenges essentialist assumptions about the world. Thus, researcher reflexivity must be institutional as well as personal, in other words, it must locate interpretive frameworks within wider structural influences, thus clearly linking the analytical with the political. This prevents "feminism's tendency to universalise from specific, often privileged positions" (Avishai et al, 2012: p396). Ethnography is particularly conducive to engaging in the reflexive process as reflexivity must address cultural and structural contexts, a

research aim that ethnography augments (Gough, 2003). Woolgar (1988) describes reflexivity as “the ethnographer of the text” (p29) in that it constantly scrutinises the written word for the author’s own internally interrogative process. Furthermore, reflexivity is an ethical endeavour in its recognition of the co-created situated nature of research, rather than assigning the production of knowledge solely to the researcher (Finlay, 2003; Bishop & Shepherd, 2011). Moreover, reflexivity is an integral part of social work practice that encourages the worker to question and make explicit the values and assumptions behind practice interventions (D’Cruz et al, 2007).

Critiques of reflexivity focus on its potential for self-indulgent introspection that sidelines the experiences of participants by placing the researcher at the centre of the discussion (Finlay, 2002; Bishop & Shepherd, 2011). The second methodological strand, a thematic approach, was useful here in focusing on the women’s narratives without minimising my own influence. Given the reflexive process I undertook, the scrutiny of my background and research relationships to ensure biased assumptions were minimised gave the women every opportunity to talk openly, freely and at length if they wished. Reflexivity becomes, therefore, the bridge between feminist analysis and political agenda, avoiding the production of research knowledge which is ideological and bears little resemblance to women’s lives. Thus, research moves past the limitations of “feminist orthodoxies” (Avishai et al, 2012: p398) which are embedded in feminist academia. Reflexivity recognises that the women’s voices in my study have been presented through my own value-laden lens, thus acknowledging that ‘giving voice’ is not a straightforward concept.

#### **3.4.4 ‘Giving Voice’**

Ashby (2011) contends that having a voice is a right that should be available to all, however, there is a naiveté to Ashby’s claims. Spivak’s seminal work on the voice of the subaltern (1992)



highlights the dangers of naively claiming to ‘give voice’ to an oppressed and often silenced group in society - in the case of this study - abused women. As a starting point to the research process Spivak urges academics to consider their own culpability in the silencing of minority groups rather than assume positions of blameless innocence. This is where I found feminist methodology useful to this study. Identifying the hegemonic societal discourse (of which I am a part) that leads to women’s voices being silenced in the first place was imperative to uncover. Without this deconstructive reflexivity, I could have inadvertently reinforced the hegemonic position by appropriating women’s voices to produce what Blatt (1981) refers to as research *about* marginalised groups rather than research *with* them, thus reinforcing traditional power relations between researcher and researched.

The concept of ‘giving voice’ is inherently imbued with notions of power in the bestowing of ‘a voice’ on the silenced by one whose voice is academically privileged. In other words, the process only legitimates the authoritative voice of the researcher (D’Cruz et al, 2007). The assumption that the marginalised group has no voice to begin with, re-inscribes its powerlessness. Ashby (2011) problematises claims to giving voice by asking: “Was I really giving voice? Was it mine to give? Whose voice is it really? Who benefits from the telling?” (p4). It is possible, therefore, for research with marginalised groups to fail to challenge the very regimes of oppression it seeks to highlight. Orner (1992) further questions why the oppressed must speak, particularly in the research relationship when informants reveal a plethora of personal experiences only for the authorial researcher to reveal little about herself, further highlighting the unequal power play. Jackson & Mazzei (2012) assert that giving voice does not reflect meaning; it creates it as each individual constructs their own truth which is then presented through the subjective view of the researcher. This constructivist position dovetails with Butler’s notion of constructed gender identities, therefore, ‘giving voice’ and indeed,

being given a 'voice' is a performative exchange where the researcher and interviewee mutually construct each other within a set of social hierarchies (Michielsens, 2000).

Butler (1990) highlights the ways in which a dialogue of any kind can assert hierarchies in which some are eligible to speak while others are not, therefore 'giving voice' has a dual possibility based on multiple hidden power structures. There is also the question of what happens when the informant is without speech, either physically or, as was the case with one of my own informants, simply unable to find the words to describe her experience. In this instance, the informant's experience was included as observational material to demonstrate the importance of highlighting the limitations of language in describing traumatic experiences.

McQueeney (2013) states that 'giving voice' is not, nor should be, the goal of all ethnographic studies as some participants are heavily invested in the interests of dominant groups. Rather than privileging women's voices, feminist ethnographers need to take account of the power relations within the research process and reflect on their own positionality. Schrock & Anthony (2013) do not advocate privileging participant voices "at the expense of political analysis ... what is required is an analysis of talk rather than an assumption that honoring and respecting participants' talk is, in itself, feminist" (p485). I would argue that privileging abused women's voice is a political act in itself as defies the political regime of patriarchy that silences them. Spivak advocates the continuation of research that claims to 'give voice' to others on the proviso that such claims are rigorously defended through reflexive discussion, therefore, transparency was a continuous aim throughout this study. My primary aim was not only for the women's voices to resonate throughout the study, a challenge in itself, as their experiences are presented through the prism of my own subjective voice, but to provide a theoretical discussion on gender as a constructive and performative identity. Reading the literature on feminist ethnography forced me to acknowledge the complexities of producing feminist research which served to heighten my anxieties, however Avishai et al (2013) stress that such anxieties should

be documented as a valid part of the research process. They are not merely personal but have “political and analytic import” (p506). My anxieties functioned to recognise the discrepancy between my feminist aims and the unavoidable but acknowledged privileged position as researcher. In spite of Enslin’s claim that “in a non-feminist world, we cannot truly do feminist research” (1994: p545) my striving to achieve this goal was a key feature of the study.

### ***3.5 Judith Butler and the Performativity of Gender***

Since the publication of her seminal work *Gender Trouble* (1990), Judith Butler has become one of the most influential thinkers of recent times (Lloyd, 2007; Cadwallader, 2009). Indeed, Segal (1999) noted that Butler is “the single most cited feminist theorist of the 1990s” (p57). Prolific citations, however, lead to misinterpretation and misappropriation of her work. She has a wide body of literature to her name. This study utilises some key elements but engages in the main with Butler’s theory of performativity which made a significant contribution to deconstructionist gender theory, opening up opportunity for feminist and cultural debates facilitated by ethnography.

Before discussing performativity in detail, it is first necessary to consider Butler’s philosophical influences and the historical trajectory of her writings. Butler’s gender perspectives were initially influenced by Simone de Beauvoir’s seminal work, *The Second Sex* (1949). Butler particularly identified with de Beauvoir’s notion of the distinction between sex and gender with her famous assertion “one is not born a woman, one becomes one” (p301). Butler went one step further, however, positioning sex as much of a social construct as gender. Butler’s gender discussions further refer to French philosophers, Luce Irigaray, Monique Wittig, Julia Kristeva and Michel Foucault. These writers shared the notion that the subject is never complete and that language is central to its construction, however, their ideas on the naturalist assumptions of gender differed (Lloyd, 2007). Irigaray (1985) attempted to expose

the foundations of patriarchy by conceptualising both the subject and ‘the other’ as produced by masculine dominance. For Irigaray, women are not ‘the other’ as de Beauvoir theorises but a complete absence as everything is defined only in relation to ‘man’ within an entirely masculine framework. Thus, women cannot be adequately represented (Whitford, 1991a, Whitford, 1991b). While Butler praises Irigaray for bringing a wider, more structural perspective of gender relations, she simultaneously criticises her failure to acknowledge localised, cultural factors of gender oppression, thus over-privileging a universalistic approach that diminishes intersectional factors (1990). Kristeva (1982) focuses her discussion of gender on the connection between the symbolic (language) and the semiotic (pre-language). Kristeva’s positioning of the female body as semiotic indicates her belief that the maternal body holds a set of meanings that are pre-maternal, inadvertently reinforcing culture as paternal. Butler critiques certain assumptions that lean towards an essentialist, feminist standpoint in Kristeva’s work, a position that Butler is keen to deconstruct (1990). Wittig (1981/1985) does not differentiate between sex and gender but views ‘sex’ as a mark assigned by institutionalised heterosexuality. Wittig applies a more material analysis to gender relations than Butler and this adds a socioeconomic element to her gender theory, an aspect that Butler largely ignores, hence perhaps her rejection of Althusser (Lloyd, 2007). However, Butler believes that Wittig inadvertently reinforces the binary division between men and women through the heterosexual matrix, places homosexuality outside of culture and assumes the subject to have a pre-gendered identity (1990) a notion Michel Foucault spent much of his scholarly activities grappling in a period when homosexuality and AIDS were at a key political phase before the shift we acknowledge today.

Indeed, Foucault is one of Butler’s most notable philosophical influences. Butler echoes his theory that the body is a construction where regimes of power and discourse inscribe themselves (Foucault, 1976). Nevertheless, keen to construct her own position, Butler critiques

Foucault's notion of inscription which she interprets as a power that is external - and therefore pre-existing - to the body itself. Thus, in Butler's view, Foucault assumes a materiality to the sexed and gendered body that precedes its cultural construction (Butler, 1989). Butler critiques his pre-discursive notion of the body and challenges him for not going far enough in dematerialising the body. Instead, she troubles Foucault's notion of inscription as being inadequate in explaining how some bodies become recognisable and intelligible while others do not. Foucault influenced Butler's theory of gender performativity through his understanding of repetitive rituals being key elements of power in which normative behaviour is "doomed to repeat itself" (Foucault, 1976: p85). Foucault's notion of power emphasises a more structural, judicial understanding of the law, however, Butler's earlier works were notably wary of addressing state intervention, referring instead to social 'norms' from a linguistic, performative construct (Ennis, 2008).

### ***3.5.1 Influences on Butler's Theory of Performativity***

Butler's theory of gender performativity was influenced by the work of JL Austin and Jacques Derrida. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) presented the performative aspect of language. Austin differentiated between perlocutionary speech acts which bring about certain effects as a consequence of being spoken and illocutionary speech acts in which to say something is also a way of performing an action. In other words, to say something is to do something (Schwartzman, 2002). Butler built on the theory of performative acts by considering not only speech acts but also body language, gestures and even the way individuals dress as part of a gender performance. Derrida's interpretation of Austin's work in *Limited Inc* (1988) focuses on the citationality of performative acts, highlighting their repetitious and historical nature. According to Derrida, all language is citational: it cites previously agreed-upon terms

of speech; a necessary condition for communication to occur meaningfully between individuals. Butler (1995) echoed the citational aspect of performativity in such a way that recognised the historical aspect of interactions in dictating social conventions: “performativity [is] the reiterative power of discourse ... through the process of citation of norms. Performatives produce effects through the authority that they accumulate over time” (Ennis, 2008: p70). Butler differentiates her theory from another early influence: Louis Althusser’s notion of interpellation in which an individual is subjectivised through being hailed by a figure of authority, therefore, the naming is constitutive (1971). Prior to the naming, Althusser asserts, the individual is not a subject but becomes one when hailed. Butler disputes Althusser’s theory of interpellation by pointing out that individuals would only respond to an authority figure if they had prior psychic understanding of the notion of power, therefore, the individual has already become a subject prior to the hailing. Thus, Butler highlights the circular (and contradictory) aspect of interpellation which constitutes an individual by hailing but presupposes that individual’s subjection (Davis, 2012). Butler’s belief that the subject can reject the terms by which they are hailed, be constituted without being aware of it (and in ways other than speech) highlights the limitations of interpellation for her (Lloyd, 2007). Surprisingly, Butler makes no reference to Austin’s or Derrida’s influential works in *Gender Trouble*, although she does refer to Althusser. However, in a later publication, *Excitable Speech* (1997a) Butler acknowledges the previously-ignored debt to both writers. By drawing further on Derrida’s emphasis on citationality, Butler recognised the need to acknowledge historical perspectives in order to understand how citations come to occupy certain meanings in language. In summary, the reason why performativity is described here at such length is owing to its theoretical validity, encompassing linguistic and bodily aspects of performativity.

*Bodies That Matter* (1993) explored the link between embodiment and discourse by asserting that the body cannot be reduced to language – it is only accessible through language. Butler

further shifted her emphasis on bodily performative actions to a more linguistic analysis of performativity in *Excitable Speech* (1997a). In *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality* (2000) Butler later clarifies her changing position on performativity, describing it as “cultural ritual, the reiteration of cultural norms, as the habitus of the body in which structural and social meaning are not finally separable” (Butler et al, 2000: p29), thus stressing the inextricable connection of culture, language and gender norms. In *Undoing Gender* (2004a), Butler’s emphasis on what Vlieghe refers to as “the vulnerability of the flesh” (2010: p157) produces an understanding of the corporeality of the body that exceeds the citational performativity discussed by Austin and Derrida. Here, Butler makes a stronger link between identity and language in acknowledging the importance of the naming process in conferring recognition on subjects whose lives are subsequently seen as valid (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Thus, Butler’s work reveals a distinct journey that moves from a predominantly bodily understanding of performativity in *Gender Trouble* to a linguistic one in *Excitable Speech* before returning to consider the corporeality of the body and the ways in which it is structured and made viable in language in *Undoing Gender* (Magnus, 2006). In doing so, Butler acknowledges the influence of a number of theorists whose writings she critiques and seeks to expand.

### **3.5.2 Gender Performativity**

Butler’s theory of performativity provides a highly deconstructive approach to analysing gender identities and gender relations (1990). Butler, like de Beauvoir, sees gender as a social construction but, where de Beauvoir clearly distinguishes between gender and sex which she sees as fixed and naturally-occurring (inasmuch as men are male and women are female), Butler makes no such distinction. Butler describes gender as “the repeated stylisation of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” (1990: p45). These three points, performativity, intersubjectivity and gender construction, have been drawn together to

construct a methodology in which to show how women who suffer domestic abuse are part of repeated stylisations of the body in the context of repeated acts of male violence explored in this study. The regulatory framework is the element of coercive control in which men display violent behaviours with little reproach.

Within such regulatory frameworks, gender is not something one *is* but something one *does*. In an ethnographic study, what someone does, how someone lives, acts, exists, is key to understanding the individual or cultural standpoint. However, Butler disputes the notion that there is a 'doer' behind the deed as the gendered person only comes into existence *through* the performative acts. Rather than this bringing my methods into tension, what ethnography and the performative act functioned to do was make explicit the performative nature of participants' identities and situate them within the cultural world they occupy. Butler sees these acts as dictated by normative gender expectations to such a degree that the performative aspect of gender is effectively hidden behind the unconscious element of the acts. Butler distinguishes between the unconscious aspect of performativity and 'performance' which is a conscious act that an individual (such as an actor) enters into voluntarily. Butler sees gender as pre-existing the physical body, therefore, the category of sex is already pre-determined by gendered cultural practices. In other words "there is no sex that is not always already gender" (Salih, 2002: p55). Many of the literature review findings in chapter two are summed up in this singular sentence. Thus, Butler articulates sex as a constructed and, therefore, political category (Lloyd, 2007). The key aspect of performativity is its emphasis on repetitious acts as it is in these acts (on which it depends) that cultural norms are reinforced, indeed, enforced. In *Gender Trouble* Butler saw the repetitious element of performativity as having the potential to produce change. In order to maintain social order, cultural practices must be repeated again and again. However, over time, these repetitious acts are never performed identically but with slight variations which, although almost imperceptible at the time, accumulate to produce new cultural



practices: “regulatory regimes are sustained by reiteration. Reiteration lends itself to resignification. Resignification can lead to reconfiguration of the norms governing society” (Lloyd, 2007: p75). Thus, Butler’s theory of performativity is politically subversive in its ability to both reproduce and contest accepted practices (Mazzei & Jackson, 2012). Repetition is necessary for gender subversion to take place but, according to Butler, subversion must be recognised as such. Therefore, political change requires individuals to be aware of the subversive nature of their actions and to recognise the norm they are subverting. Political subversion, therefore, is a conscious act. In *Gender Trouble*, Butler saw the potential for transformative resistance in destabilizing existing gender norms, however, in *Bodies That Matter* she also recognised that same instability as having a dual effect: the enforced reiteration of gender norms through the punitive exclusion of those who resist accepted cultural practices. Thus, Butler’s initially optimistic view of subversive performativity became tempered by the reality of regulatory social forces. However, the potential for subversive acts of performativity still exist as sites of resistance, a point she shares with Kristeva and Foucault (Lloyd, 2007).

It is in questioning apparently stable gender norms, in particular, exposing the pervasive heteronormativity within gender relations, that Butler’s theory of gender performativity makes a significant contribution to feminist theory. Butler de-essentialises gender while also acknowledging the difficulties in determining a subjective identity that it always constrained by social norms (Schep, 2012). Thus, according to McNay, Butler has “systematically elaborated a way of understanding gender identity as deeply entrenched but not immutable and has thereby pushed feminist theory beyond the polarities of the essentialist debate” (1999: p175). Indeed, Butler’s focus on the day-to-day repetitions of gender performativity is a particular strength of her work as it avoids unnecessary universalisation and considers how cultural practices affect individuals (Lloyd, 1999). For my study, gender performativity was key in initiating a reading of participants’ experiences that explored how gender identities

served to keep the women in violent relationships yet ultimately contest such roles by leaving their violent partners. In spite of Butler's validity in this study, her extensive writings are open to multiple interpretations and, consequently, criticism which will now be considered.

### ***3.5.3 Criticisms of Judith Butler***

Butler has been criticised for focusing on the 'performance' of each individual without fully acknowledging that each performance is interpreted by others in a variety of ways, therefore according to Benhabib (1995b) it is overly-deterministic. I would argue, however, that this view over-emphasises the theatricality of performativity, disregarding its linguistic aspects. Butler has also been criticised for over-privileging gender in her analysis and thus inadequately addressing 'race' (Xhonneux, 2013). In my view, this is an unfair criticism as she not only acknowledges 'race' but highlights its socially constructed nature and its parallel binary divisions (i.e. black/white) (Bell, 1999; Ratna, 2013). Butler herself began to focus more on 'race' in her later works, first discussing racist hate-speech in *Excitable Speech* and later exploring how bodies and lives are recognised or understood by the construction of discourses around them in *Precarious Lives* (2004b). Although 'race' is not specifically addressed in her earlier works, Butler's deconstructive approach can be applied to any aspect of identity such as gender, 'race' and sexuality. I find Butler's focus on the intersection of gender and sexuality, often neglected by Black feminists, to be a particular strength of her work, thus her inclusion in this study.

Critics of *Gender Trouble* denigrated what they saw as a failure to acknowledge the ways in which male and female bodies are literally different in the very nature of their morphology and reproductive roles. Butler does not, however, neglect the body; rather she sees it as having a pre-determined social existence that defines its materiality and creates the social context it occupies. As Lee states "bodies are already and always inscribed within a social, cultural,

historical and political milieu” (2005: p288). The body is, therefore, “an active process of embodying certain cultural and historical possibilities” (Butler, 1988: p520). Thus, Butler asserts that one is not just *of* a body but one *does* one’s body according to different social situations. Hence, Butler’s usefulness for a study of domestic abuse is located to a particular arena. Butler does not seek to deny the materiality of the body but rather to deconstruct and scrutinise its materiality within a cultural context. However, in doing so, she removes the body from its real-world context.

Nussbaum (1999) criticises Butler’s neglect of the physicality of the body for ignoring the realities of women’s lives in which they are physically and sexually brutalised. I have some sympathy for this criticism which is why I did not singularly employ Butler but linked her to ethnography and the participants’ real world settings. Butler, however, later acknowledged that “the critique of gender norms must be situated within the context of lives as they are lived” (2004a). My view is that Butler is a theorist whose work must be applied to real world settings by researchers themselves. Butler focused specifically on the body in *Bodies That Matter* (1993) and particularly *Undoing Gender* (2004a) in which she acknowledged the body as a site of great vulnerability: “to be a body is to be given over to others even as a body is one’s own” (2004a: p20). According to Chambers, for Butler:

“A body is both dependent upon others and subject to violation by another, by others. Through our bodies we always remain exposed to others and our very vulnerabilities tie us to others. In this sense ... we find something primary about the body, something fundamental, undeniable” (2007a: p49).

Bodily vulnerabilities tie women to their abusers, making Butler’s understanding of embodiment particularly relevant to drawing insights into abusive relationships. There can be no more poignant yet fitting example of the fragility and vulnerability of the body than the experiences of survivors of domestic abuse as demonstrated in the following chapter,

highlighting that “violence is surely a touch of the worst order, a way in which the human vulnerability to other humans is exposed in the most terrifying way” (Butler, 2004a: p22). Violence destroys bodies, literally and in a social sense as “the infliction of physical pain unmakes and deconstructs the body, while simultaneously making and constructing the world of the perpetrator” (Bakare-Yusuf, 1999: p311).

In acknowledging the destructive power of violence, Butler does not deny the materiality of the body but instead sees it as being inevitably and powerfully predefined by cultural constructs of gender. Cultural constructs are a particularly useful concept when examining women in a specific location who, it transpired, had similar stories and challenges based on their location. Thus, Butler’s focus on the socially constructed nature of gender *and* sex moves discussion away from the biological characteristics of ‘men’ and ‘women,’ subsequently locating responsibility for the vulnerability of women in domestic abuse relationships within a cultural and societal context. Consequently notions of self-blame, frequently characteristic in discussions around gendered violence, are rejected. Critics have disagreed on this aspect of Butler’s work. Nussbaum sees the victimless status of Butler’s feminist writings as undermining the need for feminist activism. Conversely, Disch asserts: “one of Butler’s most practical contributions to feminism is her resolute opposition to the construction of women as victims” (1999: p546) My position, supported by Mills (1997) is that Butler’s performative and linguistic analyses provide a framework in which to understand subjects’ compliance in their own oppression without blaming or victimising them. In spite of participants experiencing extreme victimisation within intimate relationships, I have no desire to portray them as victims. The very fact that each participant had extricated herself from her abuser is evidence of her own rejection of ‘victim’ status. Butler states, and I coalesce here, that gender does not cause certain behaviours but rather the behaviours one performs create gender. The extent to which cultural factors determine the performance of gender roles is a key point of this study.

### ***3.5.4 Butler and Ethnography***

Butler's belief that we are constituted within cultural norms (2004b) locates the source of gender inequalities within a cultural framework (Risman, 2004). Her gender and identity theories can thus be explored within a culturally sensitive discussion that complements an ethnographic approach to research (Boucher, 2006). I argue that Butler's fundamental rejection of the binary division between men and women questions the facticity of biological constraints in such a way that presents the opportunity to hold a flexible and inclusive debate on the theoretical foundations of gender roles in society. My study considers the ways in which stereotypical notions of gender play an integral role in domestic abuse situations, thus stressing sociological and cultural factors. Butler's perspective offers a valuable framework for the exploration of hegemonic masculinity, in which men are influenced by the culturally dominant construction of the 'ideal' man: one who is heterosexual, completely rejects femininity and adheres to stereotypical notions of how a 'real' man behaves (Connell, 2005). Discussions of hegemonic masculinity, using Butler's theory of performativity are extremely useful in exploring violence and abuse against women in Salford as argued in the following chapter. Her cultural assignments to gender and sex and the day-to-day, cultural experience of gender (McRobbie, 2006) make her work particularly well-suited to this ethnographic study that identified cultural factors within the social location of Salford. Combining Butler's work with an ethnographic approach leads to a highly applicable framework for doctoral research.

### ***3.5.5 Applying Butler's Theories in Research and Practice***

In *Undoing Gender* (2004a) Butler's work moves from the predominantly academic to reveal a more emotional quality in acknowledging the vulnerability of human experience and the ways in which we are "undone by each other" (p19). Butler's acknowledgement of emotionality and the impact of human (particularly gender) relations on individuals augments the use of

performativity as a theoretical underpinning for domestic abuse research. She recognises the parallels in the ways we ‘do’ gender but are ‘undone’ by emotions (Braunmuhl, 2012). Moreover, a theoretical perspective that recognises the importance of emotions is entirely appropriate in qualitative research that seeks to explore women’s experiences of domestic abuse. That Butler’s work can be seen as an ongoing work-in-progress makes her theories a particularly appealing choice as a theoretical research foundation, not least because of her own capacity to self-critique and evolve her arguments.

Although Butler is not the only theorist to deconstruct gender identity, she is certainly the most influential and her works have done much to further gender discussions within feminist theory (McNay, 1999). Butler was named by a British style magazine as one the most influential people in popular culture in the 1990s, a unique accolade for an academic theorist (Lloyd, 2007). Thus, Butler’s feminist theory succeeded in bridging the gap between the world of academia and mainstream literature. This is an important factor, particularly for a professional doctorate thesis. The professional doctorate aims to contribute to the evidence base in such a way as to be applicable in a practice setting. The acceptance of Butler’s theories outside of solely scholastic settings suggests that her writing is a strong foundation for translating research into practice.

Butler’s theories encompass a range of philosophical, psychological, sociological and cultural perspectives, however, for the purpose of this study, Butler’s theory of performativity was selected as the analytic framework within which the findings were explored. Thus, a rather narrow approach was taken in respect of Butler’s theories, focusing in more depth on performativity, the central paradigm of her work, with briefer references to her other works. This use of Butler may seem somewhat restrictive but it adopts a pragmatic approach that will enable the findings of this study to be disseminated to a wider audience and thus applied in practice settings. The use of a thematic approach to analyse field materials is a useful, practical

tool that enables a flexible yet nuanced exploration of the physical and emotional impact of participants' personal experiences while also highlighting cultural factors. Butler's work possesses a strong thread of morality, an ethical stance that is a fundamental basis for research. It is to ethical endeavours that I now turn.

### ***3.6 Ethical Considerations***

#### ***3.6.1 Ethical Approval***

The study was granted ethical approval on 1st March 2013 from Salford University's Research, Innovation and Academic Engagement Ethical Approval Panel (Application reference – HSCR12-90, see appendix B). As a practitioner, I am registered with the Health Care Professions Council (HCPC) and acted in accordance with the Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics as set out by the organisation.

#### ***3.6.2 Ethical Approaches***

Ethical considerations were of prime importance throughout the study given the participation of potentially vulnerable women suffering traumatic experiences. Murphy & Dingwall (2001) identify two approaches to research ethics. The consequentialist approach focuses on the outcomes of research and the potential for participants to be harmed in some way whilst the deontological approach focuses on the inherent rights of participants. Four principles of ethical research, which adopt both consequential and deontological approaches, were utilised as guidelines in this study: 1) non-maleficence ensured that participants were not harmed; 2) beneficence highlighted the identifiable benefits of the study; 3) autonomy valued and respected the rights and decisions of participants and 4) justice ensured that participants were

treated and valued equally (Beauchamp et al, 1982). These principles acted as a checklist in ensuring that participants were fully aware of the nature of the study and were respected and valued as individuals throughout.

### ***3.6.3 The Principle of Informed Consent***

Central to ethical research and in line with the deontological value of autonomy, is the principle of informed consent: “The essence of the principle of informed consent is that human subjects of research should be allowed to agree or refuse to participate in the light of comprehensive information concerning the nature and purpose of the research” (Homan, 1991: P69). This necessitated the production of an invitation letter (appendix C) and research information leaflet (appendix D) that were sufficiently detailed and easily understandable to any individual who might read them in order to ensure prospective participants knew exactly what they were consenting to. It took several drafts to produce a leaflet that was jargon-free and detailed enough without being unnecessarily verbose, ensuring that the information in the leaflet fully explained the aim of the study in exoteric language. Prior to the observations and interviews, each participant was asked if she had seen and understood the leaflet and questions were encouraged. In the event, the leaflet appeared to be successful in its aims as none of the women needed any further information prior to taking part in the interviews. A consent form clearly describing the uses of data and clarifying the data storage procedures was signed by each interview participant except one (appendix E) and a risk assessment was presented to the ethics panel prior to entering the field (appendix F).

Homan (1991) states that the principal moral objection to informed consent is that, ultimately, it provides more protection for the researcher than the participant inasmuch as responsibility for participating in the study transfers to the subject once consent has been given. In addition, researchers will encourage participants to forget they are being formally interviewed for



research purposes so as to make them feel comfortable, but ethically, this means consent applies only to a specific point in time. The challenge was to ensure consent was an ongoing process, an issue of which I was cognisant, particularly with regard to Michelle who was interviewed twice. Prior to commencing the second interview, I asked Michelle how she had found the first interview. She stated clearly she was happy to proceed with the second interview after being advised she was under no obligation to do so. At the women's group, I arranged interviews with participants for the following session so they had a week to reconsider if they so wished. An ethical dilemma occurred when a group member, Serena, asked if she could speak to me briefly as part of the study at the end of the last session. I had not expected to interview anyone at that session and had no consent forms or recording equipment to hand. I asked Serena if she understood what the study was about which she did from what she had heard from other group members and a summary from me. Serena then talked to me for approximately fifteen minutes about her experiences. The dilemma centred around the lack of formality to the interview and the absence of written consent. However, ethical research is primarily about participants' choices (Iphofen, 2009) and Serena chose to participate in the study under circumstances in which she felt comfortable. I subsequently determined that to disregard her experience would be more unethical than undertaking an interview that did not follow the usual protocols. In this way, Serena's testimony was accorded the same respect as those of other participants, thus adhering to the ethical principle of justice. Although I was not able to include Serena's interview in thematic analysis owing to its brevity and the lack of recording equipment, I did not want Serena's experience to be lost simply because of its unplanned nature and, as a result, Serena's brief but valuable testimony is documented in narrative form in the next chapter.

Another ethical issue regarding the principle of non-maleficence presented itself when staff at the refuge introduced me to a resident, Barbara, who had only moved into the refuge two days

previously. As I explained the purpose of the study to Barbara, it quickly became apparent it would be inappropriate to interview her at that time. She appeared extremely agitated, was physically shaking and close to tears. I asked her how she was settling in and she said she was finding it very difficult, especially as her son kept asking to go home. I was concerned that Barbara's fragile emotional state prevented her from being able to give informed consent to her participation and would have caused more harm than good. I discussed with Barbara that settling herself and her son into the refuge was her priority and suggested returning to interview her at a later date. I gave Barbara details of how to contact me directly or via the refuge staff. Although it may have been an opportunity to gain some insightful data into the impact of a family being so recently uprooted from their home, to interview Barbara at that time would have been unethical owing to her distressed and vulnerable state. It was more appropriate for her to focus on building relationships in the refuge rather than speak to a researcher who would be withdrawing from the setting once collection of field materials was complete.

### ***3.6.4 Confidentiality and Anonymity***

The sensitivity of the subject matter meant that confidentiality and anonymity were of vital importance. Homan (1991) asserts that confidentiality can be used as a "device to secure cooperation" (p150). This is an issue for participants where safety is an issue. The women in the group had previously been in violent relationships and the descriptions of their ex-partners as told in their interviews amply demonstrated that they were dangerous men. The women's safety was of paramount importance to me, yet I was aware of a strong feeling of impotence in this respect. Oliver (2010) states that the researcher can never be absolutely certain about potential consequences for the participant and, in my study, I was aware that I could not effectively guarantee the women's safety. It took some time for me to accept that guarantees of safety were neither a goal nor an expectation of my research. Participants were at risk of being targeted by their former partners regardless of whether they chose to take part in the

study. My feelings of powerlessness may have mirrored the women's own and participating in research anonymously could be seen as participants becoming empowered by telling their stories without being identified. Every effort was made to maintain confidentiality and anonymity throughout the study. All names, even those mentioned fleetingly in the interviews, were changed in the transcripts. Interview transcripts were password-protected on a computer (access to which was also password-protected) which was kept in a locked room. Field materials will be kept until the completion of study.

### ***3.6.5 Pseudonyms***

From a social work perspective, a person's identity is a unique aspect of their experience and I decided, therefore, to ask participants (with the exception of Serena) if they would like to choose their own fictional names to be used throughout the study. It occurred to me that if they chose a name of personal significance it could cause them to be more easily-identifiable and I clarified with each participant whether the chosen pseudonyms could lead to identification. Allowing participants to select their own fictional names encouraged the women to feel empowered as active participants rather than mere objects of study (Westmarland, 2001). Taylor (2012) states that the use of pseudonyms avoids reducing participants to roles or impersonalised numbers and also gives an informal and intimate feel to thematic presentation. This was advantageous for a professional doctorate where participants' narratives were central to the research focus under examination.

### ***3.6.6 The Participant-Researcher Relationship***

The last recorded interview took place on the third to last session of the group, therefore, I attended the remaining two lunches knowing that no one else wished to be interviewed (with the exception of Serena's spontaneous interview). I continued to attend the lunches to demonstrate I valued and respected the company of group members and to gain further

observational material. The decision not to attend the actual group sessions was the right one in that it served as a reminder that I was not a group member but had a very different role and purpose. In this way, I minimised any potential occurrence of the women forgetting that I was a researcher, thus maintaining appropriate boundaries.

It was understandable and inevitable that the women at the support group would ask me personal questions such as where I lived and whether I had a boyfriend and/or children. My view was that, in a social setting such as a group lunch, it would have been inappropriate to refuse an answer as the norms of reciprocal social interaction define otherwise. Furthermore, it would only have served to reinforce any power imbalance between myself and the participants. In line with the views of Cant & Sharma (1998), I did not feel my personal disclosures were unprofessional bearing in mind the social setting of the encounter and I was happy to answer questions honestly, particularly as this helped to build relationships between the women and myself. At the same time, I did not volunteer personal information as I could not ignore my own agenda in being there. However, reciprocity and emotional engagement were fundamental to this ethnographic fieldwork and seemed a natural part of the ethnographic process. Feminist researchers argue that emotionally connecting with participants is less exploitative than claiming a faux objective stance (Irwin, 2006). Indeed, Oakley (1981) stated that expecting research participants to bare their souls while the researcher maintains her distance perpetuates inequalities between researcher and participants. Using Foucault's perspective, the research relationship cannot avoid establishing a power imbalance between researcher and participants but I sought to minimise this by positioning myself alongside the women in sharing their social spaces. At the same time, I did not want to develop "disingenuous friendships" (Patai, 1991: p142) that would not be continuing after the sessions ended or that hid the underlying agenda of the study (Acker et al, 1991).

Because of the potential for participants to experience emotional distress in recounting their stories, I offered some critical incident de-briefing techniques after each interview (Mitchell, 1983) in which I am trained through my practice role. The reactions after each interview varied from an almost breezy nonchalance to tearfulness. Megan expressed surprise at crying during the interview as she thought she had come to terms with her experience, however, she pointed out that she had rarely spoken to anyone in such detail about the abuse she suffered. Megan and I spent some time reflecting on this and discussing what she was going to do after the interview and this continued as we walked out of the building together. This time was important for Megan to reflect on the interview and she commented that she felt better for having talked about her experience, thereby demonstrating the cathartic effect of research participation. Sarah was particularly distressed at one point during her interview when recalling the abuse she had suffered. I clarified with Sarah whether she wanted to continue with the interview after suggesting a break and offering to resume the interview another time. I had previously discussed with staff the possibility of them offering extra support to the women being interviewed which they had been keen to do. I spent some time talking informally with Sarah after the interview and she informed me that she had a session booked with her key worker that afternoon. Sarah talked about her reasons for wanting to take part in the research and it was clear that her need to reach out to other women in similar situations was greater than any distress she experienced during the interview. None of the women interviewed as part of the study expressed any regret at doing so and I made every attempt to safeguard their wellbeing throughout the study.

Ending ethnographic studies must also be a consideration for researchers as withdrawal can “reinforce the traditional hierarchical relationship between researcher and subject in which the researcher usually gains more than the subject” (Huisman, 2008: p389). The process of “disengagement” (Lofland & Lofland, 1995: p62) - ending the interviews and withdrawing

from the participants - was more straightforward in the group situation because of the finite nature of the group lunches I attended. The last lunch served as a goodbye session for the whole group and acted as a natural ending for my involvement with the women. In this sense, it did not feel exploitative or unnecessarily egocentric as I was not the only person saying goodbye. The refuge setting was somewhat different as the women seemed keen to participate without the same desire to develop an ongoing relationship, perhaps because of the transient nature of their circumstances. My assimilation with the group served to provide a sense of shared experience in which I identified with the women as a group with whom I shared a cultural setting. This identification process helped to avoid reducing participants as 'the other' in relation to my researcher position.

### **3.6.7 'Othering'**

A dilemma occurs in representing women's individual stories, highlighting differences without translating difference into 'otherness.' Krumer-Nevo & Sidi (2012) argue that researchers can write against othering through the selection of research methods and reflexivity. Ethnography as a methodological selection is crucial in counteracting othering as it situates participants and their experiences within their social and cultural context. Thus emphasising and deconstructing structural inequalities through the work of Butler rather than locating responsibility within individual participants was imperative. Young (2005) discusses the concepts of emic, (insider) and etic (outsider) perspectives in research (p152). These link directly to the concepts of "self" and "other" (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012: p299) which can become apparent when qualitative researchers attempt to give a voice to people who were previously marginalised in research. The emancipatory aspect of this goal is noble, however, it is possible for 'othering' (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012) to occur which can cause the participants to be reduced to objects. By highlighting the 'other' as essentially different from the researcher, participants can inadvertently be cast in a position of inferiority in relation to the researcher, thereby only

serving to replicate social marginalisation. The danger is that participants are turned into stereotypes which inevitably have negative connotations. According to Rainwater (1970) the life stories of those living in hardship can be undermining to the perceived security of the middle class. This presents the risk that researchers interpret information that does fit in with their own personal ideologies as threatening, distancing them from participants and resulting in an “us” and “them” divide (Krumer-Nevo, 2002: p304).

Reflexivity makes transparent the researcher’s own agenda and ideology and I tried to remain continually aware of my own status in undertaking the study. There were a number of fundamental commonalities between myself and the participants in that I am also a female residing in Salford, sharing an ethnic background with many of the women. However, I was also ‘other’ to these women in that I am an educated professional who has not experienced life in a refuge or attended a support group for abused women. To imply a faux sense of solidarity is not only patronising to participants but merely reinforces otherness. Merely recognising the potential for othering did not necessarily ensure its avoidance. In order to write against othering, it was necessary for me to be critically, socially and culturally reflexive to highlight the inherent inequality of the participant-researcher relationship and avoid placing abused women in the role of ‘victim.’ Butler was useful here in that her work emphasises the importance of acknowledging the power of the social frame of reference that confers normative status on the subject while excluding ‘the other’ (Magnus, 2006). Krumer-Nevo & Sidi (2012) point out that othering is, to a degree, inevitable in research as part of othering is imposed by the reader. It is also impossible to have a concept of ‘self’ without ‘the other’ “for only when there is ‘an other’ can you know who you are” (Hall, 1991: p72). The occurrence of othering in domestic abuse research may also be “a reaction to the pain embodied in the women’s narratives ... in the face of depressing, distressing pain, there is an immediate need to create a distance” (Krumer-Nevo, 2002: p315).

Acknowledging such distress was an important part of the research process for me, reducing the potential of participants being identified as the 'other.' However, Shaffir (1999) asserts that unless a researcher in the field is using a covert approach, insider status can never be achieved. When in the field, I had the sense that the women identified with me to some degree in that I was a woman who was interested in their lives, however, their stories served to demonstrate the chasm between us in terms of our common experiences. At best, I saw myself as being an 'inside-outsider' in that I was permitted access to participants' different physical worlds (the group and refuge facilities) and, indeed, part of their internal worlds, but there inevitably remained a divide between us: I was a researcher and – physically and emotionally - not in the same position. Maybe living the narrative and telling the narrative of women's lives brought us together as "trusted outsider" (Bucerius, 2013: p690) enabling a unique vantage where I integrated with informants while also maintaining a degree of objectivity that a true insider would have been unable to achieve.

### ***3.7 Collection of Field Materials***

Field materials were collected in two distinct stages from three different sources commencing in May 2013. In the first stage, informants were observed and interviewed from a support/information group at Salford Women's Centre, the second from the two women's refuges in Salford. The sample was, therefore, purposive in its aim of seeking out informants who were known to have experienced domestic abuse. The inclusion criteria for prospective informants were that they were women currently living in Salford who had experienced domestic abuse and were receiving some form of agency support. The decision to seek participants from different settings was motivated by a desire to demonstrate the diverse experiences of female survivors and to produce valuable observations from two very different fields. Initial contact was made with the manager of SIDASS (Salford Independent Domestic



Abuse Support Service) in 2010 during the first year of study. I met with the manager at her office for an informal discussion as to the purpose of my research. She was interested and supportive but as I did not work directly in the field of domestic abuse, she was understandably protective of service-users and acted effectively as a gatekeeper in ensuring she understood the purpose of my study before allowing access to prospective participants. In this sense, my aim of representing women's experiences was not solely my own endeavour but required the support of others heavily involved in supporting women survivors of abuse. Gradually and organically building up these relationships was crucial in being able to provide a platform to interpret the women's voices within the study.

### ***3.7.1 Recruiting Participants***

Having built networks in the two years of the taught element of the professional doctorate I was able to begin stage one of the recruitment process in the third year of research. In the first stage, participants were recruited through SIDASS. I was invited to attend a lunch for those attending a support/training group run by SIDASS. The group members had all previously been in abusive relationships and had been referred to the group by agencies such as police and social services. Prior to attending the group at Salford Women's Centre, the group facilitator discussed the study with group members and distributed the information leaflets. After being informed that several women had expressed an interest in participating in the study I attended the following lunch session to meet with them. According to McNamara (2009) women want to know who the researcher is and to understand the purpose of the research and this first meeting was an important part of building relationships, ensuring they were fully cognisant of the study.

Participants for the second stage of the field material collection process were recruited through Salford Women's Aid which runs two refuges for women and children. SIDASS was, again,

crucial in supporting access to this setting as they put me in touch with the manager of the refuges and indeed encouraged her to meet with me when she contacted them to verify my identity and intentions. I met with the manager informally and she was immediately enthused about the study. She agreed to discuss it in the following day's residents' meeting, pass on leaflets to every resident and to approach them personally to ask if they were interested in being interviewed. Arrangements were made to visit again five days later to meet with prospective participants and answer questions about the study. I visited on three further occasions to undertake the interviews with four women, two from each refuge. More women from the refuges than from the group were keen to take part, perhaps as a result of their different circumstances in which their experiences of abuse were still central to their daily lives, preventing them from putting their experiences behind them in a physical and emotional capacity. Building lasting relationships did not appear to be as strong a priority for the participants in the refuge who were in transient situations and whose need to move on, literally and figuratively speaking, was integral for their transition from victim to survivor.

### ***3.7.2 Details of Participants***

Seven women were interviewed as part of the research process:

<b>Name</b>	<b>Ethnic Identity</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Number of Children</b>
Michelle	White/British	25 years	1 daughter, aged 5 years
Megan	White/British	50 years	3 children (youngest aged 16 years)
Serena	White/British	Not known	2 children, aged 2 years and 1 year
Mary	White/British	27 years	2 children aged 8 years and 18 months
Sarah	Black/Kenyan	23 years	1 son, aged 2 years
Louise	Black/Ghanaian	35 years	1 son, aged 10 years (living in Ghana)
Carlotta	White/British	23 years	1 son, aged 4 years

Table 2: Details of Participants

### ***3.7.3 Interviewing Participants***

Ethnographic interviewing is crucial in gathering rich, detailed material from participants within field settings. Combined with observational material, interviews enable a more in-depth understanding of the sense participants make of their experiences and cultural surroundings, thus enhancing material analysis (Heyl, 2001). Participants from the group were interviewed after the lunch which appeared to be advantageous as they were attending the centre specifically to discuss their experiences of domestic abuse and the interviews became an extension of that, thus not intruding on other spaces in their lives. Women in the refuges were interviewed in situ at various times of the day. The purpose of the interviews was to allow women to tell their stories in their own words with as few of my own interruptions as possible. I had a list of questions as prompts, although few were needed. After explaining the purpose of the research, I began each interview by saying, “I am happy for you to tell me about your experience in your own words in as much detail as you feel able. Perhaps you could start at the beginning of the relationship and tell me how you met your ex-partner?” This seemed to work well, even for women who had been in more than one abusive relationship as they were able to decide on the starting point for themselves. Other questions I had written down as prompts included: “What was the relationship like at first?” “How far into the relationship did the abuse begin?” “What kind of abuse was it?” “How often did the abuse occur?” “How did the abuse affect you?” “Who did you tell about the abuse?” On some occasions, I would invite the participant to expand on a previous comment or description by saying “you mentioned [subject] before ... can you tell me a bit more about that?” However, I quickly found that the women who chose

to be interviewed did so because they wanted to talk about their experiences. As a result, the women almost always answered the above questions without my having to ask them and prompts became largely redundant. The interviews that I had intended to be semi-structured became far more unstructured than I had imagined to the extent that several participants made references to domestic abuse in Salford without being asked. This was an extremely positive aspect of the interviews as the women's voices were heard without the imposition of my own potentially restrictive questions during the sessions. Thus, participants were in control of their stories where they might not have felt in control of the relationships they spoke of, thus avoiding reinforcement of victim status (Ellis, 2004). However, Georgaca (2003) emphasises that the research interview is itself a co-constructed process. The interviewer does not simply ask questions but engages with the informant as a social actor. Georgaca acknowledges the dual positions of social interactor and researcher but, in this case, I held a third position of social worker. This is important to acknowledge as the informants were all women with children who cannot have been immune to the cultural ramifications of being interviewed by a social worker. They may, therefore, (consciously or not) have tempered their responses accordingly. It is also crucial to note that several women's children were present during the interviews. This was an additional dynamic within the interview as the women had to respond to their children's needs at various points during the interviews. They may also have been conscious of wanting to ensure that they portrayed themselves as good parents in the presence of a social worker. Using Butler's theory of performativity, the research interview itself could be seen as a performance by both researcher and interviewee in which the encounter is framed by language and a set of norms about what constitutes recognisable social convention (Butler, 2005). Conversation between researcher and participant inevitably carries certain cultural assumptions. My knowledge of Salford was an asset in this respect as one informant referred to various social locations in Salford by their better-known colloquial names which another

researcher may have missed. Several informants also referred to being the subject of MARACs (multi-agency risk assessment conference) which non-social work researchers may not have fully understood. Acknowledging the constructed element of the interview process emphasises that interpretation and construction of data begins during the interview stage in the unique interactions between each informant and the researcher.

#### ***3.7.4 Field Notes***

Field notes are a crucial aspect of ethnographic study. They act as the foundation on which a study is built and they can be used to frame or present interview data. Field notes are materials in themselves and they can be as valuable in ethnographic research as themes identified in interviews (Emerson, 1995). Field notes are inevitably selective and act as one representation or construction of a particular event or setting (Emerson et al, 2001). Field notes were kept throughout the data collection phases both in the women's centre and the refuges. The field notes involved recollections of conversations held by group members as well as descriptions of the settings in which observations and interviews took place. Field notes aided memory and acted as documentary evidence of observations. They also contained reflexive accounts of the emotional impact of undertaking the research therefore, field notes had an almost therapeutic value, something that is common in ethnography in which researchers feel immersed in their surroundings (Van Maanen, 1988). Field notes were written up as soon as possible after observations to recall as much detail and clarity as possible. The value of field notes was integral in being able to include details of Serena's interview which occurred unexpectedly when no recording equipment was available. Without field notes, her testimony, and the circumstances in which it was shared, would have been lost amid the detailed interview materials from other participants.

#### ***3.8 Reflections on Collection of Field Materials***

I had discussed my participation with the manager of SIDASS and the group facilitator prior to the commencement of the group sessions and it was agreed that I would attend only the lunches and not the support group itself. I felt it was important not to intrude on the group as this was women's space to talk openly about their experiences without being observed. Initially, some of the women had been reluctant for me to attend the lunches owing to their understanding that a 'social worker from Children's Services' would be coming to interview them. Their wariness at this misrepresentation was understandable as several had ongoing involvement with child protection social workers owing to the risks presented by their abusive partners. However, once the research information leaflets had been given out prior to my attendance and the group facilitator had also promoted the aims of the study, several women expressed an interest in being interviewed. I attended the following lunch where I was introduced to the group members and spoke to them informally about the study, emphasising that interviewing would be undertaken in my capacity as researcher rather than social worker. The responses were mixed with some being keen to take part while others were less sure. One woman made it clear that she hated social workers and would not want to take part in a study that had anything to do with them. Another stated that, while she enjoyed attending the group, she had moved on to the point where her experience of domestic abuse was now at the back of her mind and she had no desire to re-live certain details of it. This was not only a valid reason for not participating in the study but was also a good learning curve in recognising that women's refuges, where the participants would be at a different stage in their post-abuse recovery, are an important setting from which to recruit participants for qualitative in-depth research.

