

***NEGOTIATING PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE: A QUALITATIVE
STUDY OF WHITE BRITISH, CARIBBEAN AND AFRICAN
WOMEN IN INNER LONDON***

by

Carol Anne Rivas

A document submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Queen Mary, London University

2012

Copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be used without written consent from the author.

ABSTRACT

NEGOTIATING PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF WHITE BRITISH, CARIBBEAN AND AFRICAN WOMEN IN INNER LONDON

by Carol Anne Rivas

There is a lack of knowledge about the effects of social and cultural context on partner abuse. This qualitative study uses interviews to explore the perceptions, experiences and relational interactions of 20 women with current psychological abuse from intimate partners, taking into account social and cultural context. Women were recruited from primary care practices in Hackney, east London and also from community groups and by adverts and snowballing. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants, following recruitment and in 12 cases also at four to six months after this. Interviews aimed to elicit rich narratives from the women, using open-ended questions. Eleven white British, five Caribbean and four African women were interviewed. The study took a social constructivist approach and was underpinned by symbolic interactionism. Analysis included a consideration of the similarities and differences across cultural and ethnic groups. All 32 interviews (from both first and second interviews) were audiotaped, transcribed, and analysed using grounded theory. Conceptualisations drew on Gillis' and Smart's work on social norms, Goffman's approach to dramaturgy, and developments of aspects of Goffman's work by Hochschild and Cavanagh in particular. This revealed the work the women did in setting up and managing their roles, identities and experiences, particularly gender and emotions work and the way they set and shifted boundaries in the relationship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
NEGOTIATING PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF WHITE BRITISH, CARIBBEAN AND AFRICAN WOMEN IN INNER LONDON	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	11
INTRODUCTION	14
Overview of the content	15
Use of extracts from the data	20
Definitions	21
Culture and society	21
Ethnicity	22
The household	23
CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW	24
1.1 Introduction to the review	24
1.1.1 Search method	26
1.2 Causes of partner abuse	27
1.2.1 Why gender is relevant to explanations of abuse	38
1.2.2 Psychological abuse	46
1.3 Overview of the psychological and mental health impact of partner abuse	47
1.4 Prevalence	48
1.4.1 Ethnicity	49
1.5 Qualitative research on women’s responses to abuse and social and cultural context	51
1.5.1 Trends in the research: women’s agency and the consideration of context	51
1.5.2 Women’s responses to abuse	53
1.5.2.1 Turning points and the leaving process	53
1.5.2.2 Love and violence and the ‘happy family’	57
1.5.2.3 Doing gender and ethnicity	58
1.5.3 Conclusions from the qualitative data	60
1.6 Conclusions from the literature review and rationale for the study	61
CHAPTER 2: THE STUDY DESIGN AND PROCEDURE	63
2.1 Introduction	63
PART 1: METHODOLOGY	63
2.2 Locating the methodology within qualitative approaches	63

2.2.1 Ontology	64
2.2.2 Traditions framework	66
2.2.2.1 Symbolic interactionism tradition	66
2.2.3 Grounded theory compared with other thematic analyses	68
2.2.3.1 Different schools in grounded theory	71
2.2.4 Feminist research, symbolic interactionism and grounded theory	72
PART 2: METHOD	76
2.3 Sampling	76
2.3.1 Ethnicities	76
2.3.2 Sampling recruitment sites	76
2.3.3 Sample size	77
2.4 General issues	78
2.4.1 Formal ethics procedures	78
2.4.2 Power balance	80
2.4.3 Signed consent and imposed obligations	80
2.4.4 Avoiding research abuse	81
2.5 Rigour and quality	82
2.5.1 Validity	82
2.5.2 Reliability	84
2.6 Recruiting women to the study	85
2.6.1 Stage 1 of recruitment	85
2.6.2 Stage 2 of recruitment	88
2.6.3 Matching of the researcher and participant	92
2.7 Doing the interviews	93
2.8 Handling the data	94
2.8.1 Data analysis	94
2.8.2 Writing up the findings	97
2.9 Overview of the analysis and next steps	100
CHAPTER 3: THEORY UNDERPINNING THE ANALYSIS	102
PART 1: GOFFMAN AND THE PRESENTATION OF SELF	102
3.1 What is identity?	102
3.2 Dramaturgy	105
3.3 Goffman and the presentation of self	105
3.4 Role negotiation....	106
3.5 ...and boundaries	108
3.6 Rules of conduct, obligation and the social order	110
3.7 Impression management	111

3.7.1 Back, front and off stage performances and role distancing: the tools of impression management	113
3.7.2 When impression management fails	115
3.8 Remedial work	117
3.9 Cavanagh’s analysis of remedial work done within a heterosexual abusive relationship	118
3.10 Summary of Chapter 3 Part 1	121
<i>PART 2: GENDER</i>	<i>123</i>
3.11 Introduction	123
3.12. Sex, gender and biology	124
3.13. Gender as socially determined	125
3.13.1 Gender role socialisation theory	125
3.13.2 ‘Doing’ rather than being gender	125
3.13.3 Embodiment and doing gender	126
3.13.4. Moving in and out of masculinities and femininities and the case for hegemonic masculinity and hyperfemininity	128
3.13.4.1 Abuse of women and hegemonic masculinity	130
3.13.4.2 Hegemony and intersectionality	133
3.14 The development of gendered domestic roles	134
3.14.1 Political economic theory	135
3.14.3 The patchwork society	141
3.14.4 Remedial work and the patchwork society	142
3.15 Summary of sections on doing gender	143
3.16 Hochschild’s work on the gendered division of labour	143
3.16.1 Hochschild’s ideologies	143
3.16.2 Remedial work and family myths	147
3.16.3 Summary of Hochschild’s work on the division of labour	151
3.17 Relevance of gender to the findings chapters	151
<i>FINDINGS CHAPTERS: 4-7</i>	<i>152</i>
Introduction to the findings chapters	152
<i>CHAPTER 4 SETTING THE SCENE</i>	<i>153</i>
4.1 Recruitment area	153
4.1.1 The local population	153
4.1.2 Health and illness	155
4.1.3 Deprivation	155
4.1.4 Housing	156
4.1.5 Crime	157
4.1.6 Employment	158

4.1.7 Domestic violence strategy	158
4.1.7.1 The national and regional effort at the time the study began in 2005	159
4.1.8.Hackney: The overall picture	159
4.2 Summary of the women	160
4.3. Who are the significant others in the women’s lives and what are they like?	162
4.3.1 Children	162
4.3.2 Other family	165
4.3.3 Other intimate relationships	168
4.3.4 Work and home	169
4.3.5 Friendships	169
4.3.6 Community	170
4.3.7 Religion and spirituality	172
4.3.8 Conclusions about the other relationships in the women’s’ lives	172
4.4 The expectations of others	172
4.4.1 Staying together	173
4.4.2 Hiding the abuse to appear socially competent	175
4.4.3 Geographical relocation and community expectations	177
4.4.4 The importance of considering family expectations	179
4.4.5 The influence of broader social norms	180
4.5 Summary	181
5.1 Introduction	182
<i>PART 1</i>	<i>183</i>
5.2 Love and romance: the beginning of the relationship	183
5.3 Relationships in the longer term	185
5.3.1 Parenthood	188
5.4 Equality	191
5.4.1 Superior or inferior?	191
5.4.2 The division of labour	192
5.4.2.1 The traditional	192
5.4.2.2 The egalitarian: variations in the desired	193
5.4.2.3 The expected relationship: the women’s take on men’s ideology	195
5.4.2.4 Responsibilities and gifts	195
5.5 Being good mothers, meeting expectations	197
5.6 Financial independence: the dominance of male traditionalism	197
5.7 Sex and fidelity	198
5.8 Stepping outside of traditional gendered role play	200
5.8.1. Unidirectional role leaking	201
5.8.1.1 Why was it traditional?	201
5.8.1.2 Why was it not egalitarian or transitional?	201

5.8.2 Role reversal	205
5.9 Abuse and gendered role play	207
5.9.1 The man's abuse	207
5.9.2 The woman's responsibility for the abuse	208
PART 2	210
5.10 A new theory of relationships	210
5.10.1 Adding to Gillis' and Smart's conceptualisation of relationships	210
5.10.2 The desirable: a revision of the relationship to live by	212
5.10.3 The expected: an acceptable relationship	212
5.10.4 The unacceptable: the abusive relationship	212
5.11 How the model emerged from the data	214
5.11.1 The desirable as socially constructed	214
5.11.2. The ideal: only comes within your mind?	215
5.11.3 Why three elements instead of two?	218
5.11.3.1 Sex, infidelity and polygamy	218
5.11.3.2 'Black men don't love like white men do'?	219
5.11.3.3 Migration and difference	220
5.11.3.4 Desire for the traditional	222
5.11.3.5 Egalitarianism and traditionalism	223
5.11.3.6 Getting older	224
5.12 What does this mean for abuse?	226
5.12.1 Vulnerability to coercive control	226
5.12.2 Abuse as acceptable	227
5.12.3 Having something better to aspire to	228
5.13 Chapter summary	230
CHAPTER 6: REMEDIAL WORK	231
6.1 Introduction	231
6.2 What the remedial work had to achieve	232
6.3 Task 1: Accounting for doing gender	232
6.3.1 Social choice	232
6.3.2 The men's use of strategies to avoid doing 'female' work in the house	235
6.3.3 Family myths and 'gifting' help	236
6.3.4 Maternal gatekeeping or justification?	237
6.3.5 Rationalising doing gender as beneficial	238
6.3.5.1 Sense of identity	238
6.3.5.2 Mutual support	239
6.3.6 Gendering and abuse	242
6.3.6.1 Power imbalance	242
6.3.6.2 Over-dependency and commitment	244
6.3.6.3 Use as a tool of abuse	246
6.3.7 Summary of gendered practices and remedial work	246

6.4 Task 2: The women’s remedial work in relation to the abuse	247
6.4.1 Living with abuse: it is where you draw that line	247
6.4.2 Boundary work	251
6.4.2.1 The boundary is breached	253
Queisha is clearly describing her partner’s disregard for the rules of deference. When these rules are not followed or are followed in ways that show them to be an act, the relationship is destabilised and likely to be renegotiated. Thus boundary breaches may be said to occur when the rules of conduct are broken.	254
6.4.2.2 The boundary is reset	254
6.4.2.3 Renegotiating boundaries, renegotiating the relationship	256
6.4.3 Efficacy and empowerment	260
6.4.4 Parallel lives	261
6.4.5 Physical distance	262
6.5 Conclusions	263
CHAPTER 7: SUPPORT-SEEKING	264
7.1 Introduction	264
7.2 Features of the support-seeking	264
7.2.1 Types of support	264
7.2.2 A hierarchy of support	265
7.2.3 The link between informal and formal support	267
7.3 The support given by the main sources	268
7.3.1 Family support	269
7.3.2 Friends and community support	270
7.3.3 Formal support	270
7.3.3.1 Emotional support	270
7.3.3.2 General practitioners	271
7.3.3.3 Religion and spirituality	272
7.3.3.4 Counsellors	273
7.4 Summary	276
CHAPTER 8: FINAL DISCUSSION	277
8.1 Expectations of a relationship	277
8.1.1 The expectations of others	277
8.1.2 Expectations of the women	280
8.1.2.1 Romance and companionship	281
8.1.2.2 The influence of culture: love as a social contract	283
8.1.2.3 Parenthood, security and sex	284
8.1.2.4 Division of labour	285
8.1.2.5 Status and role leakage	291
8.2 The three-element model	293
8.3 Remedial work and boundary setting	294

8.4 The balance of power	296
8.5 Abuse and the model	297
8.6 Goffman, symbolic interactionism, multiple identities and help-seeking	297
8.7 Culture and hegemonic masculinity	299
8.8 Ethnicity	300
8.9 Social choice	301
8.10 Changes in society	302
8.11 The literature	305
8.11.1 Agency	305
8.11.2 Empowerment	308
8.11.3 Turning points	308
8.11.4 Boundaries	309
8.11.5 Responses to hegemonic masculinity	309
8.11.6 Ethnicity and response	310
8.11.7 Identity	311
8.12 Other models	312
8.12.1 Health expectations	312
8.12.2 Boundary work models	312
8.13 What makes these women abused?	314
8.14 Limitations of the study	317
8.14.1 The sample	317
8.14.2 The nature of accounts	318
8.14.3 Ways of looking at the data	320
8.14.4 The longitudinal data	320
8.14.5 Gender and intersectionalism	321
8.14.6 My own identity	322
8.14.7 Culture	323
8.14.8 The effects of remedial work	324
8.14.9 Research into household labour	325
8.14.10 Analytical method	326
8.14.11 Other issues	326
8.15 Strengths and scholarly contributions	326
8.15.1 Strengths	326
8.15.2 Scholarly contributions	327
8.16 Future work	330
8.17 Observations and recommendations for service provision	332
8.17.1 Making psychological abuse more visible	332
8.17.2 The need to consider the multiplicity of intersecting factors that affect the impact on the woman of abuse and interventions for it	333

8.17.2.1 Definitions of partner abuse	333
8.17.3 Changing abused women’s understandings of the unacceptable	334
8.17.4 Changing other family members’ understandings of the unacceptable	335
8.17.5 Cultural competencies	336
8.17.6 The role of general practice	336
8.17.6.1 Enhanced advocacy interventions	337
8.17.6.2 Training and education for practitioners	337
8.17.7 The need for more evidence	338
9. Final summary and conclusions	339
9.1 The women	339
9.2 Theoretical underpinnings	340
9.3 Innovation	340
9.4 The initial literal thematic analysis	341
9.5 More abstract conceptualising	341
References	344
<i>Appendix A: Recruitment details</i>	382
<i>Appendix B: Composite Abuse Scale (CAS) used for checking for abuse</i>	385
<i>Appendix C: Tolman’s psychological maltreatment of women inventory (PMWI)</i>	391
<i>Appendix D: Lists of codes, categories and labels</i>	396
<i>Appendix E: Operationalised codes</i>	402
<i>Appendix F: Summary of the women interviewed</i>	405
<i>Appendix G: Steps used in the analysis</i>	409
<i>Published articles</i>	418

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

<i>Box 1: Aims of the study and research questions</i>	15
<i>Box 2: Common features of participants recruited to partner abuse research, and relevant issues.</i>	16
<i>Box 3: The three layers of relationships that make up the proposed model</i>	211
<i>Box 4: Problems with research on the division of household labour</i>	325
<i>Table 1: An overview of some of the theories proposed to explain partner abuse</i>	28
<i>Table 2: The five different patterns of abuse, differentiated according to conflict type</i>	44
<i>Table 3: Summary of the participant inclusion and exclusion criteria</i>	90
<i>Table 4: Women’s attitudes towards partner abuse, by site, from the WHO survey</i>	132
<i>Table 5: Hochschild’s three ideologies</i>	145
<i>Table 6: Marital ideologies, couple conflict and gender strategies, adapted from The Second Shift</i>	149
<i>Table 7: Details of participants and recruitment</i>	161
<i>Table 8: The different relationships that the women described having with children</i>	163
<i>Table 9: Theories developed to account for the division of labour in relationships, and their goodness of fit to the data</i>	286
<i>Figure 1: The Duluth Power and Control Wheel</i>	39
<i>Figure 2: the Duluth Equality Wheel</i>	40
<i>Figure 3: Basic representation of the idea of intersectionality</i>	45
<i>Figure 4: The analytical process of grounded theory</i>	69
<i>Figure 5: The research process.</i>	98
<i>Figure 6: Inward-facing and outward-facing identities</i>	103
<i>Figure 7: Showing how the notion of Goffman’s audiences (interactions) has been extended in the current thesis.</i>	107
<i>Figure 8: Gender and embodied sex</i>	127
<i>Figure 9: Percentage of men and women who say a man has a right to beat his wife if she refuses sex, by country</i>	131
<i>Figure 10: How to be a good wife: instructions from the 1950s</i>	138
<i>Figure 11: Various posters from the 1940s (encouraging women to work) and the 1950s (encouraging women to be housewives)</i>	139

<i>Figure 12: The proportion of total household chores undertaken by men among the couples Hochschild interviewed</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Figure 13: Poster from the 1950s to show the upstairs-downstairs division of labour that Hochschild talks about.....</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>Figure 14: Age profile of Hackney and City residents (lines) compared to England (bars) - GLA Population estimates 2007</i>	<i>154</i>
<i>Figure 15: Profile of Hackney’s ethnicity compared with England.....</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Figure 16: Housing tenure of households in Hackney</i>	<i>157</i>
<i>Figure 17: Heise’s 1998 ecological model</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Figure 18: The three-element theory of relationships</i>	<i>213</i>
<i>Figure 19: Maslow’s hierarchy of needs</i>	<i>240</i>
<i>Figure 20: Representation of women’s everyday role boundary drawing</i>	<i>258</i>
<i>Figure 21: Concept mapping: The properties and dimensions of the subject, or concept, are explored systematically and gaps, weaknesses and alternative explanations all considered. Grey dashed arrows indicate negative instances (who not? etc).</i>	<i>416</i>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due to two sets of people who provided me with a wealth of support, encouragement and direction, and also presented alternative views on the data analysis and interpretation, thus enhancing the quality of the study. These groups are:

- The other two members of the steering group for the study, Moira Kelly and Gene Feder, Institute of Health Sciences Education, Queen Mary, University of London, who were also my supervisors.
- The advisory group, who met with me a number of times over the first two years of the project: Suj Ahmed, Nicki Thorogood, Margaret Walsh, Hilary Abrahams, Kirsten Shirke, Pat Kelman.

Thanks also to the teams at Nia (formerly Hackney Women's Aid), and to Hackney Domestic Violence Forum, both of which let me attend their meetings and gave me useful advice.

Finally, my gratitude to the women who shared their stories with me and the staff at the participating sites, who all put themselves out to accommodate me.

[Culture is] a set of principles for creating dramas, for writing scripts, and, of course, for recruiting players and audiences. (...) Different cultures are like different schools of navigation designed to cope with different terrains and seas (Frake, 1977, p. 6-7).

INTRODUCTION

This is a qualitative study of partner abuse, often conflated with domestic violence informally but considered as a subset of this more formally.¹ Following consideration of the issues around terminology (Rivas, 2010), I have based my working definition of partner abuse on the definition of domestic violence used by Women's Aid, the main UK national charity providing services for and working to end domestic violence:

...physical, psychological, sexual or financial violence that takes place within an intimate [or family-type] relationship and forms a pattern of coercive and controlling behaviour (Women's Aid, 2007).

Coercive behaviours are those that one person uses to systematically manipulate another to conform to their wishes; this is often to the detriment of the person being manipulated.

I consider abuse by men against women within a heterosexual intimate relationship. This study focuses particularly on women suffering from psychological abuse (such as controlling behaviours, verbal threats, undermining, isolation of the woman, harassment); some of the women were also physically abused. It takes a sample of currently psychologically abused women and explores the ways in which the social and cultural setting of their lives and their social interactions affect their identities and expectations, and their experiences of and reactions to partner abuse. Women were purposively recruited from primary care and the community in a way that has enabled

¹Domestic violence covers all family members whereas my focus is on intimate relationships. Stark and Flitcraft (1996) have suggested that partner abuse and domestic violence should be distinct terms because partners do not always live together in the same house. Partner abuse is the term mostly used in this thesis overall because of its specificity, but is used interchangeably with domestic violence when other literature is considered, usually to be consistent with the particular study discussed, except where attention is being drawn to differences.

some women to take part in the study who did not perceive themselves to be abused, but whose experiences fitted the Women's Aid definition.

Altogether, 20 abused women were interviewed for the study, 11 white British, five Caribbean and four African women. Twelve of the women were interviewed a second time approximately four to six months after the first interview, giving richer data and the opportunity to fill gaps in emerging theory. This method also affords the possibility of longitudinal analysis (not considered in this thesis for reasons of space but to be written up separately).

The aims of the study and my specific research questions are shown in Box 1 and discussed in more detail in Chapters 1, 5 and 6. In this thesis my main focus is on the impact on abused women of the interaction of social role play and social identity (social context) with norms, expectations and understandings (cultural context).

Box 1: Aims of the study and research questions

The aims of the study: to obtain a deeper understanding of women who are being psychologically abused by their male intimate partners, with reference to the social and cultural contexts of the women's lives and their social interactions.

Specific research questions (Chapter 2 explains how these were developed):

- How do the women negotiate their relationships to present themselves as socially competent?
- How is this affected by social and cultural expectations concerning intimate relationships?
- What does it mean for the women to 'do gender' in the relationship?

Overview of the content

Partner abuse against women is a major public health problem resulting in both short and long term mental and physical health difficulties (Banyard, Williams, Saunders & Fitzgerald, 2008; Coid, Petruckevitch, Chung, Richardson, Moorey, & Feder, 2003; Golding, 1999; Hegarty & Gunn, 2004; Kirkwood, 1993; Sohal, Eldrige & Feder, 2007; Stark & Flitcraft, 1997; Walby & Allen, 2004). Physical abuse by an intimate male partner is thought to affect at least one in four women in their lifetimes and more

women are psychologically abused (Council of Europe, 2002; García-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2005; Hagemann-White, 2010; Kramer, Lorenzen & Mueller, 2004). Partner abuse is therefore highly prevalent. Yet a review of the literature (Chapter 1) reveals gaps in our understanding of partner abuse as grounded in the perspectives of abused women themselves, due in large part to the difficulties of doing research on such a sensitive topic. Partner abuse is a relatively new area of inquiry, and at the time the study began, research had been almost entirely developed around what may be considered ‘easier-to-reach’ groups of abused women (see Box 2).

Box 2: Common features of participants recruited to partner abuse research, and relevant issues.

1. Participants are often selected on the basis of physical rather than psychological abuse, as the former is generally easier to identify (Marshall, 1998; O’Leary, 2001). Yet psychological abuse can be devastating (Bancroft & Silverman, 2002) and is more common than physical abuse, since it often precedes, accompanies and follows it and may also be experienced by women whose partners are never physically abusive (Leone *et al.*, 2004; Kramer *et al.*, 2004).
2. Again for practical reasons, research usually considers women living in refuges (called shelters in the Americas), who have left the abusive relationship or are in the process of doing so or have sought help for their situation (Campbell, Rose, Kub and Nedd, 1998). This excludes women who have not sought help for the abuse and remain within the relationship – women whose voices need to be heard.
3. Most research has been cross-sectional and retrospective with women who have left being asked to recall experiences and feelings (see point 2), usually after they have had professional support and advice. This has the potential to bias our understanding.
4. Most studies have assumed the women’s ultimate goal is to leave the abusive relationship (Brown, 1997), and even when this is not the case, because of the way the women are recruited the majority of the women in a study tend to be in the process of leaving (see for example Campbell *et al.*, 1998). Yet many women never leave an abusive relationship and others

remain in it for many years and even decades (Zink, Jacobson, Pabst, Regan & Fisher, 2006). A focus on leaving may also place the blame or responsibility for the abuse on women when they stay. As Dunn and Powell-Williams (2007) comment, when the only acceptable agency is for women to leave the relationship, the implication is that the woman, rather than the abuser, is expected to make any necessary changes to stop the abuse.

5. Most studies are from the USA and the UK and consider the dominant Caucasian group or mixed groups of women in which Caucasians predominate (Ramsay, Rivas & Feder, 2005). There is a small but increasing number of studies of Far East Asian, African American and Latina women specifically in the USA (e.g. Hampton, Oliver & Magarian, 2003; Harada, 2008; Klevens, 2007), and South Asian women in the UK (e.g. Ahmed, Reavey & Majumdar, 2009; Gill, 2004; Mama, 1996; Thiara, 2005) and of other ethnic groups within their own countries (e.g. Boonzaier, 2008; Chan, Brownridge, Tiwari, Fong & Leung, 2008; Pandey, Dutt, & Banerjee, 2009). These studies are mostly non-comparative. Some have very specific foci, for example the intersection of religion and abuse (El-Khoury, Dutton, Goodman, Engel, Belamaric, & Murphy, 2004; Gillum, Sullivan, & Bybee, 2006; Levitt & Ware, 2006). In the few UK studies that include abused African or Caribbean women the main focus has been on South Asian women (e.g. Thiara & Gill, 2012; Mama, 1996, with one exception (Allen, 2011) begun around the time my own study commenced (see p. 54).

Practically speaking, it is easier to recruit to studies women who have left the relationship, are clearly identifiable as abused, and may be contacted through professional services, than to involve women who are hard to locate and identify, are still in the relationship and whose safety may be compromised by their involvement or who may not have the freedom or desire to participate. Hardest of all to recruit are those women who do not recognise or else wish to acknowledge that they may be abused according to the criteria currently used by researchers.

In consequence, we know relatively little about women who are psychologically abused without physical violence (Stark, 1997), those who do not recognise or

acknowledge the abuse, those who intend to maintain the relationship, and those from cultural groups other than white American and white British.

Additional gaps in knowledge arise because of the particular approaches that predominate in abuse research. Abuse is usually described in research reports in terms of the man's behaviour and the woman's relational responses to this. Few researchers use a pure sociological approach, considering not only the women and their partners but also the context of their other social interactions and their place, physically and symbolically, in the family, community and society.

The combined features of this study therefore make it different from most other qualitative investigations into partner abuse²:

- Some of the women recruited to the study had been psychologically but not physically abused.
- The women were purposively recruited from primary care practices and community groups.
- Most of the women were still in an abusive relationship; few were in the process of leaving.
- Some of the women did not label themselves as abused.
- Women from three different ethnic groups were considered, to explore cultural variations and also the common experiences of abused women.

I hope to show in this thesis how social and cultural contextual factors shape:

- the ways the women describe their relationships
- their responses to partner abuse and the resources available to them
- professional support service provision.

As such, the findings should be useful in informing further research and in enhancing understanding of partner abuse and the various ways it affects and is affected by the lives of the women concerned, so that abused women may be better supported in the future.

² Unless otherwise stated, I use partner abuse in this document as a shorthand way of referring to heterosexual abuse of a woman by her male intimate partner.

The method and methodology for the study are described in Chapter 2. The study is qualitative and based on individual interviews designed to elicit rich descriptions from the women using open-ended questions. Topics covered included the women's role within the abusive relationship, their actions and experiences in responding to the abuse, including help-seeking or telling people, or explanations for not seeking help or leaving, and social and cultural contexts.

The study design, including data collection and analysis, followed a feminist grounded theory approach. Inductive open coding and category (theme) development enabled me to provide some 'scene-setting' literal descriptive text (reported in Chapter 4) followed by more abstract conceptualisations and theoretical interpretations of the data (Chapters 5-7). Study design, knowledge construction and data collection all developed iteratively and in parallel.

A constructivist symbolic interactionist approach allowed for the co-occurrence of multiple realities in the data and consideration of multiple co-existing role plays (as mothers, intimate partners, daughters, friends and so forth). Symbolic interactionists are interested in the interplay between an individual's presentation of themselves to others and the way they think of themselves. I was also interested in the way presentations of self are affected by social norms. This was considered in Goffman's work "The Presentation of Self", Gillis' analysis of family values, and Smart's work on divorce, as well as the way people account for any mismatch between social norms and presentations of self (the 'remedial work' they do), and provided a framework for the analysis. Goffman's concept of remedial work has been developed by the late Kate Cavanagh in a study of abuse couples and by Hochschild who explored the effect of mothers' employment on couples' physical labour. I have drawn heavily on all these authors in this thesis.

Smart's development of Gillis' work on social norms is considered particularly in Chapters 4 and 5, which look at the expectations of the women (Chapter 5) and those around them (Chapter 4) concerning intimate relationships. A three-element model of relationships is developed, comprising the desirable relationship, the expected (the relationship to expect to live with) and what the women actually got (the relationship they lived with). Chapter 6 looks at the way the women navigate the elements of the model. Combined, these three chapters (4, 5 and 6) explain how and why the women set up and manage particular identities and explanations and responses to the abuse. They consider how the women negotiate the intimate relationship and why their social interactions with friends, family and the community shape what they do and how they account for mismatch between the three elements of the model. Chapter 7 considers some effects of this on the women's support-seeking.

The thesis concludes with Chapter 8 which connects the different strands of analysis, explores the implications for partner abuse support services, and provides a final summary.

Use of extracts from the data

This thesis is illustrated with extracts from the interview data, which are verbatim except that they have been anonymised and some words have been omitted where they exposed identities or added nothing to the interpretative analysis but detracted from the point being made. Any such omissions are indicated in ellipses as follows: (...), according to APA (2009) rules. Any comments I make within a quote or amendments to uphold confidentiality are held within square brackets []. Errors in grammar have been left untouched when they occur. The marker '...' indicates a long pause in the woman's talk.

The extracts have been drawn from the data using a systematic reductive process, additional to that used to analyse the data. By this I mean that I took all instances of

the data that illustrated the point being made and systematically reduced these down to one or two examples that best illustrated how the point being made emerged from the data. This might mean considering apparently negating instances or deviant cases as well as affirming extracts.

Where possible I chose extracts that could be understood in isolation and aimed to avoid over-representing individual women or ethnicities. I draw attention to ethnicity when there are differences; otherwise it should be assumed that what is described is common cross-ethnicity in the sample considered.

Definitions

Culture and society

Culture in this thesis is taken to encompass the total range of shared knowledge and understandings, interactional schemes, rituals and scripts, role perceptions, activities, values and ideals of a group of people with shared traditions. This range is created, disseminated and reproduced, and consequently reinforced by members of the group within social processes. It is used by them to develop sets of symbolic rules – social norms - “for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them” (Lederach, 1995) and determining what is socially appropriate and inappropriate within that cultural group. Social norms may be explicit or implicit. The range distinguishes the group from other groups in society but within the same society an individual may belong to a number of cultural groups. Culture and society are thus intricately related but not synonymous.

The term ‘society’ may be defined temporally, geographically, structurally and interactionally but is hard to pin down precisely: we can talk about local societies or global society for example. Broadly speaking society refers to the group or groups of people around us, and is said to be made up of small units of social interaction and

larger units called institutions, which range from government to organisations such as hospitals and prisons to family.³ The dominant culture of a place at a particular time in history tends to define its society, and groups that do not practice this culture in its entirety are known as subcultures. Thus for example, ethnic minority groups are considered as subcultures within the society of the ethnic majority group of a region. Barnard and Burgess (1996) explain that:

Societies work or function because each individual member of that society plays particular roles and each role carries a status and norms which are informed by the values and beliefs of the culture of that society. The process of learning these roles and the norms and values appropriate to them from those around us is called socialisation (p. 57).

Ethnicity

I use the word ‘black’ to denote Caribbean or African people born in the West Indies or in sub-Saharan Africa, or people who are born in the UK who consider themselves to belong to one of these two groups or who call themselves ‘black British’.

The Office of National Statistics (ONS), a UK government agency, bases their ethnicity data on self-report surveys in which people are asked to select their ethnic group from a pre-defined list that includes ‘other’ (see e.g. Office for National Statistics, 2005). I have followed this approach in ethnically aligning the women in my study, allowing them to tell me with which group they feel the most affinity and the greatest sense of belonging. Royce (1982) argues that interaction with others can change your identity and therefore allegiance to ethnic group. Since I am particularly interested in social interactions, and since I am taking a social constructivist approach, it is entirely appropriate to listen to the women’s own conceptualisation of their ethnic identities; this does not prevent them from being subsequently deconstructed.