One aspect of the field material collection phase that surprised me was how nervous I felt prior to entering each of the two settings. As a social worker, interviewing service-users is an extremely commonplace part of my daily role, yet I had not been prepared for how I felt in the

role of researcher without the protection of wearing my social work 'hat.' This converges with Butler's view of performativity in which individuals perform their gender/social roles by frequent repetition. The role of researcher was an entirely new role for me, one that I had not 'performed' before. If, as Butler suggests, identity performances function more effectively when they are unconscious, my inexperience of performing in the role of researcher made me quite aware of it which served to heighten my anxieties (Manderson & Turner, 2006). I felt that I had no control over the situation and was reliant entirely on the goodwill of the women I was meeting. I partly felt that if I was unsuccessful in recruiting participants, it would be a comment on my skills as a practitioner and, as such, I felt a desperate need to validate my own competence. My own personal shyness was also a factor in having to enter a situation in which I would be the focus of some attention. According to Scott et al, (2012) researcher shyness needs to be acknowledged openly as part of the reflexive process. On reflection, I was grateful for my anxiety as it helped me to differentiate clearly between my practitioner and researcher roles. It also, whether the participants were aware of it or not, reduced the unequal positions between us as I felt that I was the student and they the teachers, something that it is necessary for "deep understanding" to take place (Johnson, 2002: p106).

In order for this 'deep understanding' to occur, I was cognisant of the need to be fully in 'researcher mode' when interviewing participants. I interview service-users on an almost daily basis as part of my job and I did not want to confuse this with my social work role. As result, I purposely ensured I did office work in the mornings prior to the group sessions, rather than direct work with service-users which might have blurred the roles in my head later in the day. I also did not return to work after the interviews, firstly to ensure that the participants had an unlimited time to talk and, secondly, to allow myself the time to absorb and reflect on what I had heard and write-up my field notes. This proved to be a somewhat prescient decision as I was unprepared for the emotional impact that hearing the women's experiences of abuse would

have on me. Having encountered domestic abuse victims in a number of work settings, I did not consider myself to be naive about its realities, however, I quickly realised that interviewing in a research capacity is very different to that of social worker. As a social worker, the aim is to assess risks, formulate a plan and identify appropriate interventions. In other words, it is task-orientated and often does not include developing an in-depth understanding of the experience itself. Indeed, as a social worker, I rarely asked how service-users felt about their abuse experiences. Listening to horrific descriptions of abuse that required no subsequent action on my part enabled me to engage with the women's stories on a profoundly different level. I was shocked by the extremity of abusive incidents which included physical, sexual and emotional abuse. After the first interview, I found myself walking at fast pace round my local park, oblivious to the beautiful weather, feeling too overwhelmed with anger to consider going home. Fortunately, I had a meeting arranged with my doctoral supervisor the following morning where I was able to discuss the impact the interview had had on me. Going for a walk after each interview became necessary in dealing with the emotions I felt at hearing the women's stories. Having the opportunity to listen to participants' stories in such detail highlighted the privileged role of the researcher in being able to gain an entirely new perspective into a specific phenomenon.

While a privilege, undertaking the interviews presented challenges to my identity as a social worker. When one of the participants, whose daughter was subject to a child protection plan, explained her view that her ex-partner did not present a risk to her or her daughter, I had to remind myself that I was not there to challenge her views but to listen to her story. This did not sit comfortably with me initially as part of me felt I was colluding with her views, however, I recognised that it was not my role to judge her but to learn from her experiences. The same participant also asked me how she could go about getting a new social worker as she did not see eye-to-eye with the current worker. Parameswaran (2001) identified that participants may



attempt to use the research process to meet their own needs, placing the researcher in a difficult position which occurred in this instance. I encouraged the participant to discuss her issues with her social worker before gently guiding her back to the interview focus. Thus, I maintained boundaries between my practitioner and researcher roles.

### ***3.9 Analysis of Field Materials***

Having selected an ethnographic approach accompanied by Butler's work, a suitable approach to analysing data (referred to as "field materials" by Crang & Cook, 2007: 131) needed to be considered in order to complement the culturally-specific and gender-sensitive approach to the research. A number of different strategies can be used to analyse qualitative field materials (Tesch, 1990; Ryan & Bernard, 2003; Crang & Cook, 2007) and several methods were considered before a thematic approach was finally selected. Content analysis, according to Neuendorf (2011) is better suited to analysing quantitative data owing to its reliance on the frequency of themes rather than the strength and significance of each theme. Its more scientific approach, aimed at producing generalisability and reliability, would have been too reductive and simplistic for the analysis of participants' experiences. Grounded theory analysis requires specific coding units for words, phrases or lines of transcripts, leading to criticism that it is too positivistic, losing subtlety and nuance and causing increasing fragmentation of interview materials. Thus, a holistic approach to domestic abuse as an experience would have been lost. Narrative analysis was considered as a potential analytic framework for this ethnographic study as narratives are significant features in daily life (Cortazzi, 1994). According to Creswell (2007), narrative analysis is better suited to analysing the transcripts of an individual participant or small number of participants (two or three) as constructing life stories is a detailed and lengthy process. Additionally, narrative analysis often aims to create continuity by producing a chronology of an individual lifespan therefore a certain analytic structure is required

(Clandinin & Connolly, 2000). Exploring domestic abuse experiences in this study was less about documenting chronological life events and more about locating specific experiences and concepts within a cultural framework, thus requiring a flexible analytic approach. Ultimately, a number of analytic approaches could be used in ethnographic study to produce varied findings according to whether the data required a systematic, chronological or more flexible approach. I concluded that narrative, content and grounded theory analyses did not best complement the culturally specific aims of my study in the way that a thematic approach would.

A thematic approach was selected for a number of reasons. This approach has the key advantage of a high degree of flexibility in interpreting materials that, unlike quantitative data, cannot be easily categorised (Floersch et al, 2010; Roberts et al, 2014). A thematic approach is also multi-functional in that it is a way of seeing, a way of sense-making and a way of analysing unsystematic materials in as systematic a way as possible (Boyatzis, 1998). A thematic approach is, therefore, not only a way of organising and describing field materials but also interpreting it from a flexible theoretical position. This renders it compatible with epistemological values of qualitative research, particularly ethnography which describes, analyses and then interprets field materials (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A thematic approach particularly complements ethnographic research as the identification of themes is crucial to analysing culture because themes exist in all cultures and the opportunity is presented to discuss them in the cultural context in which they occur (Opler, 1945). Themes in ethnographic research are often patterns which, owing to their less structured presentation, may be lost in a rigid coding/categorisation approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The aim of ethnographic research is not only to identify themes and patterns but also cultural comments, requiring analytic flexibility and theoretical freedom. Thus, a thematic approach was selected for its greater flexibility (in analytic and theoretical terms) and more nuanced approach to field material analysis which reduces the imposition of conceptual limitations on the findings

(Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). Themes identified in field material analysis can be linked to theoretical themes, thus exploring the findings within a strong theoretical foundation which enables a sociological yet practical understanding of the research topic.

Detailed description and transparency in analysing field materials in order to avoid the assumption that the approach to qualitative data analysis is self-evident was important. Lack of detail about such analysis is misleading as it is common in smaller-scale studies that not all themes can be included in the discussion and some may need to be discarded by the researcher according to the focus of the study. Thus, themes are made rather than merely found (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). While this is acceptable, the reasons for including some themes while excluding others need to be explicit (Green et al, 2007). In this study, one participant referred to her ex-partner's infidelity on several occasions. This was not a feature of other applicants' testimonies and therefore this was not identified as a significant theme. However, it is referred to in the discussion section in its relevance to the participant's views of intimate relationships. An exploratory approach to field material analysis was utilised in that themes were identified from the raw materials rather than from pre-existing hypotheses. Thus, the themes were not pre-determined (Guest et al, 2012). As each transcript was read and re-read, themes seemed to emerge emically, however, I was aware that this was an impression rather than reality. It is overly-simplistic to suggest that the emergence of themes was entirely emic. Although the starting point of the analysis was the women's own words, it would be naive to suggest that the phrases and themes that appeared significant were not influenced in any way by my own personal and political ideologies. To claim that the themes, many of which provoked strong emotions, were emic is to claim a passivity that was simply absent. The endeavour was to approach the analysis with no preconceived ideas as to what would emerge, however, after immersing myself in the literature it would have been impossible to approach materials concerning domestic abuse without imposing my own epistemological assumptions onto the

analytic process. Thus, the thematic approach had a constructionist as well as interpretivist perspective and helped provide a structure where ethnography falls short.

The constructionist perspective to a thematic approach of analysis seeks to emphasise the socio-cultural contexts in which the themes are embedded, making it particularly apposite for ethnographic study. According to Braun & Clarke (2006) theme identification can occur at two levels: semantic and latent. The former seeks to describe and interpret the surface of the data while the latter aims, not only to describe and interpret field materials, but to identify underlying ideas and assumptions using theoretical frameworks. This study falls within the latter category in its efforts to make sense of women's experiences using the gender perspectives of Judith Butler. In this way, the discussion following the presentation of the themes was intentionally axiological as it was my own attempt to make sense of them using a thematic approach. This discussion is presented as a separate section so as to clearly delineate my interpretivist conclusions from the voices of the participants.

### ***3.9.1 Computer Software Programmes***

The decision not to use a computer software programme for field material analysis was made early on in the material analytic process. Studies reveal that researchers often feel uneasy using computer software to analyse field materials because it is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of qualitative research (Sandelowski, 1995; St John & Johnson, 2000). Moreover, Bott (2010) reminds us that reflexivity requires the researcher to constantly locate and relocate themselves within their research and, therefore, analysis of field materials is not a stage at which one can suddenly claim objectivity in order to prove reliability and validity. The thematic approach, used here in relation to ethnography, required consideration of both explicit and implicit themes within the context which could only be achieved through comprehensive analysis and interpretation (Guest et al, 2012). Although reliability is questioned in thematic

analysis owing to its reliance on the researcher's interpretation of materials, this reliance is necessary to capture the complex meanings within participants' transcripts (Guest et al, 2012). I did not want to be distracted by the methodological difficulties I may have encountered with anything other than ethnography and a thematic approach. For these reasons, the chosen methods enabled me to concentrate on the text and subtext of field materials as facilitated by its practical application described below.

### ***3.9.2 Analysing Field Materials***

I selected the "cutting and sorting" method of analysis (Ryan & Bernard, 2003) in which quotations or expressions that appear to have significance are identified within the transcript. This method supported the thematic approach of the study as it sought to identify phrases and sentences in their context which prevented fragmentation of the data. Selected phrases and sentences varied in length and they included descriptive experiences, emotional reactions and cultural comments, therefore, the cutting and sorting method offered the flexibility that is a key asset of the thematic approach and a fundamental aspect of my study. In a slight variation of this method, instead of cutting out the pertinent quotation and pasting onto an index card, I wrote the excerpt out on an index card, while also keeping a word document file of the excerpts in preparation for the discussion stage.

Analysis of field material was completed in four stages. In the first stage, I began by reading through each of the transcripts slowly, line by line, and absorbing any initial thoughts and feelings about the materials. As I became aware of certain words, phrases or patterns that appeared to be imbued with meaning or significance owing to the strength of the statements (Locke, 1998), I made brief notes of words, phrases, feelings and emotions. The second reading of each transcript began to identify clearer patterns from certain words or emotions. I recorded

the full sentence (for context) on an index card along with details of the person from whose transcript it was taken, the page number and the preliminary concept.

Similarly to the transcription process, this was extremely time-consuming. I only began analysing a new transcript when I knew I had enough time to go through it fully at least once so as not to disrupt the intense concentration required for this stage of the research. Each participant's transcript was read separately therefore stage one comprised of reading five sets of transcripts twice in detail. Thematic index cards were made for each participant's transcript until it was possible to summarise a number of themes for each individual in diagrammatic form on flipchart paper. The second stage involved re-reading each transcript to determine if any themes identified in one or more transcripts could be subsequently identified in all transcripts in a "constant comparison" method (Glaser & Straus, 1967: p101). This was done until no new themes were identified from the transcripts.

The third stage involved re-organising the themes. Initially, the index cards were organised by participant, however, at this stage, I cross-referenced them and I was then able to identify clear themes across all transcripts. According to Ryan & Bernard (2003) the 'cutting and sorting' method is the most versatile analysis technique that leads to the production of a wide range of themes. Ryan & Bernard assert that the more themes discovered, the better which I found to be true. The final stage of the analytic process was organise themes into a number a over-arching themes that made some sense of the experience of domestic abuse while also identifying key themes for social work practice such as cultural factors. The onus here was to determine the significance and correlation of themes.

In the fourth stage of organising over-arching themes, I focused firstly on the key question that qualitative research aims to answer: what is being studied? This question required an understanding of acts, methods, and patterns of abuse, summarised under the heading

‘constructs of abuse’ (see table 2 below). Another key question of qualitative research aims to develop experiential knowledge, therefore the second over-arching theme focuses on the ‘impact of abuse’ on the participants, addressing both psychological and sociological factors. Thus, the first two themes provided an understanding of what domestic abuse is in both concrete and conceptual ways. I then moved on to consider personal and practical barriers to (and incentives for) ‘leaving’ as a key emergent theme, crucial for the development of social work practice. The fourth theme moved away from the experience of abuse. Participants’ feelings about ‘the future’ in the aftermath of leaving their relationships were explored as the fourth theme, providing a holistic picture of experiences during and after abusive relationships. The final two themes cast a wider net in exploring how external factors of ‘agency involvement’ and ‘cultural factors’ feature in women’s abuse experiences. The themes subsequently identified were:

<b>Themes</b>	
<b>Constructs of Abuse</b>	Physical/sexual abuse Emotional abuse Threats to kill Abuse of family and friends Abuse via social media/technology Post-separation abuse Cycle of abuse/escalation of abuse
<b>Impact of Abuse</b>	Depression/suicide attempts Low self-esteem Loss of self Self-blame Impact on children
<b>Leaving</b>	Fear of abuser Economic status Housing Isolation Public perception of abuser
<b>The Future</b>	Fear of the unknown Looking forward to the future Inner strength
<b>Agency Involvement</b>	Social services Police SIDASS/Women’s Aid

<b>Cultural Factors</b>	Cultural constructs of relationships Views of domestic abuse in Salford Hidden and open abuse Family background Socio-economic status
-------------------------	---

Table 4: Themes from Field Material Analysis

These themes are explored in detail in the following chapter (see section 4.4). The analytic journey from raw materials (see appendices G/H) to relatively organised themes was a revelatory process in which themes appeared to emerge emically through deep immersion in the women’s transcripts. Far from naively assuming this to be the truth, however, I recognised it was merely an impression. I do not purport that themes represent the experiences of every participant in its entirety as participants only disclosed what they chose to. According to Jackson & Mazzei (2012) interview materials should always be assumed partial and incomplete. Rather than presenting an entire picture, they present a certain angle at a certain point in time, thus, materials should be viewed as fluid rather than static. I defined a theme as a recurring statement or pattern evident in all participants’ narratives. However, some narratives highlighted differing experiences, for example, the cycle of abuse was present in narratives while not so in others. This is explored under one theme heading to highlight similarities and differences in abuse experiences. I did not set out to prove hypotheses in this study therefore I was receptive to all emergent themes while recognising that these were inevitably influenced by my own intrinsic value base. Themes could, therefore, be described as exploratory rather than confirmatory. I did not approach participants to verify the themes that emerged as analysis of field materials was undertaken some time after their collection. I understood that many of the women had moved into new accommodation and were in different situations and locations to when they were interviewed. It was, therefore, not possible to request verification of themes. It may also not have been appropriate in any event as the women were



likely to have moved on emotionally as well as physically at that point and I was cognisant of respecting this.

### ***3.10 Reflections on Analysis of Field Materials***

Each interview was fully transcribed before analysis began. This proved to be an extremely time-consuming process that required immense concentration and patience. The positive aspect of undertaking this task was that I was able to fully immerse myself in the field materials during this period. The process of immersion was hugely important as it enabled an understanding of context, clarifying relationships between myself and my participants and enabled the connection of seemingly disjointed aspects of the topic in preparation for the analytic stage (Reissman, 1993; Green et al, 2007). I became so immersed in the field materials that when the transcription phase ended I intentionally waited a full month before embarking on analysis. This enabled me to put some necessary distance between myself, the field materials and the experience of collecting them so as to approach analysis with a fresh perspective as advocated by other researchers (Pulsford et al, 2000). By doing this, I approached the research with no conscious agenda in order to allow themes to emerge using an emic approach.

I chose my own variation of the ‘cutting and sorting’ process of analysis because the practical, visual side of it appealed to me. I also felt that I would escape from the inertia I sometimes feel when staring endlessly at a computer screen and it clearly differentiated the analytic task as a new experience, whereas using a computer is part of my every day working life. This helped to maintain my focus on the task at hand and to engage fully in the analytic process. I was surprised at how quickly themes were identified once the transcripts were read slowly, line by line, with an analytical mind. Mason refers to this as “reading through or beyond the data” (2002: p149). By the second reading, significant quotations were already leaping out me and thematic identification using the index cards began in earnest. This analytic phase felt very

different from the field materials collected during participant observations and analysed subsequently in field notes. Analysis of interview materials felt more structured and systematic in nature whereas field notes summarised observations and analysed my own emotions in a much more stream-of-consciousness manner that provides the reader with a sense of 'being there.' The contrast between the two different types of materials is apparent in the following chapter in which participant observations are described to 'set the scene' and provide integral cultural context for the subsequent interview findings. The process of completing the analytic phase of interview materials was a watershed moment in the research process. I had not anticipated the identification of any specific themes but I was surprised at the myriad themes that emerged during analysis that covered the whole range of domestic abuse experiences thus providing a holistic approach to developing an understanding of their complexities.

### ***3.11 Chapter Summary***

A feminist ethnographic approach incorporating a thematic approach and the work of Judith Butler was selected as the methodological foundation for the study, aiming to highlight the nature of participants' experiences within the geographical and cultural location of Salford. This chapter critically reflects on feminist approaches to research that lay claim to act as a panacea against 'othering' while simplistically claiming to 'give voice' to silenced women. My own multi-positionality as practitioner/researcher/Salford citizen was examined highlighting not only the advantages of an ethnographic approach in gaining valuable observational and interview field materials, but also the ethical dilemmas I faced in occupying the women's spaces and engaging with potentially vulnerable participants. Ethical considerations, in particular informed consent and the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, were consistently embedded in the research process in line with feminist principles that research should not only seek to do no harm but should also aim to advance the goals of the women's

movement. Analysis of field materials was undertaken utilising a thematic approach which provided a systematic yet subtly nuanced approach. The three-stranded approach to this study uniquely added the opportunity to explore domestic abuse on three different levels: the women's voices added rich insight into the personal experience of suffering through an abusive relationship; ethnography highlighted cultural factors augmented by a thematic approach that organised key factors into a thematic presentation; Butler's theory of performativity provided a theoretical lens through which gender analyses were presented. Themes and cultural insights into domestic abuse in Salford are explored further in the following chapter.

\*\*\*\*\*

## **Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion**

### ***4.1 Chapter Introduction***

After spending time in the field as an ethnographer and progressing to analysing interview materials, this chapter reveals insights into the experience of domestic abuse through narrative description of observations and presentation of themes using a thematic approach. Wolcott (1990/1994) was useful in organising my findings in identifying three components to presenting ethnographic research. The first component provides a detailed description of the two fields of study and the informants within it as “description is the foundation upon which qualitative research is built...inviting the reader to see through your eyes what you have seen (Wolcott, 1990: p28), thus providing the context for the second component of ethnographic research: the presentation of emergent themes using participants’ own voices. Finally, these themes were discussed in detail, interpreting the themes and patterns using Judith Butler’s feminist analysis to go “beyond the data” (Creswell, 2007: p162). All names, including those of ex-partners, children and workers, used in this chapter are pseudonyms to protect participants’ anonymity and confidentiality.

## ***4.2 Ethnographic Observations***

I now return to the ethnographic field in presenting the first component of my findings: observational materials, one of the most identifiable aspects of ethnographic research, leading to the production of detailed written descriptions, described by Geertz as ‘thick description’ (1973: p6). The aim of ethnographic research is to produce data gained from participants in natural settings, however, Butler would argue that there is no such thing as a ‘natural’ setting in that all geographical spaces are socially constructed and maintained. Although I would not argue that the settings of a women’s support group and refuge facilities are ‘natural’ they were pre-existing in that neither was constructed for the purpose of this study. The fields enabled me to make detailed observations which provided a useful context for the emergent themes presented further on in this chapter. According to Hammersley (1992) placing events and

interpretations in context is a form of explanation in itself, therefore, “description *is* explanation” (p23). Including detailed descriptions emerged from a moral perspective as failure to do so is arguably unethical as it leaves valuable observational data unused. The following descriptions of observations are separated into two sections in order to delineate clearly the two fields and the testimony of two women, whose data was excluded in the more thematic approach owing to lack of detail, is included.

#### ***4.2.1 The Women’s Group***

The women’s group met every Thursday at Salford Women’s Centre, a resource that had faced closure owing to lack of funds on more than one occasion. The setting was not unfamiliar as I worked as a volunteer at the women’s centre for several months before commencing my role as newly qualified social worker. The manager of the centre, with whom I had worked, was supportive of the research and waived the usual fee for the use of an interview room. The centre was a one-storey building that looked somewhat shabby on the outside but was clean and brightly decorated with hotch-potch furniture on the inside which gave it an informal, homely feel. The women’s centre ran various groups such as creative writing, assertiveness and a young mother’s group. A brightly painted crèche facility was provided for service-users’ children; a drop-in cafe available for female members of the public. The atmosphere was informal. Customers ordinarily queued up at the serving hatch to order and pay for their food but this was not the case with members of the women’s group. A table was set aside for them, laid with place mats, cutlery, glasses and juice. Group members ordered their meals before group work began and staff at the centre served the women at the table. After collecting plates and cutlery, staff offered a selection of desserts to group members which were also served at the table. This seemingly small difference was integral to the ethos of the group sessions in which the women were not only welcomed and valued but also nurtured by centre staff. The cost of the meals was subsidised by SIDASS and the group facilitator even arranged to fund

the cost of my own meals, a very generous offer for which I was extremely grateful but did not accept.

My status within the group changed over the course of my attendance at the lunch sessions. At the beginning, I was clearly an outsider which functioned to highlight my role as researcher rather than legitimate group member. In the first meeting, I talked about the purpose of the study and discussed the aim of the interviews. Group members expressed a range of responses from enthusiasm to uncertainty to outright refusal to being interviewed. As each week continued, my presence became more readily accepted and every week the group facilitator would ask "*whose turn [to be interviewed] is it this week?*" In one delightfully unceremonious turn of phrase, one group member said "*do you want to do me next week then?*" This resonated with the ethos of ethnographic study in which participants used every day, colloquial language when engaging with the researcher. This enabled me to adopt a more casual, conversational tone which served to minimise my different role within the group and acclimatise myself more quickly in the setting.

Group members accepted my presence surprisingly quickly and it became apparent that attending the lunches was extremely advantageous as observing and talking informally over a meal gave the proceedings a relaxed, social atmosphere. The conversation varied from discussions about their ex-partners to general, often very humorous chatter about their day-to-day lives. It was not difficult to be included in these conversations and this helped the women to feel at ease with me and I with them. Even the group member who had strongly expressed a negative view of social workers appeared friendly towards me during subsequent lunches. Initially, I waited until I was specifically addressed before engaging in conversation (as anyone might do in a new situation according to common codes of social interaction) so as to avoid imposing myself too forcibly into the group but I gradually became more confident in joining in conversations spontaneously which the women accepted. One of the ways in which I worked

to become accepted by the group was to take an interest in the women's children, some of whom were present while others not. The women enjoyed talking about their children's achievements and seemed pleased when I engaged with the children directly. On one occasion, I offered to feed a group member's very young daughter while she ate her own lunch. This not only benefitted the gathering of observational material by becoming more accepted by the group but also made me feel useful and, therefore, less nervous. The group facilitator, Jackie, was also a crucial part of my acceptance by the group. Her initial wariness at exposing vulnerable women to potential harm was quickly replaced with enthusiastic support after being reassured about my motives for research. Jackie's experience meant that she clearly understood the value of women having the opportunity to talk about their experiences and be properly listened to. Jackie, an experienced group facilitator, was able to combine social conversations with the opportunity for women to share experiences and reflect on them. Jackie shared personal information with the group such as her plans for the weekend and her dilemma in deciding what to wear to a forthcoming social occasion. She readily included me in these conversations which worked to my advantage. Group members clearly felt extremely comfortable with her and this appeared to transfer to me. Jackie's enthusiasm for the study served to reduce initial suspicion of a social worker/researcher presence among group members. The women evidently felt safe with her and trusted her acceptance of me in the group. Jackie's personal disclosures were appropriate in building a cohesive feeling within the group and maintaining an informal, social atmosphere that seemingly made the experience an enjoyable one for group members, myself included.

My relationship with the women progressed as the sessions continued. One group member was keen to take part in the study at the outset and agreed to be interviewed after the following week's lunch. After her interview, she was asked by other group members how she had found it and she responded positively. This helped other group members to trust me, regardless of

whether they wished to be interviewed. My impression was that the women, even those who were not interviewed, were pleased that someone expressed an interest in uncovering more about their abuse experiences. This is indicative of the heavy social work emphasis on the well-being and safety of children, to the exclusion and detriment of mothers.

For those women whose children had allocated child protection social workers, the conversations about them were generally negative with women criticising the fact that social workers often provided ultimatums, such as being told they must move house or sever contact completely with their abusers or risk removal of their children. The lack of choice appeared to be what the women were objecting to and none disputed that such measures were unfair or inappropriate. Other comments were based on the personal characteristics of individual workers and seemed to be more in the vein of offloading negative feelings with sympathetic listeners. The distinct impression I had was that social workers did not seem to prioritise working *with* the women, although I was unable to discern from the conversations how long statutory involvement had been ongoing. It was interesting to note that group members' views on this subject did not appear to be tempered by my presence but were usually prefaced by comments such as "*no offence Annie...*" This reinforced the women's awareness of my social worker status (and was not, therefore, a fully legitimate group member), but their acceptance of me meant I was not "*one of those social workers*" as one group member succinctly stated. Thus, lunch was more than a shared meal but an opportunity for women to explore the ways in which they felt maligned by social work involvement. Perhaps my presence encouraged such conversations in the women's desire to have their views heard, without consequence, by someone who worked in the profession.

As a participant observer, the way the women understood themselves as members of a group was extended to me. Following one of the lunches, one of the women approached me to discuss her interest in a career in social work. She added that she had not wanted to bring the subject



up in front of the group members who clearly had negative views of social workers. My social worker status was, therefore, explicitly acknowledged in that circumstance but not a deterrent. Ultimately, I will never know the extent of the impact that my social worker status had on the group. It may be that if I had not been present, discussions about social workers would have been far more critical. Perhaps my presence prevented some group members from sharing specific experiences yet at no time did I experience any overt hostility, despite the fact that several women's children had social workers.

The group was clearly valued by all the women who attended it, not only for the empowering messages given during the sessions, but also for the strong sense of support and friendship the women derived from each other. One group member celebrated her birthday at one session and she was given cards by the other women and chocolates from Jackie to mark the occasion. The social aspect of the group lunches seemed almost as important to the group members as the course itself. The emphasis of the sessions was to enable women to build up their self-esteem and, in this respect, the opportunity for the group members to build mutually supportive relationships with one another was an essential feature of that aim.

Listening to informal conversation provided copious learning opportunities on the subject of domestic abuse. One woman, who debated whether to be interviewed before deciding against it, talked about the impact of unexpectedly seeing her ex-partner in the street; she froze and was unable to continue shopping. This comment effectively highlighted the difficulty of living in close proximity to an abusive ex-partner. On one occasion, the women compared their mobile phones and debated the benefits of each model. Several expressed surprise at one woman's phone which was an inexpensive, dated model. The group member explained that her ex-partner had broken so many of her phones in the past to prevent her from contacting friends that she no longer valued a mobile phone as a possession and owned the cheapest model merely as a necessity. These unique insights would not have been gained without the ethnographic

framework of the study that enabled me immerse myself in the field and to become part of the group to the extent that they felt comfortable discussing abuse experiences in my presence. Current domestic abuse incidents in the media at the time were often discussed, including a much-publicised incident in which Nigella Lawson's husband grabbed her by the throat in a restaurant. The women were particularly shocked that a woman who appeared to "*have it all*" had experienced abuse from her rich, successful husband. This suggests that group members did not see domestic abuse as happening to women who were outside of their own social situations, that is, predominantly working class women. Such views highlighted the working-class ethos of Salford in which the experiences of wealthy, successful couples rarely intruded into their social lives. The women's discussion around Nigella Lawson seemed to bridge the gap between their experience and hers, viewing her as "*one of us*," a notion that I perceived was comforting to the women rather than distancing. In this respect, violence against women appeared to have a unifying aspect with the women perhaps identifying more strongly with an abused woman from an entirely different social situation than with a researcher who lived in Salford.

A particularly poignant moment occurred as group members discussed the murder of Salford resident, Linzi Ashton, when one woman quietly observed, "*that could have been us*." The statement was a subtle acknowledgement of the dangers their ex-partners presented to them and a stark reminder of the horrific abuse the women had experienced. The comment also indicated that the women did not minimise the abuse they experienced as is sometimes claimed by social workers in my experience. The women were not naive about the literal risk to life that domestic abuse threatens, even after the end of a relationship. Again, group members seemed to instinctively identify with Linzi Ashton, a woman with whom they were likely to have had more in common than Nigella Lawson. Their sadness over Linzi's murder was palpable and perhaps also a reminder that the dangers from their own ex-partners were far from over. Group

members were able to locate their own experiences within the wider cultural context of Salford in which a woman was not protected and lost her life as a result.

By way of contrast, there were many occasions when the women's abuse experiences were discussed in very humorous terms. One group member, who moved house for her own safety, described her new next-door neighbours as "*the Clampetts*," sending everyone present into gales of laughter with her comical descriptions of their eccentricities. This appeared to be a coping mechanism for what had evidently been a difficult time when she had had to move further away from her family. The derogatory language which the women used to describe their ex-partners was also amusing, operating as a unifying act which temporarily distracted or distanced themselves from the fear their ex-partners evidently instilled. This was particularly important as the women shared the relatively small location of Salford with their ex-partners and were less able to distance themselves physically from their abusers.

At the end of the final session, Serena, a group member whose two young children were cared for in the centre's crèche while she attended the group, surprised me by saying "*I never got chance to talk to you, did I?*" Serena and I had chatted every week, usually about her children who were energetic and playful. She asked me if I would like to walk to her car with her children and talk while she smoked a cigarette. I agreed in spite of the fact that I had no consent forms or recorder with me. Once her children were strapped into their car seats, Serena told me that her ex-partner had done "*some pretty bad stuff ... he broke my face.*" Serena and her children had to move house to escape the abuse but the first property she was allocated was in such a poor condition that she moved again just months later. Serena's ex-partner's trial was scheduled for a month later and she was clearly anxious. He was released on bail and she had had no contact with him since the last assault. Serena was very close to her father who had been supportive but he was due to move abroad in the next few months and Serena told me that

she would be lost without him. Serena loved going for long walks with her children and her dogs and this had helped her get through the difficult few months since the move.

Serena had shown no interest in being interviewed up to that point and it occurred to me she felt safer and more in control having a brief conversation under informal circumstances, something that ethnographic research enables. That it was the final session was perhaps also crucial to Serena as participants may be less wary if they believe they will never see the researcher again (Adler & Adler, 2002). This mirrored social work situations where service-users disclosed crucial information just as I was about to leave their homes. Ethnographically, it suggests something else: a far more pragmatic reality. As a single mother of two pre-school children, Serena's opportunities to take part in a lengthy interview in a quiet setting were likely to be few and far between. I realised afterwards that Serena's interview was the embodiment of ethnography in that it was a 'real-life setting.' Her voice would not have been heard in a study utilising other research methods. Despite the seriousness of Serena's abuse, the interview itself was almost comical as her children managed to climb out of their car seats and press their faces up against the car windows, making us both laugh. Serena's brief interview is included because her voice is eminently worthy of being heard, hence my documenting it here. Serena's impromptu interview turned out to be a very positive ending to my involvement with the women's group. Serena told me she hoped she had managed to help and wished me luck with my studies. As I stood outside the centre, waving goodbye to Serena and her children as she drove away, I felt a small sense of achievement in having been accepted, to the degree that I was, as part of the group and in successfully completing several interviews. I also felt significantly relieved that my first tentative steps into the world of ethnographic research had not ended in failure. This knowledge boosted my confidence in entering the very different setting of women's refuges for the second phase of observations and interviews.

#### ***4.2.2 The Women's Refuges***

Visiting the refuges was a unique experience. I was aware of their existence but not their locations and I was surprised to find that one was within walking distance of my home, indeed, I had walked past it countless times, never knowing its purpose. There were two refuges, one accommodating up to eight women; the second accommodating six. Together, the refuges accommodated up to twenty-five children. Staff explained to me that the larger refuge (Refuge A) was first utilised as a refuge facility in the 1960s. It contained a laundry room in the basement and a children's play room that was closed for safety reasons. There was a large kitchen with several mismatched fridge-freezers and cookers and a huge table in the centre of the room. A large living room consisted of two settees and number of smaller armchairs, a large television and some games consoles. The first and second floors consisted of the bedrooms, shared bathrooms and the staff office. There was a small, neat garden to the rear. The smaller refuge (Refuge B) had similar facilities but was purpose built in the 1980s and had a more homely feel. The lounge was smaller than in Refuge A but had matching furniture, a few decorative items on the walls and a bookcase of paperback novels. The open-plan kitchen/dining room was situated in the basement and I was surprised to see that the kitchen cabinets, although more modern than those in Refuge A, were grey in colour, giving the room a rather dingy feel. The manager read my expression and commented "*not the nicest kitchen.*" Refuge B appeared to accommodate women with toddlers and young children while Refuge A, whether by design or coincidence, accommodated older children. This gave each refuge a markedly different atmosphere. Refuge B was mostly calm and quiet whereas Refuge A was noisy and lively, particularly as my visits coincided with the summer holidays when the children were off school.

Staff members at the refuges were very welcoming and interested in my study. They were pleased that research was being undertaken with the women they worked with every day, reflecting the lack of enquiry relating to domestic abuse in Salford. Staff members seemed to

value the study for its therapeutic potential but also for the clear message it would give about the need for ongoing funding, the reduction or withdrawal of which was a constant fear for staff. After my first visit, staff members spoke to every single resident and actively encouraged them to participate. The manager was keen to show me round both refuges and she and other staff members described routine procedures. Every day, the refuges are contacted by a Women's Aid helpline worker to enquire about vacancies. Each resident has her own key worker who offers weekly one-to-one sessions to provide practical and emotional support in order to help residents plan their futures. The manager explained that many refuges around the country have had restrictions placed on them owing to loss of funds. As a result, numerous authorities insist that a considerable number of places are reserved for women who live in that authority. The manager pointed out the problems caused by this new policy as many women need to move out of the locality for their own safety and are now restricted from doing so. At the time of my involvement, no such restriction had been imposed on Salford's refuges. The manager explained that the locations of the refuges were highly confidential. Not even the police knew of their whereabouts, something that surprised me and made me feel privileged that I had been so warmly welcomed. The anonymous and confidential nature of refuges causes inherent difficulties in being able to openly research such locations, however, this ethnographic study required immersion in the field and presented an opportunity for these refuge workers to talk about the importance of refuge provision while also acknowledging the limitations for notoriously underfunded facilities. Conducting ethnographic field research enabled the production of rich descriptions of refuge life without jeopardising the confidential locations of facilities or the safety of women and children.

The manager described the difficulties of refuge life for its residents. Women arrived in a range of physical and emotional states and had to share one bedroom with their children, regardless of age. Children were often distressed at leaving behind beloved family pets which were not

permitted at the refuges. Sharing a relatively small living space with a number of other women and children was not without its problems and there were often disagreements over household chores. Waiting for housing was one of the most difficult aspects for residents who found it hard to move on emotionally while prevented from moving on in a physical sense. The manager explained that women living in refuges can apply to live anywhere in the country and their applications are treated as priority, however, housing provision is scarce in all authorities, often resulting in agonisingly long periods of waiting. Knowing how hard it was for many of the residents to endure refuge life, far from questioning why women stay in abusive relationships, the manager often wondered “*why would you leave?*” This comment was significant in demonstrating staff members’ deep understanding of financial and housing problems as well as the emotional challenges for residents. The comment also suggested a high degree of empathy that clearly facilitated a non-judgmental environment in which residents’ emotional well-being was as important as their safety. The passion staff had for their work came across vividly in the descriptions of their day-to-day roles, their frustrations in dealing with systemic limitations and delays and their warm and friendly interactions with residents and their children. The manager poignantly commented that she and her staff were “*inspired every day*” by the strength and bravery of the women they supported. I recognised that this study was not only contributing to the telling of women’s inspirational stories but also recognising the invaluable work undertaken by SIDASS and Women’s Aid workers.

Interviews undertaken in the communal lounges at both refuges were markedly different from those at the Women’s Centre where interviews took place in the same room in which the group sessions were held. The group room was spacious, airy and contained comfortable armchairs which made it an ideal place for long interviews to be held. There were no time constraints as the room was available for as long as necessary. The room was quiet and interviews proceeded without interruptions. This contrasted with the interviews undertaken at the refuges. Three of

the participants had young children who were present in the room while the interviews were taking place, a necessity as there were no alternative childcare arrangements available or other spaces to use. The interviews held at Refuge A proved to be quite challenging. The lounge was large and noisy and this was not without its difficulties. The residents' children were told by staff to vacate the lounge so that the interviews could take place. One boy, aged ten, was distinctly unhappy as he wanted to play computer games on the television in the lounge. Towards the end of the first interview, he simply walked into the lounge and announced "*it's my turn.*" The interview had just come to an end and I asked staff if there was an alternative room available. I was informed that there was not unless I wished to interview women in their bedrooms which I felt would have been intrusive and inappropriate as they were the only spaces the women did not have to share with anyone else. A worker asked the boy to leave the lounge for the next interview and he reluctantly agreed. He then moved a chair from the kitchen and sat outside the lounge door, staring at me through the door window for the duration of the interview. Although almost comical at the time, I was very aware that the refuge was effectively this child's home and I was preventing him from accessing the room that provided most opportunities to relax and undertake activities. This captures the overall lack of privacy and autonomy that families in refuges have to endure. As an ethnographer, my presence inevitably had implications for residents and I necessarily interacted with everyone I came into contact with which impacted on their ability to access all spaces within the building while I was there. The worker later said to me that she had been glad of a reason to prevent the boy from playing computer games and to play outside in the garden instead, signalling the limited activities available and potential for boredom for children in such facilities.

I found the interviews where participants' young children were present challenging as an interviewer. Understandably, the children wanted some attention from me and this was difficult because my primary focus was the women. One child proceeded to empty an entire bookcase



of its contents which he handed to me one by one during the interview. Another child suddenly spotted the digital recorder and picked it up, causing her mother to have to wrestle it from her grip. These situations were very different from the quiet calm of the interviews at the women's centre but I had a sense that this was an integral part of ethnographic study in which the women were interviewed in their residential settings with the noise of daily life continuing around us. Ethically, I was also aware that these young children, by being present during interview, were potentially exposed to hearing accounts of distressing incidents, however, excluding children from the room was not an option and would have prevented women from sharing their stories, thus losing the opportunity to gain valuable interview materials. That the women in the refuges were so keen to tell their stories reminded me of what the woman in the group sessions had said about not wanting to re-live her experiences at that stage. It seemed that the women in the refuges had an urgency to talk about their ongoing experiences in order to make sense of them as part of the transitional process from victim to survivor. Thus, the women moved from their normative victimised silence to a place of value, even within a marginalised space, reflecting Butler's claim that there can be empowerment in marginalised positions (2002).

A second interview that was excluded from extensive thematic analysis was that of Louise, a resident in refuge A. Louise had lived in Salford for two years after moving from Ghana with her husband. Her husband was physically violent and emotionally abusive towards her. She was only permitted to leave the house to do household shopping and was prevented from having any friends. Louise was also forbidden from speaking to her family, including her ten-year-old son from a previous relationship who lived in Ghana. Louise contacted Women's Aid to gain accommodation where she had been for several weeks. She praised the refuge staff and appreciated the friendship of the women, however she found refuge life "*hard to bear*" particularly seeing other residents with their children. Louise's priorities were to find housing and employment in Salford so that her son could join her from Ghana. Louise told her story

briefly and gave very short answers to follow-up questions. She appeared willing to talk but struggled to verbalise her experiences and emotions. This indicated the contradiction between desperately wanting to talk about a painful experience yet being unable to do so. Louise's brief interview was as relevant and poignant in what she was unable to say as what she did verbalise, raising the important question 'how does one speak of the unspeakable?' Louise ended the interview by saying "*you have to talk about it so that you can be free.*" It occurred to me that she was still in the process of freeing herself from her abusive experiences but talking to a researcher, even in a limited capacity, was her first tentative step in doing so. Feminist research seeks to challenge exclusionary practices of discourse that dictate what constitutes acceptable speech (Mills, 1997). Thus, Louise was given the opportunity to process her experience at a level with which she felt comfortable through the ethnographic approach this study utilised. I considered the possibility that, as a black woman displaced from her country of origin and separated from family, Louise found it difficult to engage with me, a white researcher from Salford. This highlights the impact of intersectional aspects of women's experiences, yet Louise attempted to overcome these potential barriers by volunteering to speak to me.

Field materials gained from observations undertaken in the field are an integral part of the study. Descriptions of the group and of refuge life provide a contextual framework against which to juxtapose and expand upon thematic findings. The themes are not, therefore, presented as isolated experiences or statements but, in true ethnographic form, are contextualised within the fields from which they were collected. A thematic approach complements ethnographic descriptions of observational materials by positioning thematic interpretations within their cultural context. Rich descriptions of observations now act as social and cultural backdrop for the experiential element of participants' narratives in the following thematic presentation.

### ***4.3 Thematic Presentation***

The transition from relatively unstructured narrative description to a more ordered thematic approach is not unlike the process of social work assessment itself. Assessing service-users in any context involves making sense of people's, often messy, stories and collating information given by the individual as well as observations made during the course of the assessment process. These observations and information are then structured into an assessment framework that aims to identify risk, highlight need and provide a plan of work. While recognising that it is not an easy task to structure the life of an individual into an assessment framework, it can act as a tool to begin the sense-making process. The themes that follow can be seen as a continuance of that process with the aim of better understanding participants' experience of domestic abuse. The combination of a narrative style of observational description followed by a more structured presentation of themes represents a stylistic mode of delivery that is not unlike that of social work assessments which often combine narrative description of personal histories mixed with more structured sections with the aim of capturing the more pragmatic aspects of a case (Talbot & Calder, 2006). An ethnographic approach enabled me to access a purposive sample while the thematic approach to analysis supported my role as social worker in that the discipline would prefer feedback of findings via familiar medium. This further justifies the bringing together of varying methodological strands.

The ordering of the following themes is my own and does not assume that the experience of abuse itself is linear, nor are themes intended to be seen as discrete but rather as interrelated threads that, when interwoven, highlight participants' intersectional experiences of abuse. According to Butler, the construction of a narrative can lead to elements of an individual's experience becoming dissociated from one another, especially in traumatic conditions (2005). My aim in presenting thematic findings is not to further this dissociation but to provide a

practical, organisational framework for exploring participants' traumatic experiences that lends itself to practice development, thus making a tangible contribution to the evidence base. Extensive verbatim quotations are used to produce compelling evidence of the abstract analyses I propose while also supporting a social work discipline and interpretive findings (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). Researchers caution against relying too heavily on quotations for fear they can be presented as uncomplicated and authoritative (Green et al, 2007; Taylor, 2012), representing "the speaker's entire and unchanging world view" (Taylor, 2012: p399). This leads to the erroneous assumption that participants represent views of other individuals in similar circumstances. Thus, findings can be "over-interpreted" (Li & Seale, 2007: p1449) However, I would argue that quotations are integral to exploration of the findings for number of reasons. Utilising informants' own words establishes credibility and transferability through the use of quotations. Verbatim quotations also offer cultural context in the form of colloquial language that is highly relevant in ethnographic study (Richardson, 1990). The selection of verbatim quotations reveals the relationship between researcher and participants and gives the thematic presentation a sense of immediacy (Fetterman, 1989). Moreover, employing Butler's theoretical perspectives, quotations act as an ontological record of women's voices which resonate throughout the chapter as they evocatively reveal the complexity and multiplicity of their experiences. Patriarchy classifies women as objects but exploring participants' narratives enabled them to become viable subjects (Cosslett et al, 2000).

#### ***4.4 Theme 1: Constructs of Abuse***

##### ***4.4.1 Physical and Sexual Abuse***

In this study, physical and sexual abuse were fused together as acts of abuse against the body using Butler's notion of the materiality of the body and its vulnerability to violence (physical and sexual). This was chosen as my starting point in theme exploration as "embodiment is universal" (McCormick, 2010: p67) and therefore examining acts of violence against the body

is an empathic act. Acts of physical and/or sexual abuse were experienced by all five women.

Physical injuries were often severe:

*“There’s been times I’ve been laid unconscious and I’ve had to go hospital ‘cause I had shattered cheekbones and I’ve had x-rays on my brain ‘cause of how bad he battered me.” (Michelle)*

*“He burned my hair with a lighter and set my hair on fire but luckily I had extensions in so I was able to rip them out. He boiled the kettle and put that over me.” (Mary)*

*“There’s times where he’d just beat me black and blue. He’d bite me. He’d punch me in the head. He’d fly-kick me. I had finger marks round my neck where he tried to choke me.” (Carlotta)*

Other types of experienced physical abuse included being burned with hair straighteners, being kidnapped, locked in rooms (with or without the abuser) and forcibly dragged out of homes. Mary’s partner attempted to find a household implement with which to gouge out her breast implants. He tied her hands and legs for two days, refusing to untie her even to use the bathroom. He threatened to urinate on her and cut her vagina with a broken bottle. Sarah’s husband woke her up every morning by throwing a bucket of cold water over her, an act evocative of slavery. Sarah’s experience was unique in that her husband did not hit her but she experienced the humiliation of sexual abuse by multiple abusers forced on her by her husband:

*“Shortly after, that’s when the kind of sexual side got into it. He ... he just said that he would like me to sleep with other men in front of him. It increased from one man a night to two, three, four ... [pause]...and he wasn’t being paid, it was just for his own satisfaction.” (Sarah)*

Mary's partner put naked pictures of her on Facebook, an act that is indirectly sexually abusive and which highlights the vulnerability to public humiliation of being in an abusive intimate relationship.

Participants' experiences of physical and sexual abuse demonstrate the cruel, degrading and violent nature of abuse against women's bodies within intimate relationships which clearly support Butler's notion of the vulnerability of the body (2004) and the frightening extent to which "to be a body is to be given over to others" (p20). Chambers' assertion that our vulnerabilities tie us to others (2007a) is particularly meaningful in the context of participants' experiences whose injuries could be seen as inflicted by their abusers with the intention of destroying the aesthetic aspect of their bodies, thus rendering them less sexually attractive to others. Butler's heteronormative approach lends an understanding of the ways in which women are required to be attractive to the opposite sex in order to perform effectively as women. These social constraints then become the 'undoing' of them in intimate relationships with abusive men, particularly as physical and sexual abuse was strongly linked to emotional abuse.

#### ***4.4.2 Emotional Abuse***

All five participants experienced emotional abuse that included being criticised and called names:

*"He started then, saying 'oh look at your belly, you've got really fat' and then he was saying 'if you don't lose weight I'm going to leave you.'"* (Carlotta)

*"He mentally abused me, like he used to call me fat all the time and 'you're ugly, you're horrible' and then he cheated on me all the time."* (Michelle)

A large body of research suggests that emotional abuse is often more damaging than abuse against the body (Walker, 1985; Jaffe et al, 1986; Golding, 1999; Dienemann et al, 2000, Humphreys & Thiara, 2003; Hearn, 2009). This is strongly echoed in the women's narratives:

*"The physical abuse was bad but it's the mental abuse that's worse. The physical abuse, the bruises, they go, but your confidence. You just feel worthless."*

*(Carlotta)*

*"Being controlled's the worst thing ever." (Megan)*

The women's testimonies clearly demonstrate that negative impact of emotional abuse which co-exists with abuse against the body. It is noteworthy that emotional abuse appears to revolve around the physicality of participants' bodies, with abusers referring to their partners as 'fat' and 'ugly'. Women's identities are often enmeshed with their physical appearance and how they are perceived by those around them, therefore, to berate a women's appearance is to suggest that they are not 'performing' within the social constraints of their gender. This destroys not only self-esteem but their gender identities as women. Participants' experiences of emotional abuse evidence the damaging effect on women of non-physical abuse and highlights the need for service responses to offer support appropriately, According to Burman (2002), services often fail in this endeavour, responding better to concrete, visible problems such as physical injuries. The impact of emotional abuse cannot be underestimated, particularly when physical threats are made.

#### ***4.4.3 Threats to Kill***

Although threats to kill are a form of emotional abuse, they emerged strongly as a specific theme:

*“He put a knife to my throat and was like ‘I’m gonna kill you ... if I can’t have you no one is.’” (Michelle)*

*“He said ‘do you know I had a knife under my pillow? I was planning to stab you so many times and go and bury you on the moors.’” (Sarah)*

Michelle was threatened with a weapon while Sarah was not, yet they both expressed similar levels of fear. According to Butler’s theory of performativity, language itself has a performative quality in that in certain situations, speech cannot be separated from actions (Schwartzman, 2002). This holds true for participants who strongly believed that their ex-partners could have killed them, thus differentiating threats to kill as outside the experiential range of the frequent emotionally abusive criticising and name-calling the women endured. Butler (1997a) claims that oppressive language is not a substitute for the experience of violence but is its own kind of violence. She sees the act of speech as a bodily act, therefore, “the threat emerges precisely through the act that the body performs in speaking the act” (1997a: p11). Thus a threat to kill, particularly in the context of a “venue of power [the domestic abuse relationship] by which its performative effects might be realised” (p12) not only warns of impending physical acts but effectively already is one. The act, therefore, is redoubled through the speech act. In other words, threats to kill were not only believed by the participants but were a form of physical and emotional abuse in themselves. The threat to bury Sarah’s body on the moors carries its own cultural significance by invoking the horror of the ‘moors murders’, a reference that may have been lost on Sarah herself as this was not her country of origin. The themes of physical and sexual abuse, emotional abuse and threats to kill amply demonstrate that the participants were victims of intimate terrorism as defined by Johnson (2006) experiencing high levels of physical or sexual violence, emotional abuse, coercion and control, an experience Pain (2014) refers to as “everyday terrorism” (p533).



#### ***4.4.4 Abuse of Family and Friends***

Few studies have explored the support networks of abused women (Levendosky et al, 2004). One shocking emergent theme in this study was the extent to which participants' families and friends were also abused in some way by their violent partners:

*“He was violent towards my friends, not, like, beat them up, but he would damage their property all the time and force entry and stuff but nobody phoned the police on him. My best friend nearly had a breakdown over it.” (Michelle)*

Michelle's ex-partner was later charged with witness intimidation for threatening to send men to harm her friends. One particularly sickening incident occurred when Michelle's ex-partner forced his way into her friend's house and took her phone off her with the intention of finding Michelle's new number. Instead he found nude pictures of Michelle's friend which he downloaded onto Facebook, telling her that he would take them down when she persuaded Michelle to contact him. This led to a horrendous situation in which Michelle's friend found herself pleading with Michelle to return to a man she knew was violent towards her. Thus, Michelle's ex-partner effectively used her own support network against her by directly abusing and threatening her friends. Michelle was forced, therefore, to distance herself from her friends for their safety. Indirect methods of abuse were just as frightening. Mary's and Carlotta's ex-partners threatened to harm their families and damage their property, threats that were carried out when family members' windows were broken and car tyres slashed. Sarah's family was abused in a different way:

*“He's brainwashed my family into believing he has a lot of money. If I want to go back [to Kenya], he'll buy my mum a house, a car, and she thinks 'wow, I'll be the only woman in the whole village who has a mansion or a big car.' Who doesn't want that? Of course she wants that.” (Sarah)*

By positioning himself as a financial provider for Sarah's family overseas who had little money, her husband abused his power over them, ensuring Sarah's continued entrapment in an emotionally and sexually abusive relationship. This was a doubly oppressive situation for Sarah who not only had to live with the fear of her husband and the degradation of rape but carried the burden of knowing that her family's financial survival depended on the continuance of her marriage. The abuse of family and friends and its extent is a significant finding in answering the often-asked question of why abused women feel unable to leave their abusive partners if they fear for the safety of their family and friends. In addition to this, the option of moving to live with family or friends will not feel protective if those individuals are also experiencing abuse. Additionally, the guilt of knowing that family and friends are being abused by their partners is an additional burden for abused women to bear. Social networking sites, effectively gathering sites for individuals' family and friends, were particularly effective in involving family and friends in the abuse.

#### ***4.4.5 Abuse via Technology/Social Media***

A significant finding was that of abuse via technology and social media sites, most commonly Facebook. Mary's ex-partner sexually humiliated her online after she ended their relationship:

*“He put up naked pictures of me on Facebook of when we was having full sex, full naked pictures.” (Mary)*

This act did not appear to carry the same level of humiliation for her ex-partner as it did for Mary, with hegemonic masculinity normalising the sexually active and aggressive man. Perpetrators used mobile phones as a way to abuse their partners when they were apart:

*“If I didn't text him back straight away he'd think I was ignoring him and he'd send me, like, just a ridiculous amount of text messages, like 'you're ignoring me,*

*watch this, I'll make you wish you never did.' I found myself being really scared if the battery died." (Carlotta)*

Conversely, perpetrators also saw mobile phones and social media as a threat to their control over their partners:

*"He was really paranoid about Blackberrys and Facebook and stuff. It sounds stupid but he'd see it as a threat as if I'd be cheating on him with it." (Michelle)*

Thus, technology and social media were not only methods of abuse but also indirect triggers to it in that perpetrators' jealousy and possessiveness increased, leading to further abuse. Possessing a mobile phone was not described as a protective factor for participants in spite of providing a means of contacting family or agencies such as police. This demonstrates the multiple methods that perpetrators were able to utilise in abusing their partners. Cover (2012) utilises a Butlerian perspective in describing social networking profiles as "just as a much a performance as any other 'real life' act [which] just as equally constitutes a sense of self and identity" (p179). In other words, social networking is not merely representative of identity but actively constructs and transforms it. In this way, abuse via social networking websites not only humiliates but also has the potential to destroy identity. Being forced to withdraw from the widely-used social space of the internet marginalises abused women from an integral part of contemporary society. Social media and technology were also used to harass participants after their relationships ended.

#### ***4.4.6 Post-Separation Abuse***

That abuse does not cease with the end of a violent relationship has been well-documented (Jones, 1991; Radford, 1993; Wilson & Daly, 1993; Mullender & Morley, 1994; Humphreys

& Thiara, 2002; Patrick et al, 2008) and, indeed, all five participants experienced post-separation abuse such as stalking:

*“He was proper stalking me all the time. If I was at school, I’d turn round and he’d be sat behind me, in the car watching me.” (Michelle)*

A restraining order did not prevent Carlotta’s ex-partner from attempting to harm her:

*“He turned up at, like, two in the morning and broke into my house. He smashed my door in, came into the house and I thought he was going to batter me.” (Carlotta)*

Participants were followed, verbally abused via phone calls and texts and subjected to emotional blackmail such as suicide threats. Furthermore, Michelle was kidnapped and seriously assaulted by her ex-partner *after* she ended her relationship with him. Moreover, three participants were still experiencing post-separation abuse at the time of the interviews. Michelle’s and Mary’s ex-partners were on remand yet they feared further abuse on their release. Although the existence of post-separation abuse has been acknowledged in domestic abuse research, its importance cannot be overstated. Research strongly indicates that women are more likely to be killed by their partners at the point of separation or during the first three months after the end of the relationship (Stark & Flitcraft, 1991; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Lees, 2000) therefore the very act of ending an abusive relationship is a significant risk factor in itself. Completely severing all ties with their abusers is often not optional for women if children are involved and contact arrangements necessitate some form of ongoing relationship between the abuser and the abused. Post-separation abuse lends an understanding of why women find it so hard to leave abusive relationships if they are unconvinced the abuse will stop or fear that it may escalate further.

#### **4.4.7 Cycle of Abuse/Escalation of Abuse**

Evidence of the cycle of abuse (Walker, 1979) in which abusers appear remorseful after an assault was identified in some but not all of the women's testimonies:

*"It's what's called the honeymoon period isn't it? He was fine for a few weeks. And you think 'oh it's going on too long this, something's going to happen.' You knew what was coming ... like you're always walking on hot coals."* (Megan)

*"He was like 'I'm so sorry. I love you, that's why I do it.' Towards the end I was actually glad when he hit me because that was the only time he was nice to me."* (Michelle)

However, the cycle of abuse was noticeably absent for Carlotta whose abuse was near-constant. Instead, her partner would blame her for the abuse she suffered by telling her that she knew what to do to trigger his anger. Sarah's experience also did not fit the traditional cycle of abuse model as the abuse she experienced, which had been constant, stopped completely when she was pregnant with her son, only to resume unrelentingly almost as soon as she had given birth.

Escalation of abuse has also been evidenced in domestic abuse studies (Jones, 1991; Radford, 1993; Wilson & Daly, 1993; Mullender & Morley, 1994; Safadi et al, 2013) Evidence of escalation was indicated in some of the women's testimonies:

*"Eventually as time went on, he'd push me, start off with pushing and it was a gradual decline with me so I knew then things were getting out of hand and it was just getting worse and worse."* (Megan)

Michelle's partner became violent approximately two years into the relationship, gradually increasing in frequency and severity. The abuse Carlotta experienced quickly escalated but then remained at a fixed, near-constant level. However, this was not the case for Sarah whose

extreme levels of abuse began within days of her marriage and remained largely constant in their extremity with the exception of her pregnancy. This is a key finding of the study as it offers a critique of the Duluth model of intervention. Thus, education in the domestic abuse field may be limiting in its assumptions of the cycle and escalation of violence and abuse (Walker, 1979; Shepard & Pence, 1999). This finding indicates that over-reliance on homogenous paradigms of domestic abuse risk excluding the experiences of some women by failing to recognise their unique abusive situations, thus preventing the provision of appropriate services and interventions. This finding clearly argues for individual support mechanisms to women that offer a flexible approach in considering patterns of abuse and impact on individuals. The aim of social work must be to recognise women's diverse experiences of abuse rather than try to fit women's experiences into pre-ordained categories or patterns. Social workers must also recognise the impact of abuse on women's mental health and well-being.

## ***4.5 Theme 2: Impact of Abuse***

### ***4.5.1 Depression/Suicide Attempts***

As is common among abused women, all five participants experienced depression as a result of the abuse they endured:

*“There was good days but most of it was overpowered by the bad. I used to dread weekends, holidays ... I was holding it all in as well and I ended up going on anti-depressants.” (Megan)*

*“It was horrible and I remember thinking ‘is this my life now? Is this it?’ Because I can remember not wanting to live and I was so desperate for someone to come and save me.” (Carlotta)*

Also evident was abused women's greater vulnerability to suicide. Carlotta and Sarah both attempted suicide, Sarah on two occasions:

*“It came to a point that, even if I had Joseph, I just thought ‘this is not what I want.’ I’d rather Joseph get taken by a family who’s going to look after him and me die because I can’t be alive. So, I took an overdose again.” (Sarah)*

The desperation experienced by all five participants during their abusive relationships was palpable throughout their narratives and demonstrates the perceived inescapability of their situations and the detrimental effect on their emotional well-being. This finding demonstrates the multiple dangers to abused women and the indirect risk of dying at the hands of their abusers. Women's ability to protect their own emotional health is severely impaired by the cumulative damage by perpetrators to their self-esteem, a self-esteem that permeates through every element of these themes, illustrating that every aspect of the women's lives was affected by domestic abuse. As one excerpt highlights below *“everything”* is affected.

#### ***4.5.2 Low Self-Esteem***

The evidence base highlights that domestic abuse has a devastating effect on abused women's self-esteem (Hoff, 1990; Lutenbacher et al, 2003; Abrahams, 2007/2010; Bostock et al, 2009).

This is echoed in participants' testimonies:

*“When they’re mentally abusing you, they’re physically, emotionally ... you just ... you lose everything, you lose your confidence and you feel so dependent on them.” (Michelle)*

Carlotta's perpetrator systematically destroyed her self-esteem which affected her capacity to leave him:

*“I wanted to leave him but when people chip away at you so much, you have no self-esteem and you think that no one will want you and you’re made to believe all this horrible stuff about yourself, because when you hear something day in, day out, you start to believe it.” (Carlotta)*

All five women were single parents after leaving their abusers. Internalising the belief, based on the abusers’ taunts, that no one else will want them is particularly damaging as it can prevent abused women from leaving their partners if they see few options to form new intimate relationships in the future and are, therefore, faced with the financial and emotional burden and stigma of a lifetime of lone parenting. To move from being part of a parenting couple to lone parenting involved a significant change of identity.

#### ***4.5.3 Loss of Self***

All participants experienced a profound loss of self. For Michelle this was manifested in her recognition that she was turning into someone she did not like:

*“He just destroyed me as a person, like, he made me change completely. I was horrible. I was just this horrible person which I’m not.” (Michelle)*

For Mary, a loss of self was experienced as the disappearance of her own personality and literal disappearance of her own voice:

*“I could see myself wasting away and my personality had just gone completely to absolute nothing. He used to actually speak for me.” (Mary)*

The recognition of a loss of self for each of the women could be seen as an indication that they had not lost sight of their sense of self completely although it is not clear whether this recognition occurred with the benefit of hindsight. That all five women left their abusive relationships demonstrates that they were able to fight against the destruction of their own



identities by their abusers and regain their sense of self. Indeed, losing a sense of self is perhaps an intrinsic part of constructing new post-relationship identities which are performed in different ways. The process of research participation was an important one for the women as, according to Steedman (2000) there is an urge to narrate the self that comes from within. Talking about their experiences was an essential part of re-constructing participants' shattered identities and once again becoming recognisable subjects.

#### **4.5.4 Self-Blame**

Self-blame is a strongly-identified theme among abused women (Hoff, 1990: Russell, 1990) and, indeed, was one of the strongest themes to emerge from the participants' narratives:

*“You make excuses for your partner and why they’ve done that and you always blame yourself.” (Mary)*

Michelle questions whether she was abused because of a personal characteristic:

*“I think it’s me, that’s what I think. I think it’s me, I think it must just be me but I think ... is it because I’m gobby? I don’t know ... I think it is me though.”*  
*(Michelle)*

Michelle says the word ‘me’ four times in her emphasis on self-blame. She is unsure as to why she is at fault; she simply understands that she must be. Megan attributed the abuse to her perceived lack of intelligence and gullibility:

*“And I’m very forgiving, really, to a fault that I’m stupid ... which is my own fault really.” (Megan)*

Megan's forgiveness fails to account for the social pressure she must have experienced being married to a man with whom she had three children. In contrast, Sarah viewed the abuse she was subjected to as a form of punishment:

*"I thought 'I'm being punished by my husband because I've done something wrong.'" (Sarah)*

Sarah's statement suggests that she believed her marital status gave her husband the right to 'punish' even though she was unable to identify her perceived wrongdoing, recalling historical perspectives which bestowed the right for husbands to abuse and oppress their wives. Women will feel unlikely to leave an abusive relationship if they blame themselves, not believing they have the right to escape such an environment. Societal attitudes can often reinforce the notion of victim-blaming and service providers must endeavour to be vigilant in order to challenge commonly-held myths which can compound the emotional impact of domestic abuse. Self-blame also links to the women's identities as mother in which they felt responsible for the abuse their children witnessed.

#### **4.5.5 Impact on Children**

All five women discussed their awareness of the impact the abuse had on their children even though this was not asked as a direct question at any point during the interviews. All five women talked about their sense of guilt at what their children had experienced as evidenced by Sarah's comment:

*"I feel guilty. It's my fault that Joseph's speech is not out, Joseph's development is not accurate at his age. I feel guilty." (Sarah)*

The significance of this finding lies in the fact that no questions were asked of the women about their children either generally or in relation to how the abuse impacted on them. This is crucial

for social work practice where assumptions are often made that women who feel unable to leave abusive relationships do not understand or choose to ignore the impact of abuse on their children. This was demonstrably not the case here. The women's identities as mothers came through strongly in their testimonies both during and after the relationships. Furthermore, participants were able to identify specific changes in their children's behaviour and delays in their developmental progression. Carlotta acknowledged the impact that moving into a refuge had had on her daughter:

*"I'm just worried about Anna because she's had to get up and leave everything behind and it's horrible because she wanted to go back to the house and I had to explain to her that the house is broken and she thought she was going to lose her toys." (Carlotta)*

Practitioners must acknowledge that, while domestic abuse clearly impacts negatively on children, moving to a refuge is a significant upheaval that causes distress. The women's identities as mothers came through strongly in their testimonies, so much so that they were given the validating right to impose their own agendas onto the research that were distinct from mine. That they were able to do so is one of the most empowering messages of the study and provides a direct challenge to notions of downtrodden abused women who 'fail to protect' their children. Empowerment should be a key goal for social workers in supporting women to find the emotional and practical resources to leave their abusive partners.

## ***4.6 Theme 3: Leaving***

### ***4.6.1 Fear of Abuser***

That participants were scared of their abusers might appear to be an obvious finding but the extent of their fear is worthy of emphasis:

*“I was so scared of him, I couldn’t have a shower. All I thought about was I could be having a shower and he’ll just come and kill me or if I have a bath he could drown me or something like that.” (Sarah)*

Sarah describes her fear as profoundly disabling in terms of being able to undertake everyday tasks. She literally feared death on a daily basis when she was at her most vulnerable, that is, when undressed. Furthermore, Sarah described an occasion when she was ten minutes late for her ‘curfew’ and her husband was so enraged that she froze in the doorway and literally wet herself in fear. Moreover, in the context of Sarah’s relationship which was not physically violent, this is a particularly shocking occurrence that clearly demonstrates that fear is not engendered only by the threat of physical violence. Such was the level of fear that Sarah felt entrapped in the relationship, an important insight for social workers who often focus specifically on violent assaults. Michelle and Carlotta expressed terror of their abusers in the present tense:

*“Tony petrifies me. He absolutely petrifies me, like, his name gives me shivers.”  
(Michelle)*

*“I honestly thought that he’d kill me and then go and kill himself. I’m absolutely terrified of him. I really am terrified.” (Carlotta)*

It is not difficult to see how such fear of abusers and of being killed could lead women to feel unable to leave abusive relationships, paralysed by fear of the ‘punishment’ they would receive for trying to leave. With such terror, women remained ensconced in abusive environments. However, fear could also be seen as an incentive to leave which, ultimately, was the case for the five participants. Profound fear of their abusers was an ongoing experience for all five women to such a degree that this is explored further in a later section of this chapter. The

evidence here shows that lack of practical resources intersecting with fear kept participants in abusive households.

#### **4.6.2 Economic status**

Women's economic status significantly affects their ability to leave violent relationships if they lack the financial resources to separate from their abusive partners. Megan's experience of being a full-time housewife and mother for most of her twenty-five year marriage not only exemplifies her financial dependence on her husband but the humiliation she felt at having to rely on welfare payments:

*"I've been dependent on him wholly and that's been the problem. I had to go on job seeker's for the first time in my life when I first split up with him in January. I hated it. I felt so terrible having to go and sign on." (Megan)*

Carlotta moved from a council property to the refuge in order to escape her ex-partner, however, her name remained on the council tenancy because the police had not yet permitted her to collect her belongings from her former home. Financially, this put her in a worse position than she was prior to the relationship ending:

*"I'm still paying rent on that house and I've got to pay rent here and the rent for this refuge is more than I pay for my house." (Carlotta)*

Finding the money to pay rent on two different properties would be a considerable barrier to leaving for any woman, employed or not, and is fundamentally punitive in nature. Carlotta struggled financially while her abuser, with whom she had not lived, remained unaffected. Sarah was in a difficult financial position owing to her immigrant status that left her financially dependent on her husband with no recourse to public funds at that time which stymied her attempts to leave:

*“I used to ring Women’s Aid all the time and all the time they say ‘no we can’t take you, you don’t have public funds.’” (Sarah)*

That Sarah actively tried to leave her husband but was not permitted to access the financial resources that might have enabled her to do so is a stark message of the dangers to asylum-seeking and immigrant women experiencing abuse (Joshi, 2003; Burman & Chantler, 2005; Gill & Sharma, 2005). Moving into a refuge was no simple solution to financial difficulties for the women. In practical terms, safe accommodation is the key objective of women’s refuges. Meals and other expenses such as clothes, toiletries and children’s toys are not provided unless donated by companies or the public.

#### **4.6.3 Housing**

A lack of housing options has been documented as one of the biggest barriers to leaving abusive relationships and was an issue for all five women for a number of reasons. Carlotta described the inadequacy of the temporary accommodation in which she and her daughter were placed when forced to flee their home:

*“I’ve literally had to go home, get what I thought I’d need and move into a hotel for a few days. But the hotel ... Anna was really bored. There was no fridge, kettle, microwave. I had no money. I couldn’t even, like, make food.” (Carlotta)*

Carlotta could not be allocated a new property until she officially moved her belongings out of her previous home and therefore remained in a state of limbo which prevented her from being able to move on both physically and emotionally. Sarah gained leave to remain in the UK and

was newly in receipt of welfare payments but the lack of council properties meant that she had been waiting for many months for her own accommodation:

*“There’s no houses available ... I think that’s the only downside of coming in here [the refuge]. We have to wait for houses for such a long time.” (Sarah)*

It could be argued that Megan was in the most precarious position in terms of housing. She had a shared mortgage with her husband who was subject to two-year restraining and occupancy orders that prevented him from returning to the house. Megan, who had recently started working, and her husband were paying the mortgage between them. However, Megan’s husband had the right to return to the property when the orders expired. Although relieved that she and her children did not have to leave their home after the assault, Megan had few rights in terms of preventing her husband from returning in the future or selling the house and forcing herself and her children to move:

*“Some of the other girls, they’re not in quite the same situation as me because they’ve rented, they can either stay where they are or they’ve been moved by the council for security where I haven’t got that option. It’s difficult when you own a property together.” (Megan)*

Furthermore, Megan’s housing situation was associated with her lack of financial autonomy prior to the separation as she could not afford to buy her husband out of the mortgage. The women’s narratives highlight the financial difficulties and lack of housing options whether renting a property, remaining in owned houses or living in refuge accommodation. Women’s housing situations also impacted on levels of experienced isolation.

#### **4.6.4 Isolation**

The extent to which abused women are isolated from their social networks by their abusers is apparent in the literature (Hoff, 1990; Lutenbacher et al, 2003, Abrahams, 2010). It was strongly evident throughout participants' testimonies:

*"I had no house visitors. It was just me and him. My world was just with him 24/7. We were always, always together, we done everything together, we got a bath together."* (Mary)

*"I, literally, cut off my friends. If I went round to my mum's, he'd say that I'd been sleeping with my brother's friends. I couldn't have boys in my phone. I had to delete all their numbers because it wasn't worth the arguments."* (Carlotta)

In Carlotta's case, the isolation was enforced by her partner who was jealous when she spent time with any other person. Sarah's isolation existed on multiple levels as she was literally separated from her family in Kenya:

*"I didn't know anyone in the country. I couldn't speak the language. I wasn't allowed any friends. I should've run. But where do you run to when you have no one? You only know one person and that person is your worst nightmare."*  
(Sarah)

Sarah's extreme physical and social isolation gave her few options to leave her husband as, initially, she could not speak Spanish (she and her husband moved to Spain immediately after their wedding) and literally could not communicate with others. Carlotta's enforced isolation necessarily continued after the end of her relationship owing to the risk her ex-partner presented:

*"The police risk assessment ... a lot of the areas in [place name] where I've lived all my life are high risk. And it's horrible because it's like, I feel isolated and it's*



*hard. I'm not even allowed to go to my mum's house because he knows where she lives and, you know, that's the house I've been brought up in all my life and it's sad". (Carlotta)*

The extent of isolation is an important finding that links to the abuse of family and friends as it demonstrates the complex polarity of a situation in which abusers can simultaneously isolate their partners from their social networks while also abusing family and friends. These are the enforced marginalised spaces of which Butler speaks (1990).

#### **4.6.5 Public Perception of the Abuser**

All five women described differences in their abusers' public presentations from their private behaviour. Participants described their abusers as pleasant and sociable in public:

*"He weren't like this nasty piece of work. He was dead nice when he wanted to be and if you met him now, you'd probably think he was the nicest lad you'd ever meet ... you wouldn't even suspect him at all."* (Michelle)

Sarah described her husband's public persona as part of his manipulation:

*"When you go in public, he pretends you're the best couple ever. You have the perfect family. He adores his wife. He calls you 'darling,' he calls you 'love.' But once that door is closed..."* (Sarah)

To Sarah, her husband's presentation in public was part of her husband's abusive behaviour rather than respite from it as she perceived that it was not only designed to hide the abuse she endured on a daily basis but taunt her about the treatment that was waiting for her "*behind closed doors*".' Megan did not tell her family or friends about the many years of abuse she endured until after her separation. They had difficulty reconciling their perception of Megan's husband's with the realisation of what he had been doing to Megan for years:

*“When close friends and family found out, they couldn’t believe it. I felt like I had to justify myself because they just couldn’t see that kind of character about him. I mean, if you meet him, you’d probably think ‘oh, he’s a nice fella, him’ you know? But he had another side to him that wasn’t nice, so it’s hard to explain to people really.” (Megan)*

Megan’s comment highlights the concern for many abused women that they will not be believed if they disclose abuse by outwardly pleasant and affable men. There was also a sense of participants feeling that they had to justify their decisions to enter into relationships with men who did not initially present as abusive:

*“We got on so well at first and he was just like me and you.” (Carlotta)*

Carlotta’s statement suggests a need to identify her abuser as having personal qualities that were like hers and mine, perhaps also wanting to assert that I might also have found her ex-partner plausible enough to enter into relationship with him. Carlotta’s need to qualify herself and her decisions specifically to a domestic abuse researcher is indicative of abused women’s awareness of the judgments made against them. Participants feared they would not be believed about the existence and extent of abuse they were experiencing. The key point here is that women do not choose violent and abusive men as is often assumed in social work practice (Baynes & Holland, 2012). They enter into relationships with men who become abusive at various stages once relationships are established. Thus, perpetrators perform their identities in opposing ways according to their social situations. Ultimately, participants managed to extricate themselves from their abusers and were in the position of considering their future plans.

## **4.7 Theme 4: The Future**

### **4.7.1 Fear of the Unknown**

All five participants expressed a profound fear of the unknown in relation to their abusers. Although all participants had left abusive relationships, fear of the abusers continued but in a markedly different form. Whereas it could be argued that there was a certain degree of predictability within the women's abusive relationships, either in cyclical or constancy, there was sense in which the fear the women experienced transformed into something wholly out of control once the relationship was over, so much so that their fear came across palpably. Participants described the fear of not being able to predict their abusers' future actions:

*"In two years' time, he thinks he can walk back into the house and legally I haven't got a leg to stand on, that's the trouble, unless he breaks the restraining order. He thinks he can just come back in and that's my worry really ... so you're on tenterhooks then, wondering if he's going to come back."* (Megan)

*"For a good six months my emotions were, like, still high. I was still jumping at every noise."* (Carlotta)

The fear of the unknown was palpably present even for the participants whose ex-partners were currently on remand:

*"I mean, obviously, like, I'm dead scared, thinking 'what's gonna happen when he gets out?' He's gonna be fuming with me. There's gonna be repercussions. So, it is quite scary."* (Michelle)

*"Every time, even when I get this new house, every time I put that key in my door when he's out of prison I'm always going to think 'is he in my house?'"* (Mary)

This finding, one of the most surprising of the study, highlights the changing nature of fear experienced by participants as it transformed in size and scope to become a constant presence permeating the women's lives, even for those whose ex-partners were incarcerated. This is

significant in understanding why women might remain in abusive relationships or return to them after leaving, highlighting the importance of ongoing protection and emotional support for women who have left their abusers.

#### ***4.7.2 Looking Forward to the Future***

In spite of participants' persistent fear, all five women expressed joy and gratitude that they were no longer in abusive relationships:

*"Things are good now, things are so much better. I feel so much better in myself. I'd sooner live on my own for the rest of my life than go through this ever again, you know?" (Megan)*

*"I've had more of a life not being with Larry than I did with him. I've been on holiday three times. Anna's been away with me. In the years I was with him, I didn't go away once." (Carlotta)*

Participants talked enthusiastically about their hopes for the future:

*"I'm going to finish my level two in Maths and English and I'm going to start dental nursing ... at the dental hospital in Manchester. That's what I'm hoping to do." (Sarah)*

*"Oh my future! I don't think of my past, that's what the difference is. When I think of the past and I think of him, I kind of get all sad and stuff but when I think of me and my future, I'm so happy because I can do what I want now and speak to who I want. I've got my friends back, my family [pause] and I'm back. Me! I'm not the quiet one who used to sit in the corner and have him speaking for me." (Mary)*

That participants were able to talk in concrete terms about their hopes for the future in spite of the ongoing fear they felt indicates that they experienced strongly conflicting emotional states simultaneously. Fear did not prevent participants from experiencing joy and hope nor did positive emotions assuage the women's profound sense of fear. Women who are supported to manage their levels of fear while they are also encouraged to focus on achieving their future plans may be less likely to return to abusive relationships as, in the longer term, hope prevails fear.

#### **4.7.3 Inner Strength**

Developing inner strength was mentioned explicitly by all participants:

*"I am quite a strong person. I've been through a lot. I don't let me affect me. It might affect me for a few days but as soon as my head's back on track, I'm up and I'm out."* (Michelle)

*"He always said to me I would never manage without him and I'd struggle but it's not the case. It's him who's not managing. I'm stronger than he thinks."* (Megan)

*"We don't choose to be abused ... It happens and women just need to realise that you can pick up yourself. We are strong enough to do it. If you're strong enough to realise it's happening to you, then you can take the next step to actually say 'no, it's not happening' and you can do it all the way."* (Sarah)

*"I've gone from strength to strength since leaving Larry. It was the best thing I ever done in my life and I'm so glad I got out of it. I've built my life up and I've seen him since and he knows that I don't take his shit anymore. I've got a lot to live for and I've worked hard for it. I'm not letting this knock me down because,*

*you know, if I'd let it knock me down, I'd have given up a long time ago."*

*(Carlotta)*

Sarah's use of the word 'we' suggests that she developed a sense of sisterhood brought about by living in close proximity with other women with whom she had a shared experience. Inner strength is, therefore, derived from a sense of community and solidarity. Sarah then refers to abuse "*happening to you*" in which she intends her words to be a source of encouragement for other women still trapped in abusive relationships. In this way, Sarah makes the transition from victim to survivor. The women's statements dispel the notion of the downtrodden abused woman who becomes permanently trapped in the role of victim (Walker, 1979/1984). Instead, participants found the strength to leave their abusers and articulated their wishes to lead happy, productive lives. They can only do this with the help of different agencies offering protection and support to help them leave abusive relationships and make sense of the aftermath.

#### ***4.8 Theme 5: Agency Involvement***

##### ***4.8.1 Social Services***

As discussed in chapter two, research into social work practice with abused women and their children suggests varying degrees of success in understanding the experience of domestic abuse. Participants highlighted a number of strengths and criticisms of social workers who had been involved with their children. Michelle recognised that social workers were trying to protect her daughter but did not feel supported on an individual level:

*"In a way they're only doing their job. They're looking after Amy but, I just feel like they're not as clued up as what they should be. I don't think they understand the impact that it has on the individuals themselves but I do think they understand that children are really affected by it."* (Michelle)

Michelle recognised the impact of abuse on her daughter, conceding that social work involvement was in Amy's best interests, however, she also suggested a clear emphasis on her daughter to the exclusion of her own experience. There was also evidence of social workers apportioning blame to the women:

*“They said to me ‘we’re not judging your parenting, she’s well looked after ... it’s just your choice in partners is really bad.’” (Michelle)*

This reinforces the myth that women choose abusive partners or are, in some way, attracted to abusive men. Sarah's experience describes that social workers were quick to tell Sarah what she needed to do without offering her the necessary support to achieve it:

*“Even when we went to case conference, the chairwoman was telling me ‘you need to leave, you need to leave’ but nobody was like ‘this is what we’re going to do, we’re going to take these steps.’ No, everyone was like ‘you need to leave’ but where do I go?” (Sarah)*

Sarah's view of social workers changed when a new person was allocated to her son's case:

*“One woman, one social worker who worked for children, her name is Andrea. Oh my God, as soon as she saw me ... [clicks fingers] ... she knew something was wrong. And she tried her best to get me out of that house. She even found me a refuge.” (Sarah)*

Sarah perceived that her son's new social worker intuitively understood what was happening in her marriage and was able to read between the lines of Sarah's husband's assurances that nothing was wrong. Thus, Sarah was believed. Sarah's assertion that the social worker knew immediately is seen by Sarah as a personal characteristic rather than an assessment based on

knowledge and skills. Michelle also identified the personal characteristics of social workers as being integral in building a positive relationship with her:

*“When they first come, I had a woman called Helen and she was lovely, I loved her, she was dead nice and helped me loads but now I’ve got a new social worker and she’s dead negative with me. She’s a bit cold really.” (Michelle)*

Michelle’s anxiety around being judged as a mother and losing her daughter was palpable:

*“I think they do really need to understand what women go through really. I couldn’t sit with my social worker and say to them what I’ve just said to you because I’d be too scared if I say one thing wrong, they’ll write it down straight away.” (Michelle)*

By way of contrast, Megan whose case was never referred to social services when her children were younger criticised the lack of involvement from social workers in the past:

*“It must be awful having the threat of your children taken off you, but that’s what I needed, a kick up the backside, years ago, because there’s no way I would’ve given my kids up. If I had the threat of losing the children because of him, I know which one I would’ve chose.” (Megan)*

Unsurprisingly for participants involved with child protection teams, social services was the most criticised agency, largely for not fully considering how domestic abuse affected them, however, the women’s views were ultimately balanced in also recognising that social workers understood the impact of abuse on children and offered practical support such as priority on housing waiting lists. They were able to identify positive personal characteristics of individual workers which helped them develop relationships with their children’s social workers.



Agencies not directly involved in care provision but in protection were also discussed by participants.

#### **4.8.2 Police**

Megan was able to identify considerable changes in police attitudes during her experience of domestic abuse:

*“When Marie was little, I used to ring the police and that and they didn’t really help you then as such, you know? One police officer even said to me ‘oh these things happen.’” (Megan)*

This contrasted strongly with her recent experience that led to her husband being arrested and charged with assault:

*“Oh, it’s been brilliant. I’ve found the difference from, like twelve years ago, fourteen years ago, when I really needed help. What a difference. The domestic violence unit at the police station couldn’t help me enough to be honest.” (Megan)*

Megan referred to specialist training around domestic abuse issues that police officers now receive which made a considerable difference as to how she was perceived in terms of feeling unable to leave her husband for so many years. In spite of Megan’s positive experience of contemporary police involvement, not all participants were satisfied with police responses:

*“When he got arrested I felt unsupported. I felt like they should have believed me a little bit. There should have been a follow-up appointment and I don’t think I should have been allowed to go back in the house.” (Sarah)*

The lack of evidence against Sarah’s husband that led to his release was interpreted by her as not being believed by the police. There was no follow-up on the part of the police which left

Sarah, having disclosed abuse against her husband, in a potentially dangerous position in having no choice but to return home with him. Fear caused Michelle to drop the charges against her ex-partner but the fear remained undiminished when she was told that she would still be called to give evidence in the police's criminal case against her ex-partner:

*“The police have been okay but I wish they weren't carrying on ... I dropped the charges for a reason and they're carrying them on and I just ... I'm really scared. If they want to carry them, let them do it off their own bat, you know?” (Michelle)*

There has been considerable debate as to whether proceeding with prosecutions of abusers against the wishes of victims is a step forward in pursuing perpetrators more aggressively or the further disempowerment of women who have been abused (Ellison, 2002; Danis, 2003; Dempsey, 2007; Davis et al, 2008; Flannigan, 2013). Michelle's statement speaks to the fear she felt at having to face her abuser in court, despite the fact that she was not responsible for the case proceeding to trial. According to Ellison (2002), domestic abuse cases should proceed on an evidential basis, similarly to murder cases, where photographs of injuries and police witness statements are evidentially sufficiently robust to secure convictions without relying on victims' testimony. Forcing women to testify when they specifically choose not to press charges effectively undermines so-called “victimless prosecutions” (p840) and continues to place women in the unenviable position of facing their abusers across a courtroom. In spite of this, for all five women, involving police was seen as a way to gain control of their situations and finally end the abuse they were enduring:

*“I chose to ring the police and I'm glad I did because all that time before I'd never rang the police because he threatened if I ever rang the police he'd stab my family. He was always in control. Now that I've rang the police, I'm in control.”*  
*(Mary)*

The police was seen predominantly as an agency that offered protection from abuse and had the power to bring their abusers to justice. The police were positively associated with the women taking control of their lives in comparison to social workers who were more negatively associated with a loss of control.

#### **4.8.3 SIDASS/Women's Aid**

It is unsurprising that an agency specifically designed to support abused women and their children received very positive comments with the exception of Sarah's difficulties in accessing funding for a refuge place. Salford Independent Domestic Abuse Support Service (SIDASS) offers a range of services including support/information groups and Independent Domestic Violence Advocates (IDVAs) to support women through the court process and in rebuilding their lives. Salford Women's Aid funds two refuges for women and children fleeing their homes. For Mary, the refuge was a source of practical and emotional support:

*"The key workers are always there if you want to talk about something, emotionally supporting me. They give you support with housing and let you know what activities are going on in Salford for the kids and stuff like that." (Mary)*

Participants' responses overwhelmingly indicated that support services for women experiencing abuse not only offered safety but gave them a sense of being cared about as individuals by workers:

*"I thought 'thank God for that ... someone's looking after me.' It was such a relief really." (Megan)*

*"Once I moved in [to the refuge], they made it all okay for me. I even slept better that night. They just help you so much." (Sarah)*

SIDASS workers were also associated with a non-judgmental approach to supporting service-users:

*“It’s amazing how helpful they are, without being overbearing. They’re really good, they’ll give you advice without judging you and put you in the right direction.” (Megan)*

Although Mary, Sarah and Carlotta described the difficulties of living in refuge accommodation such as lack of privacy, inhabiting a relatively small space with a number of other women and children and squabbles over communal chores, they clearly found support from refuge workers to be extremely valuable in dealing with the emotional devastation of being abused. SIDASS and refuge workers were perceived by participants as having no agenda other than to offer support to abused women. Women’s experiences of abuse, the impact on them and their children and the support received from agencies must be considered in the cultural context of Salford.

## ***4.9 Theme 6: Cultural Factors***

### ***4.9.1 Cultural Constructs of Relationships***

One aspect of the language used to describe relationships became apparent on first reading through the participants’ transcripts. Michelle, Mary and Carlotta all used a similar phrase to describe the start of their intimate relationships:

*“I got with Tony properly.” (Michelle)*

*“I started with somebody about five months ago.” (Carlotta)*

*“I got with him.” (Mary)*

The description of entering into a relationship as “*getting with*” could be seen as somewhat vague and non-committal although is it not an uncommon phrase in Salford. Furthermore, Michelle did not use the words ‘boyfriend’ or ‘partner’ once during her transcripts when referring to herself although she did refer to others having boyfriends. Michelle’s description of herself in relation to her partners utilised more concrete language:

*“I was like his mistress. I think I was just a fling that got out of hand.” (Michelle)*

Michelle, who did not describe herself as having a ‘boyfriend’ or ‘partner’, identified herself more readily as a “*mistress*” and a “*fling*” and therefore, perhaps did not feel that she has the right to clearly define her relationship with a man who was in a (violent) relationship with another woman. Megan’s description of the beginning of her relationship was markedly different:

*“We were courting ... [laughs] ... courting’s an old term.” (Megan)*

Megan’s acknowledgement of an anachronistic term indicates her awareness that relationships are contemporarily couched in very different language. In contrast to Michelle, Carlotta and Mary, who referred to their ex-partners by name, Megan referred to her husband as “*my husband*” throughout the interview and did not mention him by name once, his status as ‘husband’ perhaps being more important than his identity. The following comment indicated very different attitudes to relationships at the time of Megan’s marriage:

*“We were together for a couple of years before we got engaged and then we got married. We didn’t live together, there was nothing like that.” (Megan)*

*“I’m a bit old-fashioned like this. I got married for life.” (Megan)*

Megan's description of herself as "*old-fashioned*" might seem somewhat odd in that most people, one would imagine, view marriage as being a lifelong commitment, yet Michelle disputed the presumed longevity of contemporary relationships:

*"It's different these days, like years ago, people did have kids and they stayed together but no one stays with their partners anymore or for long, you know?"*

*(Michelle)*

Michelle presented a view of intimate relationships as essentially ephemeral and transient in nature. For Michelle then, relationships were experienced as profoundly unreliable despite Butler's view of male and female positions as highly interdependent. Binary gender positions rely on each other for individuals to become subjectivised. This explains the pressure Mary felt to be in a relationship:

*"I was getting to the stage where ... I wanted a relationship and I don't think I judged that well on the character of the person. It was more a case of I just wanted a relationship and I got with him."* *(Mary)*

Mary's desire for a relationship reverted to self-blame in that she saw it as her fault that she 'chose' a violent partner and stayed with him even after knowing he was violent. This view ignores the considerable pressure of social norms to perform one's gender in socially expected ways. Part of Mary's desire for a relationship was her age:

*"It was my first relationship I'd ever had and I was pretty old. I was like, twenty-three, twenty-four."* *(Mary)*

Mary's comment that she was "*pretty old*" suggests that she (probably subconsciously) felt considerable pressure to enter into a relationship and that to be single at a certain age is anomalous with the experiences of other women in her social world. The participants'

experiences demonstrated that all relationships, in spite of the definitions used to describe them, whether committed or legally recognised through marriage, have the potential to be abusive. The extent of domestic abuse was further linked to the social context of Salford, the significance of which was identified by participants.

#### ***4.9.2 Domestic Abuse in Salford***

Participants expressed unprompted views that domestic abuse was a common phenomenon:

*“Every single lad I’ve been with has been violent towards me. Every single one.”*

*(Michelle)*

Michelle, aged twenty-five, first entered into a relationship when she was thirteen years old and thus had experienced twelve years of abusive relationships. This experience gave her a clearly defined view of relationships in Salford. Her clear emphasis that “*every single*” relationship she had was abusive was echoed by a further comment about the extent of abuse experienced by her friends:

*“People need to live in the real world and realise what is going on. Like, domestic violence is happening everywhere, you know? Every single one of my friends get beat up off their boyfriends. That’s just the way it is in Salford.” (Michelle)*

Michelle’s statement poignantly highlighted an acceptance of the perceived inevitability of abuse for women in Salford, something from which she simply could not escape as it happened everywhere and to everyone she knew. Michelle went on to give her view of why domestic abuse is so prevalent:

*“I think people sniff too many drugs, they smoke too many drugs, they’re stupid, you know? But ... erm ... definitely Salford, yeah, 100%.” (Michelle)*

Mary echoed Michelle's comments about the perceived normality of domestic abuse in Salford:

*"I had a black eye off him and that was just through basically drinking and doing the normal thing that you do in Salford." (Mary)*

This could be seen as contesting Butler's notion of agency in the form of acquiescence to a patriarchal model of gender relations. Mary's experience changed the way she viewed men in Salford:

*"I wouldn't say all lads in Salford are like that but there is a lot of lads in Salford that just don't have no respect for women ... I'm just not impressed by the Salford lad now." (Mary)*

Mary's statement implies that *"the Salford lad"* and, therefore, Salford itself, was almost synonymous with domestic abuse. Butler would see this as men's identities becoming congealed within performances of hegemonic masculinity, performances that had the capacity to turn murderous with participants referring to the murder of Salford resident, Linzi Ashton. Michelle's comment that people need to live in *"the real world"* is particularly revealing. This perceived inescapability of violence is the 'real world' to which she feels professionals are oblivious. Megan expressed concern about the negative perception of Salford and its residents in a wider social and political context:

*"I think people get this persona of Salford, don't they? Especially when they watch these riots on telly, you know, that we're all tarnished with the same brush, especially when you see some of the interviews with people on Salford Precinct. I thought 'oh my God, they'll think we're all the same' you know?" (Megan)*



Participants' views of domestic abuse in Salford reflected the worryingly tolerant attitudes towards it that enable it to go unchallenged, unreported and unpunished. Domestic abuse as a cultural norm is, therefore, a substantial barrier to leaving abusive relationships.

#### **4.9.3 Hidden and Open Abuse**

Participants indicated that domestic abuse remains largely hidden in nature, leading to reluctance to discuss the topic openly in Salford:

*“People don’t readily talk about it, I don’t think ... my close friends and family know the situation but I’ve not gone into details as I’ve done with you. I’ve not told the ins and outs of everything. I’ve just told them basics really.” (Megan)*

Sarah’s description of domestic abuse in Kenya, supported by research (Kinoti 2003), indicates that physical violence in intimate relationships is far less hidden in her country of origin:

*“In Kenya it’s more like a physical thing. They would just hit you and it’s not hidden from anyone. But here, it’s more kept closed door and a secret. And no one knows what’s going on. No one.” (Sarah)*

This caused confusion for Sarah who, originating from an environment where assaults on women occurred in public but were ignored, now lived in a society where domestic abuse was discussed openly as a social issue but the occurrence of which was often hidden behind closed doors:

*“It’s so hard to pick up on because if you look around here, all homes look normal. You don’t know what’s going on. You just don’t know. You can see a perfectly normal couple walking down the road and holding hands but you just don’t know.” (Sarah)*

Sarah described Salford as a seemingly ‘*normal*’ environment, behind the facade of which domestic abuse thrived. However, some participants described being abused in public and, indeed, friends and family experienced abuse themselves from perpetrators. Thus, domestic abuse can be seen as a paradox in which it is both concealed from view and highly visible. It is, as Pain (2014) states, “the elephant in the room ... distanced by its everywhere-ness” (p532/537).