³Much current research is based on Morgan’s (1996) alternative thesis that family is a particular set of practices.

Notwithstanding, it is important to bear in mind when reading this thesis that aggregated categories such as white British, black British, have little real meaning for ethnic identity and culture (Cauce, Coronado, & Watson, 1998) and even disaggregated measures tell only part of the story. As Queisha, one of the women I interviewed, says:

They say that person is Jamaican, by virtue of the fact that they're black. (...) Jamaica actually isn't black, we have a majority African black descendents, but our country is made up of us all, and our motto in our country is, 'Out of many, one people'. Queisha C2:162

There are also differences in social class, occupation and education, and so forth within an ethnic group, and amongst immigrants particularly in acculturation (Yoshihama, 2001) and cultural factors such as generational status of immigration (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002; Yoshihama, 2001).

I use the term ethnic minority to mean subgroups of people non-indigenous to the UK who hold cultural traditions and values derived, at least in part, from their country of origin (Bughra and Bahl, 1999, p. 4).

The household

I consider the household to relate to the people who are part of the woman's everyday domestic life and not as something spatially congruent with a dwelling place. In the sample studied here, usually the woman cohabited fully with her partner, sometimes as husband and wife, sometimes not married, but occasionally the couple were separated or the man visited the woman at her house but did not always stay there.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction to the review

Since it was highlighted by 1960s feminists, abuse of one intimate partner by another has come to be seen as a serious physical and mental health concern and also a human rights issue (United Nations, 1995). Partner abuse research has developed over this time. Until the 1980s the focus was on abuse of women by men, reflecting the roots of the discipline in feminism (Dobash & Dobash, 1998), and my research builds on this, my personal interest being in heterosexual abuse by men against women (see for example section 1.2.1). Stark (1997) describes domestic violence as a liberty crime, emphasising the way coercive control results in gender-specific restrictions, that is, it prevents women from exercising their rights in social, political and economic domains. Violence by women against men is quantitatively and qualitatively different, generally not feared by men, and does not result in the same level of restrictions (Anderson & Danis, 2007; Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly, 1992; Donovan, Hester, Holmes & McCarry, 2006; Stark, 1997; Whiting, 2007).

Early qualitative work tended to test theories on the women rather than developing knowledge inductively from the women themselves, reflecting research trends of the time (e.g. Mooney, 1993). Much such work was based on then contemporary psychological thought, and the review considers how this led to women who stayed in abusive relationships being considered as deviant and in some way to blame for their suffering (see for example Bowlby 1969; Dutton 1998; Walker, 1979). Very recently, there has been a change in approach, and inductive thematic analyses have increasingly been used to explore the women's lived experiences of partner abuse (see for example, Campbell, Rose, Kub and Nedd, 1998; Cavanagh, 2003; Kearney, 2001; Lempert, 1996; Lloyd and Emery, 2005; Mullender & Hague, 2005). These have led to women

being considered as active agents in the relationship who are trying to manage and solve their relationship problems, rather than as psychopathologised victims.

Nonetheless, as the review shows, there is still a focus on the process of leaving versus staying (see e.g. Campbell *et al.*, 1998; Kearney, 2001; Lloyd & Emery, 2007), and little research on women who might not be considering leaving and who may never do so. Most studies have focussed on the relatively easy to detect and reach group of women who have been physically abused and who have already left the relationship and are reflecting on their experiences retrospectively (Kearney, 2001; Campbell *et al.*, 1998). The review therefore concludes that there is a need for more research on psychologically abused women who may not even recognise they are abused according to existing definitions and measures and are currently in the abusive relationship with no intention of leaving.

There are an increasing number of studies of minority groups in the UK (e.g. Ahmed *et al.*, 2009; Allen, 2011; Begikhani, Gill & Hague, 2010; Burman & Chantler, 2005; Gill & Hague, 2010; Gill & Sharma, 2005; Hester, Chantler, Gangoli, Devgon, Sharma & Singleton, 2007; Khanum, 2008; Mullender & Hague, 2001; Narayan & Shah, 2000; Thiara & Gill, 2010; Thiara & Gill, 2012). There is nonetheless the need for more research involving women from different cultures, including those who have migrated from their country of origin and whose perspectives and experiences are likely to be affected, as the existing studies indicate, by social and cultural contexts that may be different to those that act on the white US and UK Caucasian groups that have been the main focus of study, definition and service development.

1.1.1 Search method

The search terms used for this review were specifically targeted at articles on abuse between intimate partners, using various roughly equivalent synonyms⁴ for the phenomenon. The search was restricted to three databases. These were BIDS International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Institute for Scientific Information Proceedings (Social Science and Humanities), and the Sage online journals database (since Sage publishes a number of relevant journals such as Violence Against Women). In each case, the basic partner abuse search string was used alone and combined with a series of key words (using the OR signifier) that was developed from the research question and study aims and objectives. These were: social, support, networks, Caribbean, African, black, ethnic, cultur*, context.

The searches were not restricted to qualitative material, but were confined to the years 1990 onwards to be manageable; I had previously undertaken a review of interventions for partner abuse (Ramsay, Rivas, & Feder, 2005) that informed the current study, and references obtained from this (e.g. Kearney, 2001; Sleutel, 1998) indicated that there was likely to be little other relevant material before 1990.

The titles and, where available, the abstracts of all located references were read, and the full article obtained if it fulfilled what were initially very broad inclusion criteria. Specifically, I included all references for which the focus was confirmed as partner abuse and the interest was in social or psychosocial aspects of abuse or support for, responses to and experiences of abuse.

⁴ The basic search term was ((intimate and/or partner) or wife or wives or spouse[s] or psychological or domestic) and (violence or abuse or chastisement)). This did not include terms that are most commonly related to physical violence *per se* in order to achieve greater specificity and to keep the number of citations to a relatively manageable level. Since other methods such as backwards citation tracking were used, this approach was not considered to significantly compromise sensitivity.

The search was repeated mid-way through data analysis, with additional words added that reflected the changing research questions, and at the end of the write-up phase. The final list of articles was augmented by searches intended to answer specific questions or queries, usually relating to theoretical underpinnings or sociology in general rather than the research question specifically. These involved a consultation of sociology textbooks (Green & Thorogood, 2004; Patton, 2002; Seale, 2000; Silverman, 2005) and “Google”, “Google Scholar”, Sage and “AltaVista” searches online, using phrases to represent specific queries and gaps in knowledge. Once I decided to underpin the analysis using dramaturgy after Goffman, Hochschild and Cavanagh, the relevant texts by these authors and others in their fields were also read.

1.2 Causes of partner abuse

The causes of partner abuse are highly contested in the literature. I refer to some candidate theories in later chapters, so they are summarised in Table 1. They fall into three broad categories: biological, social and psychological. Among the social, and of most relevance to this thesis, feminist and family theories are currently the most influential. Social exchange and resource theory are not well tested for partner abuse, but have been examined in relation to the gendering of behaviours more generally so I return to them in later chapters. Overall, this table highlights the largely social nature and complexity of partner abuse. Johnson & Ferraro (2000) differentiate various types of violence in intimate relationships which suggest family and feminist theory may be relevant to different types (see Table 2). No one theory provides all the answers (see for example Anderson, 1997), with an increasing tendency (see for example Danis, 2003) to integrate them and to consider various levels of effect (e.g. ecological theory). Feminist theory has an important place within the whole, helping to explain the gendered nature of partner abuse (which Johnson and Ferraro label intimate terrorism) and anomalies that other theories cannot explain, and so ensure that policy and practice is maximally effective and transformative.

Table 1: An overview of some of the theories proposed to explain partner abuse

THEORY	OVERVIEW
BIOLOGICAL	
<p>Biological theory</p>	<p>This theory says abusive behaviours can be explained organically, by genetic or biochemical make-up of the perpetrator, or changes in brain development or chemistry due to trauma or substance abuse. This includes congenitally low levels of serotonin or high levels of testosterone, and the trauma of exposure to abuse as a child (as a witness or a victim), that has been said may lead to dissociative coping mechanisms that provide “the extreme detachment necessary to engage in severe violence towards an intimate partner” (Simoneti, Scott, & Murphy, 2000, p.15).</p> <p><i>Interventions associated with this theory</i> Counselling, pharmacotherapy (e.g. selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors)</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empirical evidence is weak. Biological factors may be relevant in some cases but there is evidence supporting the greater significance of non-biological factors so as a general explanation the theory is too essentialist and reductionist. The <i>biopsychosocial perspective</i> is an attempt to resolve this issue by bringing together biological, social and psychological factors • The woman may be held accountable for effects on her children if she does not leave • Suggests the man cannot change and puts the onus on the woman to deal with the situation, with the man as the victim of his biology.
PSYCHOLOGICAL	
<p>Male psychopathologies</p>	<p>Three key studies have each identified different typologies of abusive men. In each case, one type is antisocial or psychopathic and uses the violence in a deliberate and instrumental way, one type is dysphoric and their violence is impulsive</p>

	<p>and emotionally reactive, and one type is more sporadically violent, with generally more normal day-to-day psychological functioning (Hamberger & Hastings, 1986). One characteristic noted in two of these studies (Hamberger & Hastings, 1986; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994) is dependency in adult attachment style (Bowlby, 1969).</p> <p><i>Interventions associated with this theory</i> Counselling and psychiatric interventions for men</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i> Other analyses have failed to find a link between these typologies and partner abuse (Buttell & Jones, 2001; Gondolf & White, 2000; White & Gondolf, 2001). Gondolf and White found the strongest trend in the 840 abusive men they studied was towards narcissistic or antisocial personalities. They suggest this is consistent with perpetrators as acting with a sense of entitlement, dominance and self-centredness, characteristics also highlighted in gender asymmetry explanations of partner abuse.</p>
Control theory	<p>It was previously believed that men are abusive when they lose control because of alcohol or are unable to control their anger and frustration when stressed or annoyed.</p> <p><i>Interventions associated with this theory</i> Substance abuse or anger management treatment.</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Related to biological theories and with similar problems • Contradicted by abusive men's behaviours, which are carefully targeted at specific people at specific times and places (Ganley & Schechter, 1995); some research further indicates that many abusive men become more controlled and calm as their aggressiveness increases (Bancroft, 2002; Frederick, 1997).
Psychopathologies of the abused woman	<p>Nineteenth century psychiatrists used 'gynaecological, demonological, and neurological' models of hysterical personalities to blame women for their own abuse (Roberts, 2006, p. 9); such explanations were common until the 1970s, although Freud's psychological model at least blamed hysteria on early life trauma (Roberts, 2006). More recently abused women have been said to have dependent attachment styles just like abusive men (Bowlby, 1969; Dutton, 1998). Similar theories relating more specifically to why women stay in an abusive relationship, such as Walker's (1979) learned helplessness, are described in</p>

	<p>section 1.5.1.</p> <p><i>Interventions associated with this theory</i></p> <p>Psychotherapies for women</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blames the women and requires her to leave the relationship for the blame to be reduced • Generally a product of historical context; in-depth research this century suggests abused women should not be psychopathologised but show resilience and agency in responding to abuse as a product of social and cultural context, rather than psychological dependency behaviours. The current study adds to this evidence. A good theoretical exploration of why it is more appropriate to consider abused women as agentic than passive and psychopathologised is provided by Bell and Naugle (2005).
SOCIAL	
<p>Feminist gender asymmetry theory</p>	<p>Abuse is said to result from male power within society (hegemonic masculinity; this is explored in detail in Chapters 3 and 6). Some feminists invoke patriarchal systems specifically as a subset of hegemonic masculinity, being the structural “systematic organisation of male supremacy and female subordination” (Stacey, 1993) developed by hegemony as a set of practices. Patriarchy “does not necessarily imply that no woman has power, or that all women in a given culture may not have certain powers (Rich, 1977, p. 57).</p> <p>The mass media is considered highly influential in sustaining, shaping and reinforcing gendered difference (see also section 3.13.1.). As Rakow (2001, p. 42) says, “Media texts do not present messages about our culture; they are culture.” They are dominated by portrayals of women as devoted to beauty, fashion, and heterosexual romantic relationships as ‘projects’ (Duffy & Gotcher, 1996; McRobbie, 2009; Wolf, 1992), “where success is determined by meeting the needs and expectations of males” (Duffy and Gotcher, 1996, p. 45). Conversely, “men find the domination and exploitation of women and other men to be not only expected, but actually demanded” (Prushank, 2007, p. 161).</p> <p>Nettleton (2011) argues that men’s and women’s magazines portray: women as responsible for preventing violence by men, who cannot help themselves: domestic violence as terrifying to women and amusing to men; leaving the relationship</p>

as the only solution, with the victim the one with the responsibility to do so.

Adolescent boys develop ideas on how to treat young women from viewing the pornography that has become so accessible within our internet society; much of the imagery depicts the abuse and demeaning of women through exploitative sexual acts and many of the women so depicted are victims of trafficking and related criminal activity (Kelly, 1988). Sexual violence can be seen as on a continuum of violence against women with partner abuse and rape and sexual violence being alternative manifestations of man's power and control (Kelly, 1988) and an issue of inequalities.

Interventions associated with the theory

- Advocacy that empowers women (Danis, 2003); such interventions have proved effective in several studies (for an overview see Ramsay, Carter, Davidson, Dunne, Eldridge, Feder, Hegarty, Rivas, Taft & Warburton, 2009; Ramsay, Rivas & Feder, 2005), most recently Feder, Agnew Davies, Baird, Dunne, Eldridge, Griffiths, Gregory, Howell, Johnson, Ramsay, Rutterford & Sharp (2011 and Taft, Small, Hegarty, Watson, Gold & Lumley (2011).
- The Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DALP), a perpetrator program based on the notion that abuse is an attempt at coercive control by someone who feels lacking in power, such as when a man lacks masculine status in a patriarchal society (this differs from "control theory" which is not social or based on ideas of coercive control). It uses a graphic, the "Power and Control Wheel" (see Figure 1) as an informational tool to aid understanding of abuse, with power and control at the centre, surrounded by spokes to indicate ways that control is attempted.

Problems with the theory

Gender asymmetry has been criticised as insufficient as an explanation for partner abuse:

- It may oversimplify modern-day gendered society, at least in the western world (Charles, 2002; see also Chapter 3; McRobbie's 2009 equality masquerade thesis is a firm rebuttal to this criticism)
- Black feminists have argued that black women are oppressed by race and class as well as gender, a viewpoint that has been generally adopted within partner abuse research and applied to all women as intersectionality (see below)
- It does not easily account for women abusing men or for same-sex partner abuse (but see Scott, 1998; Stark, 1997; section 1.2.1)
- It requires modification to explain why only some men within a society become violent and domineering (Dutton, 1998; Pence & Paymar, 1993; see also Chapter 3)
- Patriarchal societies do not necessarily condone partner abuse and not all women object to patriarchal power distributions

	(Glick & Fiske, 2001; Komter, 1989; Levitt & Ware, 2006).
Intersectional feminist theory /multiple standpoints theory	<p>According to this theory, like gender asymmetry a societal structure theory, the power imbalance in partner abuse can be understood by examining society as a whole, with the abuse mirroring societal inequalities. This includes hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal structures but draws on multiple other intersecting variables within historical, cultural and social contexts and the additive way they shape aspects of each person’s social identity (Anderson, 1997; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Immigrant black and minority ethnic and refugee women and white British women in the UK, for example, experience partner abuse differently because of cultural factors, language, immigration status and degree of contact with birth families (Hague, Gangoli, Joseph & Alphonse, 2008). Collins (2000) for example emphasises the ‘matrix of domination’ formed from the interplay of race, class and gender. The questions that need to be asked from the start of any intersectionalist research are therefore ‘which women’ ? (what particular combination of intersecting factors are relevant?) and ‘whose experiences?’ (acknowledging how the subjectivities of the researchers – which feminism in general acknowledges – can position them as outsiders). The focus has also shifted in intersectionalism from considering women only to also encompass the effects of intersecting factors on men’s social identities (see for example Mitra, 2010, for a discussion of the impact of the caste system, poverty and general everyday suffering on conceptualisations of partner abuse in India).</p> <p><i>Interventions associated with this theory</i> Need to incorporate a greater range of contextual factors than in gender asymmetry interventions but generally similar</p> <p><i>Problems with this theory</i> Hard to test in its entirety – some factors being easier to study than others, and intersections being more difficult to unravel than the influence of individual factors, but is a focus for many feminist researchers. The current thesis is developed using an intersectionalist viewpoint.</p>
Conflict or family theories	<p>Violence is used in any family relationship to maintain a distance or reinforce family dynamics already in play (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005). These may be affected e.g. by the nature of parental role models, expectations of marriage and mothering, and childhood experiences as a victim of or a witness to abuse (Nichols & Schwartz, 1998). Proponents argue that considering partner abuse through a feminist lens (Gelles, 1993, p.42) “blurs, obscures or simply excludes from view other forms of violence within families” (Featherstone and Trinder, 1997) and the importance of family interactional dynamics intersecting with structural and socioeconomic factors (Gelles, 1993), such as the education and occupation of individuals in the family and</p>

	<p>family position within society. Advantages of the approach are its great inclusivity and incorporation of intergenerational effects. It positions women as actors in a larger system of interactional dynamics (Featherstone & Trinder, 1997).</p> <p><i>Interventions associated with this group of theories</i> Family and individual counselling and education of family members (including schools based approaches)</p> <p><i>Problems with the theories</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate at least part of the problem in the woman’s personality and psychological state, with the abuser seen as reactive (Dutton & Painter, 1993; Stordeur & Stille, 1989) • The woman maybe blamed for intergenerational effects if she does not leave • Focus on broad categories and roles (men, women, wife, mother and so forth) rather than context or dynamic shifts; a more nuanced feminist account that considers female as well as male violence is provided by Gordon (1989). • Ignore the power differences between men and women in society and therefore in the home (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly, 1992); the broader lens of these theories reduces the focus of analysis and often its clarity
<p>Social learning theory</p>	<p>Abuse passes down the generations as learned behaviour through role modelling (Ganley, 1989).</p> <p><i>Interventions based on this theory</i> Changing role models, education, counselling</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory and related alternatives</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As for family and conflict theories • Not well supported by evidence, which is conflicting • Can lead to mothers who stay in the relationship being criticised, which ignores other influences constraining their decision to stay and the influence of the man’s controlling tactics (Mullender & Morley, 1994)
<p>Social exchange theory</p>	<p>Human interactions aim to maximise benefits and minimize costs (Gelles & Cornell, 1990). When one person provides another with a benefit, the recipient is obliged to reciprocate (Blau, 1964) and a cycle of reciprocity may develop. The benefits of an interaction or ‘exchange’ are known as the ‘pay-off’, and are assessed against normative expectations and standards of justice and fair exchange. These normative expectations and standards are affected by past experiences of the individual and anyone else in their society, the power differential between exchange partners, the setting and the type of exchange. An abused woman benefits from a lack of abuse, or the periodic displays of affection and kindness that she receives, or socially in</p>

	<p>other ways discussed in the data chapters of this dissertation, when she responds to her abuser with compliance. For the abuser, the costs of being violent need to be less than the benefits obtained from it (such as maintaining status relative to other men; this draws on hegemonic masculinity). These costs have historically been quite low; despite laws against abuse, in general abusers do not get convicted for their crimes (Yoshioka, 2008). In established relationships suboptimal exchanges may be accepted and may engender less negative emotion than in less committed relationships, because the more that exchanges occur, the less uncertainty and anxiety there is as to their outcomes (Kollock, 1994). This might facilitate the insidious development of the abuse.</p> <p><i>Interventions based on this theory</i> Criminal justice interventions that take a stricter approach and act as a deterrent to perpetrators (Dutton, 1995; Radford & Stanko, 1996).</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interventions based on this often have serious unintended consequences (Danis, 2003) • The theory itself needs to be explicitly evaluated in relation to both the cause of and responses to partner abuse
Investment model	<p>This is related to social exchange theory and incorporates feminist perspectives. It says that the higher a person's commitment to a relationship – as a measure of investment in it - the less likely they are to abandon it (Truman-Schram, Cann, Calhoun, & Vanwallendael, 2000), and this includes investment in children of the intimate relationship. The importance of gendered obligations on feelings of commitment and women's behaviours in an abusive relationship have been discussed in several qualitative studies (see section 1.5.2).</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i> Needs to be explicitly tested for partner abuse</p>
Relative resources theory	<p>Resource theory says that power - the ability of one person to influence another (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) – comes from the accumulation of resources. Primary resources are called capital. These are income, property, social contacts, and prestige, many of which are more likely to be possessed by men in our society. In resource theory, violence is a secondary resource that may be used when other resources are lacking (Goode, 1971) as a way of controlling others (Gelles, 1993). Relative resources theory assumes domestic labour and other 'feminine' activities are unpleasant and that individuals with relatively</p>

	<p>more resources or capital will use them to ‘buy’ out of such activities (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996).</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i> Needs to be further tested for partner abuse with good quality studies.</p>
Levels of stress, and evolutionary theory	<p>Society is changing, as considered in more depth in section 3.14. According to evolutionary theory, based on anthropological studies (Loue, 2001) the loss of kinship bonds and decline of the extended family has led to stresses and strains within intimate relationships. One manifestation is jealousy when the intimate partner is either suspected of being unfaithful or is planning to leave the relationship. An evolutionary explanation says a man will attempt to control female reproduction and ensure sexual exclusivity for himself through violence or the threat of violence (Goetz, 2010; Roach, 2011).</p> <p>Related to this is stress theory. This says people experience pressures and stress from their family responsibilities. Social stresses, such as a lack of money or inadequate housing, or other problems in a family may further increase tensions. Some men may react by being abusive if their masculine status is undermined or threatened (Aneshensel, 1992; Jewkes, 2002; Seltzer & Kalmuss, 1988). Social capital may reduce these stresses (Kunitz , 2004).</p> <p><i>Problems with the theory</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too simplistic and ignores other factors • Does not explain abuse when there are strong kinship bonds • As this thesis shows, family and kin are not always supportive, or their support may be constraining and serve to increase rather than decrease stress • The individualisation of society is said by some theorists to lead to more easy dissolution of unsatisfactory relationships, rather than their increase (see 3.14 for more detail).
BROADER THEORIES	
Ecological theory	<p>According to this theory, behaviours within an intimate relationship are influenced by social factors operating at a number of levels. Heise’s 1998 model has been used to underpin World Health Organisation (WHO) research into domestic violence (see García-Moreno <i>et al.</i>, 2005). Heise delineates the following levels of context as influencing abusive relationships: the</p>

	<p>individual level (the biological and personal history factors of both the abused and their abusers); the level of proximal social relationships, including those between intimate partners and within families; the community context in which these social relationships are embedded, including friendships, work, religion, schools, and neighbourhoods; the larger societal climate, including patriarchal and other societal structures. Another example, by Douglas and colleagues (2008). opens out different levels of community influence.</p> <p>These theories highlight the existence of multiple viewpoints and role play identities and the intersectionality of different contextual variables across these. Mostly they have been used to consider risk factors for and causes of partner abuse with a view to informing policy and intervention.</p> <p>They can be used to contextualise the significance of other models of causation, as an umbrella theory and underpin this thesis along with intersectional feminism (Crenshaw, 1992; Damant <i>et al</i>, 2008), with which they are aligned.</p> <p><i>Impact on interventions</i> Emphasise the complexity of abuse and the need to take the different levels into account</p>
General systems theory	<p>This theory, related to ecological theory, recognises that abuse occurs within a complex system of mutually causal events (Giles-Sims, 1983). Functionalists say society can be analysed by considering which components of the system are working or not, diagnosing problems and devising solutions so the system does not break down.</p> <p><i>Relevance to interventions</i> Encourages interventionists to look beyond the immediate relationship and ensure solutions are appropriate and realistic and do not lead to disequilibrium and therefore further vulnerability for the women.</p> <p><i>Problems with functionalist versions</i> A working system is considered to be a healthy one; solutions are said to resolve rather than conceal or work around problems, which goes against feminist arguments.</p>

1.2.1 Why gender is relevant to explanations of abuse

The Scottish Executive's 2000 Strategy to address 'domestic abuse' in Scotland considers this to be a gender based issue that is associated with broader gender inequality "and should be understood in its historical context, whereby societies have given greater status, wealth, influence, control and power to men." (p. 6). This echoes the writings of Evan Stark (e.g. Stark, 2007). From this position, the abuse is part of a continuum of violence against women with rape and sexual violence being alternative manifestations of man's power and control (Kelly, 1998) and an issue of inequalities. Even though being male does not inevitably mean you perform violent acts, individual men may use violence within relationships as a control tactic to maintain their domination over women, as a 'patriarchy in miniature' (Stark, 1997) within the context of the gendered inequalities that pervade and are embedded within and underpin society.

Stark drew attention to the core feature of abuse - coercive control - as a response to the failure of interventions to improve women's long-term safety in relationships or to hold perpetrators accountable. This resonates with my decision to undertake my study having noted small effect sizes when undertaking a systematic review of partner abuse interventions. Stark argues that the focus in the literature on physical violence (see also Leisenring, 2006), which I noted in Chapter 1, is responsible for the lack of success of interventions. He says this is because it sidelines coercive control tactics such as control of the couple's money, monitoring the woman's time spent on basic activities such as shopping, and restricting mobility and communication with others.

Stark also points out that neglecting to consider coercive control leads to the myth that all women who stay within abusive relationships only do so because the abuse has led them to develop a range of mental health and behavioural problems that reduce their capacity to escape. In fact only some abused women develop such symptoms.



Figure 1: The Duluth Power and Control Wheel (Pence & Paymar, 1993)

The most well known graphic representation of coercive control is the Power and Control Wheel developed by the Domestic Violence Intervention Project (DAIP) in Duluth, Minnesota. Power and control lies at the hub of the wheel and the spokes radiating out from this depict eight control tactics; sexual and physical abuse are linked to these around the rim (Figure 1). The wheel has proved a useful educational tool for men and women in abusive relationships and within perpetrator programmes, as reported by the late Ellen Pence together with Michael Paymar (1993), and a corresponding equality wheel has also been developed (Heru, 2007; Figure 2). As a stand-alone tool it does not however incorporate broader structural influences, or intersecting situational factors, focusing as it does on the immediate intimate relationship. These broader issues need to be linked in.

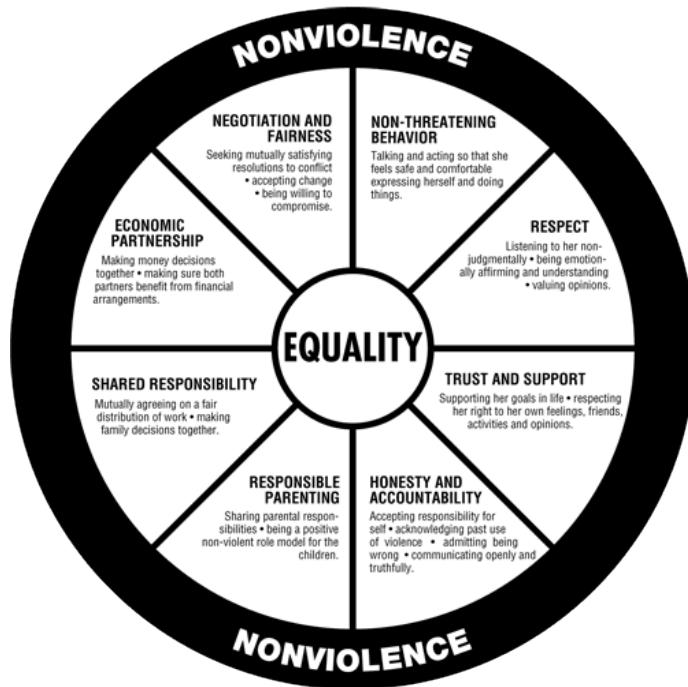


Figure 2: the Duluth Equality Wheel (Heru, 2007)

The coercive control model emphasises that partner abuse involves “violations of liberty” that entail the deprivation of rights and resources essential to personhood and citizenship. Stark argues that within this model, what men do to women is less important than what they prevent women from doing for themselves.

Coercive control is gendered in that:

- it relies for its impact on women’s vulnerability as women due to sexual inequality
- men use it to micro-regulate everyday behaviours associated with stereotypical traditional female roles, such as how women dress, cook, clean, socialize, care for their children, or perform sexually.

My interest in partner abuse research stemmed initially from the coercive control I experienced from my own husband and my frustration with media representations of abuse with which I could not identify, making the abuse I was experiencing invisible. The concept of coercive control matches what I endured. It also matches the experiences of the women I interviewed, as I examine in Rivas (2010).

Although gender asymmetry theories have gained widespread recognition and are incorporated into international definitions of domestic violence (see Rivas, 2010), as Table 1 shows, some detractors consider them insufficient. For example, it is often claimed that they do not adequately explain partner abuse in same sex couples (Ristock, 2005). Scott (1994) argues however that to critique it for this reason would be to say that there is no such thing as patriarchy just because same sex couples exist. Others have applied the model to argue that people embark on same sex relationships with uncertainties as to which behaviours are acceptable within the relationship because broader society promotes idealised forms of heterosexuality through its mass media as the model to live by (Donovan et al, 2006). Stark (1997) argues that the coercive control model does not downplay women's own use of violence against men or with same-sex partners but that it is particular to violence by men against women. Similarly, Table 1 shows how no one theory of abuse is fully explanatory and several models may need to be incorporated or linked.

Proponents of family and conflict theories have focussed on arguments that men are as abused by women as women are by men to challenge gender asymmetry theories. A famous example is provided by Straus and Gelles' pioneering population study of cohabiting couples in America in 1979 (Straus, 1979; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980), repeated in 1985 (Straus & Gelles, 1986; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1986). This study used a tool specially devised to measure physical partner abuse, the Conflict Tactics Scale or CTS.

Gender theorists were quick to point out a number of issues with the CTS, saying they reduced the validity of the Straus and Gelles findings, and counter-argued that abuse by men against women and women against men was not equivalent. For example, in its original form (it was revised for the 1985 study), the CTS did not measure sexual or emotional abuse or coercion or control, which are core features of partner abuse (see the definition on p. 14) and included in more recent scales such as the Composite Abuse Scale (CAS; Hegarty, Bush, & Sheehan, 2005; Hegarty, Sheehan, & Schonfeld, 1999). Nor did it incorporate the context and motivation for violent acts (e.g. whether

they were in self-defence or used as a controlling tactic: DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2001; Dobash & Dobash, 1998; Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Leone, Johnson, Cohan, & Lloyd, 2004; McHugh, Livingston, & Ford, 2005; Stark, 1997) or intersection with other forms of inequality such as poverty and racial discrimination (Crenshaw, 1995; Vatnar & Bjørkly, 2010).

Whether or not men abuse women more than the converse, women do abuse men and homosexual relationships may be abusive. So what does this mean for gender asymmetry theories? Several studies have shown that there are differences in the quality and amount of abuse meted out to men by women compared with that done to women by men. McCarry, Donovan, Hester and Holmes (2006), for example, analysed abuse in same sex relationships and found a gendered pattern of abuse that reflected “wider processes of gendering and gendered norms”(p. 10).