#### ***4.9.4 Family Background***

Participants were asked specifically about their family backgrounds in order to understand the environmental and cultural context of their later experiences and the sense the women made of them. The resulting comments revealed diverse experiences. Michelle and Carlotta experienced happy childhoods in which their parents remained married:

*“My mum and dad have been married since they were eighteen. I’ve never seen them argue once, never. My dad’s never even raised his voice to my mum. He’s the most nicest man you’ll ever meet. (Michelle)*

*“I couldn’t have faulted my parents...literally, to this day, they’ve never split up, my parents. They’re just like a team.” (Carlotta)*

Carlotta’s comment that her parents have “*literally*” never split up implies that it is an unusual circumstance which corresponds to the previous discussion about the longevity of intimate relationships in Salford. Megan’s late parents also had a happy and enduring marriage. In contrast, Mary and Sarah grew up with abuse around them. Sarah’s father was violent towards her mother and she described this as an accepted way of life. The abuse Sarah experienced was emotional and sexual in nature and she had no knowledge or awareness that such abuse existed. However, Sarah’s personal observations of husband/wife relationships were of overall

subservience on the part of the woman, which perhaps prevented her from challenging her abuser. Mary's father was also violent and abusive towards her mother and Mary believes this affected her own relationship:

*“Because I was growing up with abuse around me to me that became the norm and I got in a relationship that was like ‘oh well it’s not a big thing’ but it actually is.” (Mary)*

Mary's parents remained married and her anger towards her mother for failing to protect Mary and her brothers was evident:

*“If you would have shown me different and show that if a man ever hit you, you walk out and leave him straight away and you never go back, that’s what I would have known.” (Mary)*

Interestingly, Mary expressed no anger (nor any other emotion) towards her father, invoking the blaming notion that women are solely responsible for protecting children. Mary also stated that one of her brothers had gone on to abuse a partner, something that she, again, attributed to their upbringing in a violent and abusive environment. Mary expressed anger towards her mother for failing to protect her children in the way that she herself had done for her own children, reflecting society's victim-blaming attitudes. Crucially, the positive childhood experiences of Michelle, Megan and Carlotta in which they witnessed no incidents of domestic abuse did not act as protective factors when they entered into their own relationships. This indicates that the pervasive influence of a wider community, in which domestic abuse is not only tolerated but largely accepted, is more powerful and overriding than the family itself. Cultural factors therefore, specifically Salford's culture of violence, were stronger than familial experiences in these women's lives. This is the 'real world' that Michelle so vividly described.

#### **4.9.5 Socio-Economic Status**

Participants were aware of socio-economic divisions that led to domestic abuse being seen as more likely to occur in deprived areas while also recognising that it could happen to anyone. Several references were made to Nigella Lawson who was the subject of considerable media scrutiny at the time of the interviews after photographs were published of her then-husband grabbing her by the neck in a restaurant (Freeman, 2013):

*“People think generally that it comes from a poor background but it’s not the case is it? Look at Nigella Lawson. I’m glad they publicised that, you know? But still, she’s got money behind her and good looks and fame but it still goes on doesn’t it?” (Megan)*

Megan referred frequently to her husband’s job as a civil servant, one she associated with decency and respectability but which also made it more difficult for her to disclose the abuse she endured in her marriage for fear of not being believed. Participants viewed Salford as a predominantly deprived area with high levels of domestic abuse. While Mary was reluctant to enter into another relationship with someone from Salford, Michelle’s experiences of violence and abuse in every intimate relationship she had gave her a different perspective:

*“Violence comes from anybody. You could get with a lad who goes to university and be a barrister, they could still batter you.” (Michelle)*

To some degree, it appeared that such observations were expressed in defence of participants’ own abusive relationships by emphasising that if all men have the potential to be violent and abusive, it is a difficult task to find a partner who is not so, particularly from the limited social circles in which participants moved. At the same time, they also linked their experiences to the wider location of Salford and its reputation as a deprived area. Participants felt a sense of

inescapability from domestic abuse in Salford, trapped by their socio-economic status but also grimly aware that class in itself does not always act as a protective factor against domestic abuse.

#### ***4.10 Discussion***

Discussion provides an opportunity to expand further on aspects of the women's experiences through the lens of Butler's gender perspectives. Participants' testimonies reveal much about what it was (and is) like for them to experience domestic abuse. Not only were the extent, frequency, and severity of abuse deplorable but the women's descriptions of attitudes towards abuse, and towards themselves in particular, were hardly less shocking. Participants appeared to have internalised, through messages given by their ex-partners, wider society and, indeed, the professionals involved with them, the false notion that they were to blame for the abuse they endured. Michelle's comment "*is it because I'm gobby?*" invokes the stereotype of the subservient woman who does not speak back to her male partner. This image dovetails with the notion of hegemonic masculinity as described by Butler (1990) in which the performance of a certain type of masculinity is the dominant male ideology. As highlighted in the literature, mainstream masculinity is commonly associated with violence in that men are seen as naturally aggressive, therefore, violent men are 'the norm' rather than deviant. Men who do not conform to this norm, for example, gay men, are viewed as atypical, even abnormal (Connell, 2005). Participants' testimonies illuminated the ways in which, according to Butler, they performed their own gender in accordance to the social norms of men's and women's roles. Michelle's relationship with her ex-partner was never monogamous for him because, initially unbeknown to Michelle, he was seeing another woman with whom he had a child:

*"I was never with him. I thought 'how have you got the right to do that?'"*

Michelle questioned why her ex-partner abused her when he wasn't in a monogamous relationship with her. The implication in Michelle's statement is that, had he been entirely monogamous, his violence would have been more comprehensible. He would have been able to exercise his 'right' to hit Michelle. This statement supports the notion of hegemonic masculinity and the norms of male gender performances. Indeed, the concept of monogamy is questionable in this scenario as something that Michelle takes seriously but her ex-partner secretly did not adhere to. Monogamy in this sense functions as way of keeping Michelle from believing that she had the right not be hit within an intimate relationship. This invokes historical connotations of relationships, prevalent, as the literature review shows in many cultures, in which women were seen as being owned and legitimately chastised by men.

Mary's comment that she was "*pretty old*" not to have had a serious relationship at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four demonstrates the pressure for she felt to perform according to the hetero-normative tenets of her gender, that is, to be in a relationship with a man. Salford's teenage pregnancy rate, the highest in the North West (Cox, 2013), corroborates the pressure for young women to enter into intimate relationships with men and to be single in her twenties must have been a uniquely isolating and stigmatising experience. Mary goes on to say:

*"And when I first got my black eye it was a case of ... I'd already told everyone we was in a relationship. Everyone had already met him. I was, like, pretty ... pretty happy basically, the fact that I had a boyfriend. I don't know ... I felt like a little girl but when I met him I felt like a woman ... you know?"*

Thus Mary's assertion that she was "*pretty happy*" that she had a boyfriend even after he had assaulted her indicates that the shame of ending her relationship and acknowledging as such publicly would have been worse than speaking of the assault or returning to singlehood. This exemplifies the considerable social pressure for women, at least of a certain age, to be in a

relationship. Thus, entering into a serious relationship signifies the passage from girlhood into womanhood. Sadly, for the participants it also signified an experience of womanhood that was almost synonymous with male abuse.

In contrast to Mary's desire for a serious relationship, Megan described her husband's desire to socialise with his male friends after they were married:

*"It was like he wanted the single life ... he seemed to crave, you know, wanting to go out with his mates, things like that, where I wasn't really bothered, you know? I'm more of a homebird and still am really".*

Men's and women's spaces are clearly delineated with the phrase "*homebird*" suggesting a cosy domesticity that belies the true experience of Megan's experience of marriage life. Her husband's craving "*the single life*" implied that marriage is something in which men are trapped. The evidence of male-perpetrated abuse presented in this chapter demonstrates clearly that, certainly for the participants, the opposite is true. Megan positioned her husband as reluctantly engaging in the male-dictated institution of marriage (Brownmiller, 1993) while attempting to maintain a bachelor-type status among his male peers. Megan, on the other hand, performed her own gender identity as "*homebird*," occupying a space (the home) with which women are most commonly associated and, contradictorily as this chapter demonstrates, the space they are least likely to be safe. Megan's and her husband's performing of their gender roles suggests an adherence to gender stereotypes in which marriage is seen as something for men to tolerate and escape from whenever possible, but an ideal for women to aspire to (Connell, 2005). Men's single status, therefore, is idolised as a carefree lifestyle whereas, for women, the same status is associated with being undesired and unwanted. According to Butler, being desired is linked to being recognised. Women achieve more social recognition as wives/partners to male abusers than as single women who are free from abuse. The desire to

be recognised is a fundamentally human one and is open to exploitation (Butler, 1997b). Thus, according to Butler, abused women's status as victims of patriarchy is constantly reinforced.

Marriage is a particularly strong patriarchal tool. It compels universal recognition on women by operating on socially accepted gender norms (Butler, 2004a). Carlotta's description of her parents' happy marriage invokes gender stereotypes:

*“Mum, like, to this day, she's still a housewife. She'll still make the teas ready when they get home. Erm ... she doesn't mind doing it because he's [Carlotta's father] out earning money. My dad takes my mum out a lot. I don't know, my dad's really nice. He's a true gentleman, you know?”*

A clear division of gender tasks within Carlotta's family. Cooking is the woman's responsibility in contrast to financial provision for the family which is the responsibility of the male. Again, male and female social spaces are clearly delineated. Carlotta's mother remains at “home” while her father is “out”. In order to occupy part of her husband's space, Carlotta's mother requires permission to do so in the form of being taken “out” by him. The word “gentleman” is an innocuous-sounding word, disguising its hegemonic stance. Carlotta's description of her happily-married parents, whose relationship is free from abuse, reveals an adherence to clear divisions of labour within the household, dictated by fundamentally stereotypical notions of gender.

Men's bodies are often central to stereotypes of masculinity (Connell, 2005). According to Butler men's bodies represent a radical freedom in contrast to women whose are always restricted to their own bodies (1990). Participants made references to the bodily features of their male partners:

*“Most men are still quite strong compared to a woman aren't they?” (Megan)*



*“He’s a big lad and stuff and I like big lads and I was dead attracted to him.”*

*(Michelle)*

For Michelle, Tony’s physicality was a significant part of his appeal. Michelle went on to talk about a new partner:

*“I’m gonna have to get with somebody probably a bit bigger than Tony.”*

It is interesting to note that, even after her experiences of extreme physical abuse perpetrated by Tony, Michelle associated men’s physical size as something that has a protective factor for women as well as the ability to cause fear and inflict injury. Carlotta referred to her ex-partner’s physical prowess in an aggressive male-dominated sport, heightening the fear that he instilled in her:

*“He’s an ex-boxer as well and he’s been boxing since he was fourteen and he’s thirty-one now.”*

Thus, hegemonic masculinity dictates the mainstream masculinity as controlling women while also attracting them. Furthermore, women need men to protect them from other men. Butler’s view that the female body is marked with masculinist discourse while the male body remains unmarked (1990) is supported by participants’ testimonies of abuse. The women’s bodies bore the literal marks and effects of physical and sexual male violence, thus domestic abuse injuries transform from literal marks to symbolic significations of patriarchal discourse.

Participants’ perceptions of the overwhelming pervasiveness of such patriarchal discourse in Salford came across starkly in their testimonies, nowhere more so than in Michelle’s comment on its prevalence:

*“People don’t realise how much violence is happening ... [in Salford] ... it’s just so common. I think it’s unusual to find a relationship where they haven’t hit their girlfriend to be honest.”*

Michelle’s earlier statement that she experienced violence in all of her relationships, “*every single one*” implies that, in her experience and from her perspective, to be in a relationship in Salford is to be abused. For Michelle, abuse is something that cannot be avoided, only managed. This is crucial when considering social workers’ insistence that women leave their violent partners or risk removal of their children. If every relationship is seen as potentially abusive, then to leave a violent man offers little protection from the next inevitably violent partner. In order to ensure her child is fully protected, Michelle (as she sees it) would be required by social workers not to enter into another relationship at all. Returning to the notion of normative gender roles, to aspire to be in a relationship is to perform as ‘a woman,’ supported by Butler’s assertion that gender is strongly linked to heterosexuality (1990). Taking a heteronormative approach, men and women are defined as male or female principally by their attraction to (and engagement with) the opposite sex (McLaughlin, 2003). Indeed, as Butler states, culture is the “prerogative of heterosexuality itself” (2002: p35). Furthermore, “there is no possibility of not loving where love is bound up with the requirements for life” (Butler, 1997b: p8). By simply insisting that women leave violent partners (often the fathers of their children), social workers are expecting women to reject the normative performativity of their gender identities, therefore, not to be a woman or even human, something that has far more severe consequences than social exclusion and isolation.

Participants occupied dual roles as wives/girlfriends and mothers. Although the role of mother is a strongly identifying one for women, I would argue that being a partner to a male is a role that challenges even the supremacy of motherhood:

*“I just think that they [social workers] think...[pause]... ‘right your child’s your main priority’ which it is but they’re not to everybody, d’know what I mean? People have their kids took off them because they go back to violent relationships, like, that’s life, d’know what I mean?”*

Michelle’s comment that children being removed from their parents’ care is “*life*” indicates the role that hegemonic masculinity (in which women must be in intimate relationships with men) plays in convincing women to prioritise men’s needs over those of their children in what Chambers refers to as “the power of heterosexuality when it operates as a norm” (2007b: p657). Butler highlights the dangers of social norms in subtly dictating gender identities (1997). Where explicit coercion is identifiable, norms are insidious in hiding the regulatory framework of hegemonic masculinity. Social workers place the onus firmly on women to protect their children from the risks their partners present, negating any responsibility on men’s part to cease their violent, abusive behaviours. In this way, the non-violent parent (the mother) is perceived as the ‘bad’ parent. This message is reinforced by statutory agencies whose treatment of abused women is punitive to say the least. Children are removed from women’s care because they failed to conform to stereotypical notions of ‘good’ mothers who protect their children. Such punitive actions, which irrevocably affect children, fail to recognise the conflict between the norms of being a ‘good’ mother and ‘good’ wife/girlfriend.

In spite of the pressures stemming from women’s gendered roles, participants succeeded in rejecting the gender constraints of male/female relationships. Mary stated:

*“I wouldn’t be going, like, putting this lipstick on and this short dress on because that’s not how you do that anyway. That’s not confidence is it?”*

Mary’s comment suggests that she disassociated from the idea - purveyed by hegemonic masculinity - that a confident woman is one who is necessarily sexually attractive to men.

Participants left their abusive partners at great sacrifice to themselves and their children, thus, the women ultimately rejected the hegemonic notion of gender identities - masculine and feminine – in order to live the lives they wanted to live, as single women with children. Participants' views of their ex-partners changed considerably throughout the relationship and in the aftermath of the separation:

*“I don't want him back and don't want to be with him. I do care about him, don't get me wrong ... but I don't love him anymore. He can promise me all ... you know, till the cows come home but I know deep down he'll never change.”*  
(Megan)

*“He'd need a complete personality change and even still, he's just not a person that I trust no more. If he's an abusive person, it doesn't matter who you are, he's going to do that to you. If he's done it before, he will do it again.”* (Mary)

*“I look at him and think ‘you're such a weak man.’”* (Carlotta)

Megan's comment indicates that she recognised her husband's manipulative tendencies in his promises to her while Mary acknowledged that her partner would abuse her or someone else again. Carlotta's comment suggests that, in spite of her fear of her ex-partner, she dispelled the perception that a physically strong and aggressive man is a 'real' man thus rejecting the hegemonic stance. In doing so, Carlotta supports Butler's claim that gender is a norm that can never be fully internalised (1990). Gender itself is not a stable identity and is always open to repetitive signification through citational cultural practices. Thus, subjects can defy expectations, such as social workers' negative views of the ways in which they perform as mothers. Indeed, participants recognised the positive impact that leaving their relationships had had on their children:

*“It reflected on my children as well. Like, how happy my daughter and son is now they’re away from him.” (Mary)*

*“The kids are a lot happier now. They don’t want him at the house. They like it. They don’t have to worry about bringing friends round. The atmosphere’s a lot different in the house. Things are so much better and I wish I’d have done it years ago really.” (Megan)*

Participants ultimately prioritised their children’s needs in leaving their abusive partners and, at the time of the interviews, expressed no strong desire to rush into another relationship, thus prioritising their identities as mothers over those as men’s partners. This supports Butler’s notion of agency which participants utilised to their advantage. Butler’s view that there is power in choosing to occupy positions of marginality is valid in recognising the empowering choices participants had made in ending the abuse (Boucher, 2006). However, participants literally feared death at their hands of their partners, therefore, the process of leaving may have felt less an empowering choice than a stark lack of options. As a result, leaving their relationships was a difficult and traumatic experience for participants. Butler acknowledges that marginalised positions are often “non-places in which one finds oneself in spite of oneself” (2002: p20) and the resultant lack of identity recognition can be distressing. She asserts that a demand for new recognition of a subjective position can powerfully challenge existing social hierarchies, however, this operates on the assumption that abused women’s demands are readily heard. Hearing women’s voices is demonstrably not the case as evidenced by the victim-blaming attitudes of structural institutions within society. All women, therefore, as emphasised by intersectionality, do not count equally. As stated earlier, in order to reject and subvert gender norms, subjects are required to challenge gender identities and recognise the socially contingent role that social norms play in dictating them. How viable it is to firstly subvert a gender role, secondly, challenge gender identity and thirdly recognise how socially

contingent roles play out is highly questionable. Butler is useful here in providing an analysis to uncover the congealed patriarchal matrices in which men and women operate. However, Butler underestimates the enforced isolation of being socially and spatially marginalised for some vulnerable groups, such as abused women (Strong, 2002). The ethnographic aspect of this study highlights the difficulties, financial and emotional, of living in overcrowded refuge accommodation and waiting long periods for suitable housing. The experience of relying on inadequate state support is likely to feel less than empowering in reality.

Ultimately, Butler herself does not write from the marginalised position occupied by the participants but from the privileged position of the middle-class, educated academic. Furthermore, as bell hooks argues from a materialist rather than a linguistic perspective, it is possible to romanticise the struggles of oppressed people in the production of counter-hegemonic positions which belie the ongoing daily struggle to survive (1989). Where Butler's perspective is limited, however, ethnography compensates by highlighting the barriers to leaving abusive relationships and the hardships subsequently experienced, a key strength of interweaving Butler with ethnography that this study uses. I would argue that while there is some power in adopting marginalised positions, the goal must surely be to avoid the marginalisation of abused women in the first place. Moreover, adopting marginalised positions fails to challenge hegemonic masculinity which consistently positions women as acceptable victims of male violence.

Hegemonic ideology reinforces victim-blaming and enforces isolation, making it less likely for women to leave abusive partners. Women can challenge their gender identities by becoming more fully conscious of the ways they function to keep women in submissive positions, a consciousness that abused women's support groups and refuges accomplish effectively. However, abused women may return to their violent partners, proving that developing awareness of one's own identity within a hegemonic society is no straightforward task. Butler's

notion of identity aids an understanding of why women may return to abusive partners. According to Butler, performatives construct identity yet a condition of performativity is that each repetition produces something slightly different. Thus, identity is a complex balancing act between being produced and re-produced. Identity and subjectivity are always being constituted and contested, therefore, there is no such thing as a stable identity or a stable subject. Women perform their identities differently in different spaces. In refuges, they are nurtured, protected and clearly told that they are not to blame for the abuse they experienced. However, when re-locating to new communities, their identities once again become unstable, particularly with socially stigmatising labels such as 'single parent'. The same agency that enables women to reject victim status may paradoxically permit them to return to the previous identity of being part of a couple with its all its inherent risks. Butler distinguishes between literal death and social death through the isolation of women marginalised from their familiar social circles in a social world they never chose (2004a). Thus, the transition from victim to survivor is an uneasy alliance between agency and oppression. Although Butler's notion of agency has been criticised for being too heroic (Radford & Hester, 2006) my view is that, if applied from a cultural perspective, agency offers a realistic and functional interpretation of the ways in which identity is constantly (re)created and dictated by the social and cultural norms around us.

The norms of hegemonic masculinity dictate acceptable ways for women to perform their identities. Sexism and misogyny are dominant in such established discourses, providing the foundations for violence against women to go unchallenged. Even relatively minor experiences of sexism can be linked to physical, sexual and emotional abuse: "Everything is connected: inequality is a continuum with the minor and major incidents irrevocably related to one another as the attitudes and ideas that underlie one allow the other to flourish" (Bates, 2014: p75). It is not difficult to see sexism in explicit forms all around us in the daily bombardment of

derogatory images of women in the media coupled with the lack of female presence in the fields of business and politics. Thus, the cumulative effects of experiencing “the regular, run-of-the-mill, taken for granted, daily sexist moments that women encounter” (Bates, 2014: p7) cannot be overestimated:

“The world around us sends us messages about ourselves as women – about our guilt and our difference, our accountability and our flaws. It gives us endless reminders of the vulnerability and victimisation of women. It lets us know it is normal and common for women to experience assault and harassment and rape. And it tells us that we deserve it ... before we ever experience violence we are conditioned to expect it – and to accept it.”  
(Bates, 2014: p343)

Here is the damaging effect of the Butlerian perspective of gender identities being created through repetitious acts, reinforcing a specific set of social relations. Although not all men are sexist and abusive, misogyny has been described as “air pollution, even if you’re not contributing, we’re all breathing it in” (BBC, 2014). Patriarchy as a structure ensures all men reap the benefits of a society whose default setting is that of a male perspective. Thus, all men, whether proponents of hegemonic masculinity or not, are complicit in its persistence, problematising the need for men to relinquish their position of entitlement and privilege.

How this relinquishment is achieved is not within the limits of the discussion here. Suffice it to say that hegemonic masculinity is not without criticism. Hearn (2013) asserts that an over-reliance on hegemonic masculinity as an explanation for male violence against female partners disregards men’s material power over women, a theme that came across strongly in my study in which women were severely disadvantaged by their limited financial resources and access to safe housing. The need for such violence undermines the natural supremacy of men by implying that domination is only achievable through the use of violent means. Indeed, as Hearn and Connell suggest, many men hold the view that a ‘real’ man would never hit a woman.



However, male abusers are not marginalised from society. From a Butlerian perspective, abused women operate from positions of marginality. They are forced into hidden refuges or moved to different geographical areas in order to avoid their abusers. Emotionally, they are isolated from their families, friends and communities. In contrast, men who are convicted of violent assaults often do not serve custodial sentences, sometimes receiving little more than suspended sentences or restraining orders. Perpetrators are free to return to their own communities, thus occupying their previous social spaces, while their female partners are forced into marginalised spacial positions apparently for their own safety. Men who subsequently break the conditions of their restraining orders are more likely to be imprisoned, not for violence against women but for disobeying the direct orders of a (usually male) judge. This can be seen as the politicization of hegemonic masculinity in which Butler positions her critique of gender relations where abused women are problematised as opposed to violent men. Violence against women is all around us and it rarely receives the concern it deserves. Violence that fails to be acknowledged becomes normative violence, thus violence against women is a cultural as well as gendered practice. If women's suffering is concealed from public consciousness, women will not receive the compassionate response they deserve; norms remain unchallenged. Normative violence, therefore, is as much a barrier to leaving abusive relationships as more practical issues such as housing and financing.

Butler's optimistic belief that dominant power relations can be challenged by the intentional adoption of marginalised positions is partly evident for the participants who chose to reject the cultural narratives of gender relations at considerable financial cost and emotional upheaval to themselves and their children. Butler's optimism interprets women's choosing to live within the margins as a rejection of dominant gender discourses and indeed, participants chose to seek protection outside of male hegemonic spaces, that is, in women-led refuges where power exists in collective strength. However, marginality may be experienced by abused women as less a

choice and more a lack of any viable alternative. The question remains as to how abused women can reject gender norms without experiencing such marginalisation. Butler asserts that opposition to male violence must take place “in the name of the norm, a norm of nonviolence, a norm of respect, a norm that governs or compels the respect of life itself” (2004: p206). It is in highlighting the ways in which regulatory gender norms function to normalise male violence against women that gender identities have the opportunity to develop along new and more mutually satisfying lines. The challenge for Salford is considerable. Although I agree with Judith Butler’s view that women, particularly abused women, operate from a position of marginality, I have demonstrated that domestic abuse has a profoundly pervasive discourse in Salford to the extent that it has become a mainstream, normative experience. While extremely disquieting, opportunities must be sought for domestic abuse to be addressed openly within dialogues about men, women and gender relations.

#### ***4.11 Chapter Summary***

An ethnographic methodology highlighted the cultural context of Salford and provided vivid descriptions of life in refuge provision as well as the camaraderie experienced by participants attending a survivor’s support group. Thematic findings further highlighted insights that would have been lost without ethnographic interviewing methods, such as distinguishing between the fear experienced within a violent relationship and the fear experienced after the relationship ends. This study’s utilisation of Butler’s work provided integral research tools to interpret participants’ experiences through the prism of gender identity and performativity. The difficulties of rejecting stereotypical norms about male/female intimate relationships were evident in terms of the pressure participants felt to be in relationships and their acceptance (though ultimately their rejection) of the dominant male role. The findings in this chapter are now considered in terms of their implications for social work practice.

\*\*\*\*\*

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

### ***5.1 Chapter Introduction***

This chapter presents a concise summary of the key findings of this study. Implications for practice are also considered. In line with a reflexive approach, the personal and professional impact of the research is discussed as well as suggestions for further study.

## ***5.2 Thesis Summary and Key Findings***

I endeavoured to contribute to the knowledge base that challenges gender inequalities at a structural level in Salford. The issue of domestic abuse is one I have encountered in every setting in which I have worked, most notably in my role of qualified social worker for statutory services in Salford. My desire to gain a richer understanding of domestic abuse in my own locality led to this ethnographic study in exploring the experiences of domestic abuse for women in Salford. Agency involvement and cultural factors were identified and discussed. Observations undertaken at Salford Women's Centre and two women's refuges in Salford were combined with loosely-structured interviews with seven women recruited through purposive sampling. An ethnographic approach, complemented by the works of Judith Butler, was chosen in order to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the women's experiences and the cultural context of Salford itself. Interviews were fully transcribed and field materials were analysed using a thematic approach that identified six overarching themes in participants' testimonies: **1) constructs of abuse; 2) impact of abuse; 3) leaving; 4) the future; 5) agency support and 6) cultural factors.** These themes provide rich insights that, in some cases, do not concur with findings from current knowledge on domestic abuse, therefore making an original contribution to the evidence base. My study identified new facets of women's abuse experiences including fear of the unknown, the extent to which participants' family and friends were threatened and abused by perpetrators and the atypical patterns of abuse in some testimonies that do not concur with the Duluth model.

The validity of the study can be found in the strong use of ethnographic field materials, the combination of observational and interview materials, immersion in the analytic process and the high degree of researcher reflexivity demonstrated throughout the thesis. The findings highlighted the devastating consequences and impact of domestic abuse that provide insights into intersectional factors that can prevent women from leaving abusive relationships. The study also revealed that domestic abuse was experienced as culturally pervasive for the participants in Salford, to the extent that it was defined by one woman as “the real world.” Domestic abuse in Salford was seen by participants as a culturally normative experience. Put simply, men abusing women is accepted as the way things are. Such acceptance presents a significant barrier to leaving abusive partners. In considering practice implications, such an obstructive viewpoint provides a monumental challenge for social workers to surmount.

### ***5.3 Recommendations for Practice***

#### ***5.3.1 Structural Level: Social Work as an Agent of Social Change***

Perhaps the biggest challenge is to affect change on a structural level. The very nature of society and its patriarchal structures provides a firm foundation in which the inequalities between men and women not only continue to exist but appear to thrive leading to participants’ views that domestic abuse is unavoidable. The previous chapter argued that hegemonic structures create the social backdrop for violence against women to go unchallenged. Merely addressing violence itself without reference to the structures that normalise it, fails to seek a permanent solution for change. Social workers, as agents of social change, must challenge the status quo as they occupy a unique position to view its negative impact. Few other professions have the opportunity to identify the intersectionality of multiple prejudices and to recognise how each one feeds off another. To instigate wider social change, social work needs to return to being a reflective, morally-driven profession that has its roots in humanitarian endeavours. Social workers have a responsibility to confront prejudice in all its insidious forms from challenging

inappropriate comments made within the workplace to contributing to the policies and procedures that function as the basis for service-user interventions. However, the ingrained acceptance of male violence in Salford provides such a challenge that I question whether I am guilty of 'blue sky' thinking. My research set out to make practical recommendations but the enormity of the task seems overwhelming. In spite of this, small interventions would make a difference. The ethnographic aspect of my study enabled the women's experiences to reflect the cultural values of Salford's social context. I was able to occupy the women's spaces which presented an in-depth learning experience for me. These same spaces, safe, supportive and nurturing, provide learning opportunities for women themselves, for example, the women's group discussed patterns of abuse and the ways in which abusers operate, thus disputing the very notion of victim-blaming, something that is still endemic in social work practice. Thus, the question changes from 'why don't women leave violent relationships?' to the far more pertinent 'why don't men stop being violent?' What ethnographic research demonstrates then, is that sharing women's spaces collaboratively can allow for mutual learning experiences based on respect. Entering women's spaces therefore, rather than summoning service-users to social work offices, values women and their experiences and minimises power imbalances, thus a minor structural change is effected. Feminist responses to violence against women began at grass roots level and swelled to become a global collective movement. It is to this politicised approach that social work practice must return in order to instigate social change that expands to encompass broader systemic objectives.

### ***5.3.2 Educational Level: Comprehensive Domestic Abuse Training***

Social workers need a comprehensive knowledge base of domestic abuse prior to their entry into the profession. It is essential for practitioners to develop an understanding of patterns of

abuse, its impact, the wider societal influences that perpetuate it and the barriers to leaving abusive relationships. As part of my social work training, my cohorts and I received one solitary two-hour lecture on domestic abuse which, while useful, was woefully inadequate in developing understanding of a social issue that is not only highly prevalent in social work caseloads but incredibly complex.

Domestic abuse is not merely a subject on a checklist of topics that must be acknowledged in order to meet basic requirements of social work education. It is a widespread and profoundly disturbing act that fundamentally threatens the safety and wellbeing of women and children. The extent and severity of the problem did not become apparent to me until I entered the social work field as a newly qualified worker. My taught understanding of domestic abuse proved to be inadequate as I strived to grasp the complexities of each case. I recall feeling out of my depth on more than one occasion as I struggled to work in partnership with mothers and balance the needs of their children while being subjected to verbal abuse and threats of physical violence from abusive fathers. Thus, notions of ‘feminist’ social work are oxymoronic as the profession fundamentally fails to challenge victim-blaming attitudes that find women culpable for their own abuse. Social work educators need to ensure that comprehensive training on domestic abuse is delivered, not as an isolated lecture but as an ongoing process that is consistently interwoven with all aspects, fields and client groups of social work practice. Thus, the centrality of domestic abuse as a social work issue is recognised. Explicit reference to patriarchal contexts of domestic abuse is necessary to see beyond patriarchal norms. A commitment to being proponents of social change requires ongoing training in equality and diversity in order to reflect on personal values that are no doubt tainted by immersion in existing patriarchy.

### ***5.3.3 Practice Level: Utilising a Family Support Approach***

The research evidence base and the findings from this study strongly indicate that the current child protection model of working with victims of domestic abuse fails abused women by disregarding their needs, managing risks towards them ineffectively and alienating them from the professional arena. A family support approach to social work is more appropriate and effective in engaging with abused women than the predominant child protection model which inevitably implicates blame on the part of the mother, never more so than with the ultimate punishment: removal of a child. Protecting children is clearly crucial but what is predominantly in children's best interests is to remain with their non-abusive mothers. As long as the child protection model persists, women will avoid approaching children's services for fear they will be judged as bad mothers and have their children taken away, thus missing out on opportunities to be protected and supported.

A family support model provides a holistic approach to working with the family, thereby focusing interventions on all family members including the perpetrator who is held accountable for his behaviour. This approach provides women with a safe place to talk about their experiences within an overall ethos of compassion and understanding. Enabling women to speak openly without fear of judgment gives them the opportunity to collaborate in generating their own safety plans, thus empowering them in a way the child protection model neglects. Listening to women's stories prevents social workers from distancing themselves from the experience of domestic abuse, thus gaining a level of understanding that is truly invaluable in meeting families' needs. As a result, social workers avoid assumptions that women are a homogenous group and produce support plans that are tailored to the needs of individuals. Women's experiences are validated whilst blame is rightly apportioned to the abusers, thus reducing the shame perpetrators inflict on their partners.

The family support approach has its limitations. Women in abusive relationships who do not have children may identify as a couple rather than a family, thus potentially deterring them



from accessing services to which they feel un-entitled. The family support model also suggests that domestic abuse is a problem caused by 'the family', however, I have argued in this thesis that domestic abuse is a gender issue and not specifically a familial one. In spite of these limitations, however, the family support approach offers a model of social work practice that seeks to support rather than blame and punish women for perceived childcare failings. Although abused women often share many common experiences and feelings, each woman has her own story to tell, her own path to find that will lead her away from her abuser towards a more peaceful future. Far from being 'blue sky' thinking, tackling domestic abuse using a family support approach and with a holistic perspective would prevent children being taken into care, thus providing a preventative and more cost-effective model of social work practice that also incorporates an imperative moral stance on violence against women.

I make no claims that this thesis has all the answers to tackling domestic abuse and addressing social work deficits in Salford, particularly in the current political climate in which the profession is driven by target-measured performance and a lack of financial resources. However, what this thesis has done is to highlight the pervasive cultural acceptance of violence and abuse against women in Salford which must be recognised and addressed to produce effective social work interventions with abused women and their children.

#### ***5.4 Suggestions for Further Research***

This study makes a valuable contribution to the domestic abuse literature base. The qualitative element of the study opened my eyes to the experience of domestic abuse for women in Salford. My interest has led me to consider future research endeavours in Salford including a larger-

scale study utilising a mixed-method approach to gain insight into the extent of the problem without losing sight of the personal impact on individual women. Re-interviewing the participants of this study to understand how their lives have progressed since fieldwork was completed would provide an extremely valuable longitudinal perspective into the long-term impact of abuse on women's lives. From a social work perspective, undertaking research directly with social workers to establish their personal and professional views on domestic abuse would capture the difficulties and frustrations of intervening in domestic abuse cases, considering how challenges might be met within a practice setting with a view to promoting positive change within the profession. Thus, this study could be seen as a pilot from which to progress to wider research in Salford, influencing the police and local authority enquiries into domestic abuse currently in progress in the city. As resident and practitioner in the locality, I believe Salford and its citizens are eminently worthy of further investment.

### ***5.5 Study Limitations***

Seven women were interviewed and a number of others observed in specific settings created with the aim of protecting and supporting abused women. In this respect, the sample was purposive as the value lay in learning about the specific experiences of the participants involved. The findings, therefore, cannot be said to be representative of all women who have survived abusive relationships, however, it was the in-depth individuality of participants' stories rather than their generalisability that was the research aim. The ethnographic element focused specifically on domestic abuse experiences in Salford and so the findings are specific to this area. It must also be acknowledged that I, as the researcher, cannot be separated from this study. I cannot claim objectivity as the findings were shaped and explored through the lens of my own value base, however, I have demonstrated a reflexive approach throughout the study so as to make my subjectivity transparent. I did not set out to produce a thesis that could be

held up as 'the truth' as it must be acknowledged that there is no one truth waiting to be uncovered. I have endeavoured to tell the women's truths as they saw it although I recognise that their stories have been filtered through my own inherent subjectivity.

Two of the women in the study were of black African (Ghanaian and Kenyan) origin. I cannot claim that the issue of ethnicity has been adequately explored in this thesis as a full exploration of the ways in which domestic abuse affects black and minority ethnic women is simply outside the scope of this study. One participant was fifty years of age and, again, the small-scale nature of the study rendered it impossible to address the issue of domestic abuse in relation to middle-aged and older women. However, the varied characteristics of the participants is also a strength of the study in that the findings demonstrate some of the diverse perspectives of its participants and support Judith Butler's proposition that women are not an amorphous group but operate from multiple perspectives.

### ***5.6 Professional and Personal Impact of Undertaking Research***

The aim of ethnography is not to study people or to collect data about them but to learn from them, to be taught by them (Spradley, 1979). That was manifestly true for me in relation to this study and I learned how domestic abuse impacts on every single aspect of women's lives in Salford including changing physical environments, mental health and social interactions with others. Having the opportunity to share the women's spaces, observing and discussing a social phenomenon from a different, in-depth perspective was crucial in developing my understanding of how the political (patriarchal structures) relates to the personal (the lives of individual women) and vice versa. I now find myself more ready to challenge stereotypical views of abusive relationships that I have heard in and out of the workplace such as the notion that some women are addicted to bad men. The 'treat them mean, keep them keen' school of thought (as an acquaintance casually commented during the writing of this thesis) is one for

which I hold only contempt but my responses now are even more passionate and certainly more well disputed in terms of why leaving abusive relationships is so very difficult for many women.

As discussed in chapter one, I consider myself to be a feminist and yet, with the benefit of the knowledge gained from this study, I realise my aspirations of feminist practice had fallen substantially short. I previously focused primarily on meeting the targets set out in children's care plans which had been established without asking their mothers, the predominant victims of abuse, about their experiences. Apparent as it may now seem, this logical step was not considered a priority or even a necessity. I now ask myself how I could have formulated care plans without understanding precisely what women had been through, thereby gaining a thorough understanding of how abusers operate. I believe I now demonstrate a far more empathic approach when working with domestic abuse survivors and it is my aim that this thesis will allow others to read my findings and reach a similar conclusion. In a more general sense, I find that I have become a more reflective practitioner. Rather than operating 'on auto-pilot' as it is easy to do with has a heavy, complex workload and too little time, I take brief opportunities to step away from the ceaseless pace to consider what I am doing and why I am doing it. I engage in supervision in a more reflective capacity and consider the impact of personal values in professional decision-making. My personal and political values have not diminished in their intensity, but I am more aware of their presence in my consciousness and how they impact on my practice as a social worker. Thus, I have enhanced my practice and improved as a social worker, not least owing to the sense of confidence I developed from accessing a new space, building relationships with participants, undertaking the challenge of a lone research project and learning from research.

Researchers occupy privileged positions in respect of their power to create new knowledge in specific subject areas. I am grateful for the opportunity to occupy this new vantage point,

particularly in respect of being permitted a glimpse into the most private and painful experiences of women; the impact of whose abusive experiences was still reverberating through their day-to-day lives. Although I knew at the outset of the study that domestic abuse would be an emotionally intense research topic in which to immerse myself, I was unprepared for the extent of the emotional impact that the study would have on me, not just during my time in the field but since then. I often think of the women who participated in my study and whenever a domestic abuse-related story is reported in the media, I find myself wondering how the participants are and whether their quests to create new and happier lives for themselves and their children were successful. In actuality, it is likely to be an ongoing process for all the women involved as the violence and abuse they experienced continues to resonate.

To develop an understanding of the impact of being involved in research of a profoundly personal nature I asked each participant at the end of her interview why she had chosen to take part in the study. It seems right to include their responses here and to give voice to the women who made this study:

*“So many women can be helped with our own testimony, like, we’ve been there, we’ve come through it and we’re looking up towards the future. I want it to be seen as a bright thing, to move into a refuge and to want to change everything.”*  
(Sarah)

*“I just thought that if it helps someone else then why not? It can only do good can’t it? I think it opens people’s eyes as well to domestic violence. It can happen to anyone and what I’ve learned is there’s some people where you’d think it would never happen to people like this but you’re not the only one out there, like, I’ve come in here and there’s people from different backgrounds and it happens all over.”* (Carlotta)

*“I’m glad I spoke to you about it anyway. Hopefully, you’ll never experience it but you’ll know all about it [laughs]. You just never know, you know? Or you might have a friend who might experience it in the future, you don’t know do you?”*

*“I understand why you’d want to know ... you know, why ... some of the questions, you know, because sometimes I don’t understand it. One day, I’ll probably be sat here asking someone the same questions because it’s made me want to go down that road where I’m helping someone.”*

The women’s responses highlighted that participating in research helped make sense of their abuse experiences. They wanted to inspire abused women with the message that there is an escape from abuse and that a life worth living awaits them. Perhaps their key motivation was the unconscious desire to be recognised as viable subjects. Butler herself wrote *Gender Trouble* from “a desire to live, to make life possible and to rethink the possible as such” (1990: pxx). The same could be said for my participants, in the process of re-building their lives and moving towards their own “philosophy of freedom” (Butler, 2004a: p219).

## ***5.7 Epilogue***

Writing this thesis has been edifying, emotional and challenging to say the least. At times, I felt the oppressive weight of misogyny settle on my shoulders as I listened to, analysed and portrayed the appalling experiences of abuse against women. The weight of responsibility in wishing to do justice to participants’ testimonies was a constant presence. I have been compelled to view Salford, a city where I have lived most of my life, under a cultural

microscope. It has forced me to acknowledge the negative and victim-blaming attitudes towards domestic abuse as experienced by the participants from the wider Salford community and, indeed, from social work practitioners. I am reminded of the murders of Salford women Kally Gilligan, Clare Wood, Linzi Ashton, Rania Alayed and Becky Ayres whose tragic deaths highlight the most shocking consequences of domestic abuse.

Yet, I also recognise the legacies their deaths have given to the local and wider communities. Clare Wood's family campaigned for a disclosure scheme that allows members of the public to request police information to ascertain if partners have violent histories. The scheme, known as Clare's Law, was successfully piloted in Greater Manchester, Gwent, Nottinghamshire and Wiltshire before being rolled out to England and Wales on International Women's Day in March 2014 (Togher, 2014). Further plans to pilot the scheme in Scotland were announced in May 2014 (Johnson, 2014). The scheme has been criticised as yet another way for agencies to abdicate responsibility for protecting women by putting the onus on them to avoid abuse while failing to advise women of what to do should they find that their partners have a history of violence (Martinson, 2013). Others praise its empowerment of potential victims by offering a practical option for women to protect themselves (Boggan, 2013). In spite of criticisms, Clare's Law has been accessed by hundreds of women in the Greater Manchester area which may have led to the prevention of a number of serious assaults or murders (Scheerhout, 2015). Weeks before Linzi Ashton was murdered by her ex-partner, she reported to the police that she had been raped and beaten by him. Criticism that police could have done more to protect her led to an investigation by the Independent Police Complaints Commission. Salford City Council also commissioned its own independent review into the case (Williams, 2013). At the time of writing, both enquiries are ongoing. The outcomes of these enquiries will be a valuable opportunity for agencies to develop a more in-depth understanding of the dangers of domestic abuse while seeking to improve local and national policies and procedures in place to protect

women and their children. Indeed, the government recently vowed to consider the creation of a specific offence of domestic abuse that recognises all elements and patterns of behaviour within abusive relationships, including coercive control (Mason, 2014). Such an offence would represent a significant stride forward in society's recognition and understanding of domestic abuse including its asymmetrical gender patterns.

It is with mixed emotions that I close the final chapter of my thesis. I am privileged and thankful to have been permitted to share the experiences of women whose lives have been blighted by violence and abuse. Over the past five years, I have immersed myself in the literature regarding domestic abuse, attended numerous training sessions and conferences and spent most of my 'spare' time writing about domestic abuse as social issue and as personal experience on behalf of my participants. The end of the research process, therefore, naturally holds some relief. However, it also brings with it a sense of loss, of having to let go of the topic that has dominated my waking thoughts for so long. As Schiellerup (2008) states: "writing up involves leaving all the theses that could have been written behind in favour of 'this one' ... [this] act of closure therefore touches on the part of the psyche concerned with loss" (p169). The sense of loss I now feel at coming to end of the doctoral process is more than compensated by what I have gained, professionally and personally, from undertaking research into the world's most pervasive human rights violation.

\*\*\*\*\*





**Appendix A: Synthesis Table**

<b>Author/ Date</b>	<b>Title/Purpose</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Findings</b>	<b>Critical Comments</b>
Binney et al (Women's Aid) (1981)	Leaving Violent Men: A Study of Refuges and Housing for Abused Women	Nationwide postal survey and interviews	656 women were interviewed. 114 postal surveys returned from refuges– 82% response rate. 17 surveys returned from non-refuge groups = 52%. Follow-up study 18 months later. 411 women interviewed in follow-up.	Detailed descriptions of life in refuges. Highlights shortages of provisions and lack of resources/poor conditions = battered women not seen as important politically. Suggests refuge stays should be short. Housing after refuges = scarce and often unsuitable. Discusses impact of different types of abuse. Refuges can reduce isolation. Only a small number returned to abusive partners.	Quantitative and qualitative methods used to produce research study with breadth and depth. Presents rich picture of refuge life. Postal survey response from refuges = excellent response rate. Large sample of women interviewed and longitudinal aspect of study is useful in considering long-term outcomes. Highlights implications for policy and practice.
Hoff (1990)	Battered Women As Survivors	1 year naturalistic study – in-depth interviews, observation and reading poetry and personal diaries	9 battered women and 131 social network members	Recognition of the cycle of violence and what prevented women from leaving. Self-blame among women common. Impact of abuse on family members. Experience of shelter life. Homelessness and housing problems addressed. No evidence to support theory of intergenerational cycle of violence.	Collaborative approach. Range of methods gives wide and in-depth picture of women's experiences and social support networks. Small sample but not aiming to generalise. 5 year follow-up documents long-term outcomes. Sociological rather than psychological approach. Identifies key assumptions made about DV.

Russell (1990)	Rape in Marriage	Qualitative survey using semi-structured interviews	Random sample of 930 women from San Francisco.	14% had been raped by their husbands or ex-husbands. Is likely to be an underestimate as the survey did not ask women about other forms of sexual assault. Also women may have refused to participate because they had been raped and could not talk about it. Many women felt they could not refuse their husbands sex.	Successfully pilot study-tested. Details on women who refused to participate are documented. Discusses definitional issues. Obtained from a random sample so can be generalised to that area. San Francisco is a progressive city so rates may be higher in other areas. Valid results that highlight the need for further research.
Island & Letellier (1991)	Men Who Beat the Men Who Love Them	In-depth case study based on experiences of one of the authors.	Case study of Letellier's experiences of abuse. Reference to relevant literature.	Rich picture of experience and also treatment of victim by law enforcement agencies. Concludes that DV is caused by mental illness. Homophobia further complicates a complex issue.	Assertion that DV is not a gender issue is not successfully argued or supported. Over-reliance on psychopathology to explain causality. Dismisses sociological factors. Brings much-needed debate to an under-discussed issue.
Bart & Moran (eds) (1993)	Violence Against Women: The Bloody Footprints	Collection of essays on DV, rape, female child abuse, stalking	Literature reviews and case study.	Highlights limitations of medical model in care of DV victims.	Discussion on causes and prevalence of DV. Highlights key assumptions made.
Kingston & Penhale (eds) (1995)	Family Violence and the Caring Professions	Collection of essays on DV, child abuse and elder abuse and agency responses	Literature reviews	Abused women more likely to come into contact with health services than any other. Family violence theory associated with social work values.	Theoretical discussions and practice implications.
Ward (1995)	Attitudes Toward Rape: Feminist and Psychological Perspectives	Book on different kinds of research into rape attitudes.	Literature reviews and critique of survey, experimental and field research designs.	Each research method has its own strengths and limitations in measuring attitudes. Educational programmes are capable of changing attitudes towards rape.	Good critique of each method using feminist theory. Tentative conclusions. Includes implications for practice.