An illuminating study was undertaken by Johnson and colleagues (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Leone *et al.*, 2004), who described, over three papers, five major patterns of violence between partners (Table 2). Importantly, these authors developed their categories from consideration of a series of acts or behaviours rather than single acts or events, giving them greater validity, and they took active steps to ensure their analysis did not have the same deficiencies that they had remarked with the CTS. They named the different categories: common couple violence (CCV), intimate terrorism (IT), control/no threat, violent resistance, and mutual violent control.

IT equates most closely with the definition of domestic violence or partner abuse that I work with in this thesis, which emphasises the coercive and controlling tactics used by abusers. The presence of asymmetric gendered coercion and control differentiates IT (partner abuse) from mutual violent control or common couple violence which may be explained by family and conflict theories. Johnson and colleagues have argued that the CTS was selective for CCV. Other research, using scales such as the CAS, which was derived from qualitative studies, has confirmed that IT is gendered, with women

more badly affected than men even though not necessarily more frequently abused (see for example Romans, Forte, Cohen, Du Mont, & Hyman, 2007).

Johnson and colleagues' work shows gender asymmetry theories may help explain *some* abusive relationships of the type considered in this thesis. But it does not resolve all the issues with gender asymmetry theories. Modifications that better explain partner abuse data have integrated intersectionality, and social exchange and resource theories as shown in Table 1. Intersectional feminism (Damant, Lapierre, Kouraga, Fortin, Hamelin-Brabant, Lavergne, & Lessard, 2008) does not restrict itself to hegemonic masculinity as an explanation of partner abuse but draws on multiple and intersecting forces connected to historical, cultural and social context, such as race, gender, social class and sexual orientation (Fig 3). Each represents aspects of women's (and men's) social identity (Krane & Carlton, 2008; Oxman-Martinez, Krane, & Corbin, 2002) rather than fixed characteristics of the individual woman. Damant and colleagues argue that the intersection of these different factors represents the experiences that all women have in common and that we should therefore look at commonalities within qualitative data obtained from the women, which I do, rather than differences.

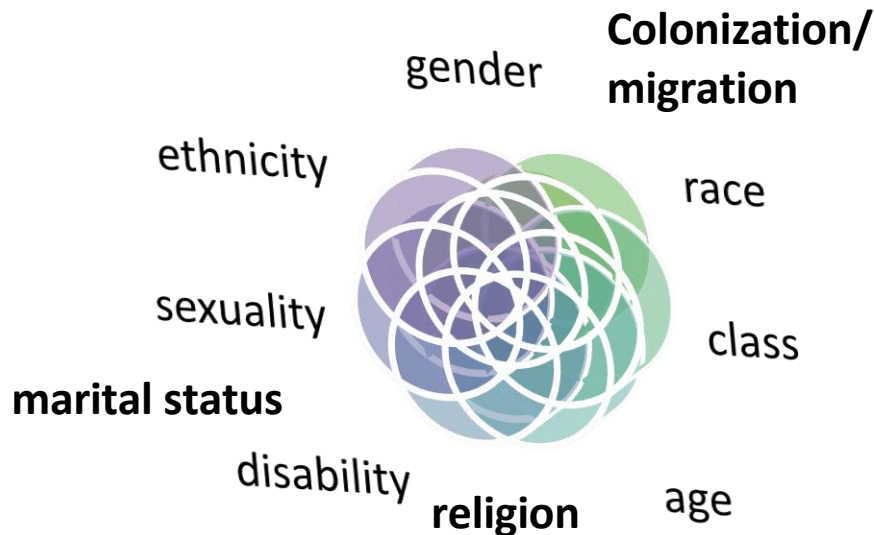
Johnson and co-workers' study is useful and scales such as the CAS have been developed bottom-up, but arguments concerning gender asymmetry as a factor in partner abuse, intersecting with other factors, need more grounding in the lived experiences of the abused and the abusive. Giles (2000) argues that:

Qualitative methodologies that allow participants to describe and define their experience, rather than respond to a selection of possibilities chosen by others, would provide valuable data for understanding context and motivation (p. 118).

Table 2: The five different patterns of abuse, differentiated according to conflict type
(Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Leone *et al.*, 2004).

PATTERN OF ABUSE	KEY FEATURES
Situational/ common couple violence (CCV)	No pattern of control, disconnected arguments, less frequent than IT (below), less likely to involve severe violence (although one strike in anger could lead to manslaughter), more likely to be mutual
Intimate terrorism (IT)	Pattern of control of one person over the other, more likely than CCV to involve severe violence but may not do so. Involves systematic use of non-violent control tactics including emotional abuse, coercion and threats, with physical violence also possible
Control/no threat	Characterised by systematic use of non-violent control tactics including emotional abuse, coercion but no threats. Leone and colleagues hypothesise two relationships of this type of abuse with IT, one in which the IT follows on from it and one in which it follows on from the IT. Thus, IT may develop from this, if control is not achieved, or alternatively when IT is successful, threats of violence may no longer be necessary
Violent resistance	Where the person who is being controlled in the relationship resists and fights back
Mutual violent control	Where both partners are controlling and violent, and potentially both battling for control

Figure 3: Basic representation of the idea of intersectionality



Only some of the many possible factors are indicated but the complexity of women's situations is immediately apparent, and the existence of commonalities (most obvious at the centre).

There is also a need for a change in emphasis in partner abuse research, which has tended to focus on patterns, causes and interventions (Bjørkly, 2003; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005). Little is known about how women cope in long-term abusive intimate relationships (Lund & Greene, 2003; Zink, Jacobson, Regan, Fisher, & Pabst, 2006) in terms of interactional and dynamic social phenomena, something that my study aimed to address. Since I began my study in 2005, some other qualitative researchers have responded similarly to the gaps in knowledge but studies in the UK and US continue to focus on stages of change and leaving as *the* goal. This includes Allen (2011), whose study design comes closest to my own. So far as I am aware, therefore, the combination of my study design and focus remains unique.

1.2.2 Psychological abuse

A focus on behaviours rather than acts in defining partner abuse, as in Johnson and colleagues' work, highlights the key part that psychological abuse plays in an abusive relationship. Looking at the categories in Table 2, it is clear that only some types of conflict involve physical abuse and also, in the control/no threat category, the way that psychological abuse can precede, accompany and follow physical abuse (see also Kramer, Lorenzon, & Mueller, 2004). It is now recognised that psychological abuse⁵ is more common than physical abuse (O'Leary, 2001) and most of the abused in studies of physically abusive relationships report some form of verbal and psychological aggression as well (Loring, 1994).

Definitions of psychological abuse that invoke agency or purpose on the part of the abuser use words such as “systematically”, “coercive” and “intentional”. Thus, according to Loring, psychological abuse is “an ongoing process in which one individual systematically diminishes and destroys the inner self of another” (p. 1) while O'Hearn and Davis (1997, p. 376) describe it as “intentional behaviour that serves to reduce the recipient's status”.

Some authors (Maiuro, 2001; Murphy & Hoover, 2001) have attempted to describe psychological abuse in relation to its impact on the victim – something that has not occurred for partner abuse or domestic violence as concepts in general. Maiuro for example proposed the following subgroups:

- denigrating behaviours that damage self-image or self-esteem (yelling, name calling, ridiculing and being hypercritical)
- passive-aggressive withholding of emotional support and nurturing, with punitive use of avoidance and withdrawal, silent treatment, and abandonment
- explicit and implicit threats to physically hurt, disfigure, or kill someone
- restricting personal territory and freedom, and stalking, leading to the isolation of the victim from family and friends.

⁵ The terms psychological abuse, emotional abuse, mental abuse, and psychological maltreatment among other terms have been used interchangeably in the literature despite semantic differences but psychological abuse is the one in most common use (Follingstad, 2007).

These descriptions have been developed from survey data and top-down. There is a dearth of information on how women themselves characterise psychological abuse and its impact.

1.3 Overview of the psychological and mental health impact of partner abuse

Clinically there is much evidence of the psychological and mental health impact of physical, sexual and psychological abuse. This section considers only those impacts that are most relevant to the current study; partner abuse also has a major effect on health and wellbeing in general and is a major economic burden on society. The data reported come mainly from surveys (see section 1.5 for an overview of selected qualitative studies).

The psychological effects most commonly reported in the literature are reduced self-esteem and a feeling of hopelessness (Kirkwood, 1993; Walker, 1979), emotional distress and upset, and fear (Walby & Allen, 2004). However, what these actually mean can vary greatly with individual and context. An abused woman may be afraid for others or about the future rather than for her safety (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Glass, 1995; Sleutel, 1998). Fear often relates to the physical, and there is some evidence that humiliation may be a more common response to emotional abuse so that it may be used as a marker for this (Sohal, Eldridge, & Feder, 2007). Also, it is not clear whether such responses are affected by the woman's perceptions of abuse, the coping or abuse management mechanisms she uses or the support she receives from others. For example, some research suggests hopelessness is a response to a lack of effective support, rather than the abuse itself (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Follingstad (2007) and Gondolf and Fisher also remark on the way some women do not seem distressed by what is determined from validated instruments to be severe psychological abuse.

Several researchers have linked more extreme mental health effects with specific types of psychological abuse. Marshall (1999) considered subtle, covert, acts of psychological abuse (undermining, discounting, isolating) to be more damaging to the women's health than obvious, overt, acts (e.g. dominating, indifference, monitoring, discrediting). Katz and Arias (1999) linked emotional/verbally abusive behaviours with depression and Sackett and Saunders (2001), unlike Marshall, associated ignoring behaviours and ridicule with depression and low self-esteem.

The most common mental health sequelae (as opposed to psychological effects more generally) are depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Coid, Petruckevitch, Chung, Richardson, Moorey, & Feder, 2003; Golding, 1999; McCauley, Kern, Kolodner, Dill, Schroeder, DeChant, Ryden, Bass, & Derogatis, 1995; Ratner, 1993). The more severe the abuse, the more severe the depression or PTSD (Golding, 1999; Hegarty & Gunn, 2004). Suicidal ideation (Counts, 1987; Golding, 1999), self-harm and para-suicide (Heath, 2003; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996) are also linked to abuse in abused women. Others have described the phenomenon of 'traumatic bonding', in which an abused woman comes to need and be grateful for moments of kindness from her abuser (see Dutton & Painter, 1993) although this thesis shows that as a response this may be more complicated and less involving of 'gratitude and need' than its proponents suggest. Abused women are also more likely than non-abused women to misuse alcohol or drugs (Golding, 1999; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). The evidence suggests that for some women at least this is causal, that is, a response to the abuse (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996).

1.4 Prevalence

Estimates of the prevalence of partner abuse vary greatly, depending on the method, focus and definitions used when collecting and analyzing the data, the type of abuse and population considered, the context in which the research is carried out (Johnson, 1998; Kramer, Lorenzon, & Mueller, 2004; Walby & Myhill, 2001), and the period

being considered. Lack of uniformity with regard to these variables can be partly attributed to the contested nature of abuse (Rivas, 2010). As a result, the true prevalence of partner abuse remains unclear both worldwide (García-Moreno *et al.*, 2005) and in the UK specifically (Mears, 2003). The British Medical Association (2007) says simply that it affects over 350,000 people in England and Wales alone but that this figure is conservative. An analysis of ten different prevalence studies concluded that 1 in 4 to 1 in 5 of all women experience domestic violence (sexual and physical) in their lifetimes and between 6-10% do so in any one year (Council of Europe, 2002; Hagemann-White, 2010).

Psychological abuse often occurs without physical violence, especially at the start of the abusive relationship (Leone *et al.*, 2004). In a US emergency department and primary care setting, 15% of surveyed women (and 34% of surveyed women who were identified as abused) had experienced psychological abuse alone in the past year (Kramer, Lorenzon, & Mueller, 2004).

1.4.1 Ethnicity

Richardson, Feder, Eldridge, Chung, Coid, and Moorey (2001), in their survey of women general practice patients in Hackney, London, found a relatively low prevalence of domestic violence in women born outside the UK, including Caribbean women. Mooney (1993, 2000), also in London, reported that Caribbean women are more likely than white British women to agree with the researcher's definition of domestic violence as encompassing psychological, sexual and physical behaviours, and to use formal services. African women were the least likely to include mental cruelty under the domestic violence umbrella. Mooney provided no explanation for these patterns.

However, Bent-Goodley (2004) provides different findings from a US sample. She held focus groups with 14 African American women receiving services from a New York City social services agency, 12 of whom were known to be experiencing some

form of domestic violence. These women's perceptions of what the labels of domestic violence and abuse meant varied from a standard definition, in particular differentiating between 'beatings' (escalated violence) and 'abuse' (which equated with psychological abuse). It is therefore possible that the women in Richardson and colleagues' sample may appear to conceptualise abuse in the same way as the researcher but be less ready to admit to abuse items in screening questionnaires than the white British women or have a different understanding of them (Bonomi, 2006). The results of other studies, that include women whose first language is not English, or in which predominantly South Asian women are considered, suggest that at least some ethnic minorities may be under-represented in surveys because of cultural barriers to admitting to abuse and other issues around language and accessibility to researchers (Mama, 1996).

Johnson and Ferraro (2000) suggest that their five types of conflict may show proportional differences between ethnic groups and that different intersecting contextual factors such as racism will affect abused individuals' responses in surveys and their experiences of abuse. Data from Follingstad, Wright, Lloyd and Sebastian (1990) support this. They have shown that, in the US at least, abused women who hold more traditional or patriarchal or gendered beliefs about relationships, regardless of ethnic group, are more likely to justify the abuse they suffer from their partner and to allow their partner to control them. It is conceivable they may also under-report abuse.

An international survey of domestic violence undertaken by the World Health Organisation or WHO (García-Moreno *et al.*, 2005) at first glance seems to support this, reporting that women from different countries showed differences in their acceptance of excuses for wife-beating. The most marked variation was between strongly patriarchal and more individualised countries and within countries between urban or industrialized settings and rural or traditional ones. However, Menjivar (1999) argues that patriarchy is a systemic social structure while culture is not (see p. 21 for definitions of society and culture), and more work is needed to avoid conflating

these and to tease out the effects of the two in women's perceptions of abuse. The WHO researchers in fact reported that acceptance of wife-beating was higher among women who had experienced abuse than those who had not, and they hypothesised that either abused women learn to 'accept' violence or that women who see violence as 'normal' are more likely to enter or remain in violent relationships.

These data on ethnicity and abuse problematise and may conflict with claims by Mirlees-Black (1999) for the Home Office Research Study Group that within the UK, partner abuse is not more or less prevalent within any ethnic minority group compared to the white British population and that prevalence rates by ethnic group tend to be proportionate to their relative population percentages within the community.

1.5 Qualitative research on women's responses to abuse and social and cultural context

In this section I consider qualitative research that has examined women's responses to abuse, and which mostly focuses on the process of leaving the relationship. In Chapter 8 I compare the findings with those of my own study of women who on the whole were not in the process of leaving.

1.5.1 Trends in the research: women's agency and the consideration of context

Women who stayed in abusive relationships were said by early domestic violence researchers to be showing deviant and masochistic behaviours (see Table 1). This notion fell out of favour with the rise of so-called second wave feminism of the early 1960s to late 1970s and its focus on gender asymmetries. Instead researchers suggested women stayed through fear (Strube & Barbour, 1983), a lack of material resources such as housing or money (Sleutel, 1998), cultural constraints to leaving (Jack, 1991), or a lack of formal or informal support (Gondolf & Fisher, 1998; Strube & Barbour, 1983; Sullivan, Bybee, & Allen, 2002). All these arguments drew on the structural superiority of men. Other contextual factors such as ethnicity, or access to

societal resources or support (rather than their lack) got scant mention. At the same time, a number of commentators (see Loseke & Cahill, 1984; Peled, Eisikovits, Enosh, & Winstok, 2000) remarked on the re-psychologising of the responses of abused women, through theories that attempted, with greater or lesser success, to remove from the women the blame for staying with the abuse, but which ironically sometimes made her into a victim. A typical example is Walker's theory of learned helplessness.

In 1979, Walker wrote a now classic study that adapted Seligman's theory of 'learned helplessness' to explain the responses of abused women. According to Seligman (1992), helplessness is a type of depressed (apathetic) behaviour, a response conditioned by habituation to repeated exposure to inescapable pain and fear. Seligman classically conditioned dogs with electric shocks that they were unable to avoid. Subsequently, he placed them in open pens that they could escape from and therefore avoid the shocks, but the dogs did not do so, because they had learned that they were helpless.

Basically, Walker's argument was that abused women's failed attempts to control or reduce the abuse (for example, by leaving, resisting or seeking help) led them to develop symptoms of helplessness, lack of agency, and reduced self-esteem. Repeated failures exhausted the woman's motivation to try again. The learned helplessness also made her believe she would not survive on her own (Walker, 1979; Walker, 2000). Walker argued therefore that these women would return to, or stay with, their partners because they had learned there was no viable alternative. Walker based her hypothesis on data collected from over 400 battered women. Importantly, she found not all of them developed learned helplessness. Some women instead showed anger, disgust, and hostility, and in her sample these women were likely to leave the relationship (Walker, 2000).

Such models seemed to explain broad patterns in abusive relationships but have not considered mesosocial ('proximal' as Brown and Harris [1978] called them in their depression research) and macrosocial contextual factors. Domestic violence

researchers such as Jody Brown (1997) realised the limitations. Most recently, abused women have been characterised by qualitative research as showing agency that takes the context of their situations into account and adapts to it. Walker has been widely criticised and her work on learned helplessness strongly contested and disputed. For example, it led to the development of the battered woman syndrome as a legal defence in cases where abused women killed their abusive partners, which stereotyped abused women as mentally deficient or disturbed or incapacitated in some way (Schuller & Rzepa, 2002). Gondolf and Fisher (1988) have argued that Walker's theory positions abused women as 'victims' but that they are 'survivors' who act assertively and rationally in response to abuse, turning to others for help; her misperception of their helplessness arose because in fact these others who were unable to help, often trapping the women in the relationship. This indicated that previous studies had looked at the outcome (a lack of help) rather than the events preceding it, or what lack of help actually meant.

1.5.2 Women's responses to abuse

1.5.2.1 Turning points and the leaving process

I have said (Chapter 1) that one thing almost all studies have in common is their underlying belief, explicit or implicit, that the ultimate goal for all women should be to leave the relationship. Leaving is said to require the woman to reach a 'turning point' (that is an event or action that changes her response). Turning points include life events or the emergence of physical abuse, and are said in psychological and psychosocial studies to shift women from passive to active, avoidant to emotion-focussed coping (Ferraro & Johnson, 1983; Miller & Porter, 1983; Rusbult & Martz, 1995).

Three studies report some women as remaining in the relationship following their turning point (Allen, 2011; Campbell, Rose, Kub, & Nedd, 1998; Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Eisikovits, Buchbinder, & Mor, 1998). Among these, Campbell and colleagues,

from the US, noted that many women who leave their partner will often return and leave and return a number of times before permanently leaving, which these authors called the 'in/out' period. Since two of these studies (but not Allen) suggest the women may be trying to resolve their problems so they can remain in the relationship, they explore how the women try to do this and what their lived experience is like whether or not they are trying to leave.

Eisikovits and colleagues in Israel report that the 'turning point' was linked to the women's experience of "a series of losses that led the women to the conclusion that the situations in which they were living could not continue and that there was no way back" (p. 419). Losses included the loss of love, the loss of positive traits in their partner, the loss of self and the loss of security. The women responded by taking active steps to stop the abuse.

Campbell and colleagues unusually considered the lived experiences of women who did not necessarily identify themselves as abused, the inclusion criterion being that they had "serious problems in an intimate relationship with a man" (p. 745). The researchers did not assume the women should leave, and many of the participants were still within the relationship. Nonetheless, leaving was the goal of the majority of the women and by the end of the study only three of 136 women still in the relationship and committed to it. All the women were physically abused; 74% were African American and 23% European American. The study was longitudinal, with women interviewed three times over 3 ½ to 4 years, using in-depth interviews and also standardised questionnaires.

Like other researchers in this section, Campbell and colleagues found the women used a range of turning points to shape their view of the relationship and actions or their own identity. Women who were trying to leave employed strategies of making do (becoming emotionally detached from the relationship), watching and waiting (monitoring for violence), or keeping it under control (being alert to worsening abuse that would be their cue to leave). Women showed agency in clearly active ways such

as calling the police and also in behaviours that might be thought of as passive but involved conscious decision making, such as using coping strategies. However, one coping stratagem, the subordinating of self identity, whilst initially helpful, might eventually lead to depression and loss of identity. These authors showed that ending the abuse and leaving the relationship were often independent. Notably, of the six women still in the relationship at the three years point, three had not been either physically or emotionally abused for at least one year. The authors noted that women had different thresholds for abuse, definitions of severity, and perceptions of what was intolerable in terms of both the abuse and the relationship, but could not relate these to particular cultural or ethnic groups or other mediating factors. Often abuse was not the most important aspect of the relationship.

In this study, like the others reported in this section, behaviours are noted and processes described, but the way the behaviours are done is not explored in any detail, leaving gaps in knowledge. As Gondolf and Fisher showed for help-seeking (p. 52 of this thesis), this might lead to false conclusions. Campbell and colleagues consider one of the most important aspects of their study is the demonstration that features of abusive relationships exist on a continuum. But all these studies in fact show that, rather than explaining why women stay or leave as a dichotomy, we should consider women's responses in terms of a continuum of relationship negotiations.

Allen (2011) interviewed ten abused women in the UK, some of whom had not left the relationship. Her grounded theory analysis developed the following major themes, thus she remarked on the existence of turning points but had leaving as the end goal, as with most other authors. Her analysis highlights a 'career pathway' (that is a sequential process, see Rivas, 2012) rather than situational behaviours:

1. Establishment of the relationship
2. Woman's identity
3. Partner's abusive behaviour
4. Woman's resistant responses to abuse
5. Woman's reflections and construction of meaning
6. Turning point in relationship/ catalyst for leaving/ending
7. Exit strategies

8. Survival resistance.

A few studies, although focussing on leaving and considering it as a process, explore in some detail how women respond to abuse in the period before they leave. Lloyd and Emery (2005) provided examples from focus groups with abused American women to show how women used agency to leave the relationship, to prevent or reduce the abuse, and what they termed as ‘agency-as-missing’, for example decisions to not talk to other men or to agree with whatever the abusive man said. This agency (or agency-as-missing) was situated in a dynamic of engagement with and disentanglement from the relationship. This eventually resulted in a paradigm shift that led women to leave the relationship – thus in this study as in so many others, this is seen as the ultimate step and responses that did not confront the abuse were still seen to represent passivity, albeit by another name (agency-as-missing). This begs the questions: *how* can women suddenly become agentic, and *why* do they adopt the tactics used in ‘agency-as-missing’? Lloyd and Emery only say why the women develop agency. They suggest this could be triggered by a single event (akin to a ‘turning point’) or by a gradual realisation by the woman that she deserved better. However, they also say that a woman who accommodated her partner using agency-as-missing before her paradigm shift may be doing so because of her entanglement in the relationship, which may be interpreted as helplessness, whilst women who did so after disentanglement were trying to *survive* while they planned their escape. Their terminology hints at a change from victim to survivor.

Kearney (2001) in a review of qualitative studies of partner abuse published between 1984 and 1999, described how women dealt with the conflict in their relationships between violence and the cultural ideal of romantic love in terms of a process of enduring love, used by Kearney as both an adjective and a verb. Here then, staying and Lloyd and Emery’s ‘agency-as-missing’ are both active behaviours. At first, women focussed on romance and discounted the violence. As the violence became increasingly unpredictable, love was endured through monitoring the man’s behaviours and suppressing the woman’s self-identity. This was followed by recognition of the

situation as unacceptable, via turning points that could be subtle or abrupt. At this stage, women would use strategies of resistance, divestment and withdrawal from the relationship while they rebuilt their identities. Enduring at this time was “going through the motions” of the relationship while they tried to sort things out in order to leave. Finally the women left the relationship and moved on. The process was sensitive to situational context. Thus women who were more independent were more likely to be less self-sacrificing early on in the relationship and also to end it. Black women were told they would be betraying their community if they sought help from white people. Professionals, clergy, family and friends would often encourage the woman to stay in the relationship.

A number of stages of change models have been developed from such research. In some abuse stages of change models, changes are recognised as occurring within the context of the self (the battered woman: Brown, 1997), the context and environment of the relationship (Dienemann, Campbell, Landenberger, & Curry, 2002; Landenberger, 1989), and the interactional context of relationship patterns (the relationship itself changes: Brown, 1997; Landenberger, 1989). None considers social interactions outside the relationship. Because they describe a stay-leave continuum that women slowly move along, even when they do not assume the woman should leave (Dienemann *et al.*, 2002; Landenberger, 1989) leaving will be the end stage of the model. As such, most are unable to distinguish between women who stay because they lack the internal or external resources to leave and women who stay because they are working with their partners to end the violence.

1.5.2.2 Love and violence and the ‘happy family’

Lempert (1996), drawing on interviews with abused American women, and using grounded theory, noted a core contradiction – these women simultaneously saw the man as their source of love and affection and as the most dangerous person in their lives. This is similar to Kearney’s idea of enduring love. But Lempert went further than most in her descriptions of how both the women and their partners initially

attempted to keep the violence hidden from others. Women actively constructed a ‘happy family’ – which was also shown by Cavanagh (2003) in her Scottish study (see section 3.9 for a detailed consideration of Cavanagh) and which could be seen as symptomatic of their entanglement in the relationship as described by Lloyd and Emery - while the abusive man focussed on controlling the woman and what she said outside their own relationship. The men seemed to consider their abuse as invisible so long as it was not revealed by the women. However, as the violence continued and intensified, the women no longer felt able to make the abuse ‘invisible’ at least to themselves. They adopted new strategies to contain the violence, that included ‘problem solving’ or ‘coping’ strategies and ‘self-preservation’. As with most studies, these women came from a woman’s outreach service attached to a domestic violence shelter and were considering their experiences retrospectively, which limits the conclusions that may be drawn.

1.5.2.3 Doing gender and ethnicity

Lloyd and Emery, in their analysis of their data, used the women’s statements around gender role stereotyping to argue that the women who did agency-as-missing were “constrained by the material reality of the heterosexual marriage contract” (p. 57). They argued that the women turned to agency to subvert and resist the gendered practices and “material realities of white middle class heteronormativity” (p. 57). Cavanagh (2003) found in her Scottish research that women who wanted to sustain the relationship tried to reduce violence by ‘doing gender’, that is by avoiding threats to the man’s masculine status. This supports both Lempert and Lloyd and Emery’s analyses. As ‘doing gender’ often failed to work, women reached turning points that changed their responses. They developed strategies of challenging the man: physically; by threats to leave; and by telling others about the abuse. This accords with Eiskovitz and colleagues’ findings and Lloyd and Emery’s process of disentanglement. Cavanagh describes it rather as a shift from trying to change the man to trying to survive but unlike Lloyd and Emery does not position doing gender as passive victimisation but as agentic. Unlike the other authors mentioned in this

section, Cavanagh went into great detail about how the women managed their relationship, moving beyond descriptions to concepts, and I consider her analyses further in later chapters.

The findings of Nash (2005) support Cavanagh's in terms of doing gender. Nash undertook semi-structured interviews with abused African American women, some of whom had been divorced from their husbands for many years (the average was 12.6 years) - a critical difference from most other studies and also affecting the validity of Nash's data, for example because of issues around memory and recall. The women described how their abusive partners appealed to racism and the religious doctrine of forgiveness to continue in the relationship. Some of the women felt their partner's abuse was displaced anger around racism. They were also frustrated at being unable to meet European constructs of femininity through their historically located different experiences. A few of the women found their own economic and educational achievements could result in marital tension.

The women were taught to forgive those who mistreated themselves or their husband and protect and care for him. This could extend to protecting their spouse from the police or from other sanctions for the abuse and protecting his masculinity; all of the women identifying with the man's marginal status in the majority white American society. It also meant they protected their children from losing a father (i.e. they remained in the relationship for the sake of the children). Most of the women were reluctant to seek formal help, such as counselling or medical treatment, and saw this as the domain of white women, with whom they felt no shared identity. Ironically, the women therefore relied on religious institutions for support even though these same institutions had constrained them to stay in the relationship to start with. Nash does not mention this, but the way her data are presented suggests a lack of agency on the part of the women, compared with the other studies described in this section.

Other than Allen (2011) there are no relevant qualitative British studies of Caribbean or African abused women or comparisons of Caribbean and other ethnic groups,

although there are several qualitative studies including African and Caribbean women that have been undertaken to evaluate service use and need (e.g. Hester, Chantler, Gangoli, Devgon, Sharma & Singleton, 2007; Khanum, 2008; Mullender & Hague, 2001; Thiara & Gill, 2012). Studies of other ethnic minority groups in the UK and of African Caribbean and other minority groups in the US signal the complexities of cultural considerations. Women are affected by many intersecting factors, a number of which can be related to their cultural minority identity and others to social norms within their cultural group. The studies show the danger of essentialism and of reification of culture (Ahmed *et al.*, 2009; Anitha, 2010; Gill, 2004; Hester *et al.*, 2007; Khanum, 2008; Mama, 1996; Rai & Thiara, 1997; Thiara, 2005; Thiara & Gill, 2012).

One UK study considered black Caribbean women interviewed to explore their beliefs about perinatal depression and their help-seeking. The authors concluded a ‘strong black woman’ stereotype was used by the women to counter adversity such as depression (Edge, 2003). The women relied on personal agency, autonomy, and mastery over their lives (often linked to financial independence). They saw medical help as the domain of white women, as Nash reported. At the same time most of the women drew on spiritual, emotional and practical support from black-led churches and faith communities in times of adversity and distress, which helped them cope. This has been noted in several studies of African-American women, including Nash, as well as Griffith, Yound, & Smith (1984) and El-Khoury, Dutton, Goodman, Engel, Belamaric, & Murphy (2004). The Edge analysis may help clarify why the women Nash studied seemed to lack agency; they may have performed as ‘strong black women’.

1.5.3 Conclusions from the qualitative data

Overall, but with some exceptions, qualitative studies on the lived experiences of abused women portray the women as active agents who manage the abuse rather than passively coping with it, and who have to deal with a contradiction in the relationship, whereby their partner is at the same time a source of love and of violence, resulting in a conflict between entanglement in, and disengagement from, the relationship. The

studies show abused women use a variety of abuse management and response strategies while they remain in the relationship. However, few go into depth about how these strategies play out within the relationship. A notable exception, Cavanagh in Scotland explored the women's strategic use of stereotypical gendered role play. US research shows how ethnicity and culture intersect with gender, with abused African-American women failing to identify with white women but drawing on different ideas of 'doing gender' that protect their community from racism, and using religion for direction and support. A consideration of the studies leads to the conclusion that behaviours should not be framed according to a dichotomous leave/stay decision but lie along continua of fluid, shifting interactions with a variety of relationship and social and environmental contextual factors. These factors remain to be adequately explored, despite frequent references to them in the literature. Continua need not relate to sequential patterns of behaviour although the studies arrange them thus; they could for example relate to more or less use of particular strategies.

There is some concordance in findings. But the data so far are relatively limited in that the process of leaving remains a significant theme, and in each case the women have been physically as well as psychologically abused. Moreover, most of the data come from the US. In the UK, most research is on white British or South Asian women. I found only one qualitative UK study that investigated abused Caribbean women as a distinct group, and this study considered leaving as the goal. No UK study has considered African women specifically.

1.6 Conclusions from the literature review and rationale for the study

This chapter has shown there is no simple characterisation or understanding of partner abuse, no single viewpoint as to what causes it, what it means and what responses to it might entail. Conceptualisations and labelling of violence, conflict and abuse, reactions and responses to abuse by individual women, support-seeking, and the responses of others to abused women are all context-dependent and how context affects them remains to be fully described.

So far, qualitative studies have mostly focussed on the process of leaving or have considered retrospective accounts from women in shelters who have left their partners and who have been physically abused. This has resulted in significant gaps in our understanding, particularly with regard to women who are still within the relationship and intend to remain in it, including those who might possibly not fully recognise the abuse for what it is. There are good reasons for previous research foci. Physical abuse, when it causes physical damage, is easier to identify, categorize and describe. A number of safety considerations must be made before researching women still in an abusive relationship, which has limited the number of studies of this group.

Although researchers have successfully explored important issues, such as victim blaming and agency, more in-depth analysis is needed on how the women's abuse management and response strategies are played out within the relationships and how this is affected by social and cultural context. Most studies are cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. Moreover, the qualitative studies that exist have described a suppression of identity in the women, yet no studies have explored this in more depth.

In conclusion, there exists a clear need to qualitatively explore the meanings that women from different ethnic groups (in their own countries or not) attach to conflict within current relationships, including conflict without physical violence (something Stark, 1997 also emphasises with his call for more work on coercive control itself), and how they perceive the practices and interactions they engage in, how their views and actions, their interactions and reactions, are played out in the contexts of their daily lives, and what is particular or distinctive about their practices that separates them out from other groups, as well as what is similar across the groups. The research question that was therefore developed for this study resulted in the following aim:

to obtain a deeper understanding of women who are being psychologically abused by their male intimate partners, with reference to the social and cultural contexts of the women's lives and their social interactions.

CHAPTER 2: THE STUDY DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has described the rationale for the broad initial research question for the study. The current chapter has two parts; the first considers the design of the study (including the methodology) and the second looks at the research process actually used (that is, the methods). The first part begins by locating the study design within qualitative approaches. It describes my reasons for choosing constructivism and symbolic interactionism as my ontological approach and tradition (Spencer, Ritchie, & Lewis, 2003) and grounded theory as the analytical method. It also outlines why interviews were used as the data source. The second part of the chapter begins with the sampling method and the criteria used to select women for the study, the recruitment process and how the interviews were conducted and recorded. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the steps in the analysis. The chapter concludes by considering how changing themes and conceptualisations led me to particular references in the literature, which I used in developing theory and which I therefore explore in Chapter 3.

PART 1: METHODOLOGY

2.2 Locating the methodology within qualitative approaches

Spencer, Ritchie and Lewis (2003) suggested three ways of grouping the different approaches within qualitative research. Their groupings, and subcategories within these, were: data collection method (e.g. interviews, documents, observation); ontology (naturalism or critical realism and constructivism); and tradition or school (ethnography, phenomenology, constructivism, symbolic interactionism, critical theory), with each subcategory associated with specific types of data analysis.

Each approach in qualitative research has its advantages and disadvantages. The methodology chosen for this study was developed pragmatically. As Charmaz (2004, p. 987) says, “Methods should offer reasons and routes, but not recipes.” In terms of the Spencer, Ritchie and Lewis groupings, the study is underpinned by a constructivist ontology and symbolic interactionism, and uses interviews as the data source. The rationale for these choices is described below.

2.2.1 Ontology

I concluded in a critique of definitions of partner abuse (Rivas, 2010) that partner abuse means different things to different people, depending partly on social and cultural context. It is therefore appropriate that this study adopts a social constructivist rather than critical realist approach. This means it considers reality as subjective, situated in historical, social and cultural dimensions, rather than objective, not to be pinned down absolutely through categorisation and scientific measurement of the behaviour of people and systems, and therefore not unitary but multiple and diverse and fed by social processes (Gergen, 1985; Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006).

According to Gergen, social constructivists use a variety of methods, but all pay homage to the idea that descriptions and explanations of phenomena can never be 'neutral', since social action and interaction sustain certain patterns and 'realities' to the exclusion of others. These patterns and 'realities' are historically, socially and culturally situated.

Social constructivism looks for explanations to phenomena in the interactions between people and social worlds rather than within the individual or social structure as a more or less fixed self-contained unit 'out there'. Social constructivists do not attempt to set *a priori* fixed meanings to concepts, nor attempt to fit concepts into notions of an independently and pre-existing reality. Thus, a social constructivist does not believe in fitting abused women's responses to pre-determined lists of possibilities. As a result, social constructivism allows for sensitivity to the study participants' own voices

and realities, and enables the researcher to look at the way particular concepts emerge socially, culturally and historically and the different ways in which they function in different contexts and situations. This approach closely matches the aims of the current study.

Interviews were chosen as the data source. Documentary analysis would be an interesting alternative, for example using diaries kept by the women, but would be ethically and morally challenging for such a sensitive topic, given especially my novice status as a qualitative researcher. Official document analysis was not a phenomenological match to the research question, while to observe and study a woman as she is being abused by her partner is impractical, unsafe and presents a number of ethical challenges. Interviews too have their limitations but were a reasonable choice given the focus of the study. Qualitative interviews are well established as a tool of sociology. For example Benney and Hughes in 1956 state:

Sociology has become the science of the interview ... by and large the sociologist in North America, and in a slightly less degree in other countries, has become an interviewer. The interview is his tool; his work bears the mark of it (p. 137).

Importantly, people can be shown to do work during interviews that reflects their social influences and interactions both locally situated (talk-in-interview) and more broadly located (e.g. in cultural discourses of power and gender). Therefore what is said in an interview can be analysed as a resource, as one version of reality that not only does not preclude the existence of other realities, but that can also provide a window onto the person's social worlds and realities outside of the interview.

At the same time, since an interview is itself one instance of reality to the social constructivist, the interactions that occur during an interview may be studied as the topic of the research. The focus may then be on the way an interview is co-constructed as a collaboration and interaction between the interviewer and interviewee.

Strauss and Corbin make the somewhat restrained statement (limited as it is by the phrase I have italicized) that: "The interplay between researcher and the actors

studied—if *the research is intensive*—is likely to result in some degree of reciprocal shaping” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 280, my emphasis). I will return to this notion shortly. In this study the data are used as a co-constructed resource rather than a topic.

2.2.2 Traditions framework

2.2.2.1 Symbolic interactionism tradition

My adoption of symbolic interactionism (SI) determined my approaches to data collection and analysis. Blumer (1969) outlined three core principles of symbolic interactionism:

- humans act towards other objects in the world (inanimate and animate, including other humans, and even themselves) according to the meanings they attach to those objects
- language is a system of symbols used by humans in developing, communicating and sharing meanings with others
- thought, which is based on language, modifies each individual's interpretation of symbols, including language. It involves mental role play to explore different perspectives.

The various forms of SI take these three principles and combine them to state that humans as actors use thought, based on symbolic language, to continually adjust their behaviour relative to the actions of other actors (or objects) according to the meanings they attach to them. These meanings derive in turn from social interactions and may be varied and modified. Gergen (1985) says for example:

Accounts of the world...take place within shared systems of intelligibility - usually a spoken or written language. These accounts are not viewed as the external expression of the speaker's internal processes (such as cognition, intention), but as an expression of relationships among persons (p. 78).

As such, meanings are constantly negotiated and renegotiated through social interactions (usually without people being aware of this).

These basic features of SI have been adapted and expanded by subsequent commentators. For example, ‘symbolic language’ is often taken to mean talk and text (as made explicit in the quote from Gergen above) and Schwandt (1997) prefers ‘symbolic communication’ to reflect the importance of other systems of symbols, such

as images, objects and ritual actions, that act on and are acted on by negotiated meanings. There is nothing novel in the use of the word communication. For example, Mead (1930) says: “We do not discover others as individuals like ourselves. The mind is not first individual and then social. The mind itself in the individual arises through communication” (p. 695). But there has been a shift in emphasis to explicitly include other systems of symbols and this has been influenced largely by the increased use that people make of cyberspace and of visual representations of knowledge. However, within SI, the premise that we think using verbal language remains.

SI, having developed from constructivism, is often described as a purely constructivist approach, but this can be over-interpreted and the boundaries between the various disciplines described by Spencer, Ritchie and Lewis (see section 2.2) are blurred. For example, constructivists may argue that there is no such thing as objective reality or they may say that there is, but it is unlikely ever to be knowingly characterized, since “human capacity to know it is limited to sensed interpretation” (Fuller & Loogma, 2009, p. 73). Stryker (1980) differentiates structural and situational approaches within SI. The former assumes that society is ‘out there’, existing as a stable and durable structure, and therefore is aligned with less radical constructivism. In this model, society’s make-up is reflected in the relatively fixed “patterned regularities that characterize most human action” (Stryker, 1980, p. 65). There is one version of reality at any one time and this is what determines how we interact, as a benchmark for human behaviour, but this reality can be changed. According to this viewpoint, it should take a long time for social structures to be changed by individual actions (although change is not impossible). Social psychology studies that consider a person’s fit to an in- or out-group, such as an ethnic group, and those based on social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel, 1981) tend to use the structural approach.

The constructivist situational approach within SI sees society as much more fluid, much more a work in progress (Blumer, 1969), ever changing as people use the system of shared symbols to try to shape their different representations of identity to match

those of similar others with whom they interact within the same situation and setting. I take a situational approach in this thesis.

Situational sociologists study the interactions of the individual with their social context, whereas structural sociologists and social psychologists focus on individual behaviours whilst taking into account the way these are embedded in and interact with social structure. As Hacking says, the structural approach determines discourse and action from the top down while the situational gives us “the local incidents and idiosyncrasies that lead us from the bottom up” (Hacking, 2004, p. 291).

2.2.3 Grounded theory compared with other thematic analyses

Grounded theory (GT) is a form of thematic analysis that uses a rigorous, systematic iterative, inductive and deductive cycle to allow conceptual themes and then theory to emerge directly from (grounded in) data. It is one of many forms of thematic analysis in current use (Rivas, 2012). As Osborne (1994) says, there are more similarities than differences between these. Each one begins in a similar way, that is, with a form of open coding (Fig 4). However grounded theory has several distinctive features, developed specifically to “move from relatively superficial observations to more abstract theoretical categories ‘higher than the data itself’” (Martin & Turner, 1986, p. 147). These have led to GT being the analytic approach most commonly associated with SI, although other forms of descriptive thematic analysis are also often used, some of which are wrongly claimed to be grounded theory.

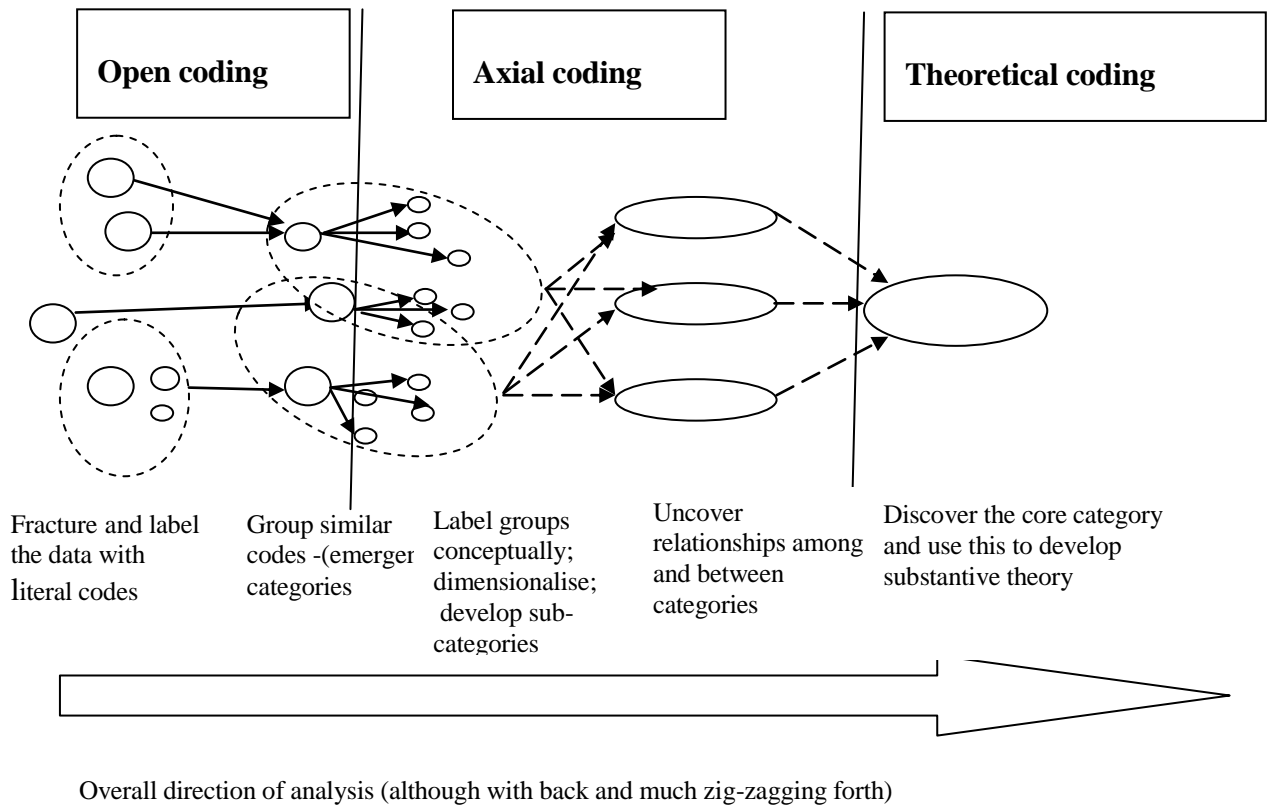


Figure 4: The analytical process of grounded theory

(extensively modified from Harwood, 1992). The process acts like a funnelling of the data. Constant comparison of data, concepts, codes and categories continues throughout. The stages are explained in part 2 of this chapter.

GT has been proposed as a suitable form of analysis for sociologists who wish to avoid universalistic Eurocentrism and give a voice to the global South (non-western cultures and countries), which is my stated intention and reason for me to begin this piece of work. Indeed it has a robust history of use in the global South in domestic violence research (see for example Boonzaier, 2008; Gill and Hague, 2010). As Celik, Wöhrer, Ersche, Stoll, Jimenez, Altrogge, & Vogelmann, 2011) explain:

Grounded Theory as one of the most widely used methods in qualitative social research is not based on universalistic theoretical assumptions, but instead creates specific evidence-based, case-related (particularistic) theories within its research process.

GT is ideally suited to the bottom-up situational SI approach, because:

- the data are considered as a symbolic representation of thought
- there is an emphasis on people's 'small stories' of social interactions and different social roles (this fits my research question (see p. 62))
- its exponents inductively and iteratively develop theories that emerge from, and are grounded in, the data.

Strauss and Corbin described theory simply as “a set of relationships that offers a plausible explanation of the phenomena under study” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 22).

I prefer the following definition which better conveys the process and the value of doing grounded theory:

..the best, comprehensive, coherent and simplest model for linking diverse and unrelated facts in a useful and pragmatic way. It is a way of revealing the obvious, the implicit, the unrecognised and the unknown (Morse, 1994, p. 25-26).

Because grounded theory systematically identifies analytical categories or themes in the data, and the relationships between them, and then builds theory from these (Fig 4), it enables findings to be presented in a more rigorous way than can be achieved through non-systematic description, and for models to be developed that may be tested in other settings.

2.2.3.1 *Different schools in grounded theory*

The original version of grounded theory, as a precisely structured analytical process, was developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. Their book “The discovery of grounded theory” revolutionised qualitative data analysis, by paying allegiance to, but at the same time challenging, positivist epistemological trends (Eaves, 2001). Thus on the one hand it describes a positivist-influenced structured and systematic process that encourages analytic rigour and can be used in arguments to support a study’s quality (Glaser, 1967). On the other hand it emphasises the need for researchers to be immersed in the data to the extent that they can put themselves in the other person’s shoes, and the importance of consciously guarding against imposing pre-judgements on the data. The way this last point is interpreted most clearly separates the three main schools of current thought in grounded theory:

1. Glaser’s (2002) **emerging approach** is the most grounded in the data, with the theory emerging only from the data. The ideal is absolutely to exclude all researcher bias, and the researcher should therefore avoid reading the relevant literature until after the analysis. This was the approach taken by Glaser and Strauss (1967).
2. Strauss later modified and developed the methodology into what Glaser (2002) critically calls conceptual description rather than emergent theory. For example, Strauss and Corbin (1990) differ from Glaser in saying researchers should use personal opinion and preliminary theorising – but only to construct an unbiased question. This is known as the **systematic approach**.
3. The **constructivist approach** recognizes that researcher bias is unavoidable and therefore suggests the researcher should conduct a literature review concurrent with the study, letting the data collection and analysis drive the direction of the literature review. Researchers need to bracket out existing knowledge for a while during analysis, rather than denying its existence (Charmaz, 2005).

The position taken here is aligned with the constructivist approach. I have used existing knowledge and experience to develop my research question. I have also used it to develop my theoretical sensitivity to the data and hence to recognise patterns and relationships grounded in the data, while being aware of the dangers of presumption and assumption; the important point is that existing knowledge should not drive theory development but simply inform and enrich it. As Cant (2006) remarks, the grounded theory approach should be "capable of respecting both the emergent data and the creativity of the researcher in engaging with those data and with other ongoing debates in the public domain" (p. 11).

Although Glaser and Strauss originated grounded theory, and Charmaz and others have developed it to better suit a constructivist approach, Strauss and Corbin (1990) are often used as the reference text for the method. Eaves (2001) suggests this is because their book is a how-to-do manual of process and as such is particularly useful in filling a gap for novice researchers that other authors have not adequately addressed. I agree with Eaves, having begun with the Strauss and Corbin book during my first forays into grounded theory analysis precisely because of its cookbook approach. Eaves aimed to provide a new recipe for constructivists by elaborating a stepwise process based on elements from Strauss, Corbin, Charmaz and also Chesler (1987). My approach is partly influenced by this but also by Charmaz, whose masterclass in grounded theory I attended in 2006.

2.2.4 Feminist research, symbolic interactionism and grounded theory

Feminist research approaches are ideally suited to a study of partner abuse, given that they emerged from an understanding that men and women differ in their perceptions of social interactions because they have a differential social status, with women subjugated by men.

Feminists diverge in their definitions of feminist research (e.g. Alcoff & Potter, 1993; Harding, 2004; Kelly, 1990; Longino, 1993; Narayan, 2004; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002; Rheinharz, 1992;. Sarantakos, 2005; Westmarland, 2001), but essentially, its aims, which accord with those of my study, are to:

- Empower women by giving them a voice that is heard, that communicates to others their perspectives on social life. As Lugones and Spelman (1983, p. 21) say, “Feminist theory – of all kinds - is to be based on, or anyway touch base with, the variety of real life stories women provide about themselves”.
- Expose the structures and conditions that lead to discrimination against women and their subjugation through taken for granted sexist practices and gender bias or gender blindness, avoiding power differentials in the research process (Hague & Mullender, 2006)
- Propose ways to address the problems, with findings disseminated outside the sphere of the microsocial, to inform social reform in the wider social and political world; feminist research should be transformative (Rheinharz, 1992). Kelly, Regan and Burton (1992) claim that “what makes feminist research feminist is less the method used, and more how it is used and what it is used for” (p. 150).

Feminist research emphasises women’s lived experiences and reports them as a significant indicator of reality; men’s perspectives will hide this. In the same way that medical science has been strengthened by examination of both healthy and unhealthy bodies, in a systems approach, only through listening to women can we understand their realities in patriarchal societies, but for a full understanding, feminist research does not always have to be about women. It is critical, though, that it always puts gender (whether male or female) at the centre of any inquiry and it should be primarily emancipatory and political *for* women.

I have used a constructivist feminist approach in this study. My emphasis is on multiple, situated, constructed interpretations of social reality and on building on understandings developed from early feminist writings, with a view to informing policy and practice (Hague & Mullender, 2006). The other two key positions taken within feminist research have been labelled as feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint.

Feminist empiricists (e.g. Martin, 1991) adopt an objectivist value-free epistemology and a realist ontology modified to take women’s activities and experiences into

account. Many aim for neutral generalisable findings (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2006).

Feminist standpoint theories are based on the belief that:

- those in domination (i.e. men in a patriarchal society) produce generally less valid, more distorted knowledge that excludes women's perspectives or involves counter-interpretations (Fraser, 1989; Harding, 2004; Hartsock, 2004; Smith, 1997)
- women, through their personal experiences, are best placed to understand the world of other women and to report on their emotions, interpretations and subjectivities as a tool for building knowledge and understanding (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2006). Harding (2004) shows this to be a 'faulty inference' (p. 11).

Hartsock, developing her arguments from Marxist theory, says the discourse of the ruling class is ideological but the oppressed do not share this discourse, being taken up with the concrete reality of their lives, and need to be educated through feminist analysis (Hartsock, 2004; Hekman, 1997). More recently the theory has been adapted: because of the variety of women and types of power (with the intersection of gender with class, race, ethnicity and so forth) there are now considered to be many standpoints or subjectivities. As Hartsock (2004) argues, these differences are significant theoretically and practically but we choose women's gendered lives as the starting point for and focus of any inquiry, to provide some form of relativism.

Standpoints and constructivist feminism, once in opposition, have become more and more entwined (Flax, 1990; Hekman, 1997). Multiple standpoints feminism differs from constructivist feminism because the latter avoid relativism and privileging one account over any other although they adhere to feminist values by, for example, choosing to do research on social phenomena that women want or need examined (Allen & Baber, 2006; Harding, 2004). Constructivist feminist research acknowledges that partner abuse is discursively constructed as problematic (Featherstone & Trinder, 1997). Affording primacy to the voice of the person with less power ensures that the situations, the discourses, are critically examined so that problems can be resolved. Constructivist feminists moreover consider there to be a range of femininities and masculinities, but with men remaining dominant over women because of a complex mesh of situational discourses and practices that can be changed (see for example Holloway, 1989).

Usually feminists adjust existing qualitative or quantitative research methods to ensure they meet feminist principles (Hammersley, 1992; Oakley, 1998). For example they are typically concerned with female research participants' vulnerabilities, which are considerable in a study of partner abuse. The model adopted for my study is based on work by Olesen (2005) and in relation to partner abuse specifically by Sullivan and Cain (2004), Wolf (1996), and the World Health Organisation (2001).

Kushner and Morrow (2003) argue that the feminist approach may pull together grounded theory as a methodology and symbolic interactionism as an 'incompletely elaborated discipline' to generate meaningful knowledge. They remark that: "the two traditions [GT/SI and feminism] are congruent with each other, although not without epistemological, methodological and normative tensions" (p. 31), such as:

- SI downplays power relations that privilege one account over another - feminist research by contrast is based on the premise that women are disempowered.
- SI as a rule has not been concerned with emotions and emotion work, the irrational and the unconscious – feminists aim to be sensitive to these. Feminism is 'engaged' rather than 'value neutral' research (Eichler, 1997).
- SI fails to reconnect microsocial face to face accounts with broader structural contexts – feminists aim to make the connections to promote social action and gain equality for women.
- SI fails to consider class, gender, ethnicity and other similar factors in the analysis – gender is a critical factor in all feminist research and the intersection of the different factors is the primary focus for intersectional feminists in particular.

However, it is important to distinguish between tendencies in individual research projects and intrinsic weaknesses of grounded theory and symbolic interactionism. There is no reason why any of these issues cannot be considered as themes or dimensions of theory and concepts in a symbolic interactionist grounded theory approach that can be adopted for feminist research. When this is achieved, Keddy and colleagues suggest that GT findings carry more weight than thematic description in arguing the case for women (Keddy, Sims, & Noerager-Stern, 1996), as the *raison d'être* of feminist research.

PART 2: METHOD

In this part of the chapter, I describe the way the study was carried out, including the sampling method and criteria used to select women for the study, the recruitment process, how the interviews were conducted and recorded, and the analysis.

2.3 Sampling

2.3.1 Ethnicities

The aim was to recruit women from three broad ethnic groups. These were chosen so as to provide sample diversity in terms of social context and culture and therefore potentially to test developing theory. They were not intended to provide a sample that was ‘representative’ of these three ethnic groups (see section 8.14.7). I chose white British, Caribbean and African women for pragmatic reasons – they were the dominant groups in Hackney where most of the recruitment took place. Since my literature review had revealed that Caribbean and African women tend to be overlooked in UK studies of partner abuse, this also gave my study added value.

2.3.2 Sampling recruitment sites

Recruitment sites within Hackney were chosen purposively, by considering ward gender and ethnicity statistics from UK Census 2001 data (Office for National Statistics, 2005)⁶ and selecting those health centres and practices and community organisations that were most likely to be visited by black minority ethnic women. The assumption, based on McLean and Campbell (2003), was that these would be hardest to recruit. Several spatially separate recruitment sites were chosen, which had the potential to increase the diversity of the populations sampled, and therefore the richness of the final data and its validity.

⁶ This was a rough guide due to the ecological fallacy (Hull, Rivas, & Robson, 2009)

All seven of the health centres and practices approached eventually agreed to be involved and all made special arrangements for the study. Three of the seven community sites approached (one college, one library, and one community health group) put up posters about the study, but these did not generate any enquiries from potential participants. Recruitment took place at only two of the seven community sites, a Sure Start⁷ group and its associated nursery. In addition, two Caribbean women were recruited from a London-wide community event for black women where I had a stand about the study, and four women (one Caribbean, one African and two white British) through snowballing. Four women responded to two adverts in London newspapers. Three were British-born Caribbeans, who subsequently changed their minds. The fourth, white British, was successfully interviewed for the study. In each case I made sure the women fully understood the study before taking consent, and also established that it would be safe for the women to take part. Full recruitment details are given in Appendix A.

2.3.3 Sample size

The goal was to recruit 20-30 women in the ratio of 2:1:1 white

British:Caribbean:African. This was based on several considerations:

- In grounded theory, sample size is ideally meant to be determined objectively through **saturation of theory or themes** – i.e. data are collected until there are no obvious gaps in the theory or until they cease to yield new information or reveal new concepts or categories. Accordingly, I stopped data collection when no more major themes emerged.
- Charmaz (2004) says that, regardless of whether saturation of themes is considered, a study will be reliable if **the sample size is ‘sufficient’** – quantified by Creswell (1998) amongst others as 20-30 for a qualitative interview-based study. The sample size fell within Creswell’s range at saturation of themes.
- The sampling frame for the study was purposive. The aim was to ensure that women were included who represented all the key features of the research question (indicated by the study inclusion criteria) but who also showed diversity within these parameters

⁷ Sure Start is a UK Government initiative launched in 1998. The scheme was begun in disadvantaged areas, and initially intended only for children aged up to four years old, but its remit has since expanded to older children. It aims to develop childcare, early education and child and family health and to support families. The Hackney Sure Start group that collaborated in the study gave me access to their full range of activity groups.

so they could be explored in more depth. In this way, alternative viewpoints could be considered, enhancing the study's validity. Primarily, the women were categorised by ethnic group, since the decision had been made to look for differences and similarities between and across ethnic groups. I stopped actively recruiting white British women once ten had agreed to take part, prepared to resume their recruitment if needed for saturation of themes. The final make-up by ethnicity was almost 2:1:1 being 11:5:4.

2.4 General issues

Given that the women were in abusive relationships, a great deal of thought went into the study design to ensure their safety and wellbeing and also my own. Strict confidentiality was maintained and pseudonyms used throughout. All contacts that I made with the women (at recruitment and after) followed a comprehensive safety protocol intended for example to keep the study aims and my identity and professional status from their partners and to ensure they never felt coerced into taking part. The women dictated the timing and location of the interviews but I also cautioned them that we needed privacy and that they should not leave the study information sheets for their partners to see. I also provided them with a list of support services at each contact, mixed in with more generic community service details to avoid alerting their partners. My interview style was sensitive, affirming and non-judgmental and aimed to empower the women, and I was alert to signs of distress. Further details of all these and other aspects of moral, ethical and safety concerns are given in the remainder of this section.

2.4.1 Formal ethics procedures

The study was approved by the North East Thames Local Research Ethics Committee, and by the Hackney Primary Care Trust Research and Development Department, since most recruitment was from primary care practices. All women who were interviewed and all women who were screened for eligibility using a self-complete questionnaire provided signed informed consent for their part in the study. Transcriptions of interviews were verbatim but all details that might compromise confidentiality were removed and the women were given pseudonyms.

The sensitive nature of the research was acknowledged in the ethics application and approval process. The aim throughout was to prioritise the safety and vulnerability of the women and also the research team. Having myself suffered from partner abuse, I was especially sensitive to such issues. These were addressed through the development of protocols and by training me, as the single researcher in the field, in accordance with university guidelines (Queen Mary Research Board, 2003). The recruitment process for the study was developed from the method used in another study, PreDove (see Feder, Foster, Eldridge, Ramsay, & Spencer, 2005), and on receiving approval for my project I worked with researchers on PreDove as part of my training. In addition I attended several courses in qualitative method. Safety guidelines were developed from the PreDove study and from Dutton, Holtzworth-Munroe, Jouriles, McDonald, Krishnan, McFarlane, and Sullivan (2003). I had intended to call this a study of distressed women in relationships in conflict. The ethics committee was concerned that if I did not use the label 'domestic violence' on the information sheets and in person, I would be deceiving the women, and in that case my study would not be approved. However, my own view is that women who recognised they were abused would not be deceived by my terminology. Worse, women who did not believe or at least publicly acknowledge they were abused might be troubled to think they should receive the abuse label, and would be happier with the concept of 'distress'. I therefore said in my information sheet that this was a study of domestic violence.⁸ But when I talked to the women, if they showed discomfort at this, or said they were not suitable for the study when they clearly were, I reassured them that I was not looking for the worst cases such as described in the media, but rather for relationships in conflict that could prove illuminating about domestic violence. In this way I avoided labelling any woman. It transpired that my approach was safer for the women too. Despite my advice, most told their partners they were involved in a research project on relationships. With my approach they did not have to say they were taking part because they were abused.

⁸ I used the term 'domestic violence' when recruiting women, because this term is better known than partner abuse.

2.4.2 Power balance

Semi-structured interviews were used. One theoretical benefit of these is that they are more likely to allow the woman to direct the flow of the interview, so she does not feel subordinate to the interviewer (although they were developed as a research tool rather to get at richer data that represents the women's viewpoints in a fairly systematic way). Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that while the balance of power may be more fluid than in other types of interview and the interviewee is treated as an expert, ultimately the interviewer remains in charge. I posed the questions and used probes and hence controlled the interview's 'referential content' (Briggs, 1996), and could even alter its direction if there was too much deviation from the topics of interest or focus.