Cretney & Davis (1997)	Prosecuting Domestic Assault: Victims Failing Courts or Courts Failing Victims?	Empirical investigation into the withdrawal rate of DA victims in court proceedings	Study of case files and case monitoring	High withdrawal rate. Trivialisation of women's experiences. Preference for conditional discharge as routine option	Highlights failings in the legal system that can lead to the high rate of victim withdrawal. Good summary with reference to specific case. Not sure how many cases were reviewed.
Gelles (1997)	Intimate Violence in Families	Overview of violence including child abuse, elder abuse and partner abuse.	Reference to relevant literature.	Sees violence as being learned and perpetuated inter-generationally.	Includes chapters on lesbians, gay men. Links all types of abuse within the home.
Lloyd (1997)	The Effects of Domestic Violence on Women's Employment	Random household survey  Some in-depth interviews	824 women aged between 19 and 91.  55% = African American  39.2% = Latina  5% = Caucasian  Survey response rate – 53.68%  24 women subsequently interviewed	Multiple associations between male violence and female labour force participation. DV can be associated with decrease and increase in female labour population.	Similar survey to CTS which has been criticised. Small % interviewed but use of quantitative and qualitative give more in-depth picture.
Murphy (1997)	Recovering from the Effects of Domestic Violence: Implications for Welfare of Reform Policy	Essay on impact of PTSD on employment and welfare-to-work programmes	Relevant literature reviewed and historical context discussed.	Existing welfare programmes need to be restructured at local level to reflect battered women's needs	Summary of policies and historical context of PTSD. Review of literature but not systematic.
Raphael (1997)	Welfare Reform: Prescription for Abuse? New Research Studies – Relationship of Domestic Violence and Welfare	Summary of 4 studies into welfare and DV and impact on welfare-to-work programmes	4 studies that used various quantitative and qualitative methods	High and consistent prevalence of DV within welfare caseloads. Welfare-to-work policies need to recognise specific DV issues including safety	Good summary and discussion of the 4 studies. Highlighted areas of further study needed.
Rentoul & Appleboom (1997)	Understanding the Psychological Impact of Rape and Serious Sexual Assault of Men: A Literature Review	Literature review	Review of relevant literature and legislation	Males are less likely to report rape than females. Help-seeking is affected by reconciling their masculine	Highlights dearth of literature/research

				identities with the experience of being a sexual victim.	in this area. Good summary of themes.
Schwartz (1997)	Researching Sexual Violence Against Women: Methodological and Personal Perspectives	Collection of essays on research methods into sexual VAW.	Discusses field, longitudinal and survey research methods.	Discusses strengths and limitations of each method. Acknowledges the emotional aspect of researching sexual violence.	Includes chapter on minority ethnic women. Critiques research methods. Discusses ethical issues.
Stanley (1997)	Domestic Violence and Child Abuse: Developing Social Work Practice	Literature review	Review of relevant literature and discussion around feminist approach	Effective SW practice needs to challenge the stereotypes of 'invisible' men and 'trapped' women and will require more resources. Issue of DV is fundamental to SW practice.	Good summary of literature and policy/legislation. Considers implications for practice. Highlight importance of definitions.
Yllo & Bograd (eds) (1998)	Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse	Collection of essays on DV from a feminist perspective.	Literature reviews.	Highlights importance is using a feminist approach in DV work, particularly to avoid blaming the victim. Uses a sociological model to explain causality.	Critiques of methodologies used in research. Highlight importance of definitions.
Almeida & Durkin (1999)	The Cultural Context Model: Therapy for Couple with Domestic Violence	Review of 15 year experience of working within the Cultural Context Model	Discussion/case study of their own experiences and review of the Cultural Context Model	Couples work should be undertaken within the context of a culture that supports men's violence. Safety is key and sessions should be held individually.	Experiential learning – provides in-depth picture but cannot be generalised.
Berns (1999)	My Problem and How I Solved It: Domestic Violence in Women's Magazines	Qualitative analysis of women's magazine articles relating to DV	111 articles: 1970-1997 19 articles: 1970-1979 36 articles: 1980-1989 56 articles: 1990-1997	Dominant perspective places responsibility for the abuse on the victim and portrays intimate violence as a private problem	Comprehensive review of article which considers cultural perspective. Covers a wide range of women's magazines.

Brandwein (1999) (ed)	Battered Women, Children and Welfare Reform: The Ties That Bind	Essays on welfare, domestic violence and child abuse.	Collection of essays on welfare, DV and child abuse. Reference to relevant literature and case studies and critical discussions.	Emphasises link between violence and welfare. Importance of financial support for women to leave DV relationships. Violence perpetuates poverty forcing women to flee with no money, no possessions and no childcare so can't work. DV also prevents women from working.	Chapters focus on different aspects of DV and welfare. Thorough literature reviews and references to case studies to support assertions.
Farrell & Buckley (1999)	Evaluation of a UK Police Domestic Violence Unit Using Repeat Victimization as a Performance Indicator	Empirical study – quantitative evaluation of 1 <sup>st</sup> year of DVU. Discussion on the usefulness of repeat victimisation as a PI for policing. Coded analysis.	Data collected and analysed from July 1990 – June 1991 and July 1001 – June 1992 in Merseyside DVU.	Reduction in repeat calls D division. No evidence that DVU had a preventative impact on chronic case households. DVUs demonstrate serious police response but little thought given to how they will prevent DV.	Does not include women's experiences of having DVU involvement and satisfaction levels. Suggestions as to how to improve mechanisms within DVUs.
Goldman (1999)	The Violence Against Women Act: Meeting Its Goals in Protecting Battered Immigrant Women?	Analysis/discussion of VAWA	Legislation review	Improvements have been made for immigrant women but they are not fully protected	Good summary discussion of VAWA. Further direct research needed on this neglected issue
Humphreys (1999)	Avoidance and Confrontation: Social Work Practice in Relation to Domestic Violence and Child Abuse	Qualitative study of 32 child protection files and semi-structured interviews with social workers	Stratified sampling in each file randomly chosen from a three year period, Jan1994 – Dec 1996	Social workers and other professionals avoid the issue of DV in practice	Small number of case files used – not representative but balanced presentation and warns against simplistic changes

Leventhal & Lundy (eds) (1999)	Same-Sex Domestic Violence: Strategies for Change	Collection of essays on gay men, lesbians and bisexual DV survivors.	Case studies and literature reviews. Separate chapters on gay men and lesbians in the context of DV. Also addressed implications for bisexual victims.	Highlights inequality in law enforcement, courts and public perceptions. Stresses need for gay/lesbian-sensitive workers and groups to support.	Considers issue from different perspectives. Direct research is mainly qualitative which give rich picture but cannot be generalised. Brings awareness to often-ignore issue.
Pakieser, Lenaghan & Muelleman (1999)	Reflections on Written Comments by Women on Their Abuse	Phenomenological analysis of uninvited written comments by women on surveys using modified Q method	103 abused women of 4448 who completed the survey	2 categories identified: helplessness and assertiveness	Small sample size – only 2.3% of survey participants wrote additional comments. Difficult to generalise.
Rumney (1999)	When Rape Isn't Rape: Court of Appeal Sentencing Practice in Cases of Marital and Relationship Rape	Literature review on rape sentencing and trauma. Comparison of data on marital/relationship and stranger rape	Range of studies	Marital/relationship rape treated as a lesser crime and given more lenient sentences	Good summary of literature and comparison of statistics
Shalansky, Ericksen & Henderson (1999)	Abused Women and Child Custody: The Ongoing Exposure to Abusive Ex-Partners	Phenomenology: unstructured, non-directive interviews	6 single mothers who had left abusive relationships and were sharing custody of their children in Canada	Four components to the women's experiences: safety, stress, coping and healing	Small sample size – relatively ungeneralisable. Provides insight into the ongoing experiences of fear and feel unable to move forward while contact with ex-partners is necessary.
Shepard & Pence (eds) (1999)	Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond	Collection of essays about Duluth model of perpetrator programmes. Interviews	Evaluation of Duluth model using tracking and monitoring systems. Interviews with 32 abused women. Reference to relevant literature.	Highlights benefits of the feminist approach to batterer intervention programmes. Argues that women's use of violence in different from men's and should be contextualised.	Addresses sexual violence specifically. Comprehensive analysis of Duluth model from different perspectives. Good discussion of evaluation measures but outcomes are less clear.
Skyner & Waters (1999)	Working With Perpetrators of Domestic Violence to Protect Women and Children: A Partnership Between	Description of programme between Cheshire Probation Service and NSPCC to address men's violence	Brief evaluative commentary on the programme	Success of the pilot programme resulted in partnership funding for a further 3 years. Provision of parallel support package for	Brief paper but highlights some advantages of such an approach. Longitudinal study needed to demonstrate whether outcomes are successful in the long-term.

	Cheshire Probation Service and the NSPCC			women and children of great importance.	
Abrar, Lovenduski & Margetts (2000)	Feminist Ideas and Domestic Violence Policy Change	Literature and policy review	Range of studies and policies	Radical feminism has influenced policy in traditionally hierarchical and patriarchal institutions such as the police force.	Good summary of policies and legislation.
Chatzifotiou (2000)	Conducting Qualitative Research on Wife Abuse: Dealing with the Issue of Anxiety	Discussion about undertaking qualitative research into distressing subjects	Discussed her own experience of qualitative research from a feminist perspective	Raises awareness of issues to be faced by the researcher such as ethics, anxiety, power relations	Based on personal experience so cannot be generalised but raises key points about researching vulnerable groups
Clements & Sawhney (2000)	Coping With Domestic Violence: Control Attributions, Dysphoria and Hopelessness	Questionnaires administered by trained counsellors	70 battered women recruited from 12 DV agencies in the Chicago area	Coping style is more important determinant of dysphoria and hopelessness than are control judgments. Increased problem-focused coping = decreased dysphoria and hopelessness. Avoidance and self-blame = increased dysphoria. Need to promote adaptive coping styles.	Clear hypotheses. Cross-sectional design so difficult to isolate variables. Self-reporting could be influenced by social desirability. Retrospective = dependent on the memories of participants. Can only be generalised cautiously as women came forward voluntarily and may not represent all battered women.
Dieneman, Boyle, Baker, Resnick, Wiederhorn & Campbell (2000)	Intimate Partner Abuse Among Women Diagnosed with Depression	Survey/questionnaire using the Abuse Assessment Screen and the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI)	82 women over the age of 18 with a diagnosis of depression	61% lifetime prevalence rate for DV  29.3% lifetime prevalence rate for forced sex  Depression in abused women twice that of the general population	Quantitative study only. Variables such as exposure to other traumas not explored nor the onset of mental health problems. Further qualitative research needed but good indicator of the extent of impact of abuse



Eisikovits & Buchbinder (2000)	Locked in a Violent Embrace: Understanding & Intervening in Domestic Violence	Literature review focusing on couples who stayed together in spite of violence.	Examines data from qualitative studies over 12 years	Emphasises the emotions of love and guilt in violent incidents. Implications for practice.	Assumes that DV is mutual between partners. Assesses the couple rather than the perpetrator which could lead to victim-blaming.
Gadd (2000)	Masculinities, Violence and Defended Psychosocial Subjects	Case study narrative interview	1 male perpetrator referred by his counsellor	Argues that a psychoanalytical interpretive approach to men's violence offers a more subtle notion of masculine subjectivity.	Overly-reliant on psychological factors and gives little consideration to sociological factors. In-depth data from interview. Builds picture of range of issues in the context of the participant's life.
Hedin & Janson (2000)	Domestic Violence During Pregnancy	Interviews combined with standardised questionnaire – Severity of Violence Against Women Scale (SVAW) analysed by SPSS	207 female DV survivors in Sweden identified from three ante-natal clinics in Goteburg	30 women were abused during the current pregnancy – 4.3% of them seriously abused. 95% of them had been abused prior to the pregnancy. More likely to be younger and low-income. Abortions were more frequent among abused women.	Only included women who were not accompanied by a partner so may be a level of violence in this group that was not identified. Relatively small sample from one particular area so results may not be generalisable but clear conclusions can be drawn.
Johnson & Ferraro (2000)	Research on Domestic Violence in the 1990s: Making Distinctions	Literature review	Reference to relevant literature and discussion of themes	Emphasises distinctions between types of DV. Issues of control occurring in other contexts.	Important contributions to the discussion about DV and gender and prevalence of DV. Reference to ethnicity and culture.
LaViolette & Barnett (2000)	It Could Happen to Anyone: Why Battered Women Stay	Case studies and review of literature.	Critical discussions with reference to specific cases.	Discusses sociological and cultural factors for why women stay in abusive relationships. Also addresses effects of poverty, patriarchy and religion.	Subscribes to the theory of learned helplessness which other research disputes. Systematic review of statistics on DV. Research synthesised.

Patterson (2000)	Family Relationships of Lesbians and Gay Men	Literature review	Reference to studies on the family lives of lesbians and gay men including same-sex couples as parents.	Few longitudinal studies and few observational studies.	Not article about DV but provides a context for further research.
Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lunderberg & Carlton (2000)	The Intergenerational Transmission of Spouse Abuse: A Meta Analysis	Meta-analysis to examine between growing up in a violent home and its relationship to being in a violent relationship	Meta-analysis of literature identified through various search databases and then coded and calculated effect sizes	Weak to moderate relationship between growing up in a violent environment and becoming involved in a violent relationship	Significant within-group variances. Also variable for witnessing parental violence and experiencing child abuse were not separated so some will have experienced both so not independent variables. Based on retrospective data from respondent recollections so may not be entirely accurate.
Tolman & Raphael (2000)	A Review of Research on Welfare and Domestic Violence	Literature review of DV and welfare	Range of studies	High prevalence of DV does not mean that abused women are unemployable. FVO can protect battered women. Continued collaboration between welfare and DV researchers needed	Good critiques of methodological issues that affect interpretation of data
Anderson & Umberson (2001)	Gendering Violence: Masculinity and Power in Men's Accounts of Domestic Violence	In-depth semi-structured interviews conducted between 1995-1996	33 perpetrators of DV	Participants performed gender by contrasting effectual male violence with ineffectual female violence by claiming female partners were responsible for the violence while men are victims of the criminal justice system.	Ethnically diverse participants enabled social/cultural factors to be considered. Gives an in-depth picture into men's interpretation of their own violence.
Berns (2001)	De-gendering the Problem and Gendering the Blame: Political Discourse on Women and Violence	Critical analysis of men's and political magazine articles on DV.	1970-1999: 36 articles 1 article from 1970.	2 discursive strategies: de-genders the problems and blames women. Identifies a	Uses a feminist critical theory based on empowerment of individuals and identifies implications for VAW.

			5 articles from 1980s 30 from 1990s.	patriarchal-resistance perspective.	
Burton (2001)	Prosecution Decisions in Cases of Domestic Violence Involving Children	Empirical study of CPS: observation, reviewing case files and discussion with key informants	6 branches of the CPS, 60 discussions with prosecutors, 208 assault case files	Prosecutors were concerned about the impact of DV on children. Prosecuting against women's wishes was thought not to be in the children's best interests	Range of research methods used. Brief discussions rather than formal interviews
Cahill (2001)	Rethinking Rape	Book looking at rape from a feminist perspective.	Literature review and critical discussion.	Discusses feminist theories of rape and the body. Proposes rape as violence and embodied experience. Emphasises the phenomenology of fear.	Highlights definitional problems and critiques feminist theories.
Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash & Lewis (2001)	Remedial Work: Men's Strategic Responses to Their Violence Against Intimate Female Partners	3 year study. In-depth interviews with men and women. Men had been convicted of at least one DV offence. Follow-up postal questionnaires	122 men and 136 women from 2 Scottish abuser programmes.	4 tactics from men: denial, blame, minimisation and reduced competence. Men seek forgiveness without accepting responsibility	Longitudinal in-depth study that involves data from men and women. Good insight into how men seek to deny and excuse their violent behaviours
Cotterill (2001)	Domestic Discord, Rocky Relationships: Semantic Prosodies in Representations of Marital Violence in the O.J. Simpson Trial	Critical linguistic analysis of data from the opening arguments of the OJ Simpson trial. Data from COBUILD Bank of English	Critical analysis of verbal/written data	The case was a construction of reality. Also lawyers seemed to argue that the violence was mutual and of joint origin.	Good critical analysis of the ways in which narratives can be constructed. Systematic linguistic analysis.
Davis, Taylor & Furniss (2001)	Narrative Accounts of Tracking the Rural Domestic Violence Survivors' Journey: A Feminist Approach	Semi-structured interviews – feminist narrative approach	26 rural women from a convenience sample. 12 interviews had been transcribed but 3 excluded as they had been in same-sex relationships.	Poverty and geographical, social and emotional isolation resulted in the privatisation of abuse. Triggered to leave situations when children, family and friends became victims of abuse.	Small sample and non-representative. Results cannot be generalised. In-depth picture of abuse experiences.

Hall & Whyte (2001)	At the Margins of the Provision: Domestic Violence, Policing and Community Safety	Essay on national and local government DV interventions	Discussion of 2 local authority areas in Merseyside with reference to relevant literature.	Advantages to pro-arrest policy. Feminist-based serviced are better placed to deliver effective intervention and prevention.	Good discussion of literature and policies/legislation.
Hanmer & Itzin (eds) (2001)	Home Truths About Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy & Practice	Collection of essays on DV from a feminist perspective.	Literature reviews and previously undertaken qualitative studies into experiences of DV on women and children, women who fight back, statutory responses and treatment of male offenders.	Problems of survey methods in continuing hidden victim status, marital rape not treated as seriously in courts as other rapes, women who kill or injure their violent partners are victimised by the legal system, inter-agency approaches are the best way to meet the needs of women and children.	Good critiques of methodology and how these affect the reported prevalence of DV. Reference to quantitative and qualitative data. Good critical theoretical discussions about causality and implications for practice.
Kearney (2001)	Enduring Love: A Grounded Formal Theory of Women's Domestic Violence	Analysis of research reports using grounded formal theory	13 qualitative research reports identified using a range of search tools. Studies used constant comparative techniques and focused on building of concepts/theories rather than testing predetermined theories.	4 stages: discounting early violence, immobilization and demoralisation, redefinition of the situation as unacceptable and moving out of the relationship to a new life	Studies of single-episodes of violence were excluded. Systematic literature review which synthesized research. Details of individuals' circumstances not fully explored. Risk of mixing experiences that are incomparable but support for theory.
Pascall, Lee, Morley & Parker (2001)	Changing Housing Policy: Escaping Domestic Violence	Essay on homelessness procedures and impact on women feeling DV.	Discussion of relevant literature and policies/legislation.	Legislation reflects the work of women's organisations in putting and keeping DV on the political agenda. Emergency provisions to women have broadly improved but limited progress in housing overall.	Good critique of changes in legislation and suggestions for future improvements.
Renzetti, Edleson &	Sourcebook on Violence Against Women	Collection of essays on different aspects of DV.	Literature reviews and critical discussions.	Covers theoretical discussions, methodologies, definitional issues, ethics,	Literature review on prevalence – systematic. Research studies synthesised and methods critiqued.

Bergen (eds) (2001)				prevalence, impact of DV, services available, law enforcement and historical perspectives of DV.	Book covers all aspects of DV with implications for practitioners.
Stanko (2001)	The Day to Count: Reflections on a Methodology to Raise Awareness About the Impact of Domestic Violence in the UK	Audit of calls to police and other agencies in one 24 hour period.	Statistics on DV in one 24 hour period.	Incident of DV occurs every 1-20 seconds. Overwhelmingly women who contact the police about DV. More women in shelters than contact the police for help on any one day.	Could be discrepancies in what was to be counted. Figures from several agencies clearly reveal DV as a gender specific issue.
Taylor-Browne (ed) (2001)	What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence: A Comprehensive Guide for Professionals	Collection of essays on aspects of DV.	Literature reviews based on quantitative and qualitative studies.	Impact of DV on survivors and children, difficulties of assessing success of perpetrator treatment programmes – best source is accounts from partners, health services = universal and neutral point of contact for abused women, housing important for women who are leaving DV, contact often presumed to be in best interests in spite of risks, importance of inter-agency working.	Covers key relevant issues in DV and critiques current practice in several areas. Good overview of issue of DV with implications for practice.
Vogel & Marshall (2001)	PTSD Symptoms and Partner Abuse: Low Income Women at Risk	Structured interviews lasting up to 2.5 hours	836 community women in Wave 1 of Project HOW: Health Outcomes of Women between 20-49 years  303: African-American  273: Euro-American  260: Mexican American	PTSD symptoms are potential outcomes of DA. No significant ethnic differences were found	Self-reports are subjective and use of CR-PTSD has its limitations  Medical treatment does not always reflect injury  Low income women may not have insurance to seek medical treatment

Warrington (2001)	“I Must Get Out:” The Geographies of Domestic Violence	Empirical research undertaken in 12 of the 15 refuges in the Women’s Aid Federation of East Anglia. Unstructured interviews.	24 shelter residents and 3 ex-residents	Home is a gendered landscape. Supposed to provide safety but effectively traps women and violence is often hidden. Women are spatially and socially restricted on leaving violent relationships for fear of being found or shunned.	Opportunity sampling: interviews were not pre-arranged but whoever was present. Self-reporting but experiences were remarkable similar. Gives an in-depth picture of the impact of suffering violence within the home and of fleeing homes to live in refuges, often in another location.
Woodtli (2001)	Nurses’ Attitudes Towards Survivors and Perpetrators of Domestic Violence	Semi-structured interviews	11 nurses, 1 social worker, 1 counsellor identified through network sampling technique	Themes: survivor is crying for help; criminal justice system judges – nurse do not. Mixture of fear and compassion for perpetrators.	Sample is from one city and small sample means that generalisations cannot be made. Sample of nurses who usually work with DV. Relies on recall of participants. Further quantitative study needed.
Alexander (2002)	Violence in Gay and Lesbian Relationships	Essay on mental health impact for same-sex DV survivors	Brief research note with reference to relevant literature.	Effective mental health screening for gay men and lesbians needed.	Brief essay but good critical comments about inconsistent methods used in previous studies.
Bowen, Brown & Gilchrist (2002)	Evaluating Probation Based Offender Programmes for Domestic Violence Perpetrators: A Pro-Feminist Approach	Evaluation using feminist theory. Dependent variable = treatment success. Pre-test/post-test design	Review of method of evaluation	Dearth of British evaluations that have been completed with enough methodological rigour to be able to emphatically conclude effectiveness	Rigorous critique of evaluation methods, sampling, definitions of success and follow-up studies
Eadie & Knight (2002)	Domestic Violence Programmes: Reflections on the Shift from Independent to Statutory Provision	Review of 2 local schemes working with male perpetrators	Previous studies with male perpetrators in two areas of the Midlands	Highlights tensions around resources, values and issues of power and control among agencies	Useful summary of the two studies. Not clear about sample size or selection.
Elliott, Nerney, Jones & Friedmann (2002)	Barriers to Screening for Domestic Violence	Cross-sectional postal survey – 53% response rate	2400 physicians in 4 specialities: general internists, family practitioners, emergency medicine physicians,	DV screening for a median of 10%.	Reasonable response rate but respondents may be more likely to screen, therefore results could be biased. Self-reporting may have led to over-reporting of screening

			obstetrician/gynaecologists – national systematic sample. 1103 responded	10% reported they never screen for violence.  6% screen all their patients.	for socially desirable answers. Random sample and pilot-tested.
Ellison (2002)	Prosecuting Domestic Violence Without Victim Participation	Essay on US measures to assist in victimless prosecutions.	Review of literature and discussion.	Victimless prosecution has critics and proponents. Needs further study.	Good summary of relevant literature and legislation.
Gilchrist & Blissett (2002)	Magistrates' Attitudes to Domestic Violence and Sentencing Options	Vignette analysis of data concerning magistrates' recommendation. Self-completing questionnaire	67 magistrates	More likely to suggest prison for stranger assault than partner assault. DV myths evident. Magistrates' reasoning reflected denying, minimising, justifying and victim-blaming.	Self-selected sample of magistrates interested in DV but represents around 20% of the local bench. Views are likely to be biased but also the most positive given their interest. Effective as a pilot study but research needs further triangulation from field observation and case files.
Leander (2002)	Preventing Men's Violence Against Women	DV as a public health issue – can health care play a preventative role? Literature review	Range of sources	Public awareness campaigns and internal training programmes do have an impact	Specific to Stockholm but does look at a range of studies
McClennen, Summers & Vaughan (2002)	Gay Men's Domestic Violence: Dynamics, Help-Seeking Behaviours and Correlates	Survey using convenience sampling – 12 page questionnaire	63 self-identified DV victims. Results compared to data from previous studies into lesbian partner abuse	Gay male partner abuse complies with cycle of abuse. Help-seeking behaviours are limited and mostly of informal sources. Correlates: dependency, jealousy, power imbalance, substance abuse = modest predictors of severity of abuse	Not a nationally representative sample. Participants were self-identified as victims. Cultural bias as participants required basic reading and writing capability in English.
McKie, Fennell & Mildorf (2002)	Time to Disclose, Timing Disclosure: GPs' Discourses on Disclosing Abuse in Primary Care	Pilot study with GPs regarding patients' disclosures of domestic abuse – interviews	3 female and 3 male GPs obtained from purposive sampling in Aberdeen city area	Themes: time constraints; physical abuse easier to identify; cost implications; training needed; female GPs	Pilot study only – very small sample from specific area. Can't generalise but indicates further study is necessary

				were more aware of current trends	
Melzer (2002)	Gender, Work, Intimate Violence: Men's Occupational Violence Spillover and Compensatory Violence	Analysis of data from 1988 National Survey of Families and Households using logistic regression techniques.	5208 men who are married or co-habiting with partners	Men in violent jobs are 43% more likely to use DV than men in managerial positions (occupational violence spillover). Also female-dominated workplaces are more likely to be violent (compensatory violence). Age is a strong predictor – younger are more likely to be violent	Relies on self-reporting which may be under-reported. Not enough detail about the frequency and severity of violence and what the outcomes are. However, sample is likely to be quite representative of married or co-habiting men
Nicolaidis (2002)	The Voices of Survivors Documentary: Using Patient Narrative to Educate Physicians About Domestic Violence	Qualitative study – semi-structured interviews lasting 45mins to 2 hours	21 DA survivors between the ages of 22 and 64 years (19 heterosexual women, 1 lesbian, 1 gay man) recruited via brochures and adverts distributed to DA agencies	4 issues they wanted doctors to be aware of: DV is universal, more than just physical assaults, about power and control and affects the entire family	Relatively small sample but includes one man and same-sex abuse. Limited info as to whether documentary evidence is an effective learning tool.
Richman (2002)	Women, Poverty and Domestic Violence: Perceptions of Court and Legal Aid Effectiveness	Quantitative analysis of survey data and qualitative analysis of interviews with observation (9 structured interviews and 3 unstructured interviews)	Legal aid clients and workshop facilitators in Orange County	Clients are generally satisfied with the court and legal aid. Deal effectively with domestic violence but not satisfied by its treatment of poor people	Quantitative, qualitative and observational data produces a study with breadth and depth but sample number is unclear.
Riger, Bennett, Wasco, Schewe, Frohmann, Camacho & Campbell (2002)	Evaluating Services for Survivors of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault	Semi-structured interviews lasting 45mins- 2 hours. Data analysed by QRS-NUD*IST	21 domestic abuse survivors aged 22-64 years, 19 heterosexual women, 1 lesbian and 1 gay man	4 themes that survivors wanted doctors to know: DV is universal, more than just physical abuse, about power and control, affects the entire family	Includes survivors from same-sex relationships. Small non-representative sample. Also no evaluation of the documentary as a learning tool



Salazar & Cook (2002)	Violence Against Women: Is Psychology Part of the Problem or the Solution? A Content Analysis of Psychological Research from 1990 Through 1999	Literature review – systematic search – PsychLit database from 1990-1999. Coding scheme	Critical analysis of psychological research into DV	Evidence of context-stripping. Ignores social/cultural factors. Emphasis on causal research. Over-reliance on clinical samples.	Systematic review of literature with reference to sample, data analysis and context.
Zeegers (2002)	Taking Account of Male Dominance in Rape Law: Redefining Rape in the Netherlands and England and Wales	Description of the process the feminist proposals to redefine coercion or non-consent in rape law went through in the Netherlands and England/Wales	Discussion with reference to relevant literature	New definitions alone are not enough – it is how the definition is interpreted	Good feminist analysis of rape laws and impact of new definitions.
Anglin & Sachs (2003)	Preventive Care in the Emergency Department: Screening for Domestic Violence in the Emergency Department	Literature search on screening processes	339 articles from literature search	Insufficient evidence for or against routine screening for DV in emergency departments.	Systematic review. Studies limited by different definitions of abuse and few studies examining outcomes. Highlights further research needed.
Bacchus, Mezey & Bewley (2003)	Experiences of Seeking Help from Professionals in a Sample of Women Who Experienced Domestic Violence	In-depth semi-structured interviews	Purposive sampling from larger sample of women screened for DV at 2 London hospitals.  10 women = experienced DV in the last 12 months  6 women = experienced DV in the last 12 months but not during the current pregnancy.	Women scored highly on PTSD and PND. Regarded GPs and emergency staff as less helpful compared to health visitors. Very few women voluntarily disclosed and fewer were asked directly about DV.	Small sample obtained from wider sample. Purpose was to provide insights into experiences rather than to generalise about abused female population.
Cavanagh (2003)	Understanding Women's Responses to Domestic Violence	Analysis of data taken from in-depth interviews with women. Themes coded by NUDIST package.	136 female DV survivors whose partners or ex-partners were undergoing perpetrator programmes.	Themes: complexity of DV relationships, strategies of resistance used by women, interconnectedness of men's and women's responses. Does not support 'learned helplessness' theory.	Part of a wider study. Useful practice implications.

DeMaris, Benson, Fox, Hill & Van Wyk (2003)	Distal and Proximal Factors in Domestic Violence: A Test of an Integrated Model	Examination of data obtained through the National Survey of Families and Households	4095 heterosexual couples from both waves of the NSFH	Support for model of DV with different forms of aggression. Shorter relationship, younger age, substance use and frequent disagreements all risk factors.	Reliance on national survey data that fail to capture the full spectrum of potential violence profiles in the population. Based on national probability sample.
Dienemann, Campbell, Weiderhorn, Laughon & Jordan (2003)	A Critical Pathway for Intimate Partner Violence Across the Continuum of Care	Focus groups using the Delphi Technique and consultation with clinicians	4 researchers, 13 clinicians  Also consulted with battered women – doesn't specify the number	Consensus was achieved on the scientific accuracy and feasibility of the pathway after 3 rounds of the Delphi process.	First know critical pathway for IPV. Addresses physical and mental health and safety. Content validity confirmed by a panel an interdisciplinary panel of experts. Not rigorously tested with an experimental design therefore reliability is unknown. Research on patient outcomes is also needed.
Felson, Ackerman & Yeon (2003)	The Infrequency of Family Violence	Comparison of the frequency of violence to the frequency of verbal altercations within families and strangers based on interviews conducted in New York in 1980 and Seoul in 2000.	NY sample representative of the general population (245) and also sample of ex-offenders living in the community for at least 6 months (141)  Seoul sample = 400 people representative of the general population.	Individuals are less likely to use violence against a family member during an altercation than if the antagonist is a stranger. DV is infrequent in relation to levels of domestic conflict.	Data from American sample is dated and attitudes are likely to have changed considerably since then. Up-to-date data would be more reliable. Also, participants may have under-reported incidents of abuse.
Griffin, Resick, Waldrop & Mechanic (2003)	Examining the impact of participation in trauma research	Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS)  Structured interviews  Questionnaires  Psycho-physiological laboratory assessment  PTSD- Scale	260 female domestic abuse survivors recruited from shelters and support agencies  108 female rape survivors recruited from police, victim support agencies, hospitals	Participation does not induce detrimental effects on participants. Rated as a positive and interesting experience	No long-term follow-up. Focused exclusively on female survivors. No information on ethnicity but clearly demonstrates the positive impact of research on DV participants.

Haaken & Yragui (2003)	Going Underground: Conflicting Perspectives on Domestic Violence Shelter Practices	Telephone interviews with executive directors or staff at DV coalitions in 50 states and DC.	51 women interviewed – 11 pre-set questions about shelter practices	Distinguishes between client and location confidentiality. Main advantage of confidential location is safety. Published locations have more community support. Confidential can mean hidden.	Relatively small sample but covers the whole of the US. Some experienced staff and some very new. Likely to have very different perspectives. Good discussion about confidentiality issues of shelters.
Humphreys & Thiara (2003)	Mental Health and Domestic Violence: Symptoms of Abuse	Qualitative questionnaires distributed to women accessing services from Women's Aid provision	180 women 75% = White 23% Minority Ethnic	Points to a causal connection between DV and mental health problems such as depression, PTSD, self-harm and suicide	No standardised tests used in the questionnaire but shows a strong connection from personal accounts between DV and MH issues
Johnson & Benight (2003)	Effects of Trauma-Focused Research on Recent Domestic Violence Survivors	Structured survey using various measures to assess trauma and distress.	55 DV survivors from shelters, support groups, centers and substance use programmes.	45% = positive gain from participation. 25% = more upset than anticipated. 6% = regretted participation.	Number of individuals declining participation was not recorded. No control group.
Lasley (2003)	The Effect of Intensive Bail Supervision on Repeat Domestic Violence Offenders	20-30 minute structured interviews	496 people requesting cash bail for release from custody in LA or Orange County following a DV felony arrest	Bail supervision does reduce repeat DV incidents on cash bail	Difficult to analyse the random/unpredictable nature of bail supervision. Brief interviews only
Lawrence (2003)	Domestic Violence and Men	Short essay on domestic violence against men including reference to a case study involving a male DV victim	Reference to relevant literature and discussion	Considers why men who experience DV may be reluctant to admit to it or report it. Also discusses implications for practice.	Good discussion of medical case study. Highlights an under-researched topic.
Lutenbacher, Cohen & Mitzel (2003)	Do We Really Help? Perspectives of Abused Women	Focus groups x 4. Part of a larger study	24 women (out of 40) recruited from advertisements	4 major categories: living an unnatural experience, experience of telling, experience of leaving and reducing barriers to assistance.	Recruitment process could have led to biased sample. All had sought support to could be different from non-support-seeking population.

Peckover (2003)	Health Visitors' Understandings of Domestic Violence	Semi-structured interviews	24 health visitors selected by convenience and purposive sampling	Considerable differences in HVs' understanding of DV in their caseloads and recognition of different types of abuse.	Participants all employed by the same NHS organisation – not a representative sample. Feminist post-structuralist approach to data analysis.
Seelau, Seelau & Poorman (2003)	Gender and Role-Based Perceptions of Domestic Abuse: Does Sexual Orientation Matter?	Participants read a summary of a DA incident and completed a 19-question questionnaire including 8 scaled questions	252 undergraduates (180 women and 72 men) aged 18-46 years	DA against women was perceived to be more serious than against men. Women were more likely than men to believe the victim. Sexual orientation of the couples in the scenarios did not affect responses to DA	Relatively homogenous sample of jury-eligible undergraduates – not representative of general population. Scenario was brief and not too detailed. Real life cases may have more impact. Varying the length of relationship in the scenario may alter responses.
Stith, Rosen & McCollum (2003)	Effectiveness of Couples Treatment for Spouse Abuse	Literature review of 6 studies into couple therapy and DV	Relevant studies	DV-focused conjoint therapy appears to be at least as effective as gender-specific treatment approaches	Need more qualitative research on the experience of couple therapy. Few studies to be able to make claims categorically
Umberson, Anderson, Williams & Chen (2003)	Relationship Dynamics, Emotion State, and Domestic Violence: A Stress Masculinities Perspective	Daily diary study over a 14 day period and interviews.	22 men with a history of DV. Comparison group of 23 men with no known violence.	Difference between 2 groups in the links between stress, relationship dynamics and emotional state. Non-violent men are more emotionally reactive. Demonstration of masculinity through repression of emotion?	Diary = self-monitoring. Could lead to socially desirable responses. Sample contains men who have been identified as violent by authorities, therefore, most serious offenders = not random.
Vetere & Cooper (2003)	Setting Up a Domestic Violence Service	Description of service policy and discussion of the impact of DV on service-users and impact of DV work with professionals	Summary of experience	3 frameworks to maintaining the service: moral, legal and social/psychological	Specific service. Not necessarily generalisable to other services. Interesting discussion regarding impact on workers
White (2003)	Refusing to Blame the Victim for the Aftermath of Domestic Violence: <i>Nicolson</i>	Brief review of court decision in <i>Nicolson v Williams</i>	Summary and discussion of case	Case recognises the dynamics of DV and puts more emphasis on the perpetrator than the victim.	Useful summary of the case and implications from the court ruling. No direct research.

	v Williams is a Step in the Right Direction			Also efforts to keep mother and children together	
Aulivola (2004)	Outing Domestic Violence: Affording Appropriate Protections to Gay and Lesbian Victims	Essay on DV is same-sex relationships	Critique of DV legislation and its impact on same-sex couples	Lack of resources available and lack of protection under the law. Inclusive definitions of family needed.	Highlights the need for specialist services. Good critique of legislation.
Bacchus, Mezey, Bewley & Haworth (2004)	Prevalence of Domestic Violence When Midwives Routinely Enquire In Pregnancy	Midwives routinely enquire about DV at booking, 34 weeks gestation and 10 days post-partum using series of structured questions	892 women aged 16 and over booking in for maternity care between 14 <sup>th</sup> Sept 1996 – 21 <sup>st</sup> Jan 1999 at St Guy's and St Thomas NHS Hospital, South London	Prevalence of DV was 1.8% at booking, 5.8% at 34 weeks, 5.0% at 10 days post-partum Lifetime prevalence – 12% 6.4% - previous 12 months	Longitudinal study. Most women asked at booking point so may have missed later incidents of DV  Skills of workers may have had an impact
Buchbinder & Eisikovits (2004)	Reporting Bad Results: The Ethical Responsibility of Presenting Abused Women's Parenting Practices in a Negative Light	In-depth interviews examining the turning point for women who refused to live with DV and took steps to prevent it while staying with the abuser	20 abused Israeli women	2 issues: women's functioning as mothers at the turning point is affected and ethical dilemmas for researchers in reporting this	Small sample number. Not explicit as to how sample was obtained
Dobash & Dobash (2004)	Women's Violence to Men in Intimate Relationships: Working on a Puzzle	In-depth Interviews gathering qualitative and quantitative data.	190 interviews with 95 men and 95 women.	IPV is primarily an asymmetrical problem of men's violence towards women. Women's violence does not equate in terms of frequency, severity, consequences and victim's safety and well-being.	Women's violence is addressed in the context of men's violence, not as a stand-alone issue because samples of this so rare. Quantitative and qualitative data provides a very well-rounded and full picture. Takes into account context. Relatively large sample for qualitative research.
Griffin, Uhlmansiek, Resick & Mechanic (2004)	Comparison of the PTSD Scale Vs the Clinician-Administered PTSD Scale in Domestic Violence Survivors	PDS – self-administered questionnaires.  CAPS – administered by a female clinician	138 female survivors of DV aged 18-59years.	PTSD develops at a high rate in this sample. PDS performed well in comparison to CAPS but tendency to over-diagnose.	PDS completed first. May have different outcomes if done the other way round.

Harner (2004)	Domestic Violence and Trauma Care in Teenage Pregnancy: Does Paternal Age Make a Difference?	Semi-structured interviews lasting 30 minutes – 2 hours	86 teenage mothers – mostly African-American  28 = Aps  58 = PAPs	Teenagers with adult partners were not more likely to report DV or seek trauma-related care during pregnancy than teenager with peer-age partners.	Conducted in urban teaching hospital, mostly African-American participants. Cannot predict causality or outcomes. Only measure data obtained at one point in the post-partum period which would exclude subsequent violent incidents. Socially desirable responses may have been given.
Houry, Parramore, Fayard, Thorn, Heron & Kellermann (2004)	Characteristics of Household Addresses That Repeatedly Contact 911 to Report Intimate Partner Violence	All cases of police-documented IPV were reviewed and linked with respective 911 calls in Atlanta. Observational and retrospective.	Computer assisted data tapes of 911 calls. 1505 IPV addresses identified during a 12 month period.	1010 (67.1%) placed more than once call to report IPV. Households that made repeat calls were not more likely to experience severe violence than those who placed single calls. 72% of African American repeat callers while just over half for Whites and a third for Hispanics.	CTS was used to quantify severity. CTS has numerous limitations. Examined only 911 calls that could be linked to a corresponding police report. Cannot be generalised to populations that never called 911. Only a single calendar year so may have missed repeat callers who rang the following year. Also possible that callers moved house who would be missed as repeat callers. Restricted to a single US city.
Levendosky, Bogat, Theran, Trotter, von Eye & Davidson (2004)	The Social Networks of Women Experiencing Domestic Violence	Questionnaires: SVAWS, Beck depression inventory, Brief symptom inventory, Rosenberg self-esteem scale, PTSD scale for battered women, Norbeck social support	203 women in the last trimester of pregnancy from the Michigan area: 63% White, 25% African American, 5% Latina and 7% other ethnic backgrounds	Relationship between structural/functional support and mental health outcomes was discussed.	Multiple use of questionnaires to address different points. Subject to self-reporter bias. Pregnant women's experience may not be generalisable to experiences of other abused women.
Nicolson & Wilson (2004)	Is Domestic Violence a Gender Issue? Views from a British City	Self-administered postal questionnaire	1340 questionnaires were returned (40.8%)	DV is taken seriously by the public but still misconceptions such as belief that it is frequently caused by alcohol/drug abuse. Women saw power as being an issue while many men attributed DV to stress. Under-	Less than half response rate. Excludes people who cannot read or speak English. Electoral role used for sampling so excludes certain groups such as prisoners, non-British nationals, under 18s and those who chose not to be on the register. People may have been

				estimation of frequency of DV.	more likely to respond if they have a particular interest in DV issues so not necessarily a representative sample.
Sagrestano, Carroll, Rodriguez & Nuwayhid (2004)	Demographic, psychological and relationship factors in domestic violence during pregnancy in a sample of low-income women of color and differences between ethnic groups	Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) State-Trait Anxiety Inventor Depression Scale (CES-D) Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) 6-Item Scale – social support 6-Item scale – satisfaction with support from baby’s father 8-Item Scale – negative interactions with baby’s father	197 pregnant women (at least 20 weeks gestation) recruited randomly from Chicago Women’s Area Center  49% = Black  45% = Latina  6% = White	More violence/verbal aggression and less support from baby’s father among younger, low-income women. No significant differences in ethnicity	Not a nationally representative sample. No comparison group of non-pregnant women. Relatively small sample size. Face-to-face interviews may have led to underreporting. May have experienced violence following interview. Numerous limitations to CTS.
Balsam & Szymanski (2005)	Relationship Quality and Domestic Violence in Women’s Same-Sex Relationships: The Role of Minority Stress	Survey using various inventories such as Outness Scale, Lesbian Internalised Homophobia Scale, Dyadic Adjustment Scale, CTS2	272 European-American lesbian and bisexual women 18 to 66 years (out of 600 = 45% response rate) recruited from 2 ‘Pride’ festivals in Vermont and Georgia. Also used ‘snowballing’ technique by advertising on websites.	Internalised homophobia and discrimination associated with lower relationship quality and DV perpetration and victimisation. Outness largely unrelated to relationship variables.	Cross-sectional data limits ability to draw conclusions about causality. Convenience nature of sample. Pride event attendees are more likely to be out so not representative. Lack of ethnic diversity in the sample.
Beaulaurier, Seff, Newman & Dunlop (2005)	Internal Barriers to Help Seeking for Middle-Aged and Older Women Who Experience Intimate Partner Violence	Qualitative study: focus group	21 focus groups conducted with 134 middle-aged (Black, White & Hispanic) and older women in Miami-Dade County, Florida recruited through newspaper adverts and flyers	6 key themes: powerlessness, self-blame, secrecy, protecting family, hopelessness	Bias in the locality of the study. Used ‘conflict’ instead of ‘violence’ in adverts. Could have led to different interpretations. Some other themes and concepts ignored
Brandl, Heisler & Stiegel (2005)	The Parallels Between Undue Influence, Domestic	Essay on the use of undue influence with references to some relevant literature	No sample	Understanding parallels between DV, UI and stalking helps professionals recognise the process and patterns of	Good summary of issues – no direct research. Highlights the need for more research in this area

	Violence, Stalking and Sexual Assault			tactics used in financial abuse cases	
Dutton & Nicholls (2005)	The Gender Paradigm in Domestic Violence Research and Theory: Part 1	Literature review	Reference to relevant studies.	Claims that women are as violent as men and that domestic violence against men is often dismissed.	Critiques the CTS and other feminist-based studies. Does not explain why government studies consistently find higher rates of DV towards women.
Eley (2005)	Changing Practices: The specialised domestic violence court process	Case Study of K Court in Toronto – documentary evidence, direct observations and interviews	Court representatives and other key informants	3 benefits of an expert court: improved decision-making, reducing backlogs in general courts, decreasing number of judges required	Difficult to generalise from a case but provides a very good in-depth picture of the court system in Toronto
Felson & Pare (2005)	The Reporting of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault by Non-strangers to the Police	National Violence Against Women Survey data – analysed by Stata software	Sample of 6291 physical assaults and 1787 sexual assaults based on nationally representative samples of 8000 men and 8000 women – telephone interviews	Victims are just as likely to report domestic assaults as assaults by other people they know. Male victims are reluctant to report assaults by intimate partners. Third parties are particularly unlikely to report assaults by partners of either gender, Sexual assaults are less likely to be reported. Patterns not changed since the 1960s.	Historical events rely on memories of participants which may not be entirely reliable. Time variable means that sample of incidents may be more violent and therefore are more likely to be remembered = some sampling bias although controls for injury and use of weapons address this to a degree.
Few (2005)	The Voices of Black and White Rural Battered Women in Domestic Violence Shelters	In-depth interviews analysed by Nvivo	20 white and 10 black rural battered women who sought assistance from DV shelters in W Virginia	Black and white women experienced different interactions with police. Black women felt police were racist. White women felt police were sexist. Black women were ashamed of being in a shelter.	Small sample size. Aim of the study is to gain insight rather than generalisable data. Twice as many white women as black women so sample is slightly skewed but still reveals narrative differences that have implications for practice.



Flinck, Paavilainen & Astedt-Kurki (2005)	Survival of Intimate Partner Violence as Experienced by Women	Open-ended interviews analysed by inductive qualitative content analysis	7 women were recruited anonymously via DV organisations. All has received counselling.	Women experienced themselves and partners as having weak identities. Violence occurred in situations of disagreement. Religiousness increased commitment to couple relationship.	Generalisations cannot be made owing to small sample size. Study in Finland – specific to location. Participants volunteered and sample lacks variation. Self-reporting may be subject to socially desirable responses. Validity verified by 1 participant.
Gibson-Davis, Magnuson, Gennetian & Duncan (2005)	Employment and the Risk of Domestic Abuse Among Low-Income Women	Examination of data from 2 previous studies – randomised evaluations of welfare-to-work programmes	Two-stage least squares procedure	Increased employment may be one way to reduce certain types of DV among low-income single mothers – improves finances, boosts self-confidence and victim spends less time with abuser	Results cannot be generalised wider DV victim population. Abuse may have been under-reported and certain key assumptions have to be made
Hague & Malos (2005)	Domestic Violence: Action for Change	Book covering many aspects of DV.	Reference to relevant literature and discussions.	Impact on women & children. Discussion of BMS. Definitional issues. Historical perspective. Discussion of causality. Police responses and prevention. Legal responses and housing issue. Also programmes for men.	Acknowledges many aspects of DV with critical discussion and reference to legalisation and policies.
Humphreys, Regan, River & Thiara (2005)	Domestic Violence and Substance Use: Tackling Complexity	Literature review on separation or inclusion of services	Range of studies	Small number of projects now addressing issues jointly but barriers to many services doing this	Doesn't blame female survivors and doesn't suggest causality
Johnson (2005)	Domestic Violence: It's Not About Gender – Or Is It?	Essay on gender and domestic violence	Reference to relevant literature and discussion	3 major types of IPV and this is often ignored in research.	Critique of sampling and research methods used in studies that claim DV is not a gender issue.

Penhale (2005)	Older Women, Domestic Violence and Elder Abuse: A Review of Commonalities, Differences and Shared Approaches	Literature review and discussion	Review of relevant literature	Highlights similarities and differences between DV and elder abuse. Emphasis on the particular needs of older women in relation to DV	Go summary of the literature. Draw attention to a neglected issue and suggests direction for further research. Doesn't consider disability and ethnicity in detail.
Whitehead & Fanslow (2005)	Prevalence of Family Violence Amongst Women Attending an Abortion Clinic in New Zealand	Cross-sectional survey at 1 abortion clinic. Self-administered questionnaire.	62 or 125 women participated (49.6% response rate).	High prevalence of DV in women attending clinic. 50.8% lifetime prevalence of DV. 32.2% lifetime prevalence of sexual abuse. 13.3% DV in the previous year and 8.5% sexual abuse in the previous year. Routine DV screening suggested.	Less than half participated so not conclusive that findings represent the total population of women seeking abortions.
Zink, Fisher, Regan & Pabst (2005)	The Prevalence and Incidence of Intimate Partner Violence in Older Women in Primary Care Practices	Telephone interviews of between 2-45 minutes conducted between March and June 2003.	995 women over 55 years who had at least 1 visit to primary care offices.	Mean age was 69 years. DV was 1.2% occurrence since 55, 0.41% in the past year. Sexual abuse 2.14% since 55 years and 1.12% in previous year. Psychological abuse most common. Incidence rate is lower than in younger women. Disclosure is rare.	Pre-dominantly urban population with lower socio-economic status. Not representative. All data self-reported and not corroborated. Limitations to telephone interviews in accessing in-depth information.
Bowlus & Seitz (2006)	Domestic Violence, Employment and Divorce	Violence Against Women Survey data was analysed	Random sample of 12300 women interviewed by telephone	Dominant effect of DA is through divorce – many women leave violent relationships. Contradicts 'learned helplessness' theory. Working women are less likely to be abused	Difficult to interpret statistical analysis.