A pragmatic approach is to accept there is always a power imbalance in favour of the interviewer and then to try to minimise this. One way this was attempted in the current study was to ask the women to choose the setting for the interview. This was mostly in their homes.

2.4.3 Signed consent and imposed obligations

Briggs (2002) explains how the interviewer-interviewee discourse is shaped by the act of the interviewee signing a consent form to meet legal and ethical obligations. In this form and its accompanying information sheet are statements describing the purpose of the study and the use to which the data will be put. These statements, the study design and the seeking of informed consent set up the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee and shape their expectations, agendas and targets and imposed obligations. For example, the women often indicated they wanted to make a difference for other abused women. Some women also or instead wanted to help me get my doctorate – a phenomenon that Thorogood (1989) also described as empowering to the Caribbean women she interviewed. For my part, I expected the women to talk openly with me when sharing their experiences, to provide rich data for

the study without their feeling exploited or misused. The women knew this, as evident by some interviewees saying such things as “Is that the sort of thing you want?” or “I’m bit unsure if I’ll say the right things.”

Given the existence of reciprocal obligations, women may have felt they had to take part simply because they had been asked. In practice, since I gave the women thinking time, this did not seem to have occurred. Women were given £15 in vouchers for each interview to compensate them for their time and expenses. To avoid any coercive effect from this I only told the women once they met me to do the actual interview. The women were pleasantly surprised, and some said they did not need it, and were not taking part for any other reason than to further my research or help in my education. One woman had even taken a taxi to the interview to avoid being late, at a cost of £15, and had not expected to be compensated for this or in any way.

2.4.4 Avoiding research abuse

Women who took part in the study reflected on their social interactions within their intimate relationship and outside it. This might subsequently affect their behaviours in their social interactions and their responses in subsequent interviews, particularly when the woman was not previously aware she was abused. Oakley (1981) commented that “what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees” (p. 40).

Johnson and Benight (2003) considered how the research experience had affected 55 women who had recently experienced abuse and who had taken part in a survey on the topic of abuse and trauma. In all, 45% said they had gained from their participation, 25% (typically those who were experiencing the most trauma in their personal lives) said it had upset them more than anticipated, and 6% that they regretted participating. I had intended asking the women about their participation in my own study in a third set of interviews, which I was not able to complete.

Gerard (1995) coined the term research abuse to describe:

the practice of researchers parachuting into people's lives, interfering, raising painful old feelings, and then vanishing – leaving the participants to deal with unresolved feelings alone and isolated (p. 59).

I was sensitive to this issue in my interactions with the women, offered each one a contact list at each meeting (see section 2.5.1) and made sure they had recourse to support if needed. Some women saw me as having a counselling or therapist's role or as able to give advice. It was easy for me to reject this role, because I had no clinical training.

All the women who could be contacted approximately six months after the first interview were invited for a second interview. The recruitment protocol was adhered to for this.

2.5 Rigour and quality

The study design was informed by recognised quality guidelines, and in particular Seale's 2000 book on quality in research and, as it proceeded, the criteria adopted by the Medical Sociology Group of the British Sociological Association (1996). The aim was for procedural and analytic rigour. Particular attention was paid to two criteria, validity and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seale, 2000).

2.5.1 Validity

In quantitative research, external validity refers to the accuracy of generalising findings to other populations or settings; since the approach assumes there is only one reality out there, generalisability is its ultimate goal. This is achieved by maximising representativeness, smoothing out any differences between groups and individuals through the use of random sampling of as large a number of people or groups as possible, and making subgroups as homogenous as possible in the variables predicted to affect results. I have instead aimed for diversity in my sample of 20 and my

findings are not statistically generalisable, although the theory generated may apply to other situations.

With a constructivist qualitative approach, validity refers to the credibility of the evidence and arguments in explaining a complex social situation, allowing for the presence of multiple realities and multiple viewpoints. A valid, credible, interpretation is one that is possible and that resonates with the lived experiences of similar others in equivalent situations. The more an interpretation is tested in this way, the greater its ultimate validity and therefore its authority. Use of a grounded theory framework as in this thesis, with constant comparison to check for fit and match of the interpretation to the data, enhances potential validity since the theory is grounded in the data.

Lincoln and Guba developed the idea of naturalistic generalisation, whereby practitioners may take research findings and use experience and, common sense to make informed judgements about the transferability to their setting. As Patton (2002) says “Extrapolations are logical, thoughtful and problem-oriented rather than statistical or probabilistic” (p. 584) as they would be in quantitative research. Seale (2002) suggests it is more pragmatic to consider that “Theories generated from single cases should always be seen as fallible propositions that might be modified in the light of further experience” (p. 112) or changes in context.

Whether or not qualitative findings can be judged by the reader as credible and transferable depends partly on the richness of the information gathered. It also depends on whether the researchers have shown they have considered alternative plausible explanations for their data in a systematic manner, avoiding researcher bias towards one opinion or the other, and have been sensitive to the ways in which the data have been shaped by their presence (Patton, 1990).

This requirement was largely dealt with in the current study through input from an advisory group set up in September 2005. This group had oversight of the data

collection and thematic analysis part of the study and discussed data interpretations with the study steering group at a number of meetings. The group was convened at milestones in the thematic analysis, and for the last time in March 2007. It comprised representatives from a domestic violence agency, primary care, social services, maternity services, local government, and also external academics with an interest in social research and partner abuse. The smaller steering group managed the study over the same period, comprising myself and my two supervisors (GF and MK). GF is a general practitioner and a professor of primary care and most recently a government advisor on partner abuse, and MK is a trained psychiatric nurse who now works as a sociology lecturer. I have personal experience of partner abuse and have been involved in partner abuse research since 2003. Prior to that I was an epidemiologist and health economist focusing on depression, suicide and antidepressant use. I also have an MSc in cognitive neuropsychology and practical experience of research in this field. Each of us has a different and rich ethnic and cultural background. Therefore we each brought different perspectives to the study and the data analysis, helping to enhance the quality of the study.

2.5.2 Reliability

Lincoln and Guba say reliability is equivalent to dependability and relates to the trustworthiness of the method. This was enhanced in the current study by using grounded theory, which involves a systematic approach to inductive data collection and analysis. The selection of data for final dissemination was also undertaken systematically and inclusively, enhancing internal reliability of the study.

Reliability may be better judged when there is transparency in the research design and analysis. Transparency is said to exist when the researcher is explicit about exactly what has been done, so others can evaluate this (Brown & Lloyd, 2007; Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbatch, Parker, & Watson, 1998). Accordingly, I kept an audit trail to show how, why and what decisions were made at each stage. This was enhanced by

the process of memo writing and the minutes that were made of meetings with the advisory and steering groups.

A research report should be explicit about potential biases and provide verbatim examples of the data, as in this thesis, to illustrate the analytical interpretations. This helps others see that the researcher has not substituted their own beliefs and representations, supporting the reliability and validity of the study, while the reader may judge for themselves how well the interviewee has been represented.

2.6 Recruiting women to the study

2.6.1 Stage 1 of recruitment

Recruitment was a two stage process. In stage one, women were approached in the practice waiting room, or the activity area if this was a community recruitment site, if they were alone and might potentially belong to any of the three ethnic groups of interest, that is white British, Caribbean or African, or were mixed race from among these groups. The aim was to approach every eligible woman seen, which was usually achieved, excepting women who were called for their appointments very soon after arrival.

Approached women were told this was a university research project and shown my official badge. They were invited to go to a private room to take part in a woman's health survey. Some practices also put up a poster saying a researcher might approach women about a woman's health survey, further ratifying the study to them.

There were some differences in the recruitment process depending on the site. At the community sites, women had young children with them, who were looked after by the site helpers while their mothers were screened. At the practices, women with toddlers or older children were not approached, as there were no helpers who could look after the children, and they could not attend with the mother as they would overhear what was being said.

The protocol was designed to prevent women from missing any appointments. Before the women went to the private room at the primary care practices, their details were given to the receptionist (or in two cases, the practices allowed me limited access to their computer appointments systems). This was to check when they were due to be seen and therefore whether there was time for them to be screened. It also meant the doctors knew where a woman was and could choose to come into the room and get the woman, if her appointment time came, or to see her as soon as she was free, once she had left the room. This process did not raise any issues around confidentiality, since the women were simply patients in the waiting area and there was nothing to indicate from their involvement at this stage whether or not they were abused.

Within the private room, signed informed consent was sought for the recruitment questionnaire. Only one woman refused this. Women were told their participation would not affect their medical care and that full confidentiality would be maintained, so that not even their doctors would know what they had said within the private room. There was one caveat: women were told that when children were at risk someone else would need to be informed (e.g. social services) as a legal requirement - in the event this never occurred - but that the woman would be told first and her involvement in the process encouraged.

Once consent was gained, women self-completed demographic questions on a form. This form asked women to select (self-report) their ethnic group from a list derived from that used by the ONS, except that I also added Black British specifically. At the time the ONS used Other Black to include Black British but this has since been revised.

Women also self-completed an abuse questionnaire. Initially this was the Composite Abuse Scale (CAS) (see Hegarty *et al.*, 2005; Hegarty *et al.*, 1999; Appendix B) chosen because it has been used in other partner abuse studies and so might be recognisable to healthcare professionals. But it quickly became clear this was not always picking up all eligible women, as ascertained during conversations that were

started with all women to get further clues as to their eligibility. Although the CAS includes questions on psychological abuse, it is not designed specifically for this, but to capture the full range of abusive behaviours, including physical and sexual. I needed something particularly sensitive to psychological abuse given that I wanted to recruit women who might not label themselves as abused or acknowledge that they were abused. Therefore, after one month the CAS was exchanged for Tolman's Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI) (see Tolman, 1999; Tolman, 1989; Appendix C). This focussed on psychological abuse specifically and moreover is designed to distinguish domination/isolation tactics (probed for with 23 items) from emotional/verbal types of abuse (21 items). Although these instruments are both well validated for use in measuring partner abuse, the populations in which they had been tested (mainly Australian for the CAS and American for the PMWI) were different to the ones represented by the women in the study. The eligibility of women recruited by advert or snowballing or from other community groups was determined from conversation, and only some of these women were asked to fill in the CAS or PMWI.

The criterion used for a positive score of abuse with either questionnaire was two or more positive responses. This low abuse threshold was used to capture women subject to less established or less severe abuse, and women who were in denial about the abuse.

Burge (1998) says:

To a person on the inside of a violent relationship, defining abuse is extremely difficult. The relationship itself creates a context that blurs the distinctions between harmful and harmless. The first hit—a singular, unique and surprising act—is rarely considered abuse. Aggressive acts that follow are judged against time together that also includes loving acts. Violence is minimized, justified, or reframed to protect the positive aspects of the relationship. (...) women who identified themselves as abused were more likely to believe that using insults and spiteful words were abusive acts. Their perspective on the entire pattern of violence in relationships may be unknown to (...) women who are in earlier stages of abusive relationships but who have not yet self-identified as victims (...) Of all forms of abuse, emotional abuse is an especially gray area. How does one identify it?" (p. 4).

To include women in this gray area who might not realise or acknowledge their abuse, I used the concept of ‘relationship distress’ or conflict as well as abuse during the recruitment stage.

All women who completed the questionnaire - whether or not they disclosed abuse - were given information about where to seek support if they were experiencing domestic violence, with a resources list and a caution not to let any partner see this. For added safety, domestic violence resources in this list were mixed in with a number of general and community resources in case a man did get hold of it.

2.6.2 Stage 2 of recruitment

Women were invited for interview (stage 2 of recruitment) if they scored positive for psychological abuse or psychological and physical abuse in the last 12 months on one of the instruments used, or declared or indicated recent such abuse in conversation, and confirmed they were of white British, black Caribbean or black African origin (this included mixed-race women with parents from any two of these three groups and also black British women).

Women had to still be within the abusive relationship, but this included recent separation. Only women who had experienced partner abuse within the last 12 months were included, in order to understand perceptions of *current* abuse. A period of 12 months is considered standard for this, as it captures women who are drifting in and out of the relationship or those who have ended it but are still being abused (Campbell *et al.*, 1998; Kirkwood, 1993) (although this should not always be assumed [Hague, 2005; Mullender and Hague, 2005; Wuest & Merritt-Gray, 2008]). It is estimated that 65% to 75% of women murdered by abusive partners are killed while leaving or after already leaving the relationship (Florida Governor's Task Force on Domestic and Sexual Violence, 1997; Wilson & Daly, 1993).

Women who said their last experience of abuse was more than 12 months ago were recruited, if what they said about their current situation suggested they were in fact

currently abused (given that I wished to recruit women who did not acknowledge they were abused). This was confirmed in all but one case at interview (case not included in the sample size count or analysis). Full inclusion and exclusion criteria for both the recruitment stages are given in Table 3. The data from all the recruited women were checked by the study steering group to confirm the women were suffering from some degree of current partner abuse, according to the definition on p. 17.

Separate signed informed consent was sought for stage 2. Women were asked for a range of telephone numbers so an interview appointment could be arranged after a cooling off period of at least two days intended to allow women to reconsider their participation away from the interviewer. Participants were contacted by telephone between two days and two weeks after recruitment to arrange an appointment for the interview. The majority of the women only gave either one or both mobile phone number and their own land-line number at recruitment to stage 2. Dutton and colleagues (2003) asked for the numbers of friends and family too, considering this important to maximise retention in the study. Several of the women stated they did not wish family members to be contacted or run the risk of them finding out about the abuse. All the women were assured no confidential information would be disclosed to friends or relatives, or to their GP or other healthcare staff, and the safety procedure for phone contact was explained. Specifically, at each phone contact I began by introducing myself as “Carol who you met at the [place we met]” and then asking if it was okay to talk. If not, I said I would phone some other time. I would leave an interval of a few days before doing so. I would not try more than three times.

FEATURE	INCLUDED	EXCLUDED
STAGE 1 (CHECKING FOR ELIGIBILITY)		
Ethnicity	Likely to be Caribbean, African, mixed race including Caribbean or African, white British	Any other ethnicity
Accompanied or alone at the recruitment site?	At practices: Alone or accompanied by babies who were in pushchairs At community sites: Alone or accompanied by a child who could be looked after by a site worker	Accompanied by anyone else including babes in arms rather than pushchairs
Health	Any woman who was well enough to be screened (women in obvious distress were not approached)	Any woman who was not well enough to be screened (women who were in obvious distress and were not approached, or who were too ill to come to the private room or to complete the abuse questionnaire once in the private room)
Language	Fluent in English	Not fluent in or unable to speak English
Informed consent	Given	Not given
Age	16 years or over	Under 16 years
STAGE 2 (INTERVIEWS): ALL OF THE ABOVE, AND		
Abused or not	Two or more positive responses to items from either of the two abuse questionnaires used, determined from conversation or as questionnaire scores; one item at least had to indicate psychological abuse	Any other women
Currency of abuse	In the last 12 months	Any other woman (but see text)
Relationship status	Still involved with the abusive man (could be separated or divorced) / has a current partner	Any other woman
Ethnicity	Confirmed as Caribbean, African, mixed race including Caribbean or African, white British	Any other ethnicity

Table 3: Summary of the participant inclusion and exclusion criteria

In accordance with feminist principles, the women dictated the setting and timing for the interview and in most cases this was in their homes. Two women refused to give any contact details at the time of recruitment but made appointments at that time for a later date. Both women kept the appointments and completed their first interviews, which took place in a private room at the practice at which they had been recruited. At the end of the first interview, all women were reminded that further interviews would take place over the next year and asked if this was still okay. All women agreed; the two women who refused to give their details promised to phone after four months to arrange the second interview. Neither did so.

The first interviews took longer to complete than originally anticipated. Several women booked, cancelled and re-booked appointments two or three times. This delayed their own interviews, and it also represented an opportunity cost as it prevented interviews with other women. When any woman cancelled twice, she was invited to pull out of the study. This was to avoid further time-wasting and to ensure that women did not feel pressured to continue, which would be unethical. In the event, it transpired that most re-bookings occurred because the women were attaching a low priority to the study, and if anything else came up, they would do that instead. It has to be remembered that many of these women were not in any sort of crisis situation and were not suffering from physical abuse or even from severe psychological abuse.

Retention in longitudinal studies involving partner abuse is a challenge (Dutton *et al.*, 2003). To encourage retention for the second interviews, following the first interview the women were periodically contacted by phone call, and by cards (such as at Easter, Christmas, birthdays). I also attended local community groups such as Sure Start playgroups to sustain contacts.

Approximately 4-6 months after their first interview, each woman was contacted again to make an appointment for a second interview. The appointments were made and subsequent interviews undertaken in exactly the same way as the initial appointments and interviews, with full safety procedures maintained.

2.6.3 Matching of the researcher and participant

Researchers in the field disagree as to the importance of ethnic (Edge, 2003; Elliott, 1997; McLean & Campbell, 2003) and gendered (Edwards, 1990; Oakley, 1981; Reinhartz, 2001) matching of researcher and participant with regard to participant recruitment and data collection and analysis and the richness of the data (Scott, 1998b). As this was a cross-cultural study with one researcher in the field, matching for ethnicity was not possible. As I am a woman, gender matching occurred.

Wolf (1996, p. 10) argues that “Sharing a common racial/ethnic background will be binding in some circumstances and irrelevant in others” depending on the axes of power and difference that are current and the location of the researcher and participant on these axes. This might explain my relative or at least equivalent success in recruiting the women, compared to other researchers who were careful to match interviewer-interviewee gender and ethnicities (Edge, 2003; Elliott, 1997; McLean & Campbell, 2003). Wolf cites for example Stack (1996) for this, as a white woman who did research on urban African Americans in the 1960s and African Americans in the American South in the 1980s and found many differences in her experiences of the two.

Ethnicity, class, age, gender and so on are only part of the way that people define identities. Even when gender and ethnicity are matched, other important differences may remain, some of which may be more significant, depending on context and on the individuals concerned. As a result, Jorgenson (1991) says “the person to whom a research subject speaks is not the person an interviewer thinks herself to be” (p. 211), complicating attempts to match the two. The most productive interactions may be those in which there is a connectivity in the co-collaborators’ social and biographical lives rather than a perfect commonality of experience. The researcher should always be alert to biases that may affect interpretations of the data, not just those that relate to gender or ethnicity. For these reasons I believe empathy is more important than matching for variables and I disagree with critics of feminist research who say gender-

based research such as mine reifies gender dualism and perpetuates stereotypes (see Stokoe & Weatherall, 2002).

2.7 Doing the interviews

The plan was to undertake a longitudinal study with women interviewed three times, because women's experiences may change over time, and also three interviews should increase the richness of the data overall. But because the recruitment and first interviews took longer to complete than anticipated, it was decided to limit the study to two interviews, which were recorded using a digital audiorecorder.

Patton's (1990) definition of semi-structured interviews was used, in which an open-ended approach is combined with the use of topic guides, meaning a large element of flexibility was built into the interviews. The interviews remained fairly conversational, encouraging flow and enabling me to fine tune the language and orientation of the interview (Fielding, 1996) to the individual woman. This sits with the way grounded theory develops themes inductively with its emphasis on emergent data that represents the participants' own worlds and ways of seeing and understanding these. Topics were not considered in any particular order. Questions and lines of inquiry were dropped as needed, for example if they seemed likely to distress the woman, on the basis of what she had already said, or if the answer had already been provided without the question itself being posed. This is particularly important when the topic is something as sensitive and personal as partner abuse.

In keeping with the flexible nature of the interview itself, the topic guide was modified over time to explore new areas that initial interviews had highlighted, or to exclude questions or topics that had proved unproductive (Lofland & Lofland, 1984). Again this was consistent with the iterative inductive grounded theory approach and meant that overall there was no set format to the interviews, the focus of which was changeable. At the same time, the small amount of structuring enabled the systematic consideration of themes in accordance with the iterative approach. It meant the same

ground could be covered with each woman, while allowing individual stories and differences and rich data to emerge. The use of interview guides and associated probes is consistent with a constructivist approach to grounded theory which allows for the existence of prior knowledge that can be used to develop the research (Charmaz, 2005). A possible disadvantage is that the focus on pre-determined topics could prevent other important topics from being considered, despite the use where possible of open-ended questions, if only because of time constraints. This could in turn constrain and bias the data analysis. Also because of time constraints, since the design encourages the interviewee to have overall control of the interview and the direction it takes, not all women will cover all areas to the same depth, or at all, despite the use of probes.

The first question of the initial and follow-up interviews asked each woman what had been happening recently in her life, so she could describe those things that had particular significance to her. This directly followed on from preamble to relax the woman and which was not taped. Topics in the topic guides included the women's role within the abusive relationship, their actions and experiences in responding to the abuse, including coping, help-seeking or telling people, or barriers to seeking help or leaving. Social and cultural settings and influences were explored, and also the women's perceptions of and wants and needs from healthcare (e.g. "what could change the situation"). In the second interviews, gaps in emerging theory were explored and the emergent themes revisited. Thus the women's experiences and perceptions within a dynamic situation were documented over time.

2.8 Handling the data

2.8.1 Data analysis

Analysis of completed interviews continued in parallel with further data gathering, in line with the Glaser and Strauss (1967) version of grounded theory. Interview data were analysed as transcribed texts. MaxQDA (2007 (Marburg, Germany: Verbi

Software. <http://www.maxqda.com>), a qualitative data software package, was used to assist in the development of themes, as it enables chunks of data, as sentences or paragraphs, to be grouped together, facilitating the discovery of relationships among the data. Example coding lists may be viewed in Appendix D and E. When data were extracted from MaxQDA, for example in printouts for analysis or when compiling reports, they always had associated with them the woman's ethnicity (W for white British, C for Caribbean, A for African), interview number, the woman's name, and the paragraph number, which acted as an audit trail and facilitated revisits to the transcripts.

The analytical process is detailed in Fig 5 and Appendix G. Although this is a step by step description, in practice the analysis is non-linear and even circular, with steps revisited as codes and themes are modified. As Keddy and colleagues (1996, p. 450) say: "Doing grounded theory, rather than a tidy process, is as messy as preparing a gourmet meal, where all the parts need to come together at the end."

There were many potential directions for analysis at different stages. This led me to make shifting decisions throughout the analysis. Other analysts would be likely to make many different decisions given that the final interpretations in a qualitative study are not separate from those who make them; they "are not part of some 'objective' world that exists apart from their constructors" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 143). For example, I considered data concerning all abusive partners the women had; I found no differences when comparing data on current and past partners. Broadly speaking, my choices moved me from a general exploratory analysis using the coding framework to more abstract and focussed conceptualisations representing ideas, assumptions and conceptualizations that went beyond the data themselves, as codes were transformed into categories and my theoretical sensitivity to the data developed. Research objectives also evolved over the course of the analysis, drawn from the data. For example, I began to focus much more on informal coping strategies than on professional support and help-seeking.

Conceptual coding is also called latent analysis and is an essential component of grounded theory. When analysis stops at the more literal so-called semantic labelling stage, as in open coding (Fig 5 and Appendix G), the data in a final report are typically organized by themes which are summarized, with examples, followed by an attempt to theorise their significance, and to consider their implications. My approach has been rather to develop and present concepts and theory using the data as illustration so that the validity of my interpretations can be evaluated.

The higher order concepts that I generated from the core categories and concept mapping were abstract interpretations of concrete instances from the data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) differentiate these concepts from the lower order concepts derived during open coding as follows:

...the analyst will notice that the concepts abstracted from the substantive situation will tend to be current labels in use for the actual processes and behaviours that are to be explained, while the concepts constructed by the analyst will tend to be the explanations (p. 107).

According to the constructivist approach I adopted for the study, to develop the higher order concepts I drew on the literature and my own knowledge and experiences but made sure I stayed grounded in the data, asking questions of the data as I proceeded.

The core concepts that emerged from the analysis were: the gendering of identity; accounting for the division of domestic labour; prioritising social and cultural expectations of intimate relationships; negotiating boundaries in the relationship. These concepts emerged from the first interviews and I began to write them up. I then analysed the second interviews separately analysed and compared relevant themes this analysis with the analysis of the first set of interviews, to see whether I needed to amend my emerging theory. This was not necessary and I used both sets of interviews to illustrate this thesis.

2.8.2 Writing up the findings

Writing was an important part of the analytic process. Throughout, I wrote and reordered draft collections of the data to explore the patterns and links and refine categories and themes. Once my theory had been sketched out it was refined in exactly the same way. Malinowski (1922) describes the process well:

Very often, a problem seemed settled, everything fixed and clear, till I began to write down a short preliminary sketch of my results. And only then, did I see the enormous deficiencies, which would show me where to lay new problems, and lead me to new work (p. 13).

As Richardson (2000) concludes:

Although we usually think about writing as a mode of 'telling' about the social world, writing is not just a mapping-up activity at the end of the research project. Writing is also a way of 'knowing' – a method of discovery and analysis. By writing in different ways, we discover new aspects of our topic, and our relationship to it. Form and content are inseparable (p. 923).

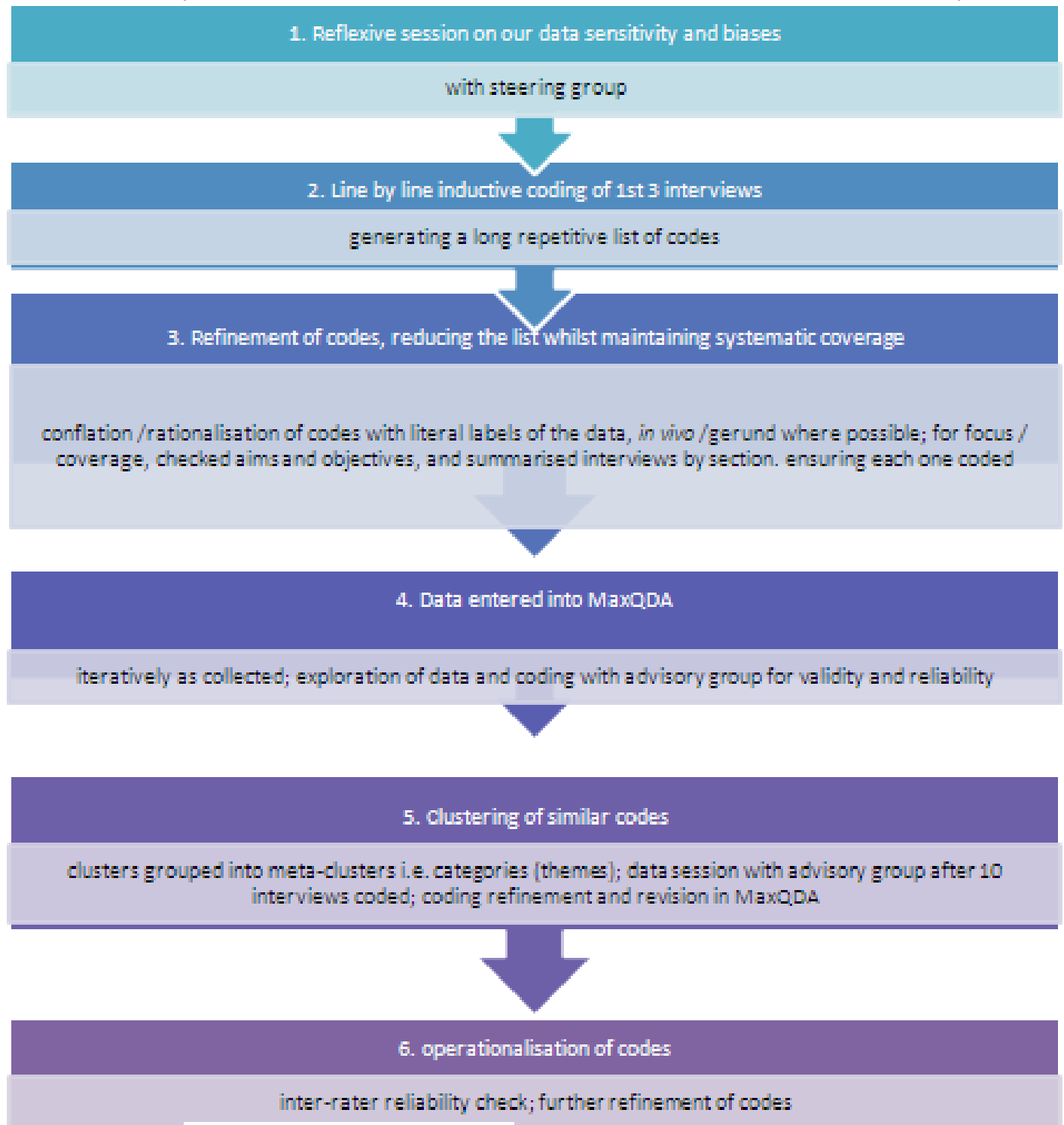
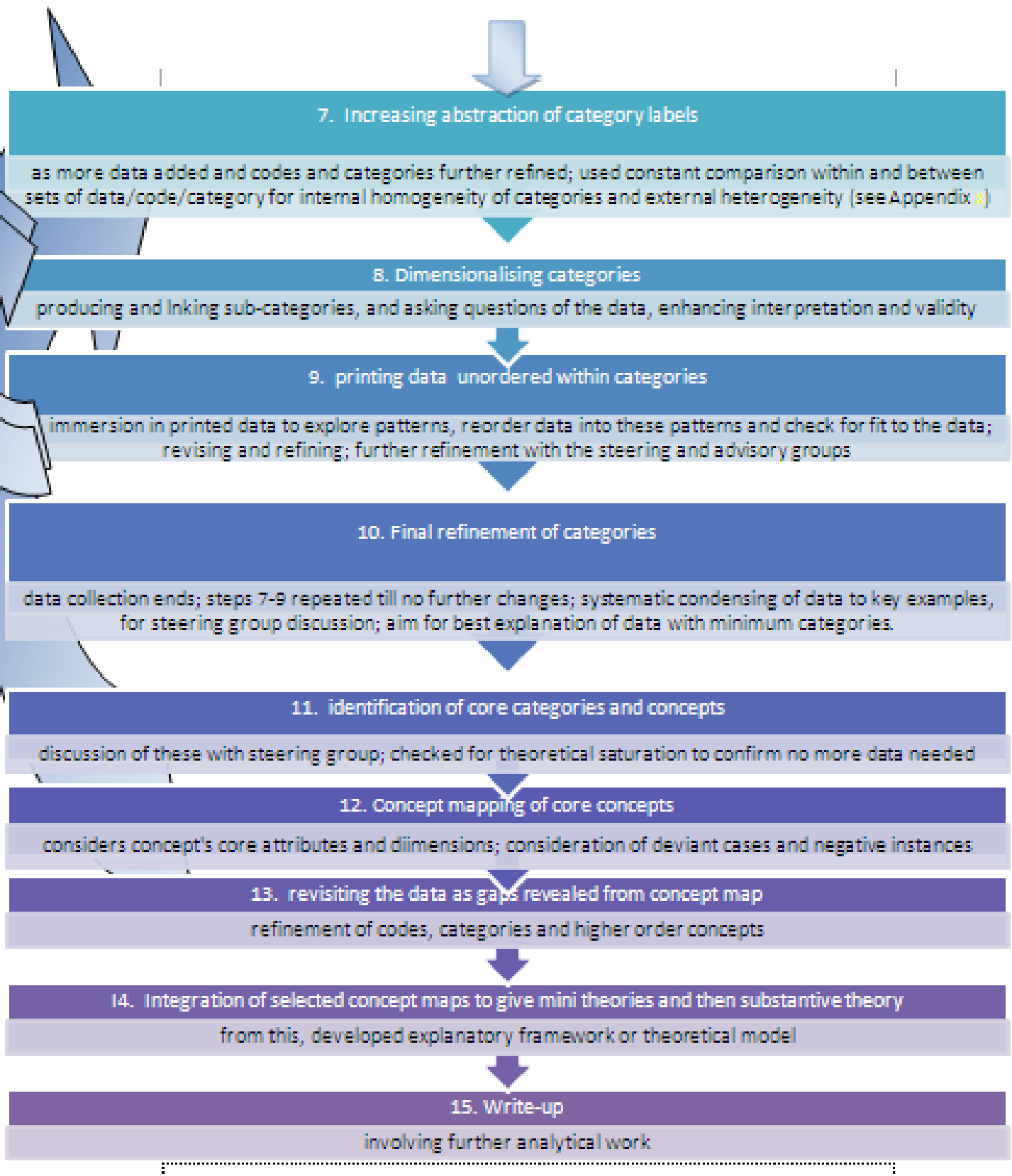


Figure 5: The research process.



2.9 Overview of the analysis and next steps

In this thesis I have used the data as a resource, analysing them using the grounded theory approach. As I did so I explored what Ryle called the thick description (Geertz, 1973) of what the women said. In other words I looked at the interpretations and significances that might be attached to what the women described and sought to explain these, moving beyond the overt 'said' of their accounts.

As illustration of the difference between literal and abstract (or semantic and latent) analysis, consider the following excerpt from Winona's first interview. In a literal analysis this might be used to show how the women shifted the focus in their lives from their relationship with their partner to something or someone else, usually their children, as a way of coping with the abuse.

His role is to sit down, watch the news, do nothing at all! (slight pause) And everything, no matter what I cooked, there was always a piece of criticism in it. That used to bring me down. And you know I'm sure he used to do it deliberately. My mum taught me to cook and I know I can cook good. I'm not into junk food. My son is eight and he's grown up on beautiful, home cooked food. 'Mum? Who taught you to cook so nice?' I said, 'My mummy. And I'm going to teach you, so that you never have to depend on a woman!' He goes, 'Mum, I can't wait!' (laughs) Yeah! Yeah, I've made him peel th-the occasional potato and I'm watching him like a hawk. He loves to do the washing up, but I do get all the knives out of the way first. There's only about two plates and a cup, but I'm just trying to get him into the ... Winona C1:94

However it may also be used as an example of the way the women present themselves as competent in their roles within a gendered society. This level of interpretation is used in the data chapters to develop the theoretical framework for the substantive theory, which is presented towards the end of the relevant chapter.

In developing interpretations such as these, I drew on different fields of knowledge to those I had anticipated and reviewed at the start of the study. This necessitated a further foray into the literature to develop an understanding of these fields and therefore develop my theories and concepts in ways that added to and built on and sometimes problematised other research. During this process I discarded some

avenues of inquiry and conceptualisations which added nothing to the existing body of knowledge, further refining my research questions.

By the end of this process I had formulated the following questions, that form the substance of Chapters 5 to 7 as subcategories of the main research question:

- How do women negotiate their intimate relationships to present themselves as socially competent?
- How is this affected by social and cultural expectations concerning intimate relationships?
- What does it mean for the women to 'do gender' in the relationship?

In answering these, I was led by the data to draw not only on symbolic interactionism but also dramaturgy as an overlapping tradition, and in particular Goffman's work on the presentation of self. I added to this from Smart's work on societal norms and divorce (see my analysis in Chapter 5). Where the analysis revealed and explored gendering in society, I drew on Cavanagh (whose work on abused women I have already considered briefly in Chapter 1) and on Hochschild's books *The Time that Binds* (1997) and *The Second Shift* (1989). This led me to explore the women's use of remedial work to repair impressions of social incompetence, something that both authors extended from Goffman's conceptualisations of this (see my analysis in Chapter 6). It is important to stress that at no time did I attempt to force the data to fit these theories but that these theories are the ones that 'spoke to me' once I had developed my concepts and working theory. Where the data do not fit the theory, the theory is revised to develop new lines of understanding. This process is to be expected in qualitative research (Kelly, 2010). The theories I drew on are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY UNDERPINNING THE ANALYSIS

In this chapter I set the scene for Chapters 4 to 7 which draw directly on my data. I begin with a brief consideration of what I mean by identity, which leads on to an overview of dramaturgy, and Goffman's contribution to the field. I then look at the way other authors have used and developed Goffman's ideas – principally Cavanagh and Hochschild on whom I have drawn considerably for my analysis, with a focus on the accomplishment of gender.

PART 1: GOFFMAN AND THE PRESENTATION OF SELF

3.1 What is identity?

This thesis is based on the premise that there are two overarching types of identity. The first is that which we believe captures the essence of ourselves, and which goes by the name of self identity or the authentic self (Elliot & Lemert, 2006). In this thesis I take the view that this form of identity is shaped by 'inward-facing' work in line with SI (see section 2.2.2.1), which is as follows:

- We process what others do, from personal contacts to celebrities to unknown others around us, and how social norms are enacted in different roles and situations (Elliot, 2001; Mead, 1934), ranging from those locally expressed to ideals represented in books and the media (see for example Table 1 on influence of the media).
- We compare this with what we do and what we believe, which gives us a sense of self.

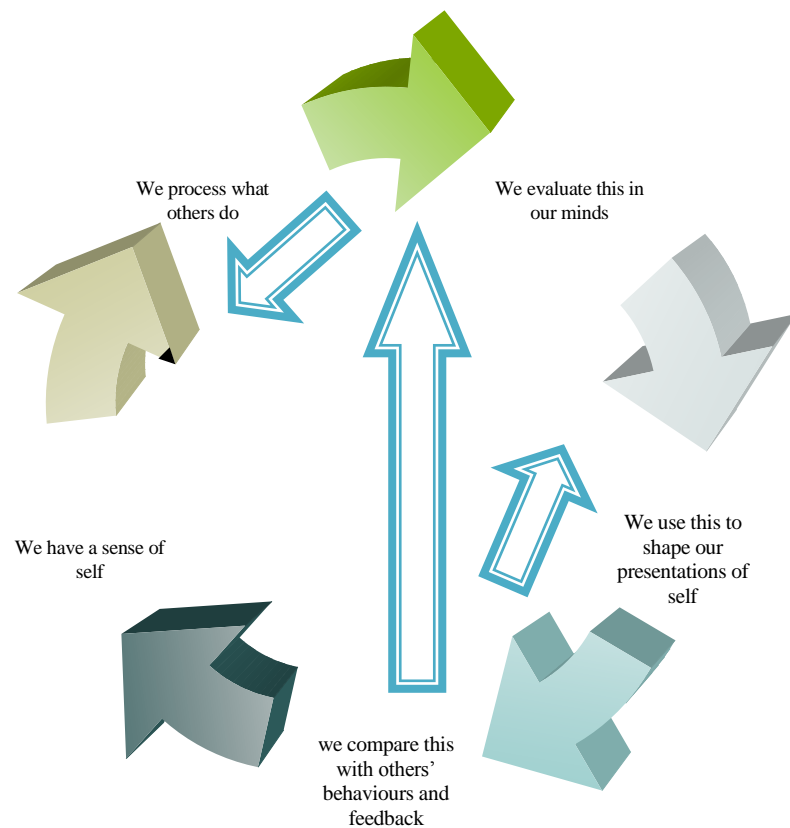
The second is the identity we present to others, made up of behaviours and actions and representations of self that others are aware of and our portrayal and negotiations of our own and others' attitudes and beliefs. This has been called presented, performed, enacted, societal or perceived identity. It may be considered as shaped by 'outward-

facing' identity work or the 'presentation of self' to others (Goffman, 1958), which goes thus:

1. We process what others do, as for inward-facing work
2. This helps us see how we need to present ourselves to others, which shapes our presented identities.
3. We use feedback from others in our interactions to amend our presentations of self.

Figure 6: Inward-facing and outward-facing identities.

The solid arrows show a simple cycle of identity work activity but this may be oversimplistic and other work such as that indicated by the hollow arrows may also occur.



This view emphasizes that both self and presented identities are socially constructed, rather than resulting from a static collection of attributes located within each person, are constantly readjusted as situational influences change (Burke, 1980) and are inextricably linked (Watson, 2009) (Fig 6). Our sense of self and our inward-facing work may be said to reflect society; Cooley (1902) called this the ‘looking glass’ self. Although this analogy is imperfect since our idea of self is a reflection of how we think others see us (Shrauger & Schoeneman, 1979), I exploit this in my analysis; I take the women’s constructions of their identity to reveal what is happening in their social interactions.

The degree of correspondence or divergence between our presented and self identities and between each of these and societal norms and ideals has been used by various authors to explain a range of behavioural, cognitive and emotional states and conditions, and will be considered often in this thesis. Psychosocial studies and SI attach greater significance to the difference between self and presented identities and dramaturgy places its emphasis on the relationship between presented identities and social norms and ideals. I consider both approaches throughout.

Our presented identities are determined by the where and when we are and why, as well as who or what with. It follows that different wheres, whens, whys, whos and whats lead to different presented identities. For example, James (1890 [1950]) pointed out that we could have multiple identities contemporaneously:

... a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize them and carry an image of him in their head... He generally shows a different side of himself to each of these different groups (p. 204).

This is a core tenet of the 20th century constructivist approach within sociology. In this thesis I therefore take the view that our identities, like our behaviours, are not unitary and fixed, but multiple, shifting and often contradictory, always in the process of being formed and reformed by our interactions with others and the context and

situation in which these interactions occur. This thesis examines what this process of formation and reformation looks like for the abused women I interviewed in relation to the abuse, and influences on this.

3.2 Dramaturgy

At the beginning of the 16th century, Erasmus of Rotterdam asked “what, after all, is human life if not a continuous performance in which all go about wearing different masks, in which everyone acts a part assigned to him until the stage director removes him from the boards?” (as cited in Evreinoff, 1990, p. 419). Over the last 100 years or so, a number of ethnographers and subsequently sociologists, ethnomethodologists, psychoanalysts and social psychologists have worked with these ideas to varying levels (see Courtney, 1989; Turner, 2006). Goffman’s writings are peppered with theatrical metaphors, used to produce what Geertz calls “an oddly mannered kind of interaction game—ping-pong in masks” (Geertz, 1980, p. 174). Goffman’s role in the development of the dramaturgical concept is significant - he has been called the “Godfather of dramaturgy” (Brissett & Edgley, 1990, p. 1) although he also used metaphors based on ritual and games. This and the accessible and detailed nature of his descriptions, and their relevance to my chosen approach, mean it is Goffman’s representation of dramaturgy that I draw on in this thesis and which provides the focus in this chapter. Goffman’s conceptualizations allow for fluidity in identity work and emphasize the importance of social context.

3.3 Goffman and the presentation of self

In Chapter 2 I described how, from the SI standpoint, humans as actors use thought, based on symbolic language, to continually adjust their behaviour to the actions of other actors (or objects) according to the meanings they attach to them, which may be varied. This provides the hook on which Goffman’s descriptions hang, and Goffman may be interpreted as using a situational approach to SI.

In Goffman's vision (1974, p. 129), people are actors who perform different roles on different metaphorical stages and to different audiences (that is, the person or people with whom the interaction occurs). Each combination of role and situational context (stage), audience and the audience's own understandings and feedback, results in a different performed identity. As any or all of these can change, so can our performed identity, our 'presentation of self'. The same actions may be viewed differently in different roles and contexts.

Goffman considered only face to face microscopic social interactions, that is interactions "in which two or more individuals are physically in one another's response presence" (Goffman, 1983, p. 2), but I read his idea of the audience loosely to include physical presence *de facto* through texts, e-mails and so forth. I also consider that behaviours may be modified by prior or anticipated microscopic social interactions with the same or other individuals, as well as by interactions in process (Fig 7) (something that Goffman does consider in relation to stigma). In this way, Goffman's model may be used to account not only for face to face interactions of the moment, but for broader societal influences on this, as Cavanagh did when referring to hegemonic masculinity (see section 3.9) and I do in this thesis.

3.4 Role negotiation....

The term 'role', used often by Goffman, represents a contested concept. I take roles to be sets of norms – socially expected patterns of behaviour, obligations and privileges (see p. 24) - attached to particular positions within society that form "recognizable parts" (Turner, 1962, p. 96) that may be played by people as actors. Roles are relational – they are ultimately constructed through interactions with objects and with individuals in society – and they facilitate the smooth running of society by helping the individual 'do' interactions "with one or more other actors enacting similarly consistent orientations" (Turner, 1962, p. 98). These "orientations" may be the same, conflicting or complementary.

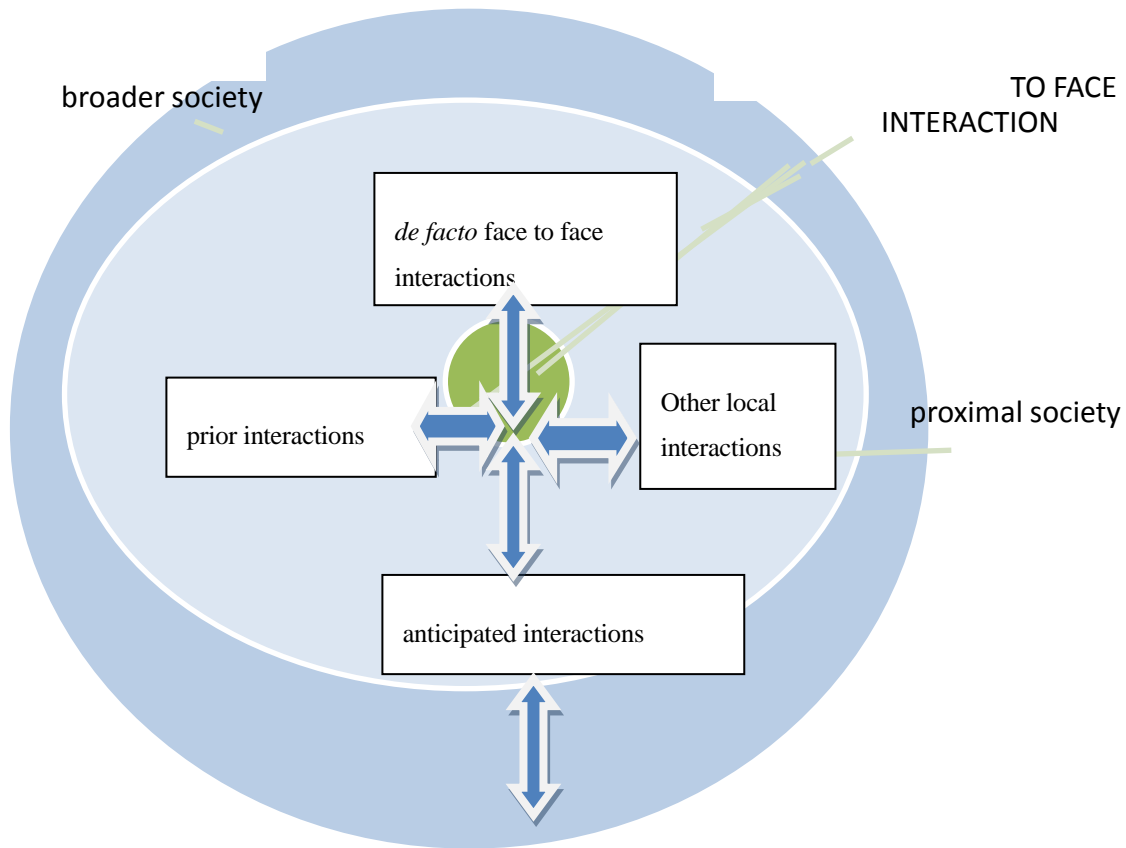


Figure 7: Showing how the notion of Goffman's audiences (interactions) has been extended in the current thesis.

Roles may be validated through both positive and negative feedback. For example, an initiate from North gang (a made up name) who stabs someone from South gang to gain status in North gang will get validating positive feedback from other North gang members and negative but also reinforcing feedback from non-gang members.

Effective role play requires us to respond to our perceptions of changes in the roles and performances of others and the meaning our audiences attach to our role play. We test our perceptions through tentative role modifications and then use the feedback we gain from the responses of our audiences to either reinforce or re-examine and re-negotiate

our modifications. Roles are fragile and this negotiating process continues as long as an interaction does, as should be clear from Fig 7.

Some theorists consider negotiations to be undertaken passively (see Smith, 2006), but in this thesis I describe how the women I interviewed showed agency in the process. As Goffman (1959) points out, this does not necessarily require them to be aware of the negotiations, although they may be. It is particularly important for an individual to be an active agent in negotiations when they behave against social norms (Berger, 1983) or when they face risks and threats to presented and self identity, as I argue occurs for abused women.

3.5 ...and boundaries

To understand how role negotiation works, it is useful to consider roles as having symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). This gives them loose definition, but definition nonetheless. This looseness is vital if roles are able to change in the way I have described. Using a theatrical analogy, it is as if there is an overall plan for our performances within which we improvise. This analogy avoids the danger of becoming more structural than situational if it is appreciated that a) the plan is determined by the way we interpret the situation and the identity of our audience through our own symbolic thought, *a propos* of the SI model, and b) that plans for and boundaries to performances are the product of negotiations between interactants. Boundaries are embedded in and shaped by society rather than created discretely by individuals. Thus boundary work feeds into inter-individual processes but is also shaped by them, just as identity is a reciprocal construction.

Goffman (1959) clarifies this in his description of negotiated understandings as situational rather than structural:

Together the participants contribute to a single over-all definition of the situation which involves not so much a real agreement as to what exists but rather a real agreement as to whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honoured (p. 134).

When we ‘act’ within the boundaries of our roles we can be said to perform competently (Goffman, 1959), ‘in character’ because we draw on understandings (that incorporate objects, types of people, practices, time and space) that are shared with our audiences. For example women in the UK may draw on prevailing hegemonic or patriarchal discourses (Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash, & Lewis, 2001) to set boundaries to social roles and identities as wife, friend, lover, mother, daughter, community member and so forth that are normative within society and that ‘index’ (Ochs, 1992) or culturally encode these roles and identities.

Boundaries are not fixed but act as a set of reference points that may be altered during a performance, since they are used interactively by social actors to categorize and negotiate common understandings with their audience. This can be clearly seen in action when immigrants to the UK try to acculturate.

Boundaries surround what has been described as an infinite number of possible behaviours for each role. Thus a role can be played in many different ways yet still remain consistent with shared understandings of what constitutes role-appropriate behaviours. For example a parent can be bad-tempered with their child on one day and gentle on another but still have shown only parental behaviours. It also follows that different individuals can be similarly competent within the same role despite having very different behaviours; all these behaviours need to do is fall within the societally bounded pattern of behaviours for that role. Different audiences and settings and other contextual factors will result in different sets of appropriate behaviours established through social interaction. I shall come back to this in Chapter 6 where I consider the complexity of the women’s role play.

Despite the great variation in, and vast number of possibilities for, role play there are also many ways in which a performance will *not* fit a particular bounded role. If behaviours fall outside the role boundaries, to maintain the social order either they need to be brought back or the boundary itself needs to shift. Since boundaries are

socially constructed, either situation is possible. In Chapter 6 I illustrate and explore this in the context of an abusive relationship using interview data from my study.

3.6 Rules of conduct, obligation and the social order

In social encounters, we not only produce, we also acknowledge, our shared, negotiated understandings of events through displays of behaviour. Burns (1992) says that taken to its logical conclusion, we could end up with a never-ending “I know that you know that I know etc. etc”. However, this situation is avoided through recourse to conventions, that is, guidelines used in society for particular situations that are underpinned by the weight of society’s negotiated understandings. These in turn underpin routines, which are learned by observation and replication (Burns, 1992, p. 45). Goffman was particularly interested in conventions, which he called rules of conduct.

As Burns says:

These rules apply not to the ends sought by participant individuals nor to any consequent patterns of relationships, but to the ways in which those ends may be pursued. In this they are rather like traffic rules, which are concerned with how you go, not with where you are going (p. 36).⁹

Goffman (1956) describes two overarching rules of conduct, deference and demeanour, which he says maintain the social order, that is the social system of normative ways of relating and behaving. Deference and demeanour are complementary. Deference is informed by the rank (status and roles) of the different individuals within society, and may be used to determine the level of interaction that occurs, for example to ensure that surface impressions are not probed too deeply. The most common example of this from everyday life occurs when two acquaintances meet in the street and greet each other with the words “How are you?”. The usual proffered response is “Fine, thanks”, although often not true. This can benefit both parties. It is

⁹ The idea of traffic rules comes from Goffman himself, for example in his 1971 work *Relations in Public*.

an accepted way of avoiding having to reveal personal details and a different response would result in conversation that the enquirer might not welcome.

Demeanour is determined not by relative rank but by the way the individual manages their 'face', which Goffman (1955) defines as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact in the encounter" (p. 213). Demeanour is less routine than deference and is shown through deportment, dress, and bearing, tact and diplomacy. Like behaviours more generally, the rules of deference and demeanour are developed by and in society, and the members of a society tend to follow similar rules as a result. The rules are made explicit in rules of etiquette and substantive rules and laws. People follow them directly as moral obligations to others and indirectly as expectations of how others are morally bound to act towards them. As Goffman (1967) says:

Universal human nature is not a very human thing. By acquiring it, the person becomes a kind of construct, built up not from inner psychic propensities but from moral rules that are impressed upon him from without (p. 44-45).

Thus a mother has an obligation to look after her child and expects that her child will respect her. Her child has a moral obligation to respect the mother and at the same time expects her to protect it. In this way, many rules are dependent on actor-recipient interactions. Mostly obligations are taken for granted. When a rule of conduct is broken, both actor and recipient are affected.

3.7 Impression management

Turner says that the basic normative element in role-taking and role-playing is the requirement that a person shows role competence – that is, their behaviours remain within the confines of what is socially negotiated as normative for a single role. So long as this is true, the audience usually accepts the behaviour, whether or not they approve of it (Turner, 1962, p. 97). Through the rules of conduct it follows that expectation and predictability are components of role play, but acceptable behaviours that demonstrate role competence do not necessarily match the typical or the ideal for

that role. As I have already argued above, a mother may behave in unexpected but typically maternal ways with a child without upsetting the social order. I draw on this in the model of boundary work that I develop from the data in Chapter 6.

Goffman (1959) stresses our need to show we are competent in our roles in life. He argues that by conforming to social norms of expectations and predictability, our behaviours are pretty much guaranteed to be accepted by others and we can get on with things. If we do not, or we are associated with a condition or identity feature that suggests we do not, cannot or have not conformed, we are marked out as deviant in some way. If this deviance is sustained it may result in stigma. Goffman (1963) describes stigma as “the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance” (p. 9). A stigmatised person is excluded, rejected, judged, blamed and devalued in society; according to Goffman they may be distinguished from ‘normals’ as not quite human. Goffman emphasised the social construction of stigma, and its significance as a social identity, commenting that:

It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity. Note that there are other types of [such] discrepancy [...] for example the kind that causes us to reclassify an individual from one socially anticipated category to a different but equally well-anticipated one, and the kind that causes us to alter our estimation of the individual upward (Goffman 1963, p.3).

To Goffman, it is the show that is important, how others see us, our presented identity. When our self and our presented identities do not match, we can do something about this through our social performances, which are intended (intentionally or not) to convince our audience of a match. To accomplish this, we undertake various forms of impression management, whether or not we are aware of this.

Impression management may draw on ‘theatrical props’, which may be verbal or non-verbal. Props help us act out our roles and are used by others as symbolic representations and markers of what our performed identity is meant to be - Goffman drops the dramaturgical metaphors to call them ‘signifiers’. Key signifiers are: social setting (including furniture, decor, location); appearance (clothing, make-up, hair and

so on); and manner or demeanour (such as facial expression, posture and emotion). Clothing, for example, is an important part of impression management. During a social interaction it is usually harder to change from the wrong clothes than from the wrong behaviours. Our audience gains information from our props but we also gain information from theirs, which guides the interaction. For example, often we do not know how our audience will respond to us and so we orientate ourselves to the clues from their clothes and other props (Pin and Turndorf, 1985).

To achieve and sustain the right impression we need continuing feedback from our audience during an act, just as a theatre audience will boo, clap or otherwise respond to an act and so indicate to the actor whether or not they are successful in their portrayal. In this as in other social interactions, feedback and our response to it may be tacit and subtle and neither audience nor actor may realize it is happening, or it may be overt and obvious. Interactional participants may likewise be unaware the feedback results in ‘negotiations’, that serve to align what Goffman calls the frames (of reference) for individual acts and roles.

3.7.1 Back, front and off stage performances and role distancing: the tools of impression management

Goffman talks about a back stage and a front stage for each performance. Fronts, or the front of stage performance, are where more normative impression management is done using ‘stereotypical repertoires’, that is collective, normative sets of behaviours, of the roles we play. Fronts bring together the actor’s social role, the audience expectations and the act negotiated between actor and audience. The back stage is where enactments take place that people at the front of stage are not meant to see. For example, a child may give their parents the impression they do not drink or smoke, but may do these things with their friends. If their parents happened to catch them ‘in the act’ of smoking, they would have breached the ‘back stage’ of their child’s model offspring front of stage performance. The complexity of societal interactions is

evident from the way that in this breach, they would have seen the front of stage performance of the child as he or she is in the 'teenager amongst peers' role.

Off stage interactions also occur; for example someone may present one front to a group of friends, but a different front off stage to an individual from among that group, who will then be privy to both acts. Off stage represents interactions off the record for a particular individual, and back stage shows are alternatives of the front stage show. Sometimes it may be hard to manage the different 'stages' and roles may exist in tension or may contradict each other, which creates role conflict. This might for example occur when a child has to socialize in a situation where both their friends and their parents are present, or when an abused woman is with her friends, only some of whom know about the abuse, and her partner appears, or when a person is 'outed' as belonging to a stigmatised group as well as a non-stigmatised one.

Role conflict should generally lead the individual to compromises so as to fit with the various roles of their audience, through changes in behaviour (perhaps using a reduced set) or impression management as necessary. Sustained conflict that is overtly manifest arises when this does not occur or if there is no apparent way of coping effectively with the role conflict, whether or not this is by conforming to role expectations or by impression management. Conflict theory has been used to explain partner abuse (Chapter 1) but does not consider power differentials (see Chapter 1 for a fuller explanation). In Goffman's model, the person with lower social status has to subsume their role to the obfuscation of the other, the more powerful role, to enable the social order to continue, or else something in the situation must change that makes coping or compromise possible.

One way a person may deal with role conflict through impression management is to symbolically disassociate or distance themselves from an undesirable role that they must play. Goffman argues that role distance may be typical within certain roles even though not normative for a role. For example a clever child may be naughty in class to distance itself from the role of swot, or a domestic violence service provider may

use their professional status to conceal the fact they too have been abused (see Mullender & Hague, 2005). Only the parts of a role that are relevant are involved, that is parts that will be seen by others and used by them to assess the actor's attachment to the role or their disaffection from or resistance to it. The aim is to give the impression the actor does not belong in the role, has been miscast. Goffman says "immediate audiences figure very directly in the display of role distance" (1961, p. 109). Perhaps this is because the impression can only be sustained locally – the person will need to play out the same role authentically to others and will be treated as incompetent in role by those others if they do not. Role distance typically occurs for situated roles that the person feels are beneath them in some way; being situated within a specific context they can be disowned in others. Role distance may be manifest in different ways, for example by standing back from the role, performing it half-heartedly, jokingly acting out the role, or describing the role to others in ways that suggest disaffection and lack of belonging or even denial. A toilet cleaner may avoid mention of their work when away from it, or when asked may describe their work as 'hygiene management', for example.

3.7.2 When impression management fails

Acts falling outside understandings of how roles should be performed or that suggest our self identity is not aligned with our performance after all are considered incompetent, offensive or undesirable. The actor may feel inauthentic, a sham or stigmatised or may need to deal with negative feedback dished out by the audience; some or all the interactants are likely to feel 'negative emotions' as a result. Some negative feedback can be ignored or discounted (Becker, 1962); it may be 'noise', or may come from someone whose feedback is of low priority or whose intent we suspect from our impression of them. Mostly though, the discredited self who lacks "a consensual validation of self" (Goffman, 1959), that is, who is seen by others to lack credibility or competence in a role, may end up, through social pressures, playing a different act, abandoning a particular role, or finding a different audience.

However, sometimes they will do further impression management to reclaim credibility and competence in role.

Stigma represents an extreme case. Stigma does not only arise from social interactions that are played out (enacted stigma), but from self-perception (perceived stigma) and anticipation of stigma. The stigma – even if not enacted (revealed) - gives a person a ‘spoiled’ identity. This leads to shame and embarrassment or fear of these if the stigmatising feature is revealed. These are the emotions that in Goffman’s writings are the primary emotional drivers for face work and impression management. Thus the stigmatised individual will often do impression management work as anticipatory.

One way impression management is achieved is through accounting, which has been defined by Scott and Lyman (1968, p. 219) as “a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to evaluative inquiry”. This echoes Mills (1940), who comments on how wrong-doers reinterpret their acts, to present them as culturally appropriate and acceptable, through linguistic devices that draw on the social reinterpretation of norm-breaking conduct. The norms of a situation, the actor, and the audience all determine the content of an account and whether it is accepted in a given social situation. According to Scott and Lyman, there are two types of accounts: excuses and justifications. In justifying something, the individual accepts responsibility for the act but denies any negative associations. With excuses, the person admits an act is inappropriate in some way, but denies full responsibility for it.

Like other behaviours, accounts draw on shared meaning, and if they violate these, for example appearing illegitimate or unreasonable, they may be rejected just as the original act was. Accounts may also be rejected if they use the wrong style or suggest an inappropriate level of attachment or commitment (Scott and Lyman, 1968).

Accounts, according to Scott and Lyman, are a response to inquiry from the audience and may not be asked for or given despite problem behaviours. The need for accounts may be overridden by sociability, with the audience or actor unwilling to disrupt the

flow of interaction, or by their need for information, which may be incidental to the questionable statement or act.

3.8 Remedial work

Scott and Lynam were influenced by Goffman's writings on the presentation of self in developing their ideas around accounting. In 1971 Goffman published his version which he called remedial work. This, he said, was intended to renegotiate or "change the meaning of an act, transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable" (p. 108). Goffman's version allows for remedial work being done in response to non-verbal as well as verbal feedback. Remedial work may also be used when initial impression management or role distancing does not achieve the interpretation by others that the actor had intended, though their act is not offensive or unacceptable - something that Goffman does not mention - or to pre-empt misunderstandings, which Goffman does state.

Goffman uses the concept of remedial work – or damage limitation - more broadly than Scott and Lynam's 'accounts'. He merges excuses and justifications into the single category of accounts and adds the subcategory of pretexts for accounting done before the questionable act. He introduces additional categories: apologies and requests (which he calls accounting for behaviours), denial (considered a form of justification by Scott and Lynam) and minimization (which he says served to distance a person from a role or act). In these ways, Goffman maintains Scott and Lynam's subcategories of excuses and justifications, but extends their work to take account of behaviours that they did not.