Buttall & Carney (2006)	Sample Evaluation of a Court Mandated Batterer Intervention Program: Investigating African American and Caucasian Men	Secondary analysis of data collected by DA Centre into a 26 week court-mandated programme	Sample of 850 men who completed the programme out of 1941 who started	BIP serves African-American and white men equally. Does not exclude African-Americans	Sample from a rural, southern state – not representative nationally. Tentative conclusions only. Court-mandated programme only. Cannot be applied to men who volunteer for courses
Carney & Buttall (2006)	Sample Evaluation of a Court Mandated Batterer Intervention Program: Investigating African American and Caucasian Women	Secondary analysis of data collected by DA Center into a 16 week court-mandated programme	Sample of 59 women who completed the programme out of 198 who started	BIP serves African-American and white women equally. Does not exclude African-Americans	Sample from a rural, southern state – not representative nationally. Tentative conclusions only. Court-mandated programme only. Cannot be applied to men who volunteer for courses
Donovan, Hester, Holmes & McCarry (2006)	Comparing Domestic Abuse in Same-Sex and Heterosexual Relationships	UK-wide survey using qualitative and quantitative methods	746 respondents to questionnaires  5 x focus groups (total of 21 individuals)  67 LGBT/Queer/straight individuals interviewed	Domestic abuse is a considerable problem in same-sex relationships and is likely to be experienced in similar ways to abuse in heterosexual relationships.  Post-separation abuse is also a significant problem in same-sex relationships.	Study samples = not random and not necessarily representative of the gay community. Highly valid in view of the fact that its findings are based on a mixed methods approach which provides a large-scale and in-depth picture into domestic abuse. It is also the first study in the UK to comparatively analyse abuse within heterosexual and same-sex relationships. No definition/deconstruction of 'gender' or 'sexuality' or of the use of 'queer' to self-define.
Galvani (2006)	Safety First? The Impact of Domestic Abuse on Women's Treatment Experience	Empirical study: Literature review and key informant interviews – coded thematically	13 key informants from drug/alcohol agencies in England accessed using snowball-sampling techniques.	Women's engagement in treatment is negatively affected by DA. Literature-based evidence is equivocal, limited in scope, quantity and quality.	Not a representative sample of participants. Short timeframe for the study. Not a systematic literature review. Key informants from voluntary sector only.
Gracia & Herrero (2006)	Public Attitudes Toward Reporting Partner Violence	Survey/questionnaire	National probabilistic sample of Spanish adult population = 2498.	Low tolerance of partner violence significantly associated with positive	Variable measured with a single item therefore reliability questionable. <i>Do not know</i>

	Against Women and Reporting Behaviour		Multistage clustered sampling and random proportional sampling	attitudes toward reporting partner violence against women. Perceived frequency of violence significantly related to positive attitudes to reporting	responses also affects outcome. Some participants may be victims of D. Spanish population may have cultural factors not present in other countries.
Grafton, Wright, Gutmanis & Ralyea (2006)	Successful Implementation of Routine Universal Comprehensive Screening (RUCS)	Analysed charts of all post-partum women who had received a PHN home visit	Pre-RUCS women: 1151 Post-RUCS women: 1193	Increase in documented abuse inquiries among low-risk women. Pre-RUCS. Young women were more likely to be asked. No difference post-RUCs	Charts can be inadequately documented. Study completed over a year. Likely to be a representative of larger sample
Helfrich & Simpson (2006)	Improving Services for Lesbian Clients: What do Domestic Violence Agencies Need to Do?	Qualitative in-depth interviews	6 staff members from DV agencies: 4 from traditional agency, 2 from lesbian-orientated agency	Stressed unique needs of lesbians DV survivors and specific services needed. Policy changes required.	Participants from a single urban area. Also use of convenience sample. Generalisations cannot be made but useful for further study.
Humphreys, Mullender, Thiara & Skamballis (2006)	Talking to My Mum: Developing Communication Between Mothers and Children in the Aftermath of Domestic Violence	Address issues of mother-child relationship being undermined by abuse through action research and observation	Colchester Women's Aid and other refuges across the country	Conspiracy of silence can occur between mothers and children	Not the full research project. Summary of the first stage only. Highlights implications for social work practitioners
Mays (2006)	Feminist Disability Theory: Domestic Violence Against Women With a Disability	Examination of nature and perceptions of violence against women with disabilities – literature review	References to relevant literature	Issue is attracting increasing attention but still largely ignored in mainstream literature & research	Good critical summary of relevant literature
McHugh & Frieze (2006)	Intimate Partner Violence: New Directions	Literature review	Reference to relevant literature and discussion	Women are both victims and perpetrators in IPV. Researchers need to develop more complex constructions of gender and distinguish between different forms of IPV.	Good critique of researchers' use of CTS and CTS2. Emphasis on considering context.

Mirchandani (2006)	Hitting is Not Manly: Domestic Violence Court and the Re-Imagination of the Patriarchal State	Case study of a domestic violence court in Salt Lake City – interviews, case reviews, audio-tape reviews, observations	Professional stakeholders – court judges & clerks, staff of prosecutor’s office, staff of defence attorney’s office, DV agencies, battered women from local shelters	Positive impact from the Battered Women’s Movement. Defendants held more accountable. Women not blamed	Difficult to generalise from one specific case study but gives a very in-depth picture
Mitchell & Gilchrist (2006)	Domestic Violence and Panic Attacks – Common Neural Mechanisms	Literature review to produce hypothesis that DV incidents are linked to panic attacks	Material from domestic violence, animal aggression and neuropsychology research to construct a model of primitive defence mechanisms	Model could account for some aspects of female domestic abuse such as triggering stimuli and escalation	Tenuous conclusions from their hypothesis. Ignores social and cultural factors
Parmar & Sampson (2006)	Evaluating Domestic Violence Initiatives – 3 domestic violence projects	62 semi-structured interviews with women, 32 interviews with local agencies, 220 case files, 632 women tracked through police data	Comparison group of 258 women who were not referred or did not take up referral was used	Developed a practice model based on mechanisms of change	Good theoretical basis and looks at the how to generalise findings among other agencies
Part (2006)	A Flexible Response to Domestic Abuse: Findings from an Evaluation	Questionnaires and some follow-up group interviews	37 women and 1 man who had accessed DV services	2 key findings: appreciation of flexible/individualised support and for support to be available over a long period of time	Sample is unlikely to be representative. Low response rate from number of questionnaires sent out. No Minority Ethnic groups included but did include male survivor
Radford, Harne & Trotter (2006)	Disabled Women and Domestic Violence as Violent Crime	Overview of the findings of a study on DV and disability – literature review and telephone surveys with member agencies of DV and disability forums	Review of the previous study	Lack of appropriate services for disabled women. Need for staff training and awareness-raising	Highlights that it is a neglected issue both in practice and research
Reece (2006)	The End of Domestic Violence	Literature review on legislation being extended to ‘associated persons’	Range of studies	Extension of existing legislation to associated persons is not justified	Good analysis of research methods and samples used
Rohrburgh (2006)	Domestic Violence in Same-Gender Relationships	Essay on DV in same-gender relationships	Literature review and discussion	DV occurs at similar rates as heterosexual relationships. Frequency is similar but less	Systematic literature review with synthesis table looking at whether

				severe. Same-sex victims defend themselves more.	samples are representative. Refers to causes of DV.
Russo & Pirlott (2006)	Gender Based Violence: Concepts, Methods and Findings	Essay on gender-based violence	Review of relevant literature and discussion	Identifies cultural factors, eg, links between sex and violence through media images that may increase risk to women.	Discussion on gender-bias in VAW research including methodological issues.
Vigdor & Mercy (2006)	Do Laws Restricting Access to Firearms by Domestic Violence Offenders Prevent Intimate Partner Homicide?	Builds on data from previous work by analysing data gained from reviewing new legislation	Date from FBI homicide reports from 1982 – 2002	Laws restricting access to firearms for abusers reduces intimate partner homicide	Timing: could have been affected by the implementation of the VAWA  FBI reports tends to underestimate IPH  Cannot fully explore state variables  Didn't examine other DV outcomes
Wilcox (2006)	Communities, Care and Domestic Violence	Literature review and analysis of empirical research	Discussion and reference to relevant literature	Misunderstandings of DV lead to inadequate agency responses. Over reliance on traditional discourses on caring for women. Community-based work can be an additional strategy in tackling DV.	Good discussion about definitions of DV and gendered discussions about community.
Wilson & Websdale (2006)	Domestic Violence Fatality Review Teams: An Interprofessional Model to Reduce Deaths	Review of knowledge base with reference to a particular case study and DV Fatality Review Teams (DVFRTs)	Summary of policies relating to health, education, social services, criminal justice with reference to relevant literature	DVFRTs are developing promising practices and systems to reduce death and serious injury in DV cases.	Case study used to evidence need for DVFRTs and reference to outcomes and implications for practice.
Abrahams (2007)	Supporting Women After Domestic Violence: Loss, Trauma & Recovery	In-depth semi-structured interviews	23 abused women aged 21-68, some in refuges, some living	Emphasis on need for victims to grieve. Experience of shelter life. Positive views	Uses Maslow's hierarchy of need as an explanation for DV.

			independently. Also workers from DV agencies.	expressed about levels of support received from agencies and importance of support when moving onto independence.	
Bent-Goodley (2007)	Teaching Social Work Students How to Resolve Ethical Dilemmas in Domestic Violence	Focus groups asked 6 core questions	20 African-American women students	Need for increased education in social work on domestic violence, particularly considering its prevalence	Relatively small sample size and limited diversity. Difficult to generalise. Volunteers might be more willing to change than non-volunteers
Bourke (2007)	Rape: A History From 1860 to the Present	Historical summary and analysis of rape and responses to it.	Critical analysis of legislation and attitudes towards rape from 1860 with reference to relevant literature.	Discussions on rape myths, definitional issues, prevalence, consent, ethnic stereotypes, social explanations, female perpetrators.	Good historical and sociological context. Feminist perspective.
Dempsey (2007)	Towards a Feminist State: What Does “Effective” Prosecution of Domestic Violence Mean?	Essay on DV and the criminal justice system	Critique of legal system with reference to relevant literature	Effective prosecution of DV cases requires the creation of a less patriarchal society	Uses a feminist critique of legislation and links the legal system to wider society and its role in effectively reducing and ending DV.
Gelles (2007)	The Politics of Research: The Use, Abuse and Misuse of Social Science Data: The Cases of Intimate Partner Violence	Essay on research methods and interpretation of data	Reference to relevant literature and analysis of frequently-quoted statistics	Emphasises the difference between advocacy evidence and research evidence.	Good critical analysis of statistics and impact on judicial decisions.
Humphreys (2007)	A Health Inequalities Perspective on Violence Against Women	Essay on the health implications for women of gender-based violence.	Reference to relevant literature	Although DV affects women across all classes, a more nuanced discussion is needed to assess impact of poverty, ethnicity.	Considers impact of class, ethnicity, disability and how these are particular vulnerabilities. Addresses cultural issues and implications for practice.

Humphreys (2007)	Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Exploring the Role of Perpetrator Risks Assessments	Literature review and discussion of a police DV risk assessment model	Review of relevant literature and discussion of previously studied data	Perpetrator risk assessments are flawed but identify several risk factors: prior sexual assault, stalking, controlling behaviour, substance misuse, MH issues, pregnancy, escalation, threats to kill and child abuse.	Good summary of previous studies and implications for practice. Highlights strengths and weaknesses of the approach.
Leone, Johnson & Cohan (2007)	Victim Help Seeking: Differences Between Intimate Terrorism and Situational Couple Violence	Data from previous survey analysed using hierarchical logistic regression technique	389 women who responded to the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study – mostly Minority Ethnic and low-income	Women are not passive victims – 81% of larger survey sample sought help. Violence type predicted help-seeking patterns. IT victims rely more on sources that support escape. SCV seek help more informally – perhaps to end violence rather than relationship. SCV significantly less likely to contact formal agencies but many still did.	Cross-sectional data cannot determine temporal progression of events. Violence could increase after help-seeking and is therefore under-reported. No information about frequency of violence. Power & Control Scale does not assess how often each tactic was used or the threat posed = difficult to assess the nature of control.
Musgrove & Groves (2007)	The Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004: Relevant or 'Removed' Legislation?	Questionnaires regarding experience of DV and subsequent help-seeking from agencies	93 women from 5 counties in England	Act appears to be more inclusive of those in non-married partnerships. Suicide needs to be addressed in the act as significantly associated with DV	Reasonable sample size. Only accessed women who had sought help and cannot generalise to women who have yet to seek help for DV. Study is indicative rather than representative
Olive (2007)	Care for Emergency Department Patients Who Have Experienced Domestic Violence: A Review of the Evidence Base	Literature review	Accessed several databases with various search terms to identify relevant literature.	DV is an indisputable health issue for emergency department patients. At least 6% have experienced DV in the previous 12 months with actual rates higher.	Clear aims and objective set out. Systematic review. Outcomes are not easily measurable in emergency health care as other agencies may be involved and abuse is often insidious and may not be recognised as abuse at first.



Robinson (2007)	Improving the Civil-Criminal Interface for Victims of Domestic Violence	Exploratory study – qualitative data obtained from interviews and open-ended surveys	9 DV victims 3 WSU staff 5 local solicitors	Interface between civil and criminal courts is entirely dependent on the advocates and solicitors. No formal policies or procedures in place.	Research based on a small sample but points to the need for further quantitative research.
Scott & Kunselman (2007)	Social Justice Implications of Domestic Violence Court Processes	Examination of civil court structure and processes. All case files reviewed from 2003	All cases from 1 <sup>st</sup> January – 31 <sup>st</sup> December 2003 from one DV family court in Florida	30-60% overlap with DV and child abuse. Ability of the court to protect children. Correlate with drugs and alcohol	Limited generalisability owing to timespan and locality
Talwar (2007)	Improving the Enforcement of Restraining Orders after <i>Castle Rock v Gonzales</i>	Discussion of <i>Castle Rock v Gonzales</i>	Summary and discussion of case	Failure of restraining order enforcements in some cases. Improvements in the NYC model of DV court	Suggestions for improving restraining orders. Good summary of case. No direct research
Anderson (2008)	Is Partner Violence Worse in the Context of Control?	Analysis of NVAW survey from 1995/96 – telephone interviews	4575 women selected by random-digit dialling. Pre-screened for eligibility. Analysed 2 sub-samples: 208 women who reported IPV. The full sample for modelling remaining outcomes.	IT/SCV = more effective predictor of PTSD but violence scale is more effective in predicting injury and leaving a violent relationship	Survey may lead to underreporting of violence as it refers to violence and not conflict. Some may not define their experiences as violence. Therefore, impact will be understated. Control is related to negative health outcomes.
Barber (2008)	Domestic Violence Against Men	Literature review	Reference to relevant literature and discussion	Men are less likely to report violence for fear of ridicule or lack of appropriate support services. Implications for nurse practitioners.	No critical discussion of methods used to measure male/female violence which is the primary source of disagreement among researchers.
Chhabra (2008)	Sexual Violence Among Pregnant Women in India	Semi-structured, pre-designed, pre-tested questionnaire with some open-ended questions	2000 women 500 – 1 <sup>st</sup> trimester 600 – 2 <sup>nd</sup> trimester 900 – 3 <sup>rd</sup> trimester	30.7% had been forced to have sex with their partners against their wishes during pregnancy. Education/socio-economic status not a significant factor	Pilot study only. Good sized sample. Open ended questions to elicit further information. Not followed up for final outcome so could have missed some later

			All had reported from antenatal care		incidents of forced sex. Further qualitative research needed.
Craft, Serovich, McKenry & Lim (2008)	Stress, Attachment Style and Partner Violence Among Same-Sex Couples	Questionnaire – CTS2  Relationship Scales Questionnaire (RSQ)  Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (FILE)	46 gay men and 41 lesbians	Relationships among stress, attachment and violence are best explained by a mediation model, ie, relationship between perceived stress and perpetration on violence was mediated by an insecure attachment style.	Urban participants – may have different lifestyles than other areas. Relatively small sample size – difficult to generalise. Causal relationship not established. Study did not include those with insecure attachment styles but who do not use violence.
D’Ambrosio (2008)	Advocating for Comprehensive Assessments in Domestic Violence Cases	Essay critiquing the one-size-fits-all approach to DV in courts.	Review of relevant literature and discussion	Courts need more individualised approaches to working with women and children	Good summary of literature and legislation. Discussion about definitional difficulties.
Davis, O’Sullivan, Farole Jr & Rempell (2008)	A Comparison of Two Prosecution Policies in Cases of Intimate Partner Violence: Mandatory Case Filing Vs Following the Victim’s Lead	Review of documentary evidence from a 2 month period. In-depth individual and group interviews.	102 declined and 102 prosecuted cases in the Bronx.  272 declined cases and 211 prosecuted cases in Brooklyn.  35 female victims interviewed (23 individual and 12 group interviews) who had opposed prosecution.	No definitive conclusion about which policy is better. Re-arrest rate did not differ significantly. Victims expressed a preference for being relieved of the responsibility of prosecuting and endorsed an approach which prosecuted without victim support.	Initial phases of case screening were different in each borough. Qualitative data – cannot claim to be representative of other victims in the boroughs. Brooklyn sample cases limited to uncooperative victims and no priors but Bronx sample not limited in this way. Not statistically reliable but provides a hypothesis for further quantitative study.
Devaney (2008)	Chronic Child Abuse and Domestic Violence: Children and Families with Long-term and Complex Needs	Content analysis of social work case files of children on CP register under at least one of 4 categories in 1997. Follow-up in 2003.	190 children’s case files	Highlights the complex issue of addressing CA within a DV framework. Children exposed to DV at a significantly increased risk of psycho-social problems in later life. Studying DV in	Use of case files means lack of service-users own experience. Selective version of events in case files at a particular point in time.

				isolation for other issues does not adequately address risk.	
Ellis (2008)	Divorce and the Family Court: What Can Be Done about Domestic Violence	Literature review as part of thesis	Review of relevant literature and discussion	Family courts have an important role in preventing and reducing DV by increasing access to non-adversarial proceedings. Also providing mandatory risk assessments & education/training.	Clear research questions set out. Good summary and discussion
Guzik (2008)	The Agencies of Abuse: Intimate Abusers' Experience of Presumptive Arrest and Prosecution	30 hour long semi-structured	30 perpetrators arrested and prosecuted for DV in a Midwestern county	Participants view their punishments are unfair and unjust. They believe the court system is biased against men	Partial view of the lessons learned by perpetrators. Self-reported so minimised and excused violence
Irwin (2008)	(Dis)Counted Stories: Domestic Violence and Lesbians	Unstructured interviews	21 lesbian survivors of DV	Heterogeneity of lesbians' experiences challenges practitioners and policy-makers. Flexible and diverse services required to meet needs.	Rich data produced but difficult to generalise. Highlights complexities of DV in lesbian relationships.
McCarry, Hester & Donovan (2008)	Researching Same Sex Domestic Violence: Constructing a Survey Methodology	Essay on methodology when researching DV in same-sex relationships in order to devise a new questionnaire that reflects a wide range of behaviours.	Reference to previous studies with a critique of methodologies.	Important to produce data that can be compared with studies into heterosexual relationships.	Good critique of previous studies and methods used.
McNamara, Tamanini & Pelletier-Walker (2008)	The Impact of Short-Term Counseling at a Domestic Violence Shelter	Pre and post-test questionnaires – Q45.2 and Life Coping Inventory	119 women from a shelter in Lancaster, Ohio between April 1 <sup>st</sup> 2005 – June 15 <sup>th</sup> 2006	Significantly improved on clinical measures of life functioning, coping ability and service satisfaction	Other services were also accessed simultaneously so cannot exclude improvements caused by other services/workers
Patrick, Cook & McKenzie (2008)	Domestic Violence and the Exemption from Seeking Child Support: Providing	In-depth ethnographic interviews – thematic analysis	19 recruited women from Victoria, Australia	Agency support = key factor in applying for CS exemption. Perpetrators are financially rewarded for	Participants volunteered so had an interest in the subject. View may not be representative of other low-income DV survivors. In-depth

	Safety or Legitimizing Ongoing Poverty and Fear			ongoing abuse. PCS model of oppression can be applied.	interviews built up a good picture of experiences.
Romito (2008)	A Deafening Silence: Hidden Violence Against Women & Children	Book on different aspects of DV and child abuse.	Literature review and critical discussion.	Victim-blaming is common and based on myths about DV. 2 themes of male violence: legitimising and denying.	Addresses politics of language. Critique of research methods that contribute to VAW being hidden.
Salem & Dunford-Jackson (2008)	Beyond Politics and Positions: A Call For Collaboration Between Family Court and Domestic Violence Professionals	Essay on collaboration between DV courts and DV advocates	Critical analysis	Highlights the differences in approaches of these two agencies and the difficulties in bringing together two different ideologies. Emphasises the advantages of a collaborative approach.	Initial statements about DV are not given any supporting evidence.
Wallach (2008)	The importance of Male Batters' Attributions in Understanding and Preventing Domestic Violence	Discussion of typologies	Theoretical discussion and summary	Common evasion of responsibility for commission of violence therefore DV treatment programmes must take attributions into consideration in order to effectively address male violence.	Theoretical summary only and needs further research to provide more conclusive evidence.
Warrier (2008)	"It's In Their Culture" Fairness and Cultural Considerations in Domestic Violence	Essay critiquing current thoughts on culture and DV.	Critical discussion	Need to avoid generalisations in favour of a more nuanced discussion about cultural issues.	Critical framework used to discuss the issue.
Bostock, Plumpton & Pratt (2009)	Domestic Violence Against Women: Understanding Social Processes and Women's Experiences	Open question interviews. Grounded theory analysis	12 female domestic abuse survivors - 11 heterosexual, 1 lesbian. Opportunistic sample from a number of agencies including shelters	4 themes: Commonalities & contradictions in their abuse experiences, how they lived with abuse, response of systems challenged or reinforced the abuse, dealing	In-depth picture of the impact of abuse in the short and long-term. Small sample from a largely rural community in North of England. Regional differences. No women from Minority Ethnic groups

				with abuse beyond the relationship	
Conley, Roesch, Peplau & Gold (2009)	A Test of Positive Illusions Versus Shared Reality Models of Relationship Satisfaction Among Gay, Lesbian and Heterosexual Couples	Secondary analysis of data collected as part of American Couples Study (survey using Likert-type scale).	Lesbian sample = 784 Gay male sample = 969 Heterosexual married sample = 4287	Clear support for the effectiveness of using the positive illusions perspective for understanding relationship satisfaction. People who view their partners as better than they see themselves tend to have more satisfaction with their relationships.	A large but non-representative study. Participants were younger and more educated than the general population. Gay men and lesbians who participated in the study are likely to be more “out” than other people and may not be representative of the gay community.
Dutton, Corvo & Hamel (2009)	The Gender Paradigm in Domestic Violence Research and Practice Part II	Literature review	Reference to relevant literature and critique of myths	Men do not seek help because of shame and embarrassment. Men minimise their own abuse.	Highlights need for better services for men and practice implications for professionals.
Goldblatt (2009)	Caring for abused Women: Impact on Nurses’ Professional and Personal Life Experiences	Phenomenological in-depth interviews	22 female nurses in Israel in hospital and community healthcare clinics	Themes: Struggling in work and home fronts. Encounters with abused women induced empathy and compassion but also anger and criticism, influenced their home lives	Small purposive sample. Inexperienced students interviewed which could have influenced outcomes.
Harding & Helweg-Larsen (2009)	Perceived Risk for Future Intimate Partner Violence Among Women in a Domestic Violence Shelter	Survey – 9 page questionnaire administered by researchers	56 women in 4 DV shelters in Pennsylvania	Women perceived lower future risk if relationship were to end and higher risk of violence if relationship continued. Perceived personal risk predicted the participant’s intention to terminate the relationship.	Cross-sectional design of the study did not allow examination of the relationship between perceived risk and behaviour outcome. Oversimplification of women’s choices on leaving shelter. Small sample size and women who had experienced abuse to the degree they needed shelter accommodation. Not generalisable

					and research on long-term outcomes needed.
Hearns (2009)	A Journey Through Ashes: One Woman's Story of Surviving Domestic Violence	Case study and analysis of poetry and art produced by the participant	1 female survivor of DV	Art, poetry and music used therapeutically proved to be healing. Transformative potential of listening to narratives	Highlights different therapeutic approaches and the importance the participant being able to tell and make sense of her own narrative.
Hester (2009)	Who Does What to Whom? Gender and Domestic Violence Perpetrators	Refers to data from 2 previous studies	Attrition study based on police database in April 2001, June 2001, and March 2002.  692 perpetrator longitudinal profiles and 1889 related DV incidents	Men far more likely to be repeat offenders. More extreme and severe behaviours from men. Police more likely to characterise women as having MH problems. Men arrested 1 in 10 incidents. Women arrested 1 in 3 incidents. Female violence increased from 9% - 11%. Men as sole perps = 137 incidents. Women as sole perps = 44 incidents. Dual perp cases: men 330 incidents; women 70 incidents.	Clear gender patterns identified. Uses police statistics from 2 studies with consistent results. Large sample of DV incidents. Context not always known if not recorded.
Humphreys, Lowe & Williams (2009)	Sleep Disruption and Domestic Violence: Exploring the Interconnections between Mothers and Children	Pilot study – 3 focus groups and 1 in-depth interview. Thematically analysed and coded by Nvivo	17 abused women with 28 children	Ubiquitous nature of sleep problems and the interconnectedness between mothers and children. Sleep deprivation also used as a strategy of abuse.	Non-threatening approached to looking at a range of mental health issues. Demographic data not sought because of the size of the sample. Too small to make generalisations.
Lazenblatt & Thompson-Cree (2009)	Recognising the Co-occurrence of Domestic and Child Abuse: A Comparison of Community and Hospital-based Midwives	Survey questionnaire sent to 861 hospital and community midwives in Northern Ireland. Likert scale format. Coded using SPSS 120.1	488 midwives responded – 57% response rate	High number of participants recognised a link between CA and DV. Only 13% asked direct questions about abuse. Of 12% of community MWs	Addresses ethical issues. Non-random purposive sample in 1 area. Findings may not be generalisable.

				who encountered CA, only 2% reported it.	Reasonable response rate. Can only conjecture as to reasons for non-responses.
Lundy & Grossman (2009)	Domestic Violence Service-Users: A Comparison of Older and Younger Women Victims	Analysis of data collected from nearly 70 DV centers throughout Illinois.	Previous studies: 243,724 women aged 18-64 (99%) and 2746 (1%) over 64.	Many similarities but older victims more likely to be White, report more emotional and less physical abuse, be referred to services by a legal source have special needs or disabilities and fewer contacts with DV services.	Good-sized sample. Highlights the need for individualised services according to need.
Netto, Pawson & Sharp (2009)	Preventing Homelessness Due to Domestic Violence: Providing a Safe Space or Closing the Door to New Possibilities?	Examination of evaluative data obtained from Sanctuary studies	Interviews with 6 service-users of Scheme B	The schemes widen the choices available to women and enables them to stay in their own homes with support and additional safety measures. Physical safety without legal protection is not enough. Schemes would not be suitable for all women.	Further research needed into long-term outcomes. Interviews give details about women's experiences of the schemes and what worked for them. Very small interview sample number. Generalisations cannot be made.
Romito, Pomicino, Lucchetta, Scrimin, Molzan & Turan (2009)	The Relationships Between Physical Violence, Verbal Abuse and Women's Psychological Distress During Post-Partum Period	Quantitative and qualitative methods: questionnaire and follow-up telephone interviews 8 months later	352 women from the maternity hospital in Trieste, Italy  292 responded to follow-up interviews	8 months post-partum: 10% were experiencing violence from a partner or other family member. 5% showed high psychological distress	Includes women from one particular area only so findings may not be generalisable. Good response rate and good % of follow-up interviews. Mixed methods give more insight.
Stamm (2009)	Intimate Partner Violence in the Military: Securing Our Country, Starting with the Home	Discussion of DV and military responses including references to relevant literature	Summary with reference to specific cases	Use of Incident Severity Index for Spouse Abuse inconsistent with emerging research about DA. Newly-restructured index will identify abuse and determine consequences more easily	Good critique of index and of inadequate military responses to DA. Relevant literature also included.

Sorenson & Thomas (2009)	Views of Intimate Partner Violence in Same and Opposite Sex Relationships	Interviews conducted between April 2000 and March 2001. Fractional factorial design – vignettes	3679 randomly-selected participants – response rate of 51.5%	IPV against gay men, lesbians and heterosexual women is more likely to be seen as illegal than against heterosexual men = ‘worthy’ victims. Type of abuse and use of weapon is the strongest predictor of judgments about whether behaviour is illegal regardless of victim.	Sample is unlikely to be representative of sexual minorities. All vignettes were about IPV and may have implicitly influenced participants to give social desirable responses.
Abrahams (2010)	Rebuilding Lives After Domestic Violence: Understanding Long-Term Outcomes	In-depth semi-structured interviews – participative action research.	12 female survivors of DV and anecdotal evidence on a further 11 women.	Discussions on housing, formal and informal support, work, education, leisure. Contact and well-being.	Builds a rich and in-depth picture of life after an abusive relationship. Follow-up of previous study. 54.5% response rate. Results unlikely to be generalisable but many similar themes identified.
Damant, Lapierre, Lebosse, Thibault, Lessard, Hamelin-Brabant, Lavergne & Fortin (2010)	Women’s Abuse of Their Children in the Context of Domestic Violence: Reflection from Women’s Accounts	Report of a qualitative research study – semi-structured interviews between 90-120 minutes	27 women aged between 26-50 years who had experienced DV in the previous 2 years, had accessed health/social services and had at least one child under the age of 18	Women are more likely to request support for help with mothering than for dealing with DV situations. Women’s use of violence towards their children cannot be separated from the context of experiencing abuse. The two issues are often not linked in practice but female violence towards children can be a consequence of DV.	Initial selection criteria were widened owing to recruitment difficulties. Able to give in-depth information on a difficult subject from women’s own perspectives.
Hetling & Zhang (2010)	Domestic Violence, Poverty and Social Services: Does Location Matter?	Case study of Connecticut: analyse relationship between agency location and police-reported DV assaults	169 Connecticut towns and cities	Correlation between violence and poverty. Agencies located in poorer towns	Causality not addressed. Only looks at reported incidents of DV. Limited sample. Difficult to generalise



Lapierre (2010)	More Responsibilities, Less Control: Understanding the Challenges and Difficulties Involved in Mothering on the Context of Domestic Violence	5 Group and 20 individual interviews with women in the Midlands. Content analysis using NVivo	26 women – (16 White British, 2 Irish, 1 Scottish, 1 Black Caribbean, 1 Black other, 1 Indian, 1 Pakistani, 1 White European)	Men used children to threaten women. Women were held responsible for children's safety. Need to understand mothering experiences within the social institution of mothering.	Good diversity in the sample. Considers mothering in a social context. Recognises tactics by male abusers. Provides good insights into social work responses to women.
Madoc-Jones & Roscoe (2010)	Women's Safety Service Within the Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme: Perceptions of Service-Users	Semi-structured face-to-face or telephone interviews  Grounded theory for data analysis	13 women who accessed women's safety services  11 – telephone interviews  2 – face-to-face interviews	Women are generally negative about perpetrator programmes and need extra support, particularly in rural areas	Small sample size and likely that only women with extensive contact chose to participate.
Ofreneo & Montiel (2010)	Positioning Theory as a Discursive Approach to Understanding Same-Sex intimate Violence	Semi-structured interviews	4 same-sex couples: 2 gay men and 2 lesbians	Basic discursive pattern was identified from 25 accounts episodes of DV. Violence occurred after the initiator of the violence claimed innocence blamelessness and attributed guilt to the other person.	Gave in-depth picture of the relationships but not generalisable. Study did not look at couples' conversational history nor identify possible moral positions arising from status within the relationship.
Song & Shih (2010)	Recovery from Partner Abuse: the Application of the Strengths Perspective	Quantitative and qualitative methods used: surveys using various measurement scales and in-depth interviews	65 women who had experienced partner abuse and were referred to the agency by the police, helplines and hospitals.	Positive effects of the strengths perspective on decreasing depression and increasing self-efficacy. Positive recover of sense of self and empowerment	3 stages of assessment. Very few participants completed the 3 <sup>rd</sup> stage. Data collection was undertaken by case managers who may have desired specific outcomes therefore limited internal validity. No control group used so cannot be compared to other approaches.
Tesch, Bekerian, English & Harrington (2010)	Same-Sex Domestic Violence: Why Victims are More at Risk	Survey questionnaire	91 police officers in 5 towns in Illinois. (26.9% response rate)	Majority of officers had encountered at least one same-sex DV incident in the last six months. Very little	Similar socio-demographic compositions of towns. Relatively small sample and low response rate. Likely to come from more progressive and aware officers. No

				training on this issue reported.	demographic information was received from police officers. Does not address repeat offences.
Abramsky, Watts, Garcia-Moreno, Devries, Kiss, Ellsberg, Jansen & Heise (2011)	What Factors Are Associated With Recent Intimate Partner Violence: Findings From the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence	Standardised population-based household surveys undertaken between 2000-2003.	Women aged between 15-49 years.	Protective factors: secondary education, high SES and marriage  Risk factors: alcohol abuse, co-habitation, young age, attitudes supportive of wife-beating, having outside sexual partners, experiencing child abuse, growing up with DV and experiencing or perpetrating other forms of violence in adulthood.	Fully comparable data from 15 culturally, economically and socially diverse sites. Cross-sectional nature of study limits finding of causality. Only women interviewed and only refers to current or most recent partner, excluding data on DV incidents prior to this.
Allen-Collinson (2011)	Assault on Self: Intimate Partner Abuse and the Contestation of Identity	Case study of male abuse by female partner based on diary excerpts and in-depth interviews	White middle-class British male survivor	Possessions constitute an integral part of the "sense of self."	Symbolic interactionism is a useful way to look at the identity of the survivor through the examination of possessions. Rare in-depth picture of female-to-male abuse that provides a unique insight into its damaging nature.
Brykczynski, Crane, Medina & Pedraza (2011)	Intimate Partner Violence: Advanced Practice Nurses Clinical Stories of Success and Challenge	Face-to-face interviews	10 advanced practice nurses	Dealing with IPV is a common experience and presents challenges to nurse practitioners.	In-depth data highlights the successes and frustrations. Highlights several useful themes in IPV.
Cripe, Sanchez, Gelaye, Sanchez & Williams (2011)	Association Between Intimate Partner Violence, Migraine and Probable Migraine	One-to-one interviews	2066 women who had delivered babies at a maternity hospital in Lima, Peru.	Women with experiences of IPV had increased odds of any migraine compared to women with no history of IPV.	Study that identifies a specific health problem in relation to IPV. Relied on self-reporting and the study does not prove causality.

Matte & Lafontaine (2011)	Validation of a Measure of Psychological Aggression in Same-Sex Couples: Descriptive Data on Perpetration and Victimization and Their Association With Physical Violence	Questionnaires based on CTS2, ECR and DAS	75 males (94.7% = gay, 5.3% = bisexual)  143 females (77.6% = lesbian, 22.4% = bisexual)	Results supported the validity of the psychological aggression scale. Psychological aggression is strongly-correlated with physical violence in same-sex relationships.	Relatively small sample size makes it difficult to generalise but adds to the discussion of psychological abuse in IPV.
McGarry, Simpson & Hinchliff-Smith (2011)	The Impact of Domestic Abuse for Older Women: A Review of the Literature	Literature review using a range of health and social care search facilities	All studies found through 5 search databases and other sources	Specific impact of abuse on older women and barriers to support-seeking. Further training needed for professionals as current services may not be appropriate for older women.	Comprehensive literature review with comparative results table. Good critiques of research methodology and methods. Highlights it is a neglected issue. Difficulties of isolating DV factors from elder abuse.
Moraes, Tavares Da Silva, Reichenheim, Azevedo & Oliveira & Braga (2011)	Physical Violence Between Intimate Partners During Pregnancy and Postpartum: A Prediction Model for Use in Primary Healthcare Facilities	Face-to-face interviews	811 women attending primary healthcare facilities in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.	Prevalence of IPV was high both during and after pregnancy. Majority of women who reported IPV after birth also experienced it during pregnancy.	Good sample size and interviews provide detail. Results may not be generalisable to other locations or parts of the world.
Pecnik & Bezensek-Lalic (2011)	Does Social Workers' Personal Experience With Violence in the Family Relate to Their Professional Responses and How?	Questionnaire based on 4 vignettes	106 social workers from all 12 regions of Slovenia	SWs histories of IPV were associated with perceiving lower risks to children exposed to DV. More reluctant to suggest shelter accommodation, counselling or to notify the police. More likely to apportion blame to mothers.	Relied on self-reports and memory of historical events. Reliability and validity needs to be tested further. Highlights the need for one-to-one supervision of SWs that addresses personal issues.
Ross (2011)	Personality and Situational Correlates of Self-Reported Reasons for Intimate Partner Violence Among Women Vs	Computerised survey and individual interviews	30 women and 56 men  49% = White	Self-endorsed reasons for IPV:  Women = self-defence	Relatively small sample size. Participants were recruited via IPV intervention programme and may

	Men Referred for Batterers' Intervention		34% African American 5% = Latino 2% = Asian 10% = Other ethnic origin	Men = retaliation  Women = mostly situationally motivated  Men = mostly characterological factors	not be representative of IPV in community situations.
Silverman, McCauley, Decker, Miller, Reed & Raj (2011)	Coercive Forms of Sexual Risk and Associated Violence Perpetrated by Male Partners of Female Adolescents	Survey – 66% completion rate	495 young women attending adolescent health centres	More than 40% had experienced IPV. Those who had were more likely to report standard sexual risk behaviours	Clear indication that young women are at high risk of IPV and the need for this group to be targeted if highlighted. Self-reported data may be biased by under-reporting. A single metropolitan area means that findings may differ in other areas.
Stockl, Hertlein, Himsl, Delius, Hasbergen, Friese & Stockl (2011)	Intimate Partner Violence and its Association with Pregnancy Loss and Pregnancy Planning	Survey – abuse assessment screen	401 respondents in a maternity ward in Munich	IPV was the strongest predictor of pregnancy loss and unplanned pregnancy. Control over women's reproductive system adds another dimension to domestic abuse.	73% response rate but undertaken in one maternity ward of one hospital so caution must be taken in generalising. Only included women who had just given birth therefore IPV rate is likely to be underestimated.
Alsaker, Morken, Baste, Campos-Serna & Moen (2012)	Sexual Assault and Other Types of Violence in Intimate Partner Relationships	Self-Administered Questionnaire using the Severity of Violence Against Women Scale	86 women in shelter accommodation	Significant correlation between violence to pregnant woman's abdomen and sexual violence. Psychological violence also strongly associated with sexual violence. IPV increased the risk of multiple abortions.	Low response rate and no characteristics were known of non-responders. The 'private/taboo' nature of sexual violence is likely to mean it is under-reported. The participants were Norwegian-speaking women who had been at a shelter for more than one week so results cannot be generalised to women in the community.

Baynes & Holland (2012)	Social Work With Violent Men: A Child Protection File Study in an English Local Authority	A quantitative and qualitative review of case files in one local authority in England. The sample was selected by using the first 40 files held alphabetically	Files referred to 63 men involved in 40 families.	High levels of male violence. Men were less engaged in CP process. SWs were more likely to make contact with violent men than with non-violent men. Sanitised language minimised violence behaviours and obscured the perpetrator.	Relatively small and limited generalisability. Location was a largely white, rural area. Random sampling rather than alphabetical may produce a better cross-section of cases.
Bradley & Gottman (2012)	Reducing Situational Violence in Low-Income Couples by Fostering Healthy Relationships	A number of questionnaires using the CTS2 scale	115 English-speaking adult couples with at least one child under the age of 12, with a below average income	Situational IPV was reduced through the intervention programme with the use of therapeutic skills	A relatively small and homogenous group was used and not all participants completed the programme. A control group was used. Results could be replicated.
Gottlieb (2012)	Domestic Violence: A Clinical Guide for Women's Healthcare Providers	Summary of domestic violence in healthcare issues	Review only	Previous DV is strongly associated with violence during pregnancy. Routine screening in an open manner in healthcare settings is essential	Useful practical suggestions for including questions about abuse as part of routine healthcare check-ups.
Hogan, Hegarty, Ward & Dodd (2012)	Counsellors' Experiences of Working With Male Victims of Female-Perpetrated Domestic Abuse	Semi-structured interviews	Snowballing sampling identified 3 male and 3 female counsellors who all had experience of working with male victims of IPV	10 themes including that lack of recognition of male abuse. Victims' male identities are challenged leading to them finding it difficult to ask for help and suffering prolonged abuse.	Good insight into an under-researched area of DA. Small sample size means that results cannot easily be generalised. Also relied on participant recall.
Hunter (2012)	Doing Violence to Family Law	Journal article that discusses the nature and implications of the proposed changes to Legal Aid eligibility	Discussion paper only	Cuts in Legal Aid for families in private law proceedings will have severe implications for domestic abuse victims who may be cross-examined by their abusers or will not be able to	Good summary of the issues highlighted by potential scenarios for domestic abuse victims.

				afford to pursue court proceedings.	
Kane, Green & Jacobs (2012)	Perceptions of intimate Partner Violence, Age and Self-enhancement	Vignettes in a self-administered survey	Undergraduate (132) and graduate (110) students of SW and criminal justice	DV was widely recognised. Respondents were less likely to believe that a 75 year old partner would know when to terminate a relationship with IPV.	Specific to South Florida a diverse area. Vignettes not tested to reliability or validity. Voluntary participation may have led to self-selection bias.
Keeling & van Womer (2012)	Social Worker Interventions in Situations of Domestic Violence: What We can Learn from Survivors' Personal Narratives?	Interviews recorded and transcribed	15 women interviewed, focused on 7 women	Poor responses from social workers in recognising coercion. Key problem is lack of inter-agency work and little time for relationship-building.	Relatively small sample but purposive. Shows the importance of women's narrative in improving service delivery.
Roush (2012)	Domestic Violence: When Will We Get it Right?	Commentary on screening for domestic violence in healthcare settings	Commentary on existing research	Major barriers to screening: lack of knowledge, negative attitudes towards violence, setting constraints and socio-cultural norms	Useful in highlighting the differences in doctors' and nurses' attitudes towards violence – related to gender nursing is a female-dominated profession.
Stanley, Graham-Kevan & Borthwick (2012)	Fathers and Domestic Violence: Building for Change Through Perpetrator Programmes	Two-year evaluation using mixed methods including interviews	Data collection from files. Interviews with 21 men and 13 partners of men	Importance of engaging with men and focusing on their capacities for change, especially as fathers. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.	Volunteers for the study therefore could be overly-positive about outcomes. Identified different motivations and included women in the study.
Stanley, Miller & Richardson Foster (2012)	Engaging with Children's and Parents' Perspectives on Domestic Violence	Focus groups	2 authorities in the North and South of England: 19 young children/young people aged 10 – 19, 10 women and 1 male survivor and 10 perpetrators, all male	Professionals are perceived as either threatening or powerless to help. Stressed the importance of making time to listen.	Three groups recruited separately for safety reasons but lost the benefit of interviewing the members of the same family.
Turell, Hermann, Hollander & Galletly (2012)	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Communities'	Telephone interviews lasting between 20 and 90 minutes	79 individuals connected to the LGBT community with further	Only vague awareness of IPV in these communities/locations	Unclear as to the gender or sexuality of participants. Broad definition of 'community'.

	Readiness for Intimate Partner Violence Prevention		recommendations of additional contacts from some participants		Ethnicity not included as a variable.
Whiting, Oka & Fife (2012)	Appraisal `Gender Distortions and Intimate Partner Violence: Power and Interaction	Qualitative interviews	29 men and women who had been in abusive relationships and had received some kind of intervention in relation to the abuse	Different functions of distortions were used according to gender and the role in the abuse. High power (abuser) and low power (abused) appraisals	Socially constructed research project. The context may distort responses. Focuses on the interactive dynamic in violent relationships which could be misconstrued as attributing equal responsibility for abuse.
Xie, Heimer & Lauritsen (2012)	Violence Against Women in US Metropolitan Areas: Changes in Women's Status and Risk, 1980 – 2004	Analysis of longitudinal data from surveys from 40 US metropolitan areas from 1980 – 2004	Data from National Crime Survey and National Crime Victimization Survey	Absolute increases in women's labour-force participation, income and education are associated with decreases in IPV. Also limited support for backlash theory where increases in female labour participation relative to men are associated with increases in IPV but not with increases in violence by others.	Compares absolute and relative rates and a clear distinction is made between both.
Childress (2013)	A Meta-Summary of Qualitative Findings on the Lived Experience Among Culturally Diverse Domestic Violence Survivors	Meta-summary of articles published between 1990 and 2010	Out of 802, 9 met the inclusion criteria (focusing on lived experience)	Themes identified: effects of violence, cyclical nature of violence, normalizing and tolerating violence, the strength and resilience of victims, barriers to help-seeking and role of substance use in domestic violence	Study based on limited number of articles representing each country which makes it difficult to generalize to one specific culture.