Remedial work may be deliberate or the person may be unaware they are doing it. It is a form of ritual and its *raison d'être* is to enable the flow of ordinary social interaction to resume that includes the person doing the remedial work as someone who is once more seen as credible, competent, and worthy of interaction. People have a social obligation to manage situations in this ritualistic way, just as with deference

and demeanour (Goffman, 1971). As Goffman argues: “When an interactional offence occurs, everybody directly involved may be ready to assume guilt and offer reparation” (p. 108) so as to get back to the job of normal interaction as quickly as possible. There is of course a problem with remedial work that is too successful. As Stokes and Hewitt (1976, p. 837) say, actors may use it to align their conduct with cultural norms, and so legitimize deviant behaviour.

Remedial work serves to mark or emphasise behaviours that fall at or outside negotiated boundaries; normative behaviours that fall within the boundaries tend to remain unmarked, tacit, implicit (Ochs, 1992). The study of remedial work is therefore revealing of what is acceptable and what interactants understand should be renegotiated, and the remedial work the abused women in my study do, forms a substantial part of data Chapter 6 in particular.

Goffman shows the importance of considering the bidirectional interaction of the actor with their audience when he talks about the ritual and moral obligations that underpin remedial work. Goffman and Scott and Lynam consider accounting or remedial work to be useful in protecting the self. They can help people cope with difficult situations, reinterpret past events or reshape future events. They can also be used by someone to enhance their status. As such, Goffman’s term ‘remedial work’ may be misplaced. However, I use it in this thesis to be consistent with other authors, particularly Cavanagh and Hochschild, whose work informs my data analysis chapters.

3.9 Cavanagh’s analysis of remedial work done within a heterosexual abusive relationship

Cavanagh and colleagues (2001), and subsequently Cavanagh (2003), using data from interviews with men in abuser programmes and their partners, drew on Goffman to consider how their informants negotiated their relationship through extensive use of remedial work. They posited this work affected the meaning both parties gave to the

same abusive event, and was critical to their alignment of meanings in their relationship negotiations.

The abusive men often did remedial work intended to convince their partner that what she experienced was not actually abuse, by minimizing or denying the act. Or they excused it or apologized for it; sometimes the men claimed defeasibility (nullifying the act because of countervailing evidence, for example through being drunk) or that something or someone else than the man was to blame and this might be the woman herself.

The man's violence was sometimes excused as necessary to resolve conflict caused by the woman's 'inappropriate' behaviour, even though the argument itself was artificially and purposively caused by the man and the allegations against the woman false. In this way, Cavanagh and colleagues say they extend Goffman's concept of requests to include demands.

A man's remedial work was only effective if he could persuade the woman. Cavanagh and colleagues argued that the men must have been aware of this remedial work because they sometimes used requests as a preface to the abuse, to give it a reason, for example requests for the woman to shut up, stay at home or wear different clothes. This required negotiation. Cavanagh and colleagues (2001) argued that:

Through these accounts which dominate their reports, men seek not only to neutralise and eradicate women's experiences of abuse but also to control the ways in which women themselves might interpret and respond to the violence (p. 711.)

In other words, if the negotiated understanding is that an act of abuse was not abuse or was unlikely to recur, or that the man was not responsible for it, then the woman's identity was not positioned as 'abused partner' and she could not act as if she were abused, if she was to preserve her competency as a 'good partner'. Consequently the women in Cavanagh's study often undertook further remedial work that hid, rationalized away or minimized the abuse, and generally preserved their perceived competency to others as 'good female partner' and the men's role as 'good male

partner' who retained overall authority and power. For example, the women adopted the man's rationalisations as well as culturally held beliefs about the causes of abuse to explain away his behaviour when it needed an explanation.

The women's remedial work enabled them to meet cultural expectations that, Cavanagh said, encourage women to accept primary responsibility for the success or failure of their intimate relationships. When the women tried to appear competent, 'good partners', they aimed to safeguard their relationship but also hoped to change their partners and stop the abuse, taking on the responsibility for this.

Men and women's accounts of the violence could be aligned even when the act of abuse could not be ignored or hidden, through remedial work in which the man did not deny the abuse but apologised for it and made amends. Cavanagh said the men used 'expiatory discourses' where they asked for the woman's forgiveness and initiated 'punitive' acts against themselves, such as spending money on gifts for the woman, or undertaking chores. In this way men invoked sympathy and gratitude from the woman, and reduced the need for her to take action against the abuse or even discuss it with the man. The women tended to accept the men's apologies and their promises 'to change'. Cavanagh and colleagues said this was because the women wanted to believe the men and also this response was expected of them as the caring sex, through gendered 'emotions work' scripts (Hochschild, 1983). However, this often shifted the focus of attention from the abuse to the 'distressed' man. As Cavanagh and colleagues said: "Taking care of *his* emotions rather than confronting *her* abuse may become the shared agenda" (p. 244).

Apologies fragmented the abuse, so that it became a series of separate acts rather than a continuously lived experience. This has parallels with the way professional responses to abuse are limited by medical and judicial discourses (Rivas, 2010) although Cavanagh does not comment on this.

Cavanagh and colleagues invoked hegemonic masculinity to explain how a couple's negotiations are constrained by a social and cultural context that encourages men to take control over women and biases the outcomes of relationship negotiations in favour of the man. As a result, these researchers focussed on the man's work in negotiating understandings of and responses to the abuse and portrayed men as having more agency than women within the relationship. The women were constrained to 'do gender' to stop or reduce the violence, as a form of 'definitional hegemony', that is using hegemony to define the moment for others (Allen, 2011) that supported 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1985, see also Chapters 5 and 6).

Within these constraints, performed gender was nonetheless an intentional stratagem, and when it did not work, many women were able to actively switch tactics using their recognition of the abuse as unacceptable and their agency. Thus while the men had more agency, the women had some. They stopped playing by 'the man's rules', and rejected his remedial work. Some of the women turned to verbal or physical confrontation, left the relationship or 'went public' about the abuse, redrawing and renegotiating relationship role boundaries in ways that named and challenged the abuse (Cavanagh, 2003) and sometimes contravened norms for gender roles.

Cavanagh's work illustrates the way role boundaries are not fixed but act as a reference that may be altered during a performance. But – apart from noting that it may antagonise the men and increase the abuse instead of decreasing it – Cavanagh, who sadly died prematurely, never considered the consequences of the women's contravention of gender norms or the way they had potentially disrupted the social order and risked being seen as incompetent in role.

3.10 Summary of Chapter 3 Part 1

This part of the chapter has shown how dramaturgical metaphor may be used to consider people's day to day social interactions. Using this approach, we can be said to play out our lives in 'performances' to others. These performances represent the

way we wish to be seen; the way we see ourselves may not necessarily coincide but is informed by our presented identities. Each of our roles, as mothers, fathers, daughters, sons and so forth require different performances and these performances are affected by contextual factors, such as the setting, what has gone before and what we expect to happen in the future. Each of our performances draws on a set of behaviours that we and our audience understand to be appropriate for the particular role that we are playing. Our understandings, and the precise behaviours that we use from within a set are constantly being negotiated with our audiences. These negotiations define and redefine our behaviours, roles and identities within each social context by taking the relevant feedback of others into account. Each role has a set of acceptable behaviours contained within a symbolic boundary that is shaped by social norms. When we perform 'in role' within these boundaries, our performance, and identity is validated and reinforced. When we step outside the boundary we need to take corrective action if our social interactions are to continue as they were. We may change the role and setting, negotiate the boundary transgression with others (in a way that is affected by power differentials), or to do remedial work to account for our 'deviant' or problematic behaviours and make them acceptable. Our interactional behaviours, our presentations of self, our performed identities, whether purposeful or incidental, are thus multiple and constantly being shaped and reshaped by social interactions.

In heterosexual abusive relationships, hegemonic masculinity affect the relationship negotiations and tend to be sustained by both parties – the abused woman and the abusive man. The women take responsibility for the relationship and its success, performing gender to maintain it, while the men assume control of the women and their version of the relationship becomes the one that both adopt in their social interactions. In the next part of the chapter, I consider how a similar situation also occurs in non-abusive relationships, maintaining the general 'gender order' to the advantage of men.

PART 2: GENDER

3.11 Introduction

Cavanagh and colleagues stated the abused women in their sample ‘did gender’ but did not elaborate what this entailed.

If I am to examine the responses of the women in my sample and consider the way they also ‘do gender’ (which I do in Chapter 5 in particular) I need to clarify in more detail what I mean by gender, and why gender might be actively ‘done’. Like Cavanagh, my take on gender is that it is a social construction. My focus is relational – for example how the women produce and sustain or challenge traditional gender roles within the context of their relationship with their abusive partner.

I begin by considering how conceptualisations of gender in the literature have moved away from polarising gender as an internal attribute to considering it as unfixed and social (Deaux, 1985), a behaviour and therefore ‘done’. I also look at the inadequacy of considering masculinity and femininity in isolation (Canary, Emmers-Sommer, & Faulkner, 1997), and the move to relationality.

To properly understand the nuances in the women’s talk it is important to consider how gender relations have been institutionalized and embedded within society. Cavanagh and colleagues confine themselves to hegemony, but I also consider other explanations for the gendering of society, how this manifests, and how it is currently transforming.

Since gender is mostly now considered as relational, gender theories aim to describe men and women’s relative positions in society, and in particular they focus on life in the home. As this was a dominant theme in the narratives of the women I interviewed, so do I. Interlaced throughout, where relevant, are references to partner abuse.

3.12. Sex, gender and biology

Many theories have been developed over the years to explain gendered behaviours. For example, biological essentialists argue that they are the natural (and therefore inescapable) and universal consequence of the biological differences between men and women (Lerner, 1986). Overall though, the influence of biological differences would seem to be small. Canary and Hause (1993) reviewed 15 meta-analyses of quantitative studies of social behaviour and found sex differences explained only 0.5% of the variance. Statistically, women and men show similar and over-lapping ranges in the population distribution of various traits used currently and historically to differentiate the sexes, but their bell curves are slightly out of phase.

The gendering of society has also been sourced to biological optimisation. According to this argument, men should sow their seed far and wide, and women should invest their efforts in care of the resultant offspring, for maximum efficiency in the spread and ascendancy of what Dawkins called the 'selfish gene' (Dawkins, 1989). Biological differences would have led to this 'natural order' in the first place and evolution would have reinforced this.

Theories such as this have been problematised by sociological studies (see next section). The usual convention in current sociological discourses is to consider sex as biologically determined and gender as not so. Terms relating to sex (e.g. male, female, transgender) should be used to refer to the biological differences between men and women, and gender, masculine and feminine to "the roles that men and women play and the relations that arise out of these roles, which are socially constructed, not biologically determined" (Pan American Health Organization, 1997). This does not preclude biology from having some effect, and I consider gender to be *embodied* social behaviour.

3.13. Gender as socially determined

3.13.1 Gender role socialisation theory

Gender role socialisation theory says we learn how to enact gendered roles through interaction with others socially (Parsons & Bales, 1955), and these roles are then reinforced through further socialisation. This process is well explained using Goffman's dramaturgy metaphor (part 1 of this chapter). The influence of the mass media on normative expectations of different gender roles for men and women and the way they are manifest has attracted particular attention from researchers and commentators (see for example Table 1). Because males are dominant in our society, the mass media in the UK is rife with direct masculine expressions of sexuality, violence, sex on demand and pornography and indirect manifestations through women's makeover programmes and the like, as discussed for example by Nettleton (2011). Goffman himself describes this phenomenon in *Gender Advertisements* (1979).

Gender is not considered a fixed, binary system of two mutually exclusive categories, but lies on a fluid continuum shaped by social needs and constraints. However, people tend to use stereotypical gender categories such as those portrayed in the mass media to benchmark behaviours situationally in day to day interactions so that similarities are suppressed and differences exaggerated (Connell, 1987), even when behaviours that fall outside these categories remain acceptable to them.

3.13.2 'Doing' rather than being gender

West and Zimmerman (1987) subscribe to gender role socialisation theory in parts. However, they note that roles are *situated* identities – taken up as needed and then discarded – rather than *master identities* (Hughes, 1945) such as sex category, that cut across situations. Gender role socialisation theory, depending on the use of master identities to benchmark behaviours, results in problematic concepts such as 'female

engineer' and chairman and chairwoman¹⁰ for roles that are or were associated more with one sex than another. West and Zimmerman therefore argue that gender is:

- behavioural: “an ongoing activity embedded in social interaction” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 153) , or “shared practices in pursuit of the common goal of sustaining particular localised masculine and feminine identities” (Paechter, 2003, p. 71) rather than a property of individuals (a role comprising specific individual traits or attributes)
- continually constructed (and changeable) over the life course and in different situations.

This is what Cavanagh talks of as being done within abusive relationships as an active stratagem of abused women. We accomplish gender in the same way as other behaviours, using impression management to give a competent and convincing performance of masculinity or femininity. Gender *performances* may be relational – dependent on interactions – but they are not restricted to male-female interactions. They occur wherever we are and whomsoever we interact with; they are however modified by setting and interactant and so women are likely to behave differently when with men than when with women.

3.13.3 Embodiment and doing gender

Many commentators believe it is hard to separate sex from gender and some say you cannot have gender without sex. Gender and sex are often conflated by people, at least situationally. For example, Messerschmidt (2005) points out that we judge the sex of the people we see around us based on their appearance and behaviours, which are social rather than biological phenomena; we do not make people undress so we can see their genitalia before we sex them. Gender is thus embodied. Messerschmidt says that when sex appearance and gender behaviour are congruent — or accepted as such within the particular setting — masculinity or femininity is validated. But when they are perceived to be mismatched, gender is disembodied, and may be questioned as

¹⁰ The point is that these distinctions have been made for social reasons, not that they are linguistically necessary, for example chairperson is now also often used but the term chairwoman became common in the 1980s as women began to take on chairing roles that were formerly the domain of *chairmen*.

‘deviant’. Abuse of an individual or group is more likely if they show this deviance. Homosexuality is the most frequently mentioned mismatch.

The concept of embodied gender allows for biological difference but avoids biological essentialism. The way embodied gender manifests has to be ‘read’ by social interactants to have meaning; thus it does not have meaning outside of social interactions. There is a two-way effect that serves to reinforce gendering (Fig 8); our embodied sex constrains and facilitates social action and therefore future social practices (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Messerschmidt (2004) says that since “the body is a participant in the shaping and generating of social practice, (...) it is impossible to consider human agency without taking embodied gender into account” (p. 49). Embodiment therefore has to be considered as part of ‘doing gender’. In this thesis I consider gender as embodied and often use male and masculine interchangeably to reflect this (and also to correspond to the women’s use of these terms).



Figure 8: Gender and embodied sex

3.13.4. Moving in and out of masculinities and femininities and the case for hegemonic masculinity and hyperfemininity

Connell (2002) embraces embodiment, declaring that “gender is the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices (governed by that structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes” (p. 71). This definition seems to limit gender to reproductive moments, but Connell goes on to say that gender involves a triad of:

- what he calls a ‘place’ in social relations (i.e. it is relational)
- a set of practices that are ‘done’
- the effects of these practices on “bodily experience, personality and culture” (p. 71).

This definition allows gender to be transient - Connell says we take up and discard, or move in and out of “gender projects” – with masculinity and femininity as social performance that are actively produced and that have both personal and social effects. Connell (1987) describes how societies’ dominant idealised forms of sexuality tend to be hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, with performances for each individual lying somewhere in between.

Hegemony was originally conceptualised by Gramsci (1971) to describe how power is won and retained (he was referring to the social classes but the term has been applied with other power differentials including gendered practices). Using Connell’s model, hegemonic masculinity is the social place or position which, when performed through social practices, situates men as a group as dominant over women as a group. Its particular social practices organize society in a way that systematically ensures this dominance as normative: this is patriarchy, which is therefore a manifestation of, rather than synonymous with, hegemonic masculinity.

Thus Hartmann (1979) defines patriarchy as:

a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men and enable them to dominate women (p. 11).

As a simplified explanation, all women in a society based on hegemonic masculinity are treated primarily as either mothers or potential sexual objects for men (c.f. the 'Madonna-whore' complex of Freudian psychoanalysis [Tanzer, 1985]). The more women a man can have sex with, the more his hegemonic heterosexuality is validated and the less possibility there is of aligning him with less masculine homosexuality.

Connell refers to only one femininity but defines three more masculinities. Complicit masculinity allows men who are not hegemonic to contribute to the ideal by obeying broadly masculine behaviours. Subordinate masculinity, being positioned as inferior, acts as a foil to the superiority of hegemonic masculinity; an example is homosexuality. Marginalized masculinity is performed by subordinated classes or racial/ethnic groups. This supposes that lower class men and minority men including black men in the UK are the most likely to be excluded from some hegemonic practices because of a lack of resources, for example money to spend on women, or jobs to practise hegemonic masculinity in the home. This masculinity exposes Connell's theory as ethnocentric with ideals of hegemonic masculinity being white middle-class. Gender hegemony in other groups is not well conceptualised (Schippers, 2007). This is not necessarily problematic; manifestations of hegemony can be different in different social groups, and those who are subordinate in one situation may not be in another. However, Connell does not specifically refer to context in his definition, and the word 'place' is used to mark out status rather than context.

Connell's model does not easily allow for powerful women. For Schippers, the solution is to consider both femininity and masculinity as core and as hegemonic. Men remain generally dominant because of symbolic relationality – in other words they mark out their difference from women in ways that establish their dominance -

and this is most readily achievable in terms of sexuality and sexual acts. Schippers explicitly deploys social context to account for Connell's subordinate and marginalised gender performances. Thus in Schipper's model masculine and feminine hegemony is sufficient; Connell's multiple masculinities are not needed and men and women can shift behaviours without destroying the social order.

Since the social order supports the domination of men, any power women have is restricted and challenged unless it supports or works as a foil to hegemonic masculinity in the same way that Connell described for homosexuality. For example, a woman may be allowed to retain power if she has a feminine job or can be hyperfeminised or objectified by men. Similarly, metrosexual men are not seen to challenge hegemonic masculinity even though they use cosmetics and make-up that were previously a woman's domain and are "narcissistic, media-saturated, self-conscious" (Simpson, 1994), because their activities are framed in hegemonic ways such as 'looking good to get women', or 'showing self-respect'.

Goffman's ideas around performed identity apply for hegemonic masculinity as for role socialisation theory. When hegemonic masculinity is embedded in a particular society, the normative behavioural ideals for that society will support masculine dominance.

3.13.4.1 Abuse of women and hegemonic masculinity

As George (1996) remarks, the subordination of women does not give men *carte blanche* to abuse them. Abuse is the *misuse* of power. So how are the two linked socially? One view is that hegemonic masculinity may provide a breeding ground for violence, including partner abuse, as men try to give an impression of their hegemonic masculinity, and this is what Cavanagh argues in her work as reported in section 3.9 (see also Table 1). Such explanations of abuse have been criticised by Dutton (1998) among others as incomplete on the basis that they fail to explain why only some men within a society become violent and domineering. Such criticisms may be misplaced. For

hegemonic masculinity the variation is easily explained by recourse to Connell's other subsets of masculinities (see above) or Schippers' use of context, while patriarchal behaviour may be separately societal and individual so that it is only individuals as patriarchs who use abusive behaviour to control their women through patriarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As Pence & Paymar (1990) put it, partner abuse may arise from and be underwritten by men's domination of women as a social group but is used as a form of gendered power and control in only some individual situations.

Schechter (1982) explains how sex role differentiation under patriarchy facilitates abuse as a socially constructed phenomenon. Women are under pressure to maintain the family and to uphold roles as a 'good mother' and a 'good wife' (that is, as an ideal female supporting hegemonic masculinities), roles that are morally bound (Schechter, 1982). Because women are at the same time objectified commodities, women's alleged or real failure within these roles may precipitate partner abuse. The woman as an individual becomes culpable, because she is *positioned* as not conforming to the norms of essential femininity (Connell, 1985; Frieze, 1983). The men may be successful in using false allegations of failure or excessive demands to control the woman, as a feature of partner abuse, because 'good' is a subjective term. It can be interpreted and used in all kinds of ways, especially since it is accepted that gendered behaviours lie on a continuum. Sexual jealousy is another manifestation of partner abuse that is used to sustain the man's power, as it aims to ensure the woman's fidelity, irrespective of whether or not she ever intended to be unfaithful (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992, see also Table 1).

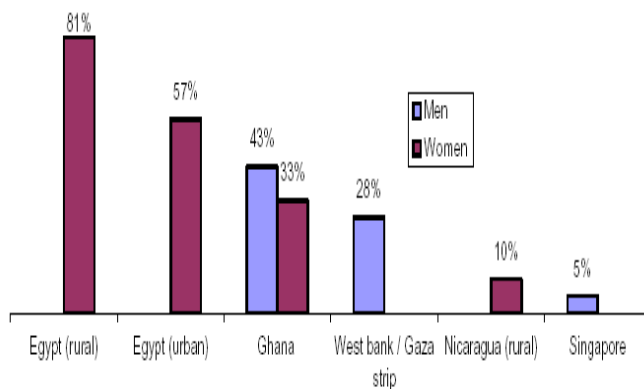


Figure 9: Percentage of men and women who say a man has a right to beat his wife if she refuses sex, by country (Heise, Germain, & Pitanguy, 1994)

Site	Percentage of women who agree that a man has good reason to beat his wife if:						Women who agree with:		Total no. of women
	Wife does not complete housework (%)	Wife disobeys her husband (%)	Wife refuses sex (%)	Wife asks about other women (%)	Husband suspects infidelity (%)	Wife is unfaithful (%)	One or more of the reasons mentioned (%)	None of the reasons mentioned (%)	
Bangladesh city	13.8	23.3	9.0	6.6	10.6	51.5	53.3	46.7	1603
Bangladesh province	25.1	38.7	23.3	14.9	24.6	77.6	79.3	20.7	1527
Brazil city	0.8	1.4	0.3	0.3	2.0	8.8	9.4	90.6	1172
Brazil province	4.5	10.9	4.7	2.9	14.1	29.1	33.7	66.3	1473
Ethiopia province	65.8	77.7	45.6	32.2	43.8	79.5	91.1	8.9	3016
Japan city	1.3	1.5	0.4	0.9	2.8	18.5	19.0	81.0	1371
Namibia city	9.7	12.5	3.5	4.3	6.1	9.2	20.5	79.5	1500
Peru city	4.9	7.5	1.7	2.3	13.5	29.7	33.7	66.3	1414
Peru province	43.6	46.2	25.8	26.7	37.9	71.3	78.4	21.6	1837
Samoa	12.1	19.6	7.4	10.1	26.0	69.8	73.3	26.7	1640
Serbia and Montenegro city	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.9	5.7	6.2	93.8	1456
Thailand city	2.0	7.8	2.8	1.8	5.6	42.9	44.7	55.3	1536
Thailand province	11.9	25.3	7.3	4.4	12.5	64.5	69.5	30.5	1282
United Republic of Tanzania city	24.1	45.6	31.1	13.8	22.9	51.5	62.5	37.5	1820
United Republic of Tanzania province	29.1	49.7	41.7	19.8	27.2	55.5	68.2	31.8	1450

Table 4: Women’s attitudes towards partner abuse, by site, from the WHO survey (García-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2005)

In some societies, patriarchal arguments are so accepted socially that an abused woman's family and women in general will often use them to condone partner abuse (Haj-Yahia, 1998). This was shown for example in the WHO study (Table 4, Fig 9). Within a society, abuse is said to be more likely in relationships where one or both partners have 'traditional' attitudes to gendered behaviours (Finn, 1986), that is where they support hegemonic masculinity and believe a woman's place is in the home. Follingstad, Hause, Rutledge and Polek (1992) say abused women who hold more traditional beliefs about relationships are more likely to justify the abuse that they suffer from their partner, to remain in the relationship, and to allow their partner to control them.

In traditionalism, when a man's masculine status is undermined in some way (not necessarily by their partner), it is valid for the man to react, the theory goes, by clawing back his status in some way, which may be by abuse. The effects of status are complex and the evidence is not clear across studies. This topic is explored in more detail in the data chapters, especially section 6.3, and also in section 8.1.2.5.

3.13.4.2 Hegemony and intersectionality

Hegemony helps explain why men dominate women in society but is only one of many factors that affect social interactions. Black feminists have pointed out that black women are oppressed by ethnicity, race and class as well as gender and that these and many other social elements may be added to the pressure pot of hegemonic masculinity, intersecting in the way I described in Figure 3, as factors in the abuse of women. The greater acceptability of abuse in some countries and by some groups must be understood in the context of such issues as colonialism, immigration status and economic exploitation of marginalized communities, and not as if the violence is due entirely to patriarchy or is an inherent part of that culture (Benhabib, 2002; Begikhani, Gill, 2004; Gill, & Hague, 2010; Gill & Sharma, 2005; Narayan & Shah, 2000). Gill (2004) for example reports how many abused women from communities in which 'cultural defences' have been invoked to excuse abuse against women (see e.g. Poulter,

1990, Smart, 2004) do not themselves agree that the violence is inherently cultural. For this reason, for example, Barrett, a white British writer, points out in an introduction to a 1988 edition of her book (*Women's Oppression Today*), that “analysis of the ‘male breadwinner-dependent wife system’ ...does not in fact apply to the black British population of West Indian origin to the same extent as it does to the dominant white ethnic group.”¹¹

Ethnicity is a factor for white as well as other people in the UK and racial and class oppression does not only apply to immigrants within a different culture but also exists between cultures. Women bargain within patriarchy (Kandiyoti, 1988) or hegemonic masculinity and negotiate their positions and identities within specific sets of constraints in different sociocultural contexts. As Sokoloff and Dupont (2005) noted, attention to culturally linked forms of abuse “does not mean that domestic violence is relative so much as that women must be able to voice their concerns about how violated they feel within a cultural framework that is meaningful to them” (p. 42). Women may have agency even within traditional or abusive relationships.

In my research I was alert to effects on the women's responses to abuse of the intersection of gender, race, class, migration and other contextual factors and highlight them out where the data make this possible. I did not however explore them explicitly within the topic guide.

3.14 The development of gendered domestic roles

I have mentioned that gendered role divisions in the home are encouraged and sustained by hegemonic masculinity and within this patriarchy, and can also be exploited to support partner abuse against women. However, these role divisions, the way that gender is done in the home, are not affected by hegemonic masculinity in isolation. Several theories have been developed that consider other influences.

¹¹ However, she maintains that her book has overall relevancy, thus sustaining an ethnocentric discourse.

Smart and Shipman (2004) describe the two main theories as political economic, and individualisation. Each is historically situated both theoretically and societally; thus individualisation arguments, which are set in post-modern society and tend to be constructivist, follow on from structural political economic ones, rather than being necessarily conflicting.

3.14.1 Political economic theory

Political economic theory, as propounded by Marx (1859) and Engels (1884), itself followed on from and drew on earlier biological arguments to explain gendered role play. Marx and Engels both believed physical sex differences between men and women affected the division of labour in society and that has resulted in an imbalance in social capital, in particular material wealth and private property, to the advantage of men. This enabled men to subjugate women (Lerner, 1986) and so links in with hegemonic masculinity.

According to Engels, in early times, when economic production was communal, women were equal to, if not more powerful than, men, with matrilineal inheritance since progeny could only be linked with certainty to women. Men's control of private property, begun when property became a unit of production to be bought and sold rather than something kept within the family, changed the family to a patriarchal system where women, and often slaves – for example in Roman times - became the property of the father and husband. The separation of the family household from commodity production in this way was facilitated by women's childbearing role. Women became economic dependents of men in the male breadwinner-female housewife traditional nuclear family unit. Marx and Engels believed that before the industrial revolution these units made for maximal efficiency as producers collaborating with other such units in the larger system of society. The man could focus all his efforts on economic productivity and the woman could ensure he and his heirs were looked after. The ideal female partner therefore had such attributes as child-bearing hips and good culinary and housekeeping skills (Fig 10), and the ideal male partner was a 'good provider'. Housework, being unpaid, can be said to devalue

women (as argued in social exchange theory), since it lies outside the meaningful sphere of public economic production (Friedan 1963; Haraway, 1985; Harding, 1986).

The traditional division of labour remained dominant in less industrialised countries after the industrial revolution, and has been re-vitalised in places like the UK and USA during times of economic need through to modern times. Thus during the world wars, women were recruited to posts their menfolk had vacated to take up arms, but afterwards, they were pulled back into the home by societal pressures (Fig 11) – hence the hyperfemininity of the 50s housewife ideal (Figs 10 and 11).

In more industrialised countries in the early industrial period, the family transformed from a productive to a consuming economic unit as leisure time was opened up through the automation of industry and then mass production. At the same time, there was less need for communal cooperation and the family became more autocratic and isolated. This led to an increasing need for women to work to meet the costs of leisure time, and increased opportunities for them to become economically independent of husbands and fathers, but also an increase in ‘women’s’ jobs (factory conveyor belt, administrative, part-time and so on), sustaining gendered inequalities. According to Engels, this situation could only end with the development of socialism and the socialisation of housework and child rearing in social services provided by the state. Hochschild similarly argued that women's reproductive functions have either limited their work to that within the home or created a “second shift” problem of unpaid housework and childcare as well as waged work. However, intersectionalists argue that race, class and ethnicity have all situated women differently in relation to production, with many studies using the example of the United States (Collins, 2000; Davis 1983).

Ferguson and Smart (1984) and Walby (1990) argue that welfare state capitalism and the persistent gendered division of labour (waged and domestic) constitute a “public patriarchy” that has replaced the family patriarchy of early and pre-capitalist societies. Psychoanalytic theorists moreover argue that the gendered division of labour has both economic and psychological consequences, resulting in women less capable of or

motivated to separate from those they care for, and hence less likely to challenge their gendered exploitation (Ferguson 1989, 1991). This creates a “sex class” (or gender class) which cuts across economic class, although women are not uniformly exploited by men across economic class (Brenner, 2000). As Hochschild (2000) and hooks (2000) point out, career women will pay working class women to do the second shift work in the home as cleaners, nannies and childminders, and so have an interest in keeping their wages as low as possible to keep a surplus. In these ways it is clear that the sex class is not a given but an achieved social identity.

These accounts therefore highlight the dynamic and fluid nature of gender, and the importance of avoiding universalism. They also raise the possibility that gendered difference may sometimes be more or less advantageous or more or less salient to broader society and therefore individuals within this, depending on context (Doucet, 2008). Equality likewise should be viewed as having disadvantages as well as benefits and the balance towards one or the other may be tipped by context. This is considered in relation to the women in my study in Chapter 6. It is also clear that economic determinism is too specific and ethnocentric, having been developed to explain patterns in the economically active populations of industrialised countries. It does not, for example, readily allow for the impact on relationships of male unemployment or economically or socially disadvantaged groups or same sex relationships even within these countries, or the many differences between countries.