Westmarland & Kelly (2013)	Why Extending Measurements of 'Success' in Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programmes Matters for Social Work	Interviews which were transcribed and analysed by NVivo.	73 interviews: 22 – male perpetrators 18 – female (ex)partners 27 – programme staff 6 – funders and commissioners	Success is not just measured by the absence of violence. SW needs to understand how coercive control limits women's opportunities. For change to happen, men have to become visible.	Self-selection may produce overly-positive results with those who are particularly motivated volunteering. Perpetrators and partners were not linked so could not compare accounts.
Brame, Kaukinen, Gover & Lattimore (2014)	No-Contact Orders, Victim Safety and Offender Recidivism in cases of Misdemeanour Criminal Domestic Violence	Experimental design. Case analysis and face-to-face interviews	Treatment and control group cases. Interviews with 466 women in South Carolina	Treatment had no impact on victim safety or offender recidivism	Changes in law and personnel means that cases selected may not have been consistent in their processing. Difficulty contacting victims and observations of criminal offenders were brief.
Damonti (2014)	Can Gender-based Violence Result in a process of Social Exclusion?	Analysis of macrosurvey on GBV and qualitative interviews	11 women who had experienced GBV	Clearly established link between GBV and social exclusion that could be causal or consequential.	Combines use of quantitative and qualitative methods that brings insight to the experienced of abused women who are socially excluded.
Golu (2014)	Predictors of Domestic Violence: A Comparative Analysis	History questionnaire, Rosenberg questionnaire	140 women aged between 23 and 32 years	There is not just one factor to explain violence perpetrated against women. Cultural and social factors are key.	Limited by its quantitative methods which do not allow for in-depth discussion but identifies a range of factors in women's abuse.
Heffernan, Blythe & Nicolson (2014)	How Do Social Workers Respond to Domestic Violence and Relate This to Organizational Practice?	Survey questionnaire	181 social workers (40.3% response rate) in Midlands	All SWs were concerned for the welfare of children and women who experience domestic abuse. A gap in their understanding of what domestic abuse is and how it is actually experienced. Often attributed to drug and alcohol use. Relevant	Social workers with strong views about DV may have responded so could present an overly-positive response. Qualitative follow-up method would have been useful.



				ongoing training is crucial – academic and experiential.	
Robbins (2014)	‘She Knew What Was Coming’: Knowledge and Domestic Violence in Social Work Education	Group work and personal narratives in the third person	36 social work students – five male and 31 female	Importance of survivors’ stories in shaping practice. Crossed the gap between data and lived experiences.	Narrative stories useful in supporting students to critically engage with domestic violence as an experience. Stresses the need for ongoing training. Not clear where study took place.
Roberts, Chamberlain & Delfabbro (2014)	Women’s Experiences of the Processes Associated with the Family Court of Australia in the Context of Domestic Violence: A Thematic Analysis	9 telephone interviews and 6 face-to-face interviews	15 women who had left abusive relationships and were currently engaged with the Federal Family Court processes	Four core themes: Lack of empathy and understanding, Invalidity, Fear and Anxiety, Re-traumatization.	Results have limited generalisability as most women who volunteered are likely to have had particularly strong views about the court process but gives an in-depth picture of the experience for women.
Wokoma, Jampala, Bexhell, Guthrie & Lindow (2014)	A Comparative Study of the Prevalence of Domestic Violence in Women Requesting a Termination of Pregnancy and Those Attending the Antenatal Clinic	Self-administered questionnaires	507 women: 233 attending ANC and 274 requesting a TOP in North East England	Higher prevalence of DV in the TOP group than ANC	Some sometimes difficult to see women alone in order to recruit them to the study or screen for DV.
Zannettino & McLaren (2014)	Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Towards a Collaborative Approach Across the Two Service Sectors	Quantitative and qualitative methods: survey, focus groups. Data were coded and analysed.	60 survey responses (48.8% response rate) 1 <sup>st</sup> focus groups = 14 CP workers, 16 DV workers 2 <sup>nd</sup> Focus groups – mixed group = 20	DV and CP workers have different understanding of domestic violence and the needs of women and children. CP more focused on children. DV more focused on accountability of men.	Need for inter-agency collaboration to prevent fragmented response. Response may have come from workers who actively seek inter-agency working opportunities. Demonstrates different foci for agencies.
Coy, Scott, Tweedale & Perks (2015)	‘It’s Like Going Through the Abuse Again’: Domestic Violence and Women and Children’s (Un)Safety in	In-depth interviews. Thematic analysis.	34 women who had recently completed or were still undergoing proceedings.	Unsupervised contact was routinely ordered to abusive fathers. Judges only recognised physical abuse	Emphasises lack of understanding of domestic abuse issues and non-

	Private Law Contact Proceedings			and ignored coercive control. Women's safety was diminished by absence of special facilities and gaps in legal representation	prioritisation of women's and children's safety.
Kyriakakis, Waller & Kagotho, (2015)	Conducting Safe Research with At-Risk Populations: Design Strategies from a Study with Unauthorised Immigrant Women Experiencing intimate Abuse	Two in-depth, face-to-face interviews with each participant	Community sampling technique: 29 Mexican immigrant women	Discussed safety strategies and collaborative working with women who feared reprisal.	Ethical research in which women's safety needs were prioritised. Women's cultural/language needs also key. Interviews undertaken in the women's choice of language.
Reich, Blackwell, Simmon & Beck (2015)	Social Problem Solving Strategies and PTSD in the Aftermath of Intimate Partner Violence	Initial semi-structured interview to determine eligibility. Questionnaires: CTS2. Psychological maltreatment of women inventory, Social problem-solving inventory, PTSD scale.	105 women (USA)	Avoidance problem-solving was common. Intermediary factor between abuse and PTSD	Utilised cross-sectional data. Follow-up study would be useful. Result may not be generalisable to non help-seeking females.
Rossi, Holtzworth-Munroe & Applegate (2015)	Does Level of Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse Predict the Contact of family mediation Agreements?	Analysis of 105 cases at a law school mediation clinic	105 cases in Indiana	Mediation may help families with a history of IPV to address a variety of concerns, however, concerns also raised about this method	Only some findings reached statistical significance. Relatively small sample size. Some inconsistent patterns identified.
Thureau, Blanc-Louvry, Thureau, Gricourt & Proust (2015)	Conjugal Violence: A Comparison of Violence Against Men by Women	Retrospective study into medical certificates for victims of assault	81 men and 626 women in Rouen	Episodes of violence found most often repeated against women than men. Women consulted more often than men. Psychological effects clear in women.	Retrospective and only covers a one-year period. Other factors need to be considered.
O'Campo, Daoud, Hamilton-Wright & Dunn (2015)	Conceptualizing Housing Instability: Experiences with Material and Psychological	In-depth interviews in the respondents' homes	45 women aged between 25 – 60 years and resided in social, transitional or market housing in	Housing instability was a major source of concern across all periods. Housing instability should include psychological instability.	Only accessed women who had come into contact with the service providers and did not include women who stayed in their homes after ending an abusive

	Instability Among Women Living with Partner Violence		urban and non-urban areas in Toronto.	Other factors exacerbate housing problems	relationship. Highlights the key role housing plays in IPV relationships as a barrier to leaving and major stressor.
--	---	--	--	--	---

1 March 2013

Dear Annie,

**RE: ETHICS APPLICATION HSCR12/90** – A dual-perspective, in-depth analysis of the impact of domestic abuse on male and female survivors and the implications of gender and sexuality

Following your responses to the Panel's queries, based on the information you provided, I am pleased to inform you that application HSCR12/90 has now been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/ or its methodology, please inform the Panel as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

*Rachel Shuttleworth*

Rachel Shuttleworth  
College Support Officer (R&I)

## **Participation Invitation Letter**

### **A Study of Domestic Abuse in Salford**

#### ***Student Doctoral Study***

#### **What is this research about?**

This study aims to present an in-depth understanding of the different experiences of female survivors of domestic abuse living in Salford.

I am looking to hear from volunteers who are:

- Women
- Of any age
- Currently receiving help or support from domestic abuse support services

The research would involve you taking part in an interview about your experiences of domestic abuse.

Your name and contact details do not appear anywhere and the information you give will not be used in any way that could identify you.

If you are interested in being part of this research process, please read the accompanying information sheet and consent form. I will be happy to answer any of your questions.

Thank you, in anticipation,

Annie Wood

## Research Information Leaflet

Name: Annie Wood

Position: Student Researcher/Social Worker

Address: Salford Civic Centre, Chorley Road, Swinton, M27 5DA

Contact No: 0161 779 7869 or 07919 325694

Email: [annie.wood@salford.gov.uk](mailto:annie.wood@salford.gov.uk)

Supervisor: Dr Elaine Ball

Programme Leader – Professional Doctorate

Address: School of Nursing and Midwifery, Room 2.28 Mary Seacole Building,  
Frederick Road Campus, Salford, M6 6PU

Contact No: 0161 295 7280

Email: [e.ball1@salford.ac.uk](mailto:e.ball1@salford.ac.uk)

**Title: A Study of Domestic Abuse in Salford**

What is the purpose of the study?

You are being asked to participate in a research study undertaken by Annie Wood, a student researcher at Salford University. The purpose of the research is to develop an in-depth understanding of domestic abuse, how it impacts on women who live in Salford and what their support needs are.

Why have I been approached to take part?

You have been approached to take part as a survivor of domestic abuse. Talking about your experiences will help to build a picture of what domestic abuse is, how it affects different people and what types of support survivors of domestic abuse need. In order to be included in this study, you need to live or have lived in Salford. You must be aged between 18 and 40 years of age and you must also be receiving or previously have received help or support from a domestic abuse support service or similar service.

### Do I have to give consent to take part?

Yes, you will be asked to sign a consent form if you wish to participate in the study. Participation is entirely voluntary and you can change your mind at any point during the study if you wish to withdraw. You can withdraw for any reason and you do not need to explain why you are choosing to do so. No judgements will be made if you decide to withdraw.

### What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in an initial interview about your experience of domestic abuse. You may then be invited to take part in a further interview if you are willing. You can refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer. This will help to provide a real understanding of what it is like to be abused by a partner and what kind of support different people most need. The interviews will be recorded on digital technology and some notes may also be made during the interviews. Written notes and electronic recordings will be stored safely in a locked room that can only be accessed by the researcher. All data will be encrypted and password-protected and will be destroyed on completion of the research study.

### What are the possible disadvantages to taking part?

There is no physical risk in taking part but, owing to the personal nature of the interviews, you may experience some emotional discomfort. If this occurs, the interview can be stopped while support is offered by the researcher who is trained to do so. Additional emotional support can be offered outside of the interview sessions by the support services with which you are already involved.

### What are the possible benefits?

If you choose to participate in the study, you will be given the opportunity to talk about your experiences of domestic abuse. The benefits are to help those who work with survivors to gain a better understanding of how domestic abuse affects women in Salford and what kind of support women need. This will, in turn, benefit other people who are or have been in domestic abuse situations.

### Will my participation be kept confidential?

Your confidentiality and anonymity are of paramount importance throughout the study. No real names will be used and any possible identifying features of your experience will be removed. The only exception is if the researcher is given information that indicates a risk or threat to any individual in which case the researcher is required by law to inform the relevant authorities.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The results of the study will be written up as part of the doctoral thesis and will also be summarised in at least one paper that will be submitted for publication to a relevant academic journal. All results will be confidential and no person will be identified in the research.

Who is organising and funding the study?

The study is being undertaken as part of the Professional Doctorate in Health and Social Care at Salford University. Organisational responsibility lies with the university. The study is being entirely funded by Annie Wood.

Who has reviewed the study?

The proposed study has been reviewed and will continue to be monitored by the Institute for Health and Social Care Research at Salford University. Annie Wood will be supervised by Dr Elaine Ball, Programme Leader for the professional doctorate course and Salford University's ethics panel has also given its approval for the study to proceed.

What if there is a problem?

If there is a problem, please don't hesitate to discuss this with Annie Wood. If this is not appropriate, you can speak to her supervisor, Dr Elaine Ball (contact details on front page) or to someone from your domestic abuse support services.

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO READ THIS LEAFLET.**

**Consent Form**



Name of Researcher: Annie Wood

Title of Study: A Study of Domestic Abuse in Salford

---

	<b>Tick</b>
• I confirm that I have been given and have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have asked and received answers to any questions raised.	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without my rights being affected in any way.	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that the interviews will be recorded using a digital recorder.	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that the researcher will hold all information and data collected securely and in confidence and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified.	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that the researcher has a responsibility by law to inform relevant authorities of any information that indicates a risk or threat to any individual.	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I agree that anonymised quotes may be used in the researcher's thesis and subsequent publications and discussed in tutorials.	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I agree to take part in the above study.	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Participant:**

Signature..... Date.....

**Researcher:**

Signature..... Date.....

**Risk Assessment for the Study of Domestic Abuse Survivors' Experiences**

These risks are set out simply in three steps to ensure participants are protected:

**Step 1 Identify the risks**

**Step 2 How might participants be harmed**

**Step 3 Protect the well-being of participants**

**Welfare of Participants**

- It is acknowledged that there is the potential for participants to experience some distress in recounting their experiences of domestic abuse. In order to minimise this in line with the principle of ‘no harm’ (Iphofen, 2009), participants will be informed in advance of the nature of the questions.
- It will be made clear to participants that they have the right to decline to answer any of the questions at any time.
- A break can be taken during the interviews if required by the participants and a period for de-briefing the participant will be available at the end of each interview (I am trained in de-briefing techniques and have undertaken this intervention on a number of occasions in order to support traumatised individuals).
- Arrangements will be made for participants to access support during the data collection period from the support services by which they will have been accessed and discussions have already taken place with workers from those services to this effect.
- Research shows that participating in domestic abuse research can be a cathartic and ultimately beneficial experience for survivors.
- The researcher’s employment Lone Working policy will be adhered to.
- There will be opportunities to acknowledge and discuss any emotional issues that may arise for the researcher during regular supervision with the allocated supervisor(s).

*Excerpts of Raw Data from Participants’ Transcripts*

	<i>Excerpt</i>
<b>Michelle</b>	<i>The worst physically was when, erm, he knocked me out, erm, this was like at the beginning when he started really hitting me, like, bad, erm, was when I was sat in his brother's flat. We'd been out on a night out ... coz it did revolve a lot around beer, d'know? He knew I was out with his brother and his brother's girlfriend and was in this flat and all I remember was him walking through the door and he come and he just knocked me out. My face was an absolute mess. I woke up in the morning in his brother's bed on my own. I had sick all around me because he'd knocked me out and I'd woke up and I had, like ... I think it's concussion, sick everywhere and I woke up and thought 'what has gone on?' Coz I weren't even drunk, d'know? I thought 'what's gone on? My head was pounding. I went in the front room. He'd emptied my bag for my phone. That's all he was bothered about. And then I went in the front room and my bag was empty on the floor so I said to his brother 'what's happened?' and he went 'you walked into the door, Chelle.' I went 'did I?' He goes 'yeah' and I thought 'you're lying' and then I walked in the bathroom and seen my face and I threw up when I seen my face cause my eye was completely shut. This one was all bruised there. My head was out here like a big square and I went home and my mum was like 'what the hell?'</i>
<b>Megan</b>	<i>He'd been drinking that morning and he'd been drinking on the way home and because he got caught in the rain, he wasn't very happy and started throwing the bags around in the kitchen and kicking them and things like that and calling me names. The kids were in bed. It was only about half eleven but the two lads both work so they were still in bed because it was a Saturday morning and my daughter was out. Luckily she'd stayed at a friend's that night and erm, they heard the commotion and came downstairs and the eldest lad who's twenty-two, erm, see he'd tried to pull the Christmas tree over and things like that to wreck things if you like because he wanted more money to go out and things like that. And, erm, I could see he was just going to throw everything about and wreck everything and I tried to get him away from the tree, pull him away from the tree if you like and because I was trying to manoeuvre him away from it, he pushed me and I fell over the shopping and went into the wall, you see, I lost my balance and he just laid into me. Just punching me round the face, split my lip...erm...round the body, you know, things like that, although I don't remember him hitting me round the body but a few days later I came out in all these bruises that I'd found, you know, and I wasn't ... you know because you're sort of defending yourself, you know, covering yourself. My mouth was up here and everything.</i>
<b>Mary</b>	<i>So that night he was like 'oh when you met me you had short hair and you had no tits' so he was looking for something in the hotel room to gouge out my implants because I'd ended up having implants. He burned my hair with a lighter and set my hair on fire but luckily I had extensions in so I was able to rip them out. He boiled the kettle and put that over me, threatened to pour it over my face. Then he just started hitting me and told me to shut up screaming basically so no one would hear me. Erm, and then we got home and that's when I decided ... when I did get out of the hotel, because I didn't think I was going to get out of the hotel ... he took all my clothes and threw them out of the window and said I'd have to walk home naked and stuff like that but when I did finally get home, I deleted him off my Facebook</i>

	<i>and when I did do that, he put up naked pictures of me of when was having full sex, full naked pictures.</i>
<b>Sarah</b>	<i>Erm ... he just started slowly ... went slowly from there and he progressed to be if I don't wake ... because I didn't want depression and I didn't know I had depression because, I don't think, at home people talk about something like that. And I couldn't wake up in the morning. I just could not ... and he would wake me up with a bucket of water in the morning if I don't wake up. But that's the thing is that, I used to be awake all night and then sleep all day and he didn't like that, he wanted me to get up, get dressed and go walking with him in the town. I don't know why but I was too tired. And that resulted into more ... more, kind of, physical torture. 'If you don't do this, I'm going to deport you' and we both know that if you come from our country and you're married, to go back it's a big shame to your family, to your friends, even to you because they will be saying 'look at her, she's gone abroad and now she's back,' you know, everybody would be laughing at my family so I had to do everything I could, everything he said to make sure that that never happened. So, shortly after, that's when the kind of sexual side got into it. He ... he just said that he would like me to sleep with other men in front of him ...[pause].. .and I knew it was wrong because, you know, my mum taught me that a marriage is between two people, erm and no one should be involved in it in anyway. And I knew it was wrong.</i>
<b>Carlotta</b>	<i>There's times where I'd try and kick him and he'd just beat me black and blue. There's times where he'd ... I don't know ... it happened so many times, I can't even remember one time ... it was just the norm. It was just normal. He'd bite me. He'd throw rocking horses at me. He'd lock me in the room. He'd punch me in the head. He'd kick me, fly-kick me. He'd ... he was just a really nasty person. It was scorching hot in the summer and I had to wear a polo-neck because I had bruises all over my arms. Erm, it was like if I didn't hear ... it was like if he didn't like what he'd hear, he'd then go 'well, you know what's happening now don't you?' Like, if I interrupted him and he was on the X-box, like he'd go 'right, well you know what's coming don't you?' and it was horrible and I remember thinking 'is this my life now? Is this it?' Because I can remember not wanting to live and I was so desperate for someone to come and save me.</i>

### **Analytic Process - Examples**

Raw Transcripts	Preliminary Notes/Patterns	Theme	Observations/ Personal Comments
<p><i>All I remember was him walking through the door and he come and he just knocked me out. My face was an absolute mess. I woke up in the morning in his brother's bed on my own. I had sick all around me because he'd knocked me out and I'd woke up and I had, like ... I think it's concussion, sick everywhere and I woke up and thought 'what has gone on?'</i></p>	<p>'Knocked out' Violence 'Sick everywhere' - physical injuries Unconsciousness Concussion Confusion</p>	<p>Physical abuse</p>	<p>Violence = 'out of the blue', no antecedent. Extremity of injuries.  Face was "a mess" – damage to part of the body that cannot be hidden.  Aim to render less attractive?</p>
<p><i>He took all my clothes and threw them out of the window and said I'd have to walk home naked and stuff like that but when I did finally get home, I deleted him off my Facebook and when I did do that, he put up naked pictures of me of when was having full sex, full naked pictures.</i></p>	<p>Forced nakedness Online abuse Sexually explicit pictures</p>	<p>Sexual abuse Abuse by Technology/ Social Media</p>	<p>Nakedness/sexual intimacy = vulnerability, used threat.  Social media = public humiliation/ revenge.</p>
<p><i>Erm ... he just started slowly ... went slowly from there and he progressed to be if I don't wake ... because I didn't want depression and I didn't know I had depression because, I don't think, at home people talk about something like that. And I couldn't wake up in the morning. I just could not ... and he would wake me up with a bucket of water in the morning if I don't wake up. But that's the thing is that, I used to be awake all night and then sleep all day and he didn't like that, he wanted me to get up, get dressed and go walking with him in the town.</i></p>	<p>Depression Affected sleep pattern Physical assault with bucket of water Public appearances</p>	<p>Depression Physical abuse Public perception of abuser</p>	<p>Depression – gradual – more difficult to recognise.  Physical abuse with bucket of water but no injuries.  Outward appearance as 'normal' couple.</p>
<p><i>He pushed me and I fell over the shopping and went into the wall, you see, I lost my balance and he just laid into me. Just punching me round the face, split my lip...erm...round the body, you know, things like that, although I don't remember him hitting me round the body but a few</i></p>	<p>Pushed 'Laid into me' Punching Split my lip</p>	<p>Physical abuse</p>	<p>Serious physical injuries, face and body – visible and hidden injuries</p>

<p><i>days later I came out in all these bruises that I'd found, you know, and I wasn't ... you know because you're sort of defending yourself, you know, covering yourself. My mouth was up here and everything.</i></p>	<p>Hitting Bruises Mouth 'up here'</p>		<p>Didn't remember all of the assault – trauma</p>
<p><i>There's times where I'd try and kick him and he'd just beat me black and blue. There's times where he'd ... I don't know ... it happened so many times, I can't even remember one time ... it was just the norm. It was just normal. He'd bite me. He'd throw rocking horses at me. He'd lock me in the room. He'd punch me in the head. He'd kick me, fly-kick me. He'd ... he was just a really nasty person. It was scorching hot in the summer and I had to wear a polo-neck because I had bruises all over my arms.</i></p>	<p>Kick Beat – 'black and blue' Bite Throw objects Lock in room Fly-kick</p>	<p>Physical abuse</p>	<p>Extremity of physical assaults.  Hides bruises with polo-neck – shame/self-blame?  Normality of abuse  Happened 'so many times'  Difficulty recalling one time because it was the norm.</p>

## REFERENCES

- Abrahams, H (2007) *Supporting Women After Domestic Violence: Loss, Trauma and Recovery*  
Jessica Kingsley, London
- Abrahams, H (2010) *Rebuilding Lives After Domestic Violence: Understanding Long-Term Outcomes* Jessica Kingsley, London
- Acker, J, Barry, K & Esseveld, J (1991) *Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research* in Fonow, MM & Cook, JA (eds) *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research* Indiana University Press, Bloomington
- Adams, R, Dominelli, L & Payne, M (eds) (2002) *Critical Practice in Social Work* Palgrave, Basingstoke
- Adler, PA & Adler, P (2002) *The Reluctant Respondent* in Gubrium, JF & Holstein, JA (eds) *Handbook of Interview Research* Sage, California
- Alcoff, L (1994) *Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory* in Dirks, NB, Eley, G & Ortner, SB (eds) *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* Princeton University Press, New Jersey
- Allen, M (2011) *Is There Gender Symmetry in Intimate Partner Violence* *Child and Family Social Work* 16: 245 – 254
- Allen, M (2013) *Social Work and Intimate Partner Violence* Routledge, Oxford
- Althusser, L (1971) *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)* in Brewster, B (trans) *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* Monthly Review Press, New York
- Alvesson, M & Skoldberg, K (2000) *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research* Sage, London

- Anderson, KL (2008) *Is Partner Violence Worse in the Context of Control?* Journal of Marriage and Family 70: 1157 – 1168
- Anderson, KL (2010) *Conflict, Power and Violence in Families* Journal of Marriage and Family 72: 726 – 742
- Anthias, F (2012) *Intersectional What? Social Divisions, Intersectionality and Levels of Analysis* Ethnicities 13 (1): 3 – 18
- Archer, J (2000) *Sex Differences in Aggression Between Heterosexual Partners: A Meta-Analytic Review* Psychological Bulletin 126: 651 – 680
- Archer, J (2009) *Intersecting Feminist Theory and Ethnography in the Context of Social Work Research* Qualitative Social Work 8 (2): 143 – 160
- Arnett, G (2014) *Domestic Abuse and Sexual Violence: What the New Figures Tell Us* Guardian, 10<sup>th</sup> March 2014
- Ashby, C (2011) *Whose “Voice” is it Anyway? Giving Voice and Qualitative Research Involving Individuals that Type to Communicate* Disability Studies Quarterly 31 (4): 1 - 19
- Austin, JL (1962) *How to Do Things With Words* Clarendon Press, Oxford
- Aveyard, H (2007) *Doing a Literature Review in Health and Social Care: A Practical Guide* Open University Press, Maidenhead
- Avishai, O, Gerber, L & Randles, J (2012) *The Feminist Ethnographer’s Dilemma: Reconciling Research Agendas with Fieldwork Realities* Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 42 (4): 394 – 426



- Avishai, O Gerber, L & Randles, J (2013) *Toward a Feminist Ethnography of Feminist Ethnography: A Response* Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 42 (4): 501 – 520
- Bakare-Yusef, B (1999) *The Economy of Violence: Black Bodies and the Unspeakable Terror* in Price, J & Shildrick, M (eds) *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
- Barry, C (2003) *Holding Up the Mirror to Widen the View: Multiple Subjectivities in the Reflexive Team* in Finlay, L & Gough, B (2003) (eds) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford
- Bates, L (2014) *Everyday Sexism* Simon & Schuster, London
- Bauman, Z (2000) *Special Essay: 'Am I My Brother's Keeper?'* European Journal of Social Work 3 (1): 5 – 11
- Baynes, P & Holland, S (2012) *Social Work with Violent Men: A Child Protection Study in an English Local Authority* Child Abuse Review 21: 53 – 65
- BBC (2014) *'Blurred Lines': The New Battle of the Sexes* BBC 2, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2014
- Beauchamp, T, Faden, R, Wallace Jr, RJ & Walters, L (1982) *Ethical Issues in Social Science Research* John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- Beauchamp, TL, Faden, RR, Wallace, RJ & Walters, L (eds) (1982) *Ethical Issues in Social Science Research* John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- Beaulaurier, RL, Seff, LR, Newman, FL & Dunlop, B (2005) *Internal Barriers to Help-Seeking for Middle-Aged and Older Women Who Experience Intimate Partner Violence* Journal of Elder Abuse and Neglect 17 (3): 53 – 74

- Beetham, G & Demetriades, J (2007) *Feminist Research Methodologies and Development: Overview and Practical Application* Gender and Development 15 (2): 199 – 216
- Begum, S & Rhodes, O (2013) *City Hardest Place in Country to Land a Job* Salford Advertiser, 1<sup>st</sup> August 2013
- Bell, A (2014) *Putting the City of Salford Central Stage* Manchester Evening News, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2014
- Bell, V (1999) *On Speech, Race and Melancholia: An Interview with Judith Butler* Theory Culture and Society 16 (2): 163 – 174
- Benhabib, S (1995a) *Feminism and Postmodernism: An Uneasy Alliance* in Benhabib, S, Butler, J, Cornell, D, Fraser, N, *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* Routledge, New York
- Benhabib, S (1995b) *Subjectivity, Historiography and Politics: Reflections on the “Feminism/Postmodernism Exchange”* in Benhabib, S, Butler, J, Cornell, D, Fraser, N, *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* Routledge, New York
- Benson, ML & Fox, GL (2004) *When Violence Hits Home: How Economics and Neighbourhood Play a Role* US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, Washington DC
- Bent-Goodley, T (2007) *Teaching Social Work Students to Resolve Ethical Dilemmas in Domestic Violence* Journal of Teaching in Social Work 27 (1-2): 73 – 88
- Bergin, T (1974) *Sport and Leisure* in Bergin, T, Pearce, DN & Shaw, S (eds) *Salford: A City and its Past* Hutton Hartley & Co, Manchester

- Bergin, T, Pearce, DN & Shaw, S (1974) (eds) *Salford: A City and its Past* Hutton Hartley & Co, Manchester
- Binney, V, Harkell, G & Nixon, J (1981) *Leaving Violent Men: A Study of Refuges and Housing for Battered Women* Women's Aid, Bristol
- Bishop, EC & Shepherd, ML (2011) *Ethical Reflections: Examining Reflexivity Through the Narrative Paradigm* *Qualitative Health Research* 21 (9): 1283 – 1294
- Bisson, J & Shepherd, J (1995) *Psychological Reactions of Victims of Violent Crime* *British Journal of Psychiatry* 167: 718 – 720
- Blatt, B (1981) *How to Destroy Lives by Telling Stories* *Journal of Psychiatric Treatment and Evaluation* 3: 183 – 191
- Bock, G & James, S (1992) *Beyond Equality and Difference* Palgrave, London
- Boggan, S (2013) *A History of Violence: Is Clare's Law Working?* *The Guardian*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2013
- Boone, A, Erickson, R & Arch-Walton, M (1999) *Voices of the Women: Survivors of Domestic Violence and Welfare* in Brandwein, RA (ed) *Battered Women, Children and Welfare Reform: The Ties That Bind* Sage, California
- Booth, R (2009) *Murder Suspect Found Hanged in Derelict Building* *Guardian*, 13<sup>th</sup> February 2009
- Booth, A, Papaioannou, D, Sutton, A (2012) *Systematic Approaches to a Successful Literature Review* Sage, London
- Borkowski, M, Murch, M & Walker, V (1983) *Marital Violence: The Community Response* Tavistock Press, London

- Bose, CE (2012) *Intersectionality and Global Gender Inequality* Gender and Society 26 (1): 67 – 72
- Bostock, J, Plumpton, M & Pratt, R (2009) *Domestic Violence Against Women: Understanding Social Processes and Women's Experiences* Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology 19: 95 – 110
- Bott, E (2010) *Favourites and Others: Reflexivity and the Shaping of Subjectivities and Data in Qualitative Research* Qualitative Research 10 (2): 159 – 173
- Boucher, G (2006) *The Politics of Performativity: A Critique of Judith Butler* Parrhesia 1: 112 – 141
- Bourke, J (2007) *Rape: A History from 1860 to the Present* Virago Press, London
- Boushel, M (1994) *The Protective Environment of Children: Towards a Framework for Anti-Opressive, Cross-Cultural and Cross-National Understanding* British Journal of Social Work 24: 173 – 190
- Bowcott, O (2015) *Third of Domestic Violence Victims Cannot Provide Evidence for Legal Aid* Guardian, 12<sup>th</sup> March 2015
- Bowker, L (1983) *Beating Wife Beating* Lexington Books, Massachusetts
- Bowlus, AJ & Seitz, S (2006) *Domestic Violence, Employment and Divorce* International Economic Review 47 (4) 1113 – 1149
- Boyatzis, R (1998) *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development* Sage, California
- Branigan, T (2013) *Domestic Violence is a Global Disease – But We are Not Powerless* Guardian, 21<sup>st</sup> June 2013

- Braun, V & Clarke, V (2006) *Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology* Qualitative Research in Psychology 3 (2): 77 – 101
- Braunmuhl, C (2012) *Theorizing Emotions with Judith Butler: Within and Beyond the Courtroom* Rethinking History 16 (2): 221 - 240
- Brenner, J (1987) *Feminist Political Discourses: Radical Versus Liberal Approaches to the Feminization of Poverty and Comparable Worth* Gender and Society 1: 447 – 465
- Brink, PJ & Edgecombe, N (2003) *What is Becoming of Ethnography?* Qualitative Health Research 13 (7): 1028 – 1030
- Brown, W (1995) *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* Princeton University Press, New Jersey
- Brownmiller, S (1993) *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* Ballantine Books, New York
- Bucerius, SM (2013) *Becoming a “Trusted Outsider”*: Gender, Ethnicity and Inequality in Ethnographic Research Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 42 (6): 690 – 721
- Bulmer, M (1980) *Comment on the Ethics of Covert Methods* British Journal of Sociology 31: 59 – 65
- Burman, E (2002) *Taking Refuge? Domestic Violence, ‘Race’ and Asylum* Asylum 12 (4): 1 – 3
- Burman, E & Chantler, K (2005) *Domestic Violence and Minoritisation: Legal and Policy Barriers Facing Minoritized Women Leaving Violent Relationships* International Journal of Law and Psychiatry 28: 59 – 74
- Butler, J (1988) *Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory* Theatre Journal 40 (4): 519 – 531

- Butler, J (1989) *Foucault and the Paradox of Bodily Inscriptions* Journal of Philosophy 86 (11): 601 – 607
- Butler, J (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* Routledge, New York
- Butler, J (1993) *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* Routledge, New York
- Butler, J (1995) *For a Careful Reading* in Benhabib, S, Butler, J, Cornell, D, Fraser, N, *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* Routledge, New York
- Butler, J (1997a) *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* Routledge, New York
- Butler, J (1997b) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* Stanford University Press, California
- Butler, J (1997c) *Merely Cultural* Social Text 52/52: 265 – 277
- Butler, J (2002) *Is Kinship Always Already Heterosexual?* Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 13 (1): 14 – 44
- Butler, J (2004a) *Undoing Gender* Routledge, California
- Butler, J (2004b) *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* Verso, London
- Butler, J (2005) *Giving an Account of Oneself* Fordham University Press, New York
- Butler, J, Laclau, E & Zizek, S (2000) *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality* Verso, London
- Butler, P (2014) *Children of Domestic Abuse Victims Increasingly Being Taken into Care* Guardian, 15<sup>th</sup> January 2014
- Cadwallader, J (2009) *How Judith Butler Matters* Australian Feminist Studies 24 (60): 289 – 294

- Cant, S & Sharma, U (1998) *Reflexivity, Ethnography and the Professions (Complementary Medicine): Watching You Watching Me Watching You (and Writing About Both of Us)*  
 Editorial Board of the Sociological Review 244 – 263
- Casciani, D (2014) *Police Fail Domestic Abuse Victims – HMIC Report* BBC News, 27<sup>th</sup> March 2014
- Casey, M (1987) *Domestic Violence Against Women* Women's Aid, Dublin
- Cavanagh, K (2003) *Understanding Women's Responses to Domestic Violence* Qualitative Social Work 2 (3): 229 – 249
- Cavill, H & Fursman, R (2011) *Women's Convictions for Domestic Violence 'Double'* BBC News, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2011
- Cawthorne, A (2008) *The Straight Facts on Women in Poverty* Center for American Progress, Washington DC
- Cawthorne, P (2001) *Identity, Values and Method: Taking Interview Research Seriously in Political Economy* Qualitative Research 1: 65 – 90
- Chambers, SA (2007a) *'Sex' and the Problem of the Body: Reconstructing Judith Butler's Theory of Sex/Gender* Body and Society 13 (4): 47 – 75
- Chambers, SA (2007b) *'An Incalculable Effect': Subversions of Heteronormativity* Political Studies 55: 656 – 679
- Chaplain, J (1988) *Feminist Counselling in Action* Sage, London
- Charmaz, K & Mitchell, RG (2001) *Grounded Theory in Ethnography* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London

- Chatzifotiou, S (2000) *Conducting Qualitative Research on Wife Abuse: Dealing with the Issue of Anxiety* Sociological Research Online 5 (2): 1 – 14
- Christian, B (2000) *The Race for Theory* in James, J & Sharpley-Whiting, TD (eds) *The Black Feminist Reader* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford
- Christodoulous, S (2011) *Hidden Male Victims of Domestic Abuse* [www.bbc.co.uk/news](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news) 10<sup>th</sup> January 2011
- Chu, WCK, Tsui, M & Yan, M (2009) *Social Work as Moral and Political Practice* International Social Work 52 (3): 287 – 298
- Clandinin, DJ & Connolly, FM (2000) *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco
- Clark, TJ & Wagner, AM (2013) *Lowry and the Painting of Modern Life* Tate Publishing, London
- Coleman, K, Jansson, K, Kaiza, P & Reed, E (2007) *Homicides, Firearm Offences and Intimate Violence 2005/6: Supplementary Volume 1 to Crime in England and Wales 2005/6 (Home Office Statistical Bulletin 02/07)* Office for National Statistics
- Concise English Dictionary (1999) *A Dictionary of the English Language* Harper Collins, Glasgow
- Connell, RW (2005) *Masculinities* Polity Press, Cambridge
- Cooper, H (1998) *Synthesizing Research: A Guide for Literature Reviews – 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* Sage, California
- Cortazzi, M (1994) *Narrative Analysis* Language Teaching 27: 157 – 170



- Cosslett, C, Lury, C & Summerfield, P (eds) (2000) *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods* Routledge, London
- Cover, R (2012) *Performing and Undoing Identity Online: Social Networking, Identity Theories and the Incompatibility of Online Profiles and Friendship Regimes* *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 18 (2): 177 – 193
- Cox, C (2013) *Revealed: Teenage Pregnancy Hotspots* Manchester Evening News, 4<sup>th</sup> June 2013
- CPS (2009) *CPS Policy for Prosecuting Cases of Domestic Violence* Crown Prosecution Service Policy Directorate, Crown Copyright
- CPS (2012) *Violence Against Women and Girls Crime Report: 2011 – 2012* Crown Prosecution Service Crang, M & Cook, I (2007) *Doing Ethnographies* Sage, London
- Crang, M & Cook, I (2007) *Doing Ethnographies* Sage, London
- Crenshaw, K (1989) *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139 – 167
- Crenshaw, K (1991) *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color* *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241 – 1299
- Creswell, JW (2007) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Sage, California
- Cripe, SM, Sanchez, SE, Gelaye, B, Sanchez, E & Williams, MA (2010) *Association Between Intimate Partner Violence, Migraine and Probable Migraine Headache* 51: 208 – 219

- Crowell, NA & Burgess, A (1996) *Understanding Violence Against Women* National Academy Press, Washington
- Damant, D, Lapierre, S, Lebosse, C, Thibault, S, Lessard, G, Hamelin-Brabant, Lavergne, C & Fortin, A (2010) *Women's Abuse of Their Children in the Context of Domestic Violence: Reflection From Women's Accounts* Child and Family Social Work 15: 12 – 21
- Damonti, P (2014) *Can Gender-Based Violence Result in a Process of Social Exclusion? A Quantitative-Qualitative Analysis* Social and Behavioural Sciences 161: 141 – 147
- Danis, FS (2003) *The Criminalization of Domestic Violence: What Social Workers Need to Know* Social Work 48 (2): 237 – 246
- Davidson, LL, King, V, Garcia, J & Merchant, S (2001) *What Role Can the Health Services Play?* in Taylor-Browne, J (ed) *What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence: A Comprehensive Guide for Professionals* Whiting and Birch Ltd, London
- Davis, AY (1982) *Women, Race and Class* The Women's Press, London
- Davis, MF (1999) *The Economics of Abuse: How Violence Perpetuates Women's Poverty* in Brandwein, RA (ed) *Battered Women, Children and Welfare Reform: The Ties That Bind* Sage, California
- Davis, N (2012) *Subjected Subjects? On Judith Butler's Paradox of Interpellation* Hypatia 27 (4): 881 – 897
- Davis, RC, O'Sullivan, CS, Farole Jr, DJ & Rempel, M (2008) *A Comparison of Two Prosecution Policies in Cases of Intimate Partner Violence: Mandatory Case Filing Versus Following The Victim's Lead* Criminology and Public Policy 7 (4): 633 – 662

- D'Cruz, H Gillingham, P & Melendez, S (2007) *Reflexivity, Its Meanings and Relevance for Social Work: A Critical Review of the Literature* British Journal of Social Work 37: 73 – 90
- De Beauvoir, S (1949) *The Second Sex* Vintage Press, New York
- De Lauretis, T (1993) *Upping the Anti (Sic) in Feminist Theory* in Doring, S (ed) *The Cultural Studies Reader – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Routledge, London
- Debonnaire, T (2012) *What Research Says About Domestic Violence Risk Assessments* Community Care, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2012
- Deegan, MJ (2001) *The Chicago School of Ethnography* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Dempsey, MM (2007) *Towards a Feminist State: What Does 'Effective' Prosecution of Domestic Violence Mean?* The Modern Law Review 70 (6): 908 – 935
- Denzin, NK & Lincoln, YS (2005) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research – 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* Sage, California
- Derrida, J (1988) *Limited Inc* Northwestern University Press
- Desai, S & Saltzman, LE (2001) *Measurement Issues for Violence Against Women* in Renzetti, CM, Edleson, JL & Kennedy Bergen, R *Sourcebook on Violence Against Women* Sage, California
- Devaney, J (2008) *Chronic Child Abuse and Domestic Violence: Children and Families with Long-Term and Complex Needs* Child and Family Social Work 13: 443 – 453

- Dienemann, J, Boyle, E, Baker, D, Resnick, W, Wiederhorn, N & Campbell, J (2000) *Intimate Partner Abuse Among Women Diagnosed with Depression* Issues in Mental Health Nursing 21: 499 – 513
- Dingwall, R (1980) *Ethics and Ethnography* Sociological Review 28: 871 – 891
- Disch, L (1999) *Judith Butler and the Politics of the Performative* Political Theory 27 (4): 545 – 559
- Dobash, RE & Dobash, RP (1979) *Violence Against Wives* Free Press, New York
- Dobash, RE & Dobash, RP (1984) *The Nature and Antecedents of Violent Events* British Journal of Criminology 23(3): 269 – 288
- Dobash, RE & Dobash, RP (1985) *The Contact Between Battered Women and Social and Medical Agencies* in Pahl, J (ed) *Private Violence and Public Policy* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London
- Dobash, RE & Dobash, RP (1992) *Women, Violence and Social Change* Routledge, London
- Dobash, RE & Dobash, RP (1998) *Violent Men and Violent Contexts* in Dobash, RE & Dobash RP (eds) *Rethinking Violence Against Women* Sage, California
- Dobash, R, Dobash, R Cavanagh, K & Lewis, R (2000) *Changing Violent Men* Sage, California
- Dobash, RE & Dobash RP (2001) *The Politics and Policies of Responding to Violence Against Women* in Hanmer, J & Itzin, C (2001) *Home Truths About Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy and Practice – A Reader* Routledge, London
- Dobash, RP & Dobash, RE (2004) *Women's Violence to Men in Intimate Relationships: Working on a Puzzle* British Journal of Criminology 44: 324 – 349

- Drossman, DA (1995) *Sexual and Physical Abuse and Gastrointestinal Illness: Review and Recommendation* *Annals of Internal Medicine* 123 (10): 782 – 794
- Dunning, J (2011) *Council Cuts Leave Most Women's Refuges Facing Closure* *Community Care*, 8<sup>th</sup> March 2011
- Dutton, DG (1994a) *Patriarchy and Wife Assault: Psychological and Criminal Justice Perspectives* UBC Press, Vancouver
- Dutton, DG (1994b) *Patriarchy and Wife Assault: The Ecological Fallacy* *Violence and Victims* 9: 167 – 182
- Dutton, DG & Nicholls, TL (2005) *The Gender Paradigm in Domestic Violence Research and Theory: Part I – the Conflict of Theory and Data* *Aggression and Violent Behaviour* 10: 680 – 714
- Eichler, M (1985) *And the Work Never Ends: Feminist Contributions* *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22 (6): 619 – 644
- Ellis, C (2004) *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel About Auto-Ethnography* Altamira Press, California
- Ellison, L (2002) *Prosecuting Domestic Violence Without Victim Participation* *The Modern Law Review* 65 (6) 834 – 858
- Emerson, RM (1995) *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- Emerson, RM, Fretz, RL & Shaw, LL (2001) *Participant Observation and Fieldnotes* in Atkinson, P & Coffey, A, Delamont, S Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Engels, F (1845) *Condition of the Working Class* Penguin, London

- Ennis, K (2008) *Michel Foucault and Judith Butler: Troubling Butler's Appropriation of Foucault's Work* University of Warwick, Warwick
- Enslin, E (1994) *Beyond Writing: Feminist Practice and the Limitations of Ethnography* Cultural Anthropology 9: 537 – 568
- Farmer, E (2006) *Using Research to Develop Practice in Child Protection and Child Care in* Humphreys, C & Stanley, N (eds) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Directions for Good Practice* Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London
- Faubion, JD (2001) *Currents of Cultural Fieldwork* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Featherstone, B, White, S & Morris, K (2014) *Re-imagining Child Protection: Towards Humane Social Work with Families* Policy Press, University of Bristol
- Fereday, J & Muir-Cochrane, E (2006) *Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development* International Journal of Qualitative Methods 5 (1): 1 – 11
- Ferguson, H (2004) *Protecting Children in Time: Child Abuse, Child Protection and the Consequences of Modernity* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke
- Fergusson, DML, Horwood, LJ & Ridder, EM (2005) *Rejoinder* Journal of Marriage and Family 67: 1131 – 1136
- Ferraro, G (2001) *Cultural Anthropology: An Applied Perspective* Wadsworth, California
- Fetterman, DM (1989) *Ethnography: Step by Step* Sage, California
- Finlay, L (2002) *“Outing the Researcher”: The Provenance, Process and Practice of Reflexivity* Qualitative Health Research 12 (4): 531 – 545

- Finlay, L (2003) *The Reflexive Journey: Mapping Multiple Routes* in Finlay, L & Gough, B (eds) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford
- Finlay, L & Gough, B (2003) (eds) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford
- Fitzpatrick, K (2013a) *City Tops the Empty Shop League of Shame* Salford Advertiser, 22<sup>nd</sup> August
- Fitzpatrick, K (2013b) *Housing Crisis Fears as 13,000 Wait for Homes* Salford Advertiser, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2013
- Flannigan, KR (2013) *The Importance of Prosecution Policies in Domestic Violence Cases* American Society of Criminology 12 (3): 481 – 490
- Fleming, V (2003) *Hysterectomy: A Case Study of One Woman's Experience* Journal of Advanced Nursing 44 (6): 575 – 582
- Flinck, A Paavilainen, E & Astedt-Kurki, P (2005) *Survival of Intimate Partner Violence as Experienced by Women* Journal of Clinical Nursing 14: 383 – 393
- Floersch, J, Longhofer, JL, Kranke, D & Townsend, L (2010) *Integrating Thematic, Grounded Theory and Narrative Analysis: A Case Study of Adolescent Psychotropic Treatment* Qualitative Social Work 9 (3): 407 – 424
- Foley, M (1994) *Professionalising the Response to Rape* in Lupton, C & Gillespie (eds) *Working With Violence* Macmillan, Basingstoke
- Foucault, M (1976) *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction* Random Press, New York

- Foucault, M (1988) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972 – 1976*  
Pantheon Books, New York
- Freeman, H (2013) *Nigella Lawson: From Domestic Goddess to the Face of Domestic Violence*  
Guardian, 18<sup>th</sup> June 2013
- Frye, V, Manganello, J, Campbell, JC, Walton-Moss, B & Wilt, S (2007) *The Distribution of  
and Factors Associated With Intimate Terrorism and Situational Couple Violence Among  
on Population-Based Sample of Urban Women in the United States* Journal of  
Interpersonal Violence 21: 1286 – 1313
- Fuss, D (1989) *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference* Routledge, London
- Galvani, S (2006) *Safety First? The Impact of Domestic Abuse on Women's Treatment  
Experience* Journal of Substance Use 11 (6): 395 – 407
- Gans, HJ (1999) *Participant Observation in the Era of "Ethnography"* Journal of  
Contemporary Ethnography 28 (5): 540 – 548
- Gans, HJ (2010) *Public Ethnography: Ethnography as Public Sociology* Qualitative Sociology  
33: 97 – 104
- Garboden, M (2011) *Domestic Violence Victims at Risk of Losing Unemployment Support*  
[www.communitycare.co.uk](http://www.communitycare.co.uk) August 30<sup>th</sup> 2011
- Garrard, JA (1974) *Heates, Tumultes and Factions* in Bergin, T, Pearce, DN & Shaw, S (eds)  
*Salford: A City and its Past* Hutton Hartley & Co, Manchester
- Garry, A (2011) *Intersectionality, Metaphors and the Multiplicity of Gender* Hypatia 26 (4):  
826 – 850
- Geertz, C (1973) *The Interpretation of Culture* Basic Books, New York



- Gelles, RJ & Cornell, CP (1990) *Intimate Violence in Families – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Sage, London
- Gelles, RJ (1997) *Intimate Violence in Families – 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* Sage, London
- Gelles, RJ (2004) *Domestic Violence: Not an Even Playing Field* Website accessed:  
<http://thesafetyzone.org/everyone/gelles.html> 11<sup>th</sup> July 2011
- Georgaca, E (2003) *Analysing the Interviewer: The Joint Construction of Accounts of Psychotic Experience* in Finlay, L & Gough, B (eds) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford
- Gibbons, L (2011) *Dealing with the Effects of Domestic Violence* *Emergency Nurse* 19(4): 12 – 16
- Gibson-Davis, C, Magnuson, IC, Gennetian, LA & Duncan, GJ (2005) *Employment and the Risk of Domestic Abuse Among Low-Income Women* *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67: 1149 – 1168
- Gilchrist, E & Blisset, J (2002) *Magistrates' Attitudes to Domestic Violence and Sentencing Options* *The Howard Journal* 41 (4): 348 – 363
- Gilgun, JF & Abrams, LS (2002) *The Nature and Usefulness of Qualitative Social Work Reesearch: Some Thoughts and an Invitation to Dialogue* *Qualitative Social Work* 1 (1): 39 – 55
- Gill, A & Sharma, K (2005) *No Access to Justice: Gender, Violence and Immigration Law* *Safe*, Autumn 15 – 18
- Glaser, BG & Strauss, A (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* Aldine, New York

- Gloria, AM (2001) *The Cultural Constructions of Latinas: Practice Implications of Multiple Identities* in Pope-Davis, DB & Coleman, HLK (eds) *The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender in Multicultural Counselling* Sage, London
- Golding, J (1999) *Intimate Partner Violence as a Risk Factor for Mental Disorders: A Meta-analysis* *Journal of Family Violence* 14: 99 – 132
- Golde, P (ed) (1970) *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences* University of California Press, Berkeley
- Golu, F (2014) *Predictors of Domestic Violence: Comparative Analysis* *Social and Behavioural Sciences* 127: 611 – 615
- Goodley, S (2014) *UK Gender Gap Continues to Widen, Says World Economic Forum Report* *The Guardian*, 28<sup>th</sup> October 2014
- Goodman, L, Smyth, K, Borges, A & Singer, R (2009) *When Crises Collide: How Intimate Partner Violence and Poverty Intersect to Shape Women's Mental Health and Coping* *Trauma, Violence and Abuse* 10 (4): 306 – 329
- Gordon, L (1989) *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* Virago, London
- Gough, B (2003) *Deconstructing Reflexivity* in Finlay, L & Gough, B (eds) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford
- Graham, DLR, Rawlings, E and Rimini, N (1988) *Survivors of Terror: Battered Women, Hostages and the Stockholm Syndrome* in Yllo, K & Bograd, M (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* Sage, California

- Green, J, Willis, K, Hughes, E, Small, R, Welch, N, Gibbs, L & Daly, J (2007) *Generating Best Evidence from Qualitative Research: The Role of Data Analysis* Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health 31 (6): 545 – 550
- Greenall, RL (1974) *The Social Conscience* in Bergin, T, Pearce, DN & Shaw, S (eds) *Salford: A City and its Past* Hutton Hartley & Co, Manchester
- Greenwood, W (1933) *Love on the Dole* Vintage, London
- Guardian (2011) *The Ethnic Population of England and Wales Broken Down by Authority* The Guardian, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2011
- Guest, G, MacQueen, KM & Namey, EE (2012) *Applied Thematic Analysis* Sage, California
- Haaken, J (2010) *Hard Knocks: Domestic Violence and the Psychology of Storytelling* Routledge, London
- Haaken, J & Yragui, N (2003) *Going Underground: Conflicting Perspectives on Domestic Violence Shelter Practices* *Feminism and Psychology* 13: 49 – 71
- Hagion-Rzepka, C (2000) *Acknowledging the Invisible: Integrating Family Violence in Mental Health Services* *Advocating Public Policy Changes*
- Hague, G (2001) *Assessing and Managing Risk* in Taylor-Browne, J (ed) *What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence: A Comprehensive Guide for Professionals* Whiting and Birch, London
- Hague, G & Malos, E (2005) *Domestic Violence: Action For Change* New Clarion Press, Cheltenham
- Hall, S (1991) *Ethnicity, Identity and Difference* *Radical America* 3: 9 – 22

- Hammersley, M (1992) *What's Wrong with Ethnography?* Routledge, London
- Hammersley, M & Atkinson, P (2007) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice – 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*  
Routledge, Oxfordshire
- Hampson, CP (1930) *Salford Through the Ages* EJ Morten (Publishers), Manchester
- Hancock, AM (2007) *When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition* Perspectives on  
Politics 5 (1): 63 – 79
- Handwerker, WP (2002) *The Construct Validity of Cultures: Cultural Diversity, Culture  
Theory and a Method for Ethnography* American Anthropologist 104 (1): 106 – 122
- Haraway, D (1988) *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege  
of Partial Perspective* Feminist Studies 14 (3): 575 – 599
- Harris, J (2008) *State Social Work: Constructing the Present from Moments in the Past* British  
Journal of Social Work 38: 662 – 679
- Harrison, C (2006) *Damned If You Do and Damned If You Don't: The Contradictions Between  
Private and Public Law* in Humphreys, C & Stanley, N (eds) *Domestic Violence and  
Child Protection: Directions for Good Practice* Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London
- Hearn, J (1996) *Men's Violence to Known Women: Men's Accounts and Men's Policy  
Developments* in Fawcett, B Featherstone, B Hearn, J & Toft, C (eds) *Violence and  
Gender Relations* Sage, London
- Hearn, J (2013) *The Sociological Significance of Domestic Violence: Tensions, Paradoxes, and  
Implications* Current Sociology 61 (2): 152 – 170
- Hearn, J & McKie, L (2008) *Gendered Policy and Policy on Gender: The Case of 'Domestic  
Violence'* Policy and Politics 36 (1): 75 – 91

- Hearn, MC (2009) *A Journey Through Ashes: One Woman's Story of Surviving Domestic Violence* *Anthropology of Consciousness* 20 (2): 111 – 129
- Heffernan, K Blythe, B & Nicolson, P (2014) *How Do Social Workers Understand and Respond to Domestic Violence and Relate This to Organizational Policy and Practice?* *International Social Work* 57 (6): 698 – 713
- Hester, M (2005) *Making it Through the Criminal Justice System: Attrition and Domestic Violence* *Social Policy and Society* 5 (1): 79 – 90
- Hester, M (2006) *Asking About Domestic Violence: Implications for Practice* in Humphreys, C & Stanley, N (eds) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Directions for Good Practice* Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London
- Hester, M (2009) *Who Does What to Whom? Gender and Domestic Violence Perpetrators* University of Bristol in association with Northern Rock Foundation
- Hester, M (2011) *The Three Planet Model: Towards an Understanding of Contradictions in Approaches to Women and Children's Safety in Contexts of Domestic Violence* *British Journal of Social Work* 41: 837 – 853
- Hester, M & Donovan, C (2009) *Researching Domestic Violence in Same-Sex Relationships: A Feminist Epistemological Approach to Survey Development* *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 13 (2): 161 – 173
- Hester, M & Westmarland, N (2005) *Tackling Domestic Violence: Effective Interventions and Approaches* Home Office Research Study 290, London
- Hester, M, Pearson, C and Radford, L (1997) *Domestic Violence: A National Survey of Court Welfare and Voluntary Sector Mediation Practice* The Policy Press, Bristol

- Hetling, A & Zhang, H (2010) *Domestic Violence, Poverty and Social Services: Does Location Matter?* *Social Science Quarterly* 91 (5): 1144 – 1163
- Heyl, BS (2001) *Ethnographic Interviewing* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Higgins, JPT & Green, S (eds) (2011) *The Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Review of Interventions* Cochrane Collaboration
- Hill Collins (2000) *The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought* in James, J & Sharpley-Whiting, TD (eds) *The Black Feminist Reader* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford
- Hoff, LA (1990) *Battered Women as Survivors* Routledge, London
- Hoff, LA (1998) *Collaborative Feminist Research and the Myth of Objectivity* in Yllo, K & Bograd, M (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* Sage, California
- Holland, J (2007) *Emotions and Research* *International Journal Research Methodology* 10 (3) 195 – 209
- Holman, R (1991) *The Ethics of Social Research* Longman, Essex
- Holt, S, Buckley, H & Whelan, S (2008) *The Impact of the Exposure to Domestic Violence on Children and Young People: A Review of Literature* *Child Abuse and Neglect* 32: 797 – 810
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A, Meehan, JC, Herron, K, Rehman, U & Stuart, GL (2000) *Testing the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) Batterer Typology* *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 68: 1000 – 1019
- Honey, P & Mumford, A (1992) *The Manual of Learning Styles Questionnaire* Peter Honey Publications

- hooks, b (1982) *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* Pluto Press, London
- hooks, b (1989) *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* South End Press, Boston
- hooks, b (2000) *Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory* in James, J & Sharpley-Whiting (eds)  
*The Black Feminist Reader* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford
- Horn, P (1992) *Beating Back the Revolution* Dollars and Sense 182: 12 – 22
- Huisman, K (2008) “Does This Mean You’re Not Going to Come Visit Me Anymore?”: An  
*Inquiry into an Ethics of Reciprocity and Positionality in Feminist Ethnographic  
Research* Sociological Inquiry 78 (3): 372 – 396
- Humm, M (1992) (ed) *Feminisms: A Reader* Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hertfordshire
- Humphreys, C (1997) *Case Planning Issues Where Domestic Violence Occurs in the Context  
of Child Protection: Report to Coventry Social Services Child Protection Unit* Coventry  
City Council, Coventry
- Humphreys, C (1999) *Avoidance and Confrontation: Social Work Practice in Relation to  
Domestic Violence and Child Abuse* Journal of Child and Family Social Work 4: 77 – 87
- Humphreys, C (2000) *Social Work, Domestic Violence and Child Protection* The Policy Press,  
Bristol
- Humphreys, C (2007a) *A Health Inequalities Perspective on Violence Against Women* Health  
and Social Care in the Community 15(2): 120 – 127
- Humphreys, C (2007b) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Exploring the Role of  
Perpetrator Risk Assessments* Child and Family Social Work 12: 360 – 369

- Humphreys, C & Stanley, N (eds) (2006) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Directions for Good Practice* Jessica Kingsley, London
- Humphreys, C & Thiara, R (2002) *Routes to Safety: Protection Issues Facing Abused Women and Children and the Role of Outreach Services* Women's Aid, Bristol
- Humphreys, C & Thiara, R (2003) *Mental Health and Domestic Violence: 'I Call it Symptoms of Abuse'* British Journal of Social Work 33: 209 – 226
- Humphreys, C, Mullender, A, Thiara, R & Skamballis, A (2006) “Talking to My Mum”: *Developing Communication Between Mothers and Children in the Aftermath of Domestic Violence* Journal of Social Work 6: 53 – 63
- Humphreys, C Regan, L River, D & Thiara, RK (2005) *Domestic Violence and Substance Use: Tackling Complexity* British Journal of Social Work 35: 1303 – 1320
- Humphreys, C Lowe, P & Williams, S (2009) *Sleep Disruption and Domestic Violence: Exploring the Interconnection Between Mothers and Children* Child and Family Social Work 14 (1): 10 – 18
- Hunter, R (2011) *Doing Violence to Family Law* Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law 33 (4): 343 – 359
- Hutnyk, J (1996) *Culture Theory*, Culture and Society 23 (2-3): 351 – 375
- Iphofen, R (2009) *Ethical-Decision Making in Social Research: A Practical Guide* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke
- Irigaray, L (1985) *This Sex Which is Not One* Cornell University Press, New York
- Irwin, K (2006) *Into the Dark Heart of Ethnography: The Lived Ethics and Inequality of Intimate Field Relationships* Qualitative Sociology 29: 155 – 175



- Ishkanian, A (2014) *Neoliberalism and Violence: The Big Society and the Changing Politics of Domestic Violence in England* *Critical Social Policy* 34 (3): 333 – 353
- Jackson, AY & Mazzei, LA (2012) *Thinking With Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives* Routledge, Oxford
- Jaffe, P, Wolfe, DA, Wilson, S & Zak, L (1986) *Emotional and Physical Health Problems of Battered Women* *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 31: 625 – 629
- Jarviluoma, H Moisala, P & Vilkkko, A (2003) *Gender and Qualitative Methods* Sage, London
- Jayarathne, TE & Stewart, AJ (1991) *Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Social Sciences: Current Feminist Issues and Practical Strategies* in Fonow, MM & Cook, JA (eds) *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research* Indiana University Press, Indiana
- Johnson, JM (2002) *In-Depth Interviewing* in Gubrium, JF & Holstein, JA (eds) *Handbook in Interview Research* Sage, California
- Johnson, MP (1995) *Domestic Violence: It's Not About Gender – Or Is it?* *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67: 1126 – 1130
- Johnson, MP (2006) *Conflict & Control: Gender Symmetry and Asymmetry in Domestic Violence* *Violence Against Women* 12 (11): 1003 – 1018
- Johnson, N (1995) *Domestic Violence: An Overview* in Kingston, P & Penhale, B (eds) *Family Violence and the Caring Professions* Macmillan Press, Hampshire
- Johnson, S (2014) *Scotland to Pilot Clare's Law to Identify Domestic Abusers* *The Telegraph*, 9<sup>th</sup> May 2014

- Johnson, MP & Ferraro, KJ, (2000) *Research of Domestic Violence in the 1990s: Making Distinctions* Journal of Marriage and Family 62: 948 – 963
- Jones, A (1991) *Women Who Kill* Victor Gallancz, London
- Jones, O (2014) *Britain is Going Backwards on Violence Against Women* Guardian, 30<sup>th</sup> March 2014
- Jones, R (2015) *Social Work Education is Being Shaped and Changed by Those with Little Understanding of Social Work* Community Care, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2015
- Jones, T, MacLean, B & Yang, J (1986) *The Islington Crime Survey* Gower, Aldershot
- Joshi, P (2003) *Jumping Through Hoops: Immigration and Domestic Violence* in Gupta, R (ed) *From Homebreakers to Jailbreakers: Southall Black Sisters* Zed Book, London
- Keeling, N (2010) *Majority of Salford Kids Live in Poverty* Manchester Evening News, 29<sup>th</sup> July 2010
- Keeling, N (2014) *Detectives Promise Search for Missing Body of Murdered Rania Will Continue* Manchester Evening News, 7<sup>th</sup> June 2014
- Keeling, J & Van Wormer, K (2012) *Social Work Interventions in Situations of Domestic Violence: What We Can Learn from Survivors' Personal Narratives?* British Journal of Social Work 42: 1354 – 1370
- Kelly, L (1987) *The Continuum of Sexual Violence* in Hanmer, J & Maynard, M (eds) *Women, Violence and Control* Macmillan, London
- Kerner, I (2012) *Questions of Intersectionality: Reflections on the Current Debate in German* Gender Studies 19 (2): 203 – 218

- Kinoti, K (2003) *Overcoming Violence: Taking a Gender Perspective* Ecumenical Review 107 (2): 226 – 228
- Kirkwood, C (1993) *Leaving Abusive Partners: From the Scars of Survival to the Wisdom for Change* Sage, California
- Kimmel, M (2002) *Gender Symmetry in Domestic Violence* Violence Against Women 8: 1332 – 1363
- Knott, C & Scragg, T (2007) *Reflective Practice in Social Work* Learning Matters, Exeter
- Kristeva, J (1982) *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* Columbia University Press, New York
- Krug, EG, Dahlberg, LL, Mercy, JA, Zwi, AB & Lozano, R (eds) (2002) *World Report on Violence and Health* World Health Organisation, Geneva
- Krumer-Nevo, M (2002) *The Arena of Othering: A Life-Story Study with Women Living in Poverty and Social Marginality* Qualitative Social Work 1 (3): 303 – 318
- Krumer-Nevo, M & Sidi, M (2012) *Writing Against Othering* Qualitative Inquiry 18 (4): 299 – 309
- Laing, L, Humphreys, C & Cavanagh, K (2013) *Social Work and Domestic Violence: Developing Critical and Reflective Practice* Sage, London
- Lang, JC (2011) *Epistemologies of Situated Knowledges: “Troubling” Knowledge in Philosophy of Education* Educational Theory 61 (1): 75 – 96
- Lapierre, S (2010) *More Responsibilities, Less Control: Understanding the Challenges and Difficulties Involved in Mothering in the Context of Domestic Violence* British Journal of Social Work 40: 1434 – 1451

- Laville, S (2014a) *Domestic Violence Refuge Provision at Crisis Point*, Warn Charities  
Guardian, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2014
- Laville, S (2014b) *Domestic Violence Puts 10,000 at High Risk of Death or Serious Injury*  
Guardian, 26<sup>th</sup> February, 2014
- LaViolette, AD & Barnett, OW (2000) *It Could Happen to Anyone: Why Battered Women Stay*  
Sage, California
- Lee, W (2005) *On the (Im)materiality of Violence: Subjects, Bodies and the Experience of Pain*  
Feminist Theory 6 (3): 277 – 295
- Lees, S (2001) *Marital Rape and Marital Murder* in Hanmer, J & Itzin, C (2001) *Home Truths  
About Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy and Practice – A Reader*  
Routledge, London
- Leibschultz, JM (2000) *HIV-Infected Women Often Victims of Abuse* Archives of Internal  
Medicine 160: 1659 – 1664
- Leone, JM, Johnson, MP, Cohan, CL (2007) *Victim Help Seeking: Differences Between  
Intimate Terrorism and Situational Couple Violence* Family Relations 56: 427 – 439
- Lerman, G (1984) *A Model State: Remedies for Domestic Abuse* Harvard Journal on  
Legislation 21: 92 – 93
- Levenodosky, A, Bogat, GA, Theran, SA, Trotter, JS, Von Aye, A & Davidson, WS (2004)  
*The Social Networks of Women Experiencing Domestic Violence* American Journal of  
Community Psychology 32 (1/2): 95 – 109
- Levi-Strauss, C (1963) *Structural Anthropology* Basic Books, New York

- Levison, D & Harwin, N (2001) *Accommodation Provision* in Taylor-Browne, J (ed) *What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence: A Comprehensive Guide for Professionals* Whiting & Birch Ltd, London
- Li, S & Seale, C (2007) *Learning to do Qualitative Data Analysis: An Observational Study of Doctoral Work* *Qualitative Health research* 17 (10): 1442 – 1452
- Liu, WM (2001) *Expanding Our Understanding of Multiculturalism: Developing a Social Class Worldview Model* in Pope-Davis, DB & Coleman, HLK (eds) *The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender in Multicultural Counselling* Sage, London
- Lloyd, S (1997) *The Effects of Domestic Violence on Women's Employment Law and Policy* 19 (2): 140 – 167
- Lloyd, M (2007) *Judith Butler: From Norms to Politics* Polity Press, Cambridge
- Locke, S (1998) *Qualitative Research and Data Analysis* *British Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation* 5 (7): 357 – 361
- Lofland, J & Lofland, LH (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis – 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* Wadsworth Publishing Company, California
- Long, T & Johnson, M (2000) *Rigour, Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research* *Clinical Effectiveness in Nursing* 4: 30 – 37
- Ludvig, A (2006) *Differences Between Women? Intersecting Voices in a Female Narrative* *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3): 245 – 258
- Lutenbacher, M, Cohen, A & Mitzel, J (2003) *Do We Really Help? Perspectives of Abused Women* *Public Health Nursing* 20 (1): 56 – 64

- Magnus, KD (2006) *The Unaccountable Subject: Judith Butler and the Social Conditions of Intersubjective Agency* *Hypatia*, 21 (2): 81 – 103
- Mama, A (1989) *The Hidden Struggle; Statutory and Voluntary Sector Responses to Violence Against Black Women in the Home* The Runnymede Trust, London
- Manchester City Council (2014) *The Phoenix Protect Team Remit 2013 – 2015: Update January 2014* Manchester City Council, Manchester
- Manderson, D & Turner, S (2006) *Coffee House: Habitus and Performance Among Law Students* *Law and Social Inquiry* 31 (3): 649 – 676
- Marcus, J (2001) *Orientalism* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Markward, M & Yegidis, (2011) *Evidence-Based Practice with Women: Toward Effective Social Work Practice with Low-Income Women* Sage, California
- Marston, G & McDonald, C (2012) *Getting Beyond 'Heroic Agency' in Conceptualising Social Workers as Policy Actors in the Twenty-First Century* *British Journal of Social Work* 42: 1022 – 1038
- Martinson, J (2013) *Clare's Law is Not Enough to Protect Women from Domestic Violence* *The Guardian*, 25<sup>th</sup> November 2013
- Maslow, A (1987) *Motivation and Personality – 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* Harper and Row, London
- Maso, I (2001) *Phenomenology and Ethnography* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Mason, J (2002) *Qualitative Researching – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Sage, London

- Mason, R (2014) *David Cameron Vows to Consider Creating Domestic Violence Offence* The Guardian, 25<sup>th</sup> July 2014
- Mauthner, NS & Doucet, A (2003) *Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Data Analysis* *Sociology* 37 (3): 413 – 431
- May, VM (2014) “*Speaking into the Void?*” *Intersectionality Critiques and Epistemic Backlash* *Hypatia* 29 (1): 94 – 112
- Maynard, M (1994) *Methods, Practice and Epistemology: The Debate About Feminism and Research* in Maynard, M & Purvis, P (eds) *Researching Women’s Lives From a Feminist Perspective* Taylor & Francis, London
- McCall, L (2005) *The Complexity of Intersectionality* *Signs* 30 (3): 1771 – 1800
- McCormick, ML (2010) *The Lived Body: The Essential Dimension in Social Work Practice* *Qualitative Social Work* 10 (1): 66 – 85
- McGee, C (2000) *Childhood Experiences of Domestic Violence* Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London
- McHugh, MC & Frieze, IH (2006) *Intimate Partner Violence: New Directions* *Annals of New York Academy of Science* 1087: 121 – 141
- McLaughlin, J (2003) *Feminist Social and Political Theory: Contemporary Debates and Dialogues* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke
- McNamara, P (2009) *Feminist Ethnography: Storytelling That Makes a Difference* *Qualitative Social Work* 8: 161 – 177

- McNamara, JR, Tamanini, K & Pelletier-Walker, S (2008) *The Impact of Short-Term Counseling at a Domestic Violence Shelter* Research on Social Work Practice 18: 132 – 136
- McNay, L (1999) *Subject, Psyche and Agency: The Work of Judith Butler* Theory, Culture and Society 16 (2): 175 – 193
- McQueeney, K (2013) *Doing Ethnography in a Sexist World: A Response to 'The Feminist Ethnographer's Dilemma'* Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 42 (4): 451 – 459
- McRobbie, A (2006) *Vulnerability, Violence and (Cosmopolitan) Ethics: Butler's Precarious Life* British Journal of Sociology 57 (1): 69 – 86
- McWilliams, M & McKiernan, J (1993) *Bringing It Out In The Open: Domestic Violence in Northern Ireland* HMSO, Belfast
- Meadow, T (2013) *Studying Each Other: On Agency, Constraint and Positionality in the Field* Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 42 (4): 466 - 481
- Meggison, D & Whitaker, V (1996) *Cultivating Self-Development* Institute of Personnel and Development, London
- Melchiorre, R & Vis, J (2013) *Engagement Strategies and Change: An Intentional Practice Response for the Child Welfare Worker in Cases of Domestic Violence* Child and Family Social Work 18: 487 – 495
- Michielsens, M (2000) *Memory Frames: The Role of Concepts and Cognition in Telling Life-Stories* in Cosslett, C, Lury, C & Summerfield, P (eds) *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods* Routledge, London



- Mies, M (1991) *Women's Research of Feminist Research? The Debate Surrounding Feminist Science and Methodology* in Fonow, MM & Cook, JA (eds) *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research* Indiana University Press, Indiana
- Mills, S (1997) *Discourse* Routledge, London
- Mills, S (2003) *Michel Foucault* Routledge, Oxford
- Mirlees-Black, C (1999) *Domestic Violence: Findings From a New British Crime Survey Self-Completion Questionnaire* Home Office, London
- Mitchell, JT (1983) *When Disaster Strikes: The Critical Incident Stress Process* Journal of Emergency Medical Services 13: 49 – 52
- Moon, J (2004) *A Handbook of Reflective and Experiential Learning: Theory and Practice* Routledge Falmer, London
- Mooney, J (2001) *Revealing the Hidden Figure of Domestic Violence* in Hanmer, J & Itzin, C (eds) *Home Truths About Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy and Practice – A Reader* Routledge, London
- Moore, S (2012) *The Government's Position on Domestic Violence is Hypocritical* Guardian 28<sup>th</sup> November 2012
- Moore, S (2014) *Reeva Steenkamp was a Victim of Male Violence. That is the Real Story* The Guardian, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2014
- Morawski, J (1997) *The Science Behind Feminist Research Methods* Journal of Social Issues 53 (4): 667 – 681
- Morley, P (2013) *The North (and Almost Everything in it)* Bloomsbury Publishing, London

- Morley, R (2001) *Domestic Violence and Housing* in Hanmer, J & Itzin, C (eds) *Home truths About Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy and Practice – A Reader* Routledge, London
- Morris, A (2009) *Gendered Dynamics of Abuse and Violence in Families: Considering the Abusive Household Gender Regime* *Child Abuse Review* 18: 414 – 427
- Mullender, A (1996) *Rethinking Domestic Violence: The Social Work and Probation Response* Routledge, London
- Mullender, A (2001) *Meeting the Needs of Children* in Taylor-Browne, J (ed) *What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence? A Comprehensive Guide for Professionals* Whiting and Birch, London Mullender, A & Morley, R (1994) *Context and Content of a New Agenda* in Mullender, A & Morley, R (eds) *Children Living with Domestic Violence* Whiting and Birch, London
- Mullender, A & Hague, G (2001) *Women Survivors' Views* in Taylor-Browne, J (ed) *What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence? A Comprehensive Guide for Professionals* Whiting and Birch, London
- Mullender, A & Morley, R (1994) *Children Living with Domestic Violence: Putting Men's Abuse of Women on the Child Care Agenda* Whiting & Birch, London
- Mullender, A, Kelly, L, Hague, G, Malos, E & Eman, U (2002) *Children's Perspectives on Domestic Violence* Routledge, London
- Murphy, PA (1997) *Recovery from the Effects of Domestic Violence: Implications for Welfare Policy* *Law and Policy* 19 (2) 169 – 182

- Murphy, E & Dingwall, R (2001) *The Ethics of Ethnography* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Nagel, J (2013) *Is Feminist Success the Enemy of Feminism?* *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 42 (2): 460 – 465
- Naples, NA (2013) *Whose Feminism? Whose Dilemma?: Comments on 'The Feminist Ethnographer's Dilemma'* *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 42 (2): 427 – 438
- Nazroo, J (1995) *Uncovering Gender Differences in the Use of Marital Violence: The Effect of Methodology* *Sociology* 29 (3) 475 – 494
- Neuendorf, KA (2011) *Content Analysis – A Methodological Primer for Gender Research* *Sex Roles* 64: 276 – 289
- Nussbaum, M (1999) *Professor of Parody* *The New Republic* Online, February 1999
- Oakley, A (1981) *Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms* in Roberts, H (ed) *Doing Feminist Research* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London
- O'Hara, M (1993) *Fistful of Power* *Social Work Today*: 8 – 10
- O'Hara, M (2013) *Legal Aid Cuts are Devastating to Women, Especially Those Suffering Abuse* *Guardian*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2013
- Oliver, P (2010) *The Student's Guide to Research Ethics – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Open University Press McGraw-Hill, Maidenhead
- Opler, ME (1945) *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* *American Journal of Sociology* 5: 198 – 206

- Oram, S, Trevillion, K, Feder, G & Howard, LM (2013) *Prevalences of Domestic Violence Among Psychiatric Patients: Systematic Review* British Journal of Psychiatry 202: 94 – 99
- Orner, M (1992) *Interrupting Calls for Student Voice in “Liberatory” Education: A Feminist Poststructuralist Perspective* in Luke, C & Gore, J (eds) *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* Routledge, New York
- Osoh, C (2014) *Thug Caged for Murder of Tragic Mum Becky* Salford Advertiser, 28<sup>th</sup> August 2014
- Osoh, C & Britton, P (2014) *Life for Monster Who Murdered Tragic Linzi* Salford Advertiser, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2014
- Pahl, J (1985) (ed) *Private Violence and Public Policy* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London
- Pahl, J (1995) *Health Professionals and Violence Against Women* in Kingston, P & Penhale, B (eds) *Family Violence and the Caring Professions* Macmillan Press, Hampshire
- Pain, R (2014) *Everyday Terrorism: Connecting Domestic Violence and Global Terrorism* Progress in Human Geography 38: 531 – 550
- Pakieser, RA, Lenaghan, PA & Muellerman, RL (1999) *Reflections on Written Comments by Women on Their Abuse* Nursing and Health Sciences 1: 139 – 146
- Parameswaran, R (2001) *Feminist Media Ethnography in India: Exploring Power, Gender and Culture in the Field* Qualitative Inquiry 7: 69 – 103
- Pascall, G, Lee, S, Morley, R & Parker, S (2001) *Changing Housing Policy: Women Escaping Domestic Violence* Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law 23 (3): 293 – 300

- Patai, D (1991) *US Academies and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?* in Gluck, SB & Patai, D (eds) *Women's Words: Feminist Practice of Oral History* Routledge, New York
- Patrick, R, Cook, K & McKenzie (2008) *Domestic Violence and the Exemption from Seeking Child Support: Providing Safety or Legitimising Ongoing Poverty and Fear* *Social Policy and Administration* 42 (7): 749 – 767
- Patai, D (1991) *US Academies and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?* in Gluck, SB & Patai, D (eds) *Women's Words: Feminist Practice of Oral History* Routledge, New York
- Pezalla, AE, Pettigrew, J & Miller-Day, M (2012) *Researching the Researcher-as-Instrument: An Exercise in Interviewer Self-Reflexivity* *Qualitative Research* 12 (2): 165 – 185
- Pitt, V (2011) *Are They Waiting For Me to be Killed?* *Community Care*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2011
- Pizzey, E (1974) *Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear* Penguin Books, London
- Pleck, E (1988) *Domestic Tyranny* Cambridge University Press, New York
- Pulsford, D, Rushforth, D & Connor, I (2000) *Woodlands Therapy: An Ethnographic Analysis of a Small-Group Therapeutic Activity for People with Moderate or Severe Dementia* *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 32 (3): 650 – 657
- Radford, L (1993) *Pleading for Justice: Battered Women Who Kill* in Birch, H (ed)(1991) *Moving Targets* Virago, London
- Radford, L & Hester, M (2006) *Mothering Through Domestic Violence* Jessica Kingsley, London

- Rainwater, L (1970) *Neutralising the Disinherited: Some Psychological Aspects of Understanding the Poor* in Allen, LV (ed) *Psychological Factors in Poverty* Academic Press, New York
- Ramazanoglu, C & Holland, J (2002) *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices* Sage, London
- Raphael, J (1996) *Keeping Women Poor: How Domestic Violence Prevents Women from Leaving Welfare and Entering the World of Work* in Brandwein, RA (ed) *Battered Women, Children and Welfare Reform: The Ties That Bind* Sage, California
- Raphael, J (1997) *Welfare Reform: Prescription for Abuse? A Report on New Research Studies Documenting the Relationship Between Domestic Violence and Welfare Law and Policy* 19 (2): 123 – 137
- Ratna, A (2013) *Intersectional Plays of Identity: The Experiences of British Asian Female Footballers* Sociological Research Online 18 (1) [www.socresonline.org.uk](http://www.socresonline.org.uk)
- Ray, S (2009) *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: In Other Words* Wiley Blackwell, Oxford
- Redfern, C & Aune, K (2010) *Reclaiming the F Word: The New Feminist Movement* Zed Book, London & New York
- Reilly, N (2007) *Cosmopolitan Feminism and Human Rights* Hypatia 22 (4): 180 – 198
- Reinharz, S (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research* Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Reissman, CK (1993) *Narrative Analysis* Sage, California
- Rempe, D (2001) *Hidden in Plain Sight: Secrecy and Safety in Battered Women's Shelters* University of Arizona

- Rhodes, O (2013) *One in Every Six Adults Given Anti-Depressants* Salford Advertiser, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013
- Richardson, L (1990) *Writing Strategies: Reaching Diverse Audiences* Sage, California
- Ridley, D (2008) *The Literature Review: A Step-by-Step Guide for Students* Sage, London
- Risman, BJ (2004) *Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism* Gender and Society 18: 429 – 450
- Roberts, D (2014) *Complicating the Triangle of Race, Class and State: The Insights of Black Feminists* Ethnic and Racial Studies 37 (10): 1776 – 1782
- Roberts, R (1971) *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* Penguin, London
- Roberts, D, Chamberlain, P & Delfabbro, P (2014) *Women's Experiences of the Processes Associated with the Family Court of Australia in the Context of Domestic Violence: A Thematic Analysis* Psychiatry, Psychology and Law  
<http://10.1080/13218719.2014.960123>
- Robbins, R, McLaughlin, H, Banks, C, Bellamy, C & Thackray, D (2014) *Domestic Violence and Multi-agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs): A Scoping Review* Journal of Adult Protection 16 (6): 389 – 398
- Rosaldo, M & Lamphere, L (eds) (1974) *Women, Culture and Society* Stanford University Press, California
- Rose, J (2014) *We Need a Bold, Scandalous Feminism* The Guardian, 17<sup>th</sup> October 2014

- Russell, DEH (1990) *Rape in Marriage (Revised Edition)* Indiana University Press, Indianapolis
- Ryan, G & Bernhard, HR (2003) *Techniques to Identify Themes* Field Methods 15: 85 – 109
- Safadi, R, Swigart, V, Hamdan-Mansour, AM, Banimustafa, R & Constantino, RE (2013) *An Ethnographic-Feminist Study of Jordanian Women's Experiences of Domestic Violence and Process of Resolution* Health Care for Women International 34 (9): 775 – 794
- Salford City Council (2008) *Salford Quays Milestones: The Story of Salford Quays* Salford City Council
- Salford City Council (2012a) *Salford Statistics: Population, BME, Lone Parents, Poverty, Unemployment* Salford City Council
- Salford City Council (2012b) *Crime Statistics August 2009 – July 2012* Salford Community Safety Report, November 2012
- Salford City Council (2013) *Let's Make a Stand Against Domestic Violence* Mayor's Newsletter, 7<sup>th</sup> November 2013
- Salih, S (2002) *Judith Butler* Routledge, London
- Salman, S (2011) *How Have the Cuts Affected Domestic Violence Services?* The Guardian, 30<sup>th</sup> March 2011
- Sandelowski, M (1995) *Qualitative Analysis: What it is and How to Begin* Research in Nursing and Health 18 (4): 371 – 375
- Sanders, CR (1999) *Prospects for a Post-Modern Ethnography* Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 28 (6): 669 – 675



- Saunders, DG (1998) *Wife Abuse, Husband Abuse or Mutual Combat? A Feminist Perspective on the Empirical Findings* in Yllo, K & Bograd, M (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* Sage, California
- Saunders, DG (2002) *Are Physical Assaults by Wives and Girlfriends a Major Social Problem? A Review of the Literature* *Violence Against Women* 8(12):1424 – 1448
- SCCG (2014) *Annual Report 2013 – 2014* Salford Clinical Commissioning Group
- Schechter, S (1998) *Building Bridges Between Activists, Professionals and Researchers* in Yllo, K & Bograd, M (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* Sage, California
- Scheerhout, J (2015) *Clare's Law Helps Keep 300 Women Safe from Violence* Salford Advertiser, 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015
- Schep, D (2012) *The Limits of Performativity: A Critique of Hegemony in Gender Theory* *Hypatia* 27 (4): 864 – 880
- Schiellerup, P (2008) *Stop Making Sense: The Trial and Tribulations of Qualitative Data Analysis* *Area* 40 (2): 163 – 171
- Schon, D (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* Basic Books New York
- Schrock, D & Anthony, AK (2013) *Diversifying Feminist Ethnographers' Dilemmas and Solutions* *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 42 (4): 482 – 491
- Schwandt, TR (1994) *Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry* in Denzin, NK & Lincoln, YS (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* Sage, California
- Schwandt, TA (2001) *Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Sage, California

- Schwartzman, LH (2002) *Hate Speech, Illocution and Social Context: A Critique of Judith Butler* *Journal of Social Philosophy* 33 (3): 421 – 441
- Scott, S, Hinton-Smith, T, Harma, V & Broome, K (2012) *The Reluctant Researcher* *Qualitative Research* 12 (6): 715 – 734
- Scott-Tilley, D Tilton, A & Sandel, M (2008) *Biological Correlates to the Development of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Female Victims of Intimate Partner Abuse: Implications for Practice* *Perspectives in Psychiatric Care* 46 (1): 26 – 36
- SECRU (2002) *Domestic Abuse Against Women in Scotland* *Crime and Criminal Justice Research Findings No. 61*, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit
- Segal, L (1999) *Why Feminism? Gender, Psychology and Politics* Polity Press, Cambridge
- Shaffir, W (1999) *Doing Ethnography: Reflections on Finding Your Way* *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 28 (6): 676 – 686
- Shaw, I & Gould, N (eds) (2001) *Qualitative Research and Social Work* Sage, London
- Shepard, MF & Pence, E (1999) *Developing a Coordinated Community Response* in Shepard, MF & Pence, E (eds) *Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth* Sage, California
- Silverman, JG, McCauley, HL, Decker, MR, Miller, E, Reed, & Raj, A (2011) *Coercive Forms of Sexual Risk and Associated Violence Perpetrated by Male Partners of Female Adolescents* *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 43 (1): 60 – 65
- Sinclair, I (2000) *Methods and Measurement in Evaluative Social Work* <http://www.nisw.org.uk/tswr/sinclair>
- Skeggs, B (1997) *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable* Sage, London

- Skeggs, B (2001) *Feminist Ethnography* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Sloan-Lynch, J (2012) *Domestic Abuse as Terrorism* *Hypatia* 27 (4): 774 –790
- Smith, M (2011) *Reading Bauman for Social Work* *Ethics and Social Welfare* 5 (1): 2 – 17
- Smith, D (2014a) *Oscar Pistorius Jailed for Five Years but ‘Short’ Sentence Fiercely Criticised*  
The Guardian, 21<sup>st</sup> October 2014
- Smith, J (2014b) *The Refuge: My Journey to the Safe House for Battered Women* Simon & Schuster, London
- Smith, K, Coleman, K, Eder, S & Hall, P (2011) *Homicides, Firearms Offences and Intimate Violence 2009/10: Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England and Wales 2009/10*  
Home Office, London
- Speer, SA (2002) *What Can Conversation Analysis Contribute to Feminist Methodology? Putting Reflexivity into Practice* *Discourse and Society* 13 (6): 783 – 803
- Spierings, N (2012) *The Inclusion of Quantitative Techniques and Diversity in the Mainstream of Feminist Research* *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 19 (3): 331 – 347
- Spivak, GC (1992) *Can the Subaltern Speak?* In Williams, P & Chrisman, L (eds) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* Columbia University Press, New York
- Spivak, GC (2006) *Culture Alive* *Theory, Culture and Society* 23: 359 – 360
- Spradley, JP (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview* Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York
- Spradley, JP & McCurdy, DW (2000) *Conformity and Conflict: Readings in Cultural Anthropology – 13<sup>th</sup> Edition* Pearson Prentice Hall New Jersey

- St John, W & Johnson, P (2000) *The Pros and Cons of Data Analysis for Qualitative Research*  
Journal of Nursing Scholarship 32 (4): 393 – 39
- Stake, RE (2008) *Qualitative Case Studies* in Denzin, NK & Lincoln, YS (eds) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* Sage, California
- Stamm, SL (2009) *Intimate Partner Violence in the Military: Securing Our Country, Starting With the Home* Family Court Review 47 (2): 321 – 339
- Stanko, EA (2001) *The Day to Count: Reflections on a Methodology to Raise Awareness About the Impact of Domestic Violence in the UK* Criminology and Criminal Justice 1: 215 – 226
- Stanley, L & Wise, S (1990) *Method, Methodology and Epistemology in Feminist Research Processes* in Stanley, L (ed) *Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology* Routledge, London
- Stanley, N (1997) *Domestic Violence and Child Abuse: Developing Social Work Practice* Child and Family Social Work 2: 135 – 145
- Stanley, N, Graham-Kevan, N & Borthwick, (2012a) *Fathers and Domestic Violence: Building Motivation for Change Through Perpetrator Programmes* Child Abuse Review 21: 264 – 274
- Stanley, N, Miller, P & Richardson Foster, H (2012b) *Engaging with Children's and Parents' Perspectives on Domestic Violence* Child and Family Social Work 17: 192 – 201
- Stark, E (2006) *Commentary on Johnson's "Conflict and Control: Gender Symmetry and Asymmetry in Domestic Violence"* Violence Against Women 12 (11): 1019 – 1025

- Stark, E & Flitcraft, A (1991) *Spouse Abuse* in Rosenberg, M & Fenley, MA (eds) *Violence in America: A Public Health Approach* Oxford University Press, New York
- Stark, E & Flitcraft, A (1996) *Women at Risk* Sage, London
- Steedman, C (2000) *Enforced Narratives: Stories of Another Self* in Cosslett, C, Lury, C & Summerfield, P (eds) *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods* Routledge, London
- Steinmetz, SK (1978) *The Battered Husband Syndrome* *Victimology* 2: 499 – 509
- Stewart, I (2013) *We Have No Choice in Cutting Care Services* Salford Advertiser, 31<sup>st</sup> October 2013
- Straus, MA (1979) *Measuring Intra-Family Conflict and Violence: The Conflict Tactics (CT) Scales* *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 41: 75 – 88
- Straus, MA (2007) *Conflict Tactics Scales* in Jackson, NA, *Encyclopaedia of Domestic Violence* Routledge, New York
- Straus, MA, Gelles, R & Steinmetz, S (1980) *Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family* Doubleday, New York
- Straus, MA, Hamby, SL, Boney-McCoy, S & Sugarman, DB (1996) *The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2)* *Journal of Family Issues* 17: 283 – 316
- Strong, T (2002) *Kinship Between Judith Butler and Anthropology? A Review Essay* *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 67 (3): 401 – 418
- Strube, MJ & Barbour (1983) *The Decision to Leave an Abusive Relationship: Economic Dependence and Psychological Commitment* *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 45 (4): 785 – 793

SUCRC (2010) *Salford Unemployed and Community Resource Centre Mission Statement*

[www.salforducrc.co.uk](http://www.salforducrc.co.uk)

Talbot, C & Calder, M (2006) *Assessment in Kinship Care* Russell House Publishing, Lyme Regis

Taylor, C (2008) *Humanitarian Narrative: Bodies and Detail in Late-Victorian Social Work*  
British Journal of Social Work 38: 680 – 696

Taylor, S (2012) 'One Participant Said...': *The Implications of Quotations from Biographical Talk* Qualitative Research 12 (4): 388 – 401

Tesch, R (1990) *Qualitative Research: Analysis and Software Types* Falmer Press, London

Thomas, G (2011) *How to Do Your Case Study: A Guide for Students and Researchers* Sage, London

Togher, T (2014) *Help is at Hand with Clare's Law* Salford Advertiser, 27<sup>th</sup> March 2014

Tolman, R & Raphael, J (2000) *A Review of Research on Welfare and Domestic Violence*  
Journal of Social Issues 56: 655 – 682

Tolman, R, Danziger, S & Rosen, D (2001) *Domestic Violence and Economic Well-Being of Current and Former Welfare Recipients Program on Poverty and Social Policy, Michigan*

Topping, A (2013) *Domestic Violence Figures are Disturbingly High, Says Charity* Guardian, 7<sup>th</sup> March 2013

Topping, A (2015) *Domestic Violence Could be Stopped Earlier, Says Study* Guardian, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2015

- Townsend, M (2013) *Domestic Abuse: Half a Million Victims 'Too Terrified to Come Forward'* Guardian, 22<sup>nd</sup> December 2013
- Trust for London & Henry Smith Charity (2009) *Costs of Domestic Violence Per Local Area*  
Trust for London, Henry Smith Charity, London
- United Nations General Assembly (1993) *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women* United Nations General Assembly
- Valios, N (2011) *Fatal Consequences of Service Cuts Community Care*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2011
- Van Loon, J (2001) *Ethnography: A Critical Turn in Cultural Studies* in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J & Lofland, L (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography* Sage, London
- Van Maanen, J (1988) *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography* University of Chicago Press, Illinois
- Vives-Cases, C Ruiz-Cantero, MT, Escriba-Agur, V & Miralles, JJ (2010) *The Effect of Intimate Partner Violence and Other Forms of Violence Against Women on Health*  
Journal of Public Health 33 (1): 15 – 21
- Vlieghe, J (2010) *Judith Butler and the Public Dimension of the Body: Education, Critique and Corporeal Vulnerability* Journal of Philosophy of Education 44 (1): 153 – 170
- Vogel, CM & Marshall, LL (2001) *PTSD Symptoms and Partner Abuse: Low-Income Women at Risk* Journal of Traumatic Stress 14 (3): 569 – 584
- Wainwright, M (2006) *Teenage Shooting Deaths Devastate Two Families* Guardian, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2006
- Walby, S (2009) *The Cost of Domestic Violence: Update 2009* Lancaster University, Lancaster

- Walby, S & Allen, J (2004) *The Cost of Domestic Violence* Women and Equality Unit, London
- Walby, S, Armstrong, J & Strid, S (2012) *Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory* *Sociology* 46 (2): 224 – 240
- Walby, S, Towers, J & Francis, (2014) *Mainstreaming Domestic and Gender-Based Violence into Sociology and the Criminology of Violence* *The Sociological Review* 62 (2): 187 – 214
- Walker, L (1979) *Battered Women and Learned Helplessness* *Victimology* 2 (3) 525 – 534
- Walker, L (1984) *The Battered Woman* Harper & Row, New York
- Walker, LE (1985) *Psychological Impact of the Criminalisation of Domestic Violence on Victims* *Victimology* 10: 281 – 300
- Warrington, M (2001) *'I Must Get Out': The Geographies of Domestic Violence* *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26 (3): 365 – 382
- Warwick, D (1982) *Tearoom Trade: Means and Ends in Social Research* in Bulmer, M (ed) *Social Research Ethics* Macmillan, London
- Weiss, L (2009) *Unmarried Women Hit Hard by Poverty: Census Shows Most Poor Adults are Women, Particularly Women on Their Own* Center for American Progress, Washington, DC
- Westmarland, N (2001) *The Quantitative/Qualitative Debate and Feminist Research: A Subjective View of Objectivity* *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 2 (1): 1 – 10
- Westmarland & Kelly (2013) *Why Extending Measurements of 'Success' in Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programmes Matters for Social Work* *British Journal of Social Work* 43: 1092 – 1110



- Whitford, M (1991a) *The Irigaray Reader* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford
- Whitford, M (1991b) *Luce Irigaray: Philosophy in the Feminine* Routledge, London
- WHO (2002) *World Report on Violence and Health* World Health Organisation, Geneva
- Williams, CL & Berry, JW (1991) *Primary Prevention of Acculturative Stress Among Refugees: Application of Psychological Theory and Practice* *American Psychologist* 51: 407 – 415
- Williams, J (2013) *Our Record's Good, Says Fahy as Police Face New 'Domestic Abuse' Probe* *Salford Advertiser*, 8<sup>th</sup> August 2013
- Williamson, E (2010) *Living in the World of the Domestic Violence Perpetrator: Negotiating the Unreality of Coercive Control* *Violence Against Women* 16 (2): 1412 – 1423
- Wilcox, P (2006) *Communities, Care and Domestic Violence* *Critical Social Policy* 26 (4): 722 – 747
- Wilkinson, S (1988) *The Role of Reflexivity in Feminist Psychology* *Women's Studies International Forum* 11: 493 – 502
- Wilson, M & Daly, M (1993) *Spousal Homicide Risk and Estrangement* *Violence and Victims* 8 (1): 3 - 16
- Wittig, M (1981) *One is Not Born a Woman* *Feminist Issues* 1 (2): 9 – 20
- Wittig, M (1985) *The Mark of Gender* *Feminist Issues* 5 (2): 3 – 12
- Wolcott, HF (1987) *On Ethnographic Intent* in Spindler, G & Spindler, L (eds) *Interpretive Ethnography of Education: At Home and Abroad* Erlbaum, New Jersey
- Wolcott, HF (1990) *Writing Up Ethnographic Research* Sage, California

- Wolcott, HF (1994) *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis and Interpretation* Sage, California
- Wolcott, HF, (1999) *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing* Altamira Press, Lanham
- Women's Aid (2009) *Domestic Violence Factsheet 2009* Women's Aid Federation, London
- Wood, A (2003) *Rape: Definitions, Attitudes and Interventions* University of Manchester, Manchester
- Wood, A (2010) *Traumatic Times: Social Work in the Aftermath of Disaster* University of Salford, Salford
- Woods, SJ, Kozachik, SL & Hall, RJ (2010) *Subjective Sleep Quality in Women Experiencing Intimate Partner Violence: Contributions of Situational, Psychological and Physiological Factors* *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 23 (1): 141 – 150
- Woolgar, H (1988) *Reflexivity is the Ethnographer of the Text* in Woolgar, S (ed) *Knowledge and Reflexivity: New Frontiers in the Sociology of Knowledge* Sage, California
- Wulff, H (1988) *Twenty Girls: Growing Up, Ethnicity and Excitement in a South London Microculture* University of Stockholm, Stockholm
- Xhonneux, L (2013) *Performing Butler? Rebecca Brown's Literary Supplements to Judith Butler's Theory of Gender Performativity* *Critique* 54: 292 – 307
- Yin, RK (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods - 4<sup>th</sup> Edition* Sage, London
- Yllo, K (1993) *Through a Feminist Lens: Gender, Power and Violence* in Gelles, RJ & Loseke, DR (eds) *Current Controversies on Family Violence* Sage, California

- Yllo, K (1998) *Political and Methodological Debates in Wife Abuse Research* in Yllo, K & Bograd (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* Sage, California
- Yllo, K & Bograd (1998) (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* Sage, California
- Young, J (2005) *On Insiders (Emic) and Outsiders (Etic): Views of Self and Othering* Systemic Practice and Action Research 18 (2): 151 – 162
- Yuval-Davis, N (2006) *Intersectionality and Feminist Politics* European Journal of Women's Studies 13 (3): 193 – 209
- Zannettino, L & McLaren, H (2014) *Domestic Violence and Child Protection: Towards a Collaborative Approach Across the Two Service Sectors* Child and Family Social Work 19: 421 – 431
- Zink, T, Fisher, BS, Regan, S & Pabst, S (2005) *The Prevalence and Incidence of Intimate Partner Violence in Older People in Primary Care Practices* Journal of General Internal Medicine 20 (10): 884 – 888
- Zorza, J (1996) *Women Battering: High Costs and the State of the Law* Clearinghouse Review 28: 383 – 395