Advertising Archives

The good wife's guide

- Have dinner ready. Plan ahead, even the night before, to have a delicious meal ready, on time for his return. This is a way of letting him know that you have been thinking about him and are concerned about his needs. Most men are hungry when they come home and the prospect of a good meal (especially his favourite dish) is part of the warm welcome needed.
- Prepare yourself. Take 15 minutes to rest so you'll be refreshed when he arrives. Touch up your make-up, put a ribbon in your hair and be fresh-looking. He has just been with a lot of work-weary people.
- Be a little gay and a little more interesting for him. His boring day may need a lift and one of your duties is to provide it.
- Clear away the clutter. Make one last trip through the main part of the house just before your husband arrives.

- Gather up schoolbooks, toys, paper etc and then run a dustcloth over the tables.
- Over the cooler months of the year you should prepare and light a fire for him to unwind by. Your husband will feel he has reached a haven of rest and order, and it will give you a lift too. After all, catering for his comfort will provide you with immense personal satisfaction.
- Prepare the children. Take a few minutes to wash the children's hands and faces (if they are small), comb their hair and, if necessary, change their clothes. They are little treasures and he would like to see them playing the part. Minimise all noise. At the time of his arrival, eliminate all noise of the washer, dryer or vacuum. Try to encourage the children to be quiet.
- Be happy to see him.
- Greet him with a warm smile and show sincerity in your desire to please him.
- Listen to him. You may have a dozen important things to tell him, but the moment of his arrival is not the time. Let him talk first - remember, his topics of conversation are more important than yours.
- Make the evening his. Never complain if he comes home late or goes out to dinner, or other places of entertainment without you. Instead, try to understand his world of strain and pressure and his very real need to be at home and relax.
- Your goal: Try to make sure your home is a place of peace, order and tranquillity where your husband can renew himself in body and spirit.
- Don't greet him with complaints and problems.
- Don't complain if he's late home for dinner or even if he stays out all night. Count this as minor compared to what he might have gone through that day.
- Make him comfortable. Have him lean back in a comfortable chair or have him lie down in the bedroom. Have a cool or warm drink ready for him.
- Arrange his pillow and offer to take off his shoes. Speak in a low, soothing and pleasant voice.
- Don't ask him questions about his actions or question his judgment or integrity. Remember, he is the master of the house and as such will always exercise his will with fairness and truthfulness. You have no right to question him.
- A good wife always knows her place.

Figure 10: How to be a good wife: instructions from the 1950s

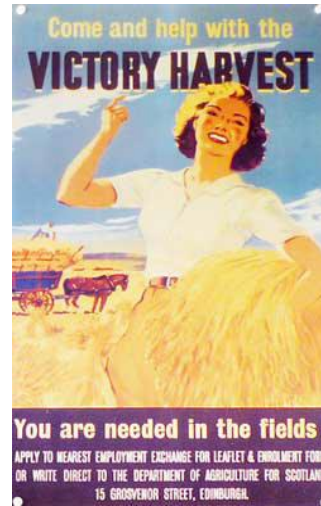


Figure 11: Various posters from the 1940s (encouraging women to work) and the 1950s (encouraging women to be housewives)

Giddens, in agreement, says that control of the relationship now comes not from institutional demands from without, as before, but from day-to-day decision making by the individuals from within the relationship (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Giddens, 1991; Giddens, 1992). This links historically with the development of the family as a consuming unit, described in the previous section. Giddens considers the process as a 'project of self' in which individuals

constantly strive to improve or make themselves. These changes, Giddens says, have brought about greater equality between individuals, undermining traditional gender divisions. The balance in society has tipped away from control of another, and self-indulgent individualism, free choice and liberalism are said to hold sway. Kinsfolk in the dominant cultures of countries such as the UK are no longer expected to fulfil traditional roles and obligations to other family members. Family relations have transformed from a 'community of need' to 'elective affinities' (Beck-Gernsheim, 1998). The couple has become the 'core' of the family (Giddens, 1999), or perhaps more appropriately an island unto itself. In this model, individuals seek the ideal relationship, rather than the ideal partner as in the economic model.

Since relationships no longer have to be sustained through obligation and necessity, the individuals within them have more freedom to negotiate and create fulfilling associations. Women are encouraged in various ways to strive for greater equality and less traditional relationships. The more individual or autonomous our choice to form relationships, that is the less it is affected by social context (the less that social or contextual choice operates, section 8.9) and the less it is affected by relational choice (i.e. the influence of the specific relationship), the greater the likelihood that we will choose to end relationships that do not match our ideal (Giddens, 1999).

The statistics certainly show an apparent trend towards lesser commitment and greater disposability of relationships, with more cohabitation, separation and divorce in the first decade of the 21st century than in the last decades of the 20th century. For example in 1962, 3% of households were single parent, mostly separated or divorced, and in 2009 the figure was 12%, mostly neither separated nor divorced (Household Survey, 2010). According to Fevre (2000), who ascribes to Giddens in a rather pessimistic way, social changes have led to raised expectations of relationships and this has in turn resulted in "unhappy marriages increasingly replaced with divorces as people go off to try their luck a second, third or fourth time in the hope of finding someone who thinks in the right way" (p. 101), without bothering to put effort into the relationship they have.

3.14.3 *The patchwork society*

Smart takes issue with the individualisation thesis. In 2004 she wrote:

The 'choices' people now have may be producing greater reflexivity and more attentiveness to others. The perceived normality of the 1950s nuclear family meant that it was easy to take family/spousal relationships for granted. But the post-divorce (extended) family needs to work at its relationships (p. 407).

Also in 2004, Smart and Shipman argued that the individualisation thesis was ethnocentric and too liberally applied. Using their own interview-based data, they reported on:

empirical research findings carried out with members of transnational families living in Britain whose values and practices do not fit easily with ideas of individualization. It is argued that we need a much more complex and less linear notion of how families change across generations and in time (p. 491).

They suggest that society should be considered a patchwork quilt of different micro-societies. Much quantitative evidence also mitigates against the individualisation thesis as an all-encompassing theory. Traditional divisions of labour in the heterosexual home have been maintained even though women have increasingly been part of the paid labour force (Kan, Sullivan & Gershuny, 2011). One US study suggested that, although most college-age individuals held egalitarian attitudes about the division of labour in their future homes, their actual intentions were more traditional (Ferber & Young, 1997). Men may do more chores than previously, but it is said that women do the chores that are least valued, take the most time, and need to be completed most frequently, often on a daily basis (Beckwith, 1992; Dempsey, 2005; Hochschild, 1989; Hochschild, 1997; Mannino & Deutsch, 2007). Although both men and women have slightly increased their time with children as a primary activity (Bianchi, 2000), women's total time with children remains about twice that of men (Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). Women are also more likely than men to care for elderly parents (Brewer, 2001; Cancian & Olinker, 2000). As with economic

theory, it is argued that the individualisation thesis holds only for the white middle classes of the US and UK, and does not take into account alternative understandings and practices of the working class and ethnic minorities (Ribbens McCarthy & Edwards, 2002), nor does it consider what happens in other countries, or when the couple has children.

3.14.4 Remedial work and the patchwork society

The argument has been made that variety may not be new and that perhaps ‘more traditional’ relationships in the past were not as we often think of them (Crow, 2002; Gillis, 1996; Heelas *et al.*, 1996; Smart, 2005). Gillis and Smart both provide some evidence that it is the way we account for divergences from the ideal that may have changed, rather than the existence of divergence itself. Gillis provides a historical overview of family values, drawing primarily on documentary evidence. Smart developed his ideas using data she had collected from in-depth interviews with 30 divorced parents (23 mothers and seven fathers) and 13 grandparents. Smart showed that divorce was viewed unfavourably by couples she interviewed who were young adults in the immediate post-war years. This is to be expected from what I have said so far. But Smart noticed that when divorces did occur amongst this generation or older they were excused and dismissed as individual ‘quirks of misfortune’, and when they occurred in the children of this generation they were justified as appropriate. She argued that:

*This idea of the normative family being based on long-term marriage is undoubtedly part of the British post-war **imaginary**, yet it cannot be dismissed as ‘mere’ imagination because **this was how this particular generation, in the main, framed their lives** (p. 542, my emphasis).*

Smart continued by drawing on Gillis’ concepts of the family to live with and live by. She suggested the families we live *with* are full of mishaps, troubles, shaming events and ‘black sheep’ but people interpret and come to terms with these – and hence do remedial work around them - with reference to their imaginary ideal of what a family

should be - the family we live *by*. In Chapter 5 I consider what this means for the women I interviewed.

3.15 Summary of sections on doing gender

Gender is a set of embodied socially shaped behaviours that are done, rather than a predefined attribute of people based on their sex. As such, it is subject to the same rules and influences as other behaviours, and forms part of our presentation of self. Hegemonic masculinity is the norm in society. This may have developed originally because of physical sex differences that led to an imbalance in social capital to the advantage of men, with the family as the most productive unit of a wider system, society, when the traditional division of labour was followed. In industrialised societies, individuals have been relatively freed from economic cooperation and obligations, with increased individualisation possible. Relationships have become more disposable. Nonetheless societal drives to sustain hegemonic masculinity determine the way gender is usually played out and tend to support patriarchal systems that bias 'doing gender' in favour of men and their masculinities. This means women do most of the housework even when they have careers and even when they earn more than their partner. Hegemonic masculinity does not explain the distribution of labour in all households, and UK society may be thought of as a patchwork quilt of relationship patterns. Family life that is considered a poor match to the ideal (the social norm) to live by – whichever version is taken up from among the variety available within our patchwork society - requires accounting for through remedial work.

3.16 Hochschild's work on the gendered division of labour

3.16.1 Hochschild's ideologies

Assuming relationships are heterogeneous and not all verging on individualisation, many studies have considered whether particular types of relationship are associated

with particular phenomena – for example, equality, domestic violence, divorce, role convergence. Hochschild’s book “The Second Shift” (1989) is cited profusely in the gender literature as one example of the genre. However, few go beyond her typology of ideologies to discover that, as a sociologist, she went on to problematise these.

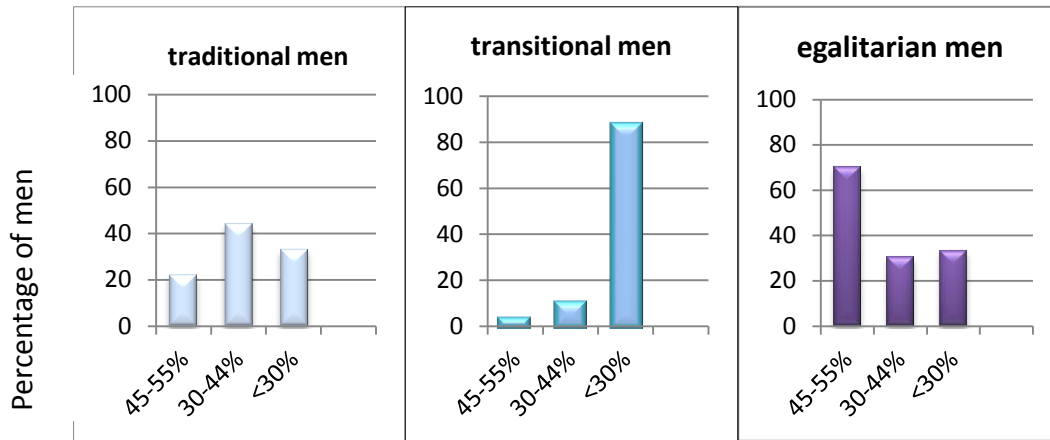
Hochschild was interested in seeing how women and men juggle work and family needs when they both had careers. Between 1980 and 1988, Hochschild and her research associates interviewed fifty couples. Half had two-career marriages and in the remainder only the man worked. She also observed family life in 12 other homes. She explores 11 of these couples in depth in her book; most are middle or upper-middle class. She articulated three core marital/gender ideologies from her data - the traditional, egalitarian and transitional (see Table 5 below)

Hochschild determined these types from her qualitative analysis but combined this with quantitative findings that are rarely reported (Fig 12). For example, she showed that men who earned less than women did not do any housework (which might be contrary to logic and expectations), and men who earned more than women did around 22% of the work, with men who earned the same as their female partners doing 30%. Hochschild then looked at these data in terms of her ideologies and found that egalitarian men were the most likely to help around the house. Over 60% did approximately the same amount of housework as their female partners, and another 22% did at least a third of the work. Surprisingly perhaps, traditional men also helped a lot; 20% did around the same amount of housework as their female partners, and another 40% or so did at least one third of the work. Only the transitional men did hardly anything, with the vast majority doing less than a third of domestic chores. More complexity was revealed by the qualitative data. For example men talked about chores they liked and disliked, and chose those they preferred, whereas women talked about things that needed doing and were not selective in the type of chore they did. It should be noted that data were collected in the 1980s and therefore fit only some couples in today’s ‘patchwork’ society.

Working women were dependent on ‘backstage’ support, such as informal childminding, from family and kinship networks. But what this entailed varied. There was vertical inequality (poorer people gave less support) and horizontal inequality (female family relatives were more likely to help than were male relatives).

Table 5: Hochschild’s three ideologies

Ideology	Relevance to paid labour	Relevance to domestic labour	What the woman ‘wants’/ works towards	What the man ‘wants’/works towards
Traditional	The husband should be the sole breadwinner	The wife should be the sole homemaker	A traditional woman “wants to identify with her activities at home (as a wife, a mother, a neighbourhood mom)... And have less power” (Hochschild p. 15) than her partner	A traditional man with a working female partner wants her to be at the hub of the home, with him having his base at work
Transitional	The man is the primary breadwinner, but supports a female partner’s career/work so long as she identifies primarily with / prioritises the home	The onus is on the woman to balance work and home life	Basically as traditional but wishes to work; a transitional relationship may involve two transitional individuals or an egalitarian woman with a traditional man	Wants the woman to look after the home; his career must come first if there is conflict with this
Egalitarian	men and women identify equally in the different spheres of life and share power equally			



Proportion of household chores man does

Figure 12: The proportion of total household chores undertaken by men among the couples Hochschild interviewed (data from Hochschild, 1989)

Hochschild was able to add to the sociological literature on the gendering of labour by showing there was a mismatch between ‘on top’ and ‘underneath’ feelings, and fractured and incoherent wholes in the ideologies her participants professed to uphold. This meant that simply categorising the couples by ideology was not as illuminating as at first appeared. This is akin to Gillis’ (1996) and Smart’s (2004) descriptions of the divergence between the life to live with and the life to live by. Couples professed particular ideologies, and matched these with appropriate professed (presented) feelings. For example, a woman might say she was egalitarian in ideology and had a career and everything was working out well. But ‘underneath’, she might feel overworked and under-supported. Hochschild was able to explain how the women dealt with this, by drawing, like Smart, on Goffman’s idea of remedial work, for which she provided a wealth of examples.

3.16.2 Remedial work and family myths



Figure 13: Poster from the 1950s to show the upstairs-downstairs division of labour that Hochschild talks about

Hochschild showed women and men used a variety of remedial work strategies to cope with – and manipulate - the way housework and childcare was shared in their household. Hochschild argued that when the man and woman believe in the same ideologies but have been taken over by situational influences that go against these – for example if the woman in a traditional relationship has to do paid work - the couple resort to remedial work to sustain the impression the family presents to the outside world and to maintain a working relationship. Sometimes the man and woman are both ideologically committed to egalitarian relationships but do not achieve these in practice. They then also co-construct elaborate ‘gender strategies’ and ‘family myths’ to negotiate their relationship, describing the division of housework as equal although the women actually perform the majority of this labour (Table 6). For example, women might be able to persuade the men to do particular chores, those the man prefers. Hochschild found these were generally less onerous or less repetitive, for example cleaning the car, walking the dog, and Hochschild called them ‘downstairs’ chores (Fig 13). The women were quick to argue that these men helped a great deal even though the women always had to do the less pleasant ‘upstairs chores’. Women

would bargain up front – for example negotiating an exchange of favours, particularly sex in return for housework – or use ‘feminine’ wiles such as feigned helplessness. Other remedial work intended to sustain family myths included powerful women competent in masculine type activities pretending to be submissive, sick, or incompetent in these activities, and their acceptance of emotional support to replace any practical support. Similar strategies were used when the man and woman held different ideologies.

Hochschild uses the term ‘economy of gratitude’ to refer to what the man and women in a couple give to and receive from each other as gifts and how those gifts are valued. For example, if a woman earns more money than her husband, and he puts up with the situation, this is seen by both as a sacrificial gift. The woman is grateful to the man for allowing her to have a career, and in return does most of the housework as well as her paid work. Hochschild found women were grateful for small amounts of help from men, but men used gratitude as a tool of manipulation. The way this behaviour might be understood using a combination of social exchange and resource theories (Table 1) is explored in Chapter 6 and section 8.1 in relation to my own data.

Some of the women Hochschild interviewed fell into the pattern of doing all the chores in return for small gifts. This entailed a fine balancing act. When they got the balance ‘wrong’ they compensated for this. For example, a woman who missed her son’s sports day at school because of work commitments might treat him to a MacDonald’s as a compensatory treat. Other women, usually when they could not cope, would get in paid help or cut back on what they did. Sometimes this meant giving up work (Hochschild called women who ‘had it all’ and gave some of this up as flip-flops), sometimes it meant some of the household chores got neglected.

Couple profiled in <i>The Second Shift</i>	Woman's ideology	Man's ideology	Area of conflict	Conflict-resolving gender strategy of woman	Conflict-resolving gender strategy of man
Nancy and Evan	egalitarian	Transitional	Leisure gap (Evan has more leisure time)	Nancy delegates 'downstairs' chores (i.e. garage and dog) to Evan, resistant to doing 'upstairs' chores (everything else), which she does. Nancy presents it as egalitarian – a 'family myth'	Evan frames the closer relationship his son has with his wife than with him as down to his son, and not his own lack of involvement in his son's life
Carmen and Frank	traditional	traditional	Carmen must work to make ends meet	Carmen acts weak, submissive, incompetent in some chores so her partner does them to gain more sharing of chores, e.g. she does not drive	n/a
Peter and Nina	transitional	transitional	Nina's career success and salary surpass Peter's	Nina offers to support Peter in a career change	He refuses as it would reflect negatively on his masculinity. He supports Nina's parenting role rather than sharing it
Anne and Robert	straddles egalitarian and transitional	straddles egalitarian and transitional	They share power in the relationship. But Ann still does more of the 'second shift' (household chores at the end of a day at work)	Ann gives up her job to cope	In a similar situation to Peter and Nina, Robert is happy to take advantage of the opportunity, when Ann offers financial support

Table 6: Marital ideologies, couple conflict and gender strategies, adapted from *The Second Shift* (Hochschild, 1989)

In such ways, the remedial work the women did often resulted in something similar to a masquerade (McRobbie, 2009), but it should not be forgotten that family myths and gender strategies that support the accomplishment of serve important personal and social functions. They allow individuals and couples to retain and preserve deeply held commitments to particular and individualised ideologies and at the same time keep relationships and families intact (Hochschild, 1989) that may conflict with these ideologies. Relationship negotiations between couples were successful in achieving family harmony when family myths were developed to conceal problems. In other words, following Gillis' (1996) terminology, as adopted by Smart (2004), they enabled the women to follow the relationship to live with because they made it appear to match the relationship to live by.

Significantly, men also contributed to the sustenance of family myths. In their case, this might be seen less as a way of coping with problem ideologies and more an exerting of hegemonic masculinity. For example, like women they often feigned incompetence, but for 'feminine' tasks, and they showed a propensity to forget to do things. They gave emotional support, for example praising their partner, to avoid doing anything more tangible. Even those men who helped equally were never proactive, their attitude was that things did not need doing unless they were asked to do them. These men would fit Connell's category of subordinate masculinity and still sustained hegemonic masculinity.

The women Hochschild interviewed treated the conflicts between what they lived by and what they lived with or did in practice as personal problems they took responsibility for rather than looking outwards at society. This led to 'family myths' being upheld. The different strategies Hochschild described are tabulated above (Table 6).

3.16.3 Summary of Hochschild's work on the division of labour

Hochschild described three gender ideologies, the traditional, transitional, and egalitarian but also commented that people do not fit neatly into these. To give the impression to others that their relationship matched their ideology, the individuals in an intimate relationship did remedial work that Hochschild called family myth making. Her term is appropriate: the remedial work the women did resulted in something similar to a masquerade (McRobbie, 2009), because it gave the false impression that men helped the woman when the woman also worked. But gender performances as supported by family myths allowed individuals and couples to retain ideologies and practice something different without conflict, keeping relationships and families intact (Hochschild, 1989).

3.17 Relevance of gender to the findings chapters

In Chapter 6, I consider how performed gender plays an important part in the women's negotiations of abusive behaviours that are played out in their intimate relationships. The women I interviewed often talked about the gendered division of labour in similar ways to the women Hochschild interviewed. In Chapters 5 and 6 I consider how the women's talk often implicitly contests and 'troubles' the images of normal domesticity that they describe and consider the remedial work, including family myth making, that they do to account for the discrepancy. I draw on these different ways of talking about their experiences to develop an extension of Goffman's, Hochschild's and also Gillis' and Smart's ideas on the management of presented identity. This is followed by an examination of how the gendering of labour feeds abuse.

Introduction to the findings chapters

In previous chapters I have provided the background to my analysis, including the choice of analytical method, the process I used, and my theoretical framings. I now move on to the findings. This first chapter is descriptive rather than conceptual unlike the data chapters that follow; it reports findings from the axial coding phase of the analysis only. Its aim is to provide the setting for the remaining chapters, with demographic and socioeconomic data on the recruitment area illustrated using excerpts from the interviews, followed by a summary of the demographic details of the women I interviewed and an outline of the relationships the women had with others in their daily lives.

Examples of the type of abuse each woman experienced are provided with their other details in Appendix F; there is no simple overview of these in the main body of the thesis. Illustrations abound throughout the data chapters but are presented to develop conceptualisations of how the women manage their relationships, given the abuse, rather than to provide literal descriptive narratives of what the abuse is like. I have chosen this approach for many reasons: lack of space in the thesis, my publication of a paper that does the job already (Rivas, 2010), and the wish to avoid simply duplicating other research reports; the women's accounts of their abuse are similar to those produced by women in other qualitative studies. But above all I have chosen this approach because I wish to consider the study participants not as abused women, but as women who happen to be abused.

CHAPTER 4 SETTING THE SCENE

This is my favourite place, from everywhere I've lived. I think Hackney is ... I think it's very under-rated. I think people hear about the crime and ... you know, I think there probably is quite a lot of crime and deprivation and I think that's ... that's very wrong and very sad, and more should be done to address that. You know, you see these little bloody hoolies out and with their hoodies on, you know, and whether they're black, white, Asian, or whatever they are, they're all ... you know. And you just think, my God! They're going to be having kids soon and all that their parents were with them! And you just think if they don't sort it out, it's just going to become a complete nightmare, and I think that's quite worrying. Linda W1:194

4.1 Recruitment area

Hackney, in north east inner city London, was chosen as the main recruitment site for this study because of its proximity to Queen Mary.

4.1.1 The local population

At the time of the data collection, Hackney had a population of over 200,000 people (Office for National Statistics, 2007). Its area is 19km². Its population density is the third highest in the UK and nearly three times the London average (Office for National Statistics, 2007). The average age of residents is 33, making it a younger area than the UK average (Fig 14). Women slightly outnumber men, particularly in the age groups 20-40 and 70+.

Hackney has a large black and minority ethnic population. In 2001, 60% of its residents identified themselves as white British and 25% as black, compared to 71% and 11% respectively in London as a whole. In 2009 these figures were approximately 48% and 21% respectively. In 2001, Black Caribbeans, many of whom have lived in Hackney for decades, with a large number born there but many born outside the UK, made up 10% of its population, and black Africans, who have arrived there relatively recently, made up 12% (Office for National Statistics, 2007) (Fig 15; the figures for 2009 were 9% and 10% respectively [Office for National Statistics,

2011]). A number of Hackney residents are asylum seekers. The ethnic mix gives the borough a particular character.

I like the cultural diversity of Hackney. I like that you walk down the street or you ... go and sit in a café and you might have a Turkish person here and an African person there, and an Australian behind you. Linda W1:196

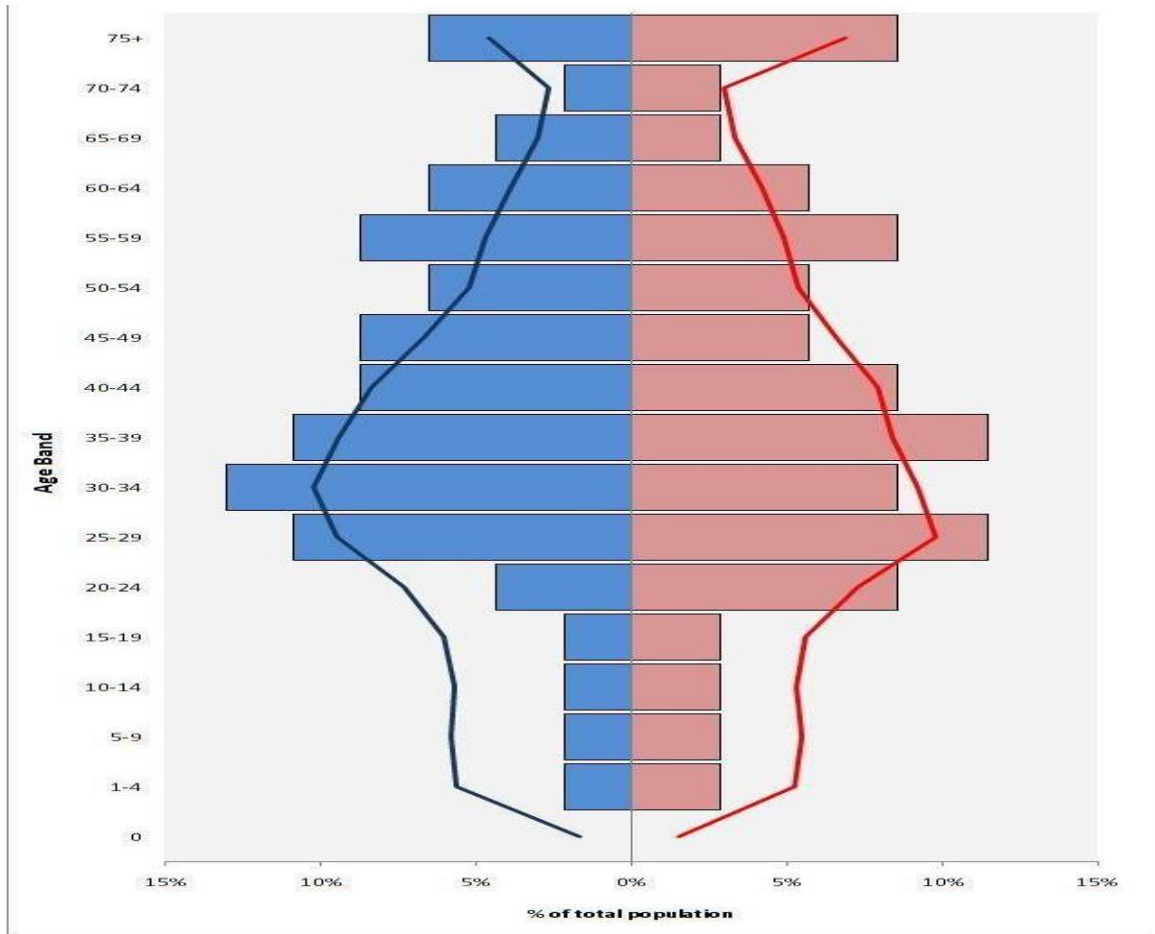


Figure 14: Age profile of Hackney and City residents (lines) compared to England (bars) - GLA Population estimates 2007

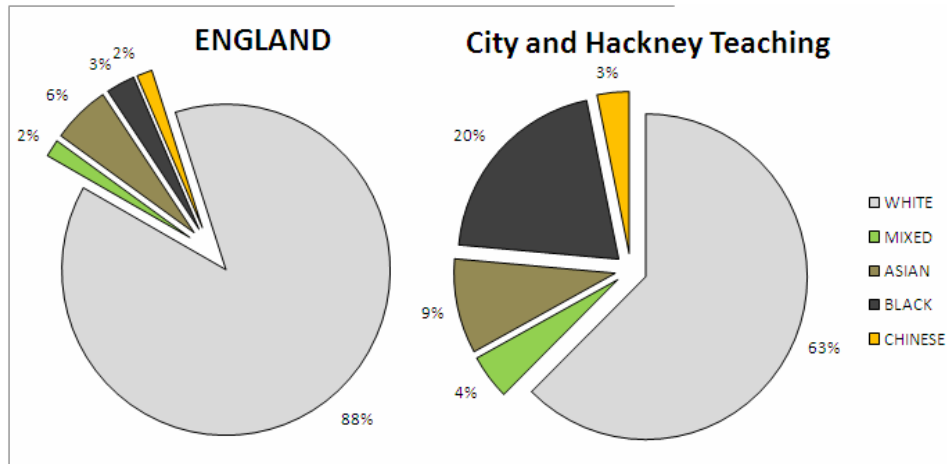


Figure 15: Profile of Hackney's ethnicity (ONS, 2005) compared with England

4.1.2 Health and illness

Hackney has a high birth rate with 73 live births per 1,000 women aged 15-44 compared with 55 for England as a whole (Sims, 2003). The health of younger people in the borough is relatively poor compared to England as a whole and 10% of residents of working age have a limiting long-term illness or disability (Office for National Statistics, 2007). Two of the women in my study declared a disability to me. I did not ask about disability.

4.1.3 Deprivation

Deprivation is the term used to describe poor general social, economic and environmental conditions. It is measured in government statistics using the Index of Multiple Deprivation, which combines values for income, unemployment, poor health, disability, education, housing and geographical proximity of services. According to this Index, almost 90% of people living in Hackney live in an area classified as being within the bottom fifth of the most deprived areas in England, and these people tend to die sooner than those in the less deprived parts of the borough.

The dirt and, you know, the drunkenness and the, you know, poverty that comes with living in this area, it's an eye-opener to children. Cathy W1:176

4.1.4 Housing

Altogether 52% of all Hackney's households rent their accommodation from formal – so-called social - landlords such as the council or housing associations, and only a third are owner-occupied (Fig 16). In a nearby London Borough, Redbridge, by contrast, only 8% of social housing is run by the council or housing associations (Jenny Dearn, CBL Implementation Officer, pers. Comm.). One in eleven households is officially over-crowded (Compendium of Clinical and Health Indicators, 2002; Office for National Statistics, 2007). Two-fifths of households are single person; 30% of these are pensioners and just over 1 in 7 of Hackney's householders are single parents with dependent children.

Estates such as those in Hackney as elsewhere in London encourage a poor quality of life. Abriella commented about her upbringing on a typical London high rise council estate:

I think there were ... flats on that side and doors on that side, so when you'd go down the corridor, there'd be doors on that side, so there'd be like sixteen along that side and then sixteen along that side, and then if you counted that six floors. And if you counted all of that, and then on the other side was another lot. So you ... you could just say on that one estate there was about five ... maybe over five hundred people, and that's not including families. ... it's like five hundred doors.. I lived in the estate where there was paedophiles, there was rapists, there was, erm, flashers, there was abu ... er ... er ... er ... women a-ab ... batterers. There was crime rate, there was gun rate, there was drugs, there was everything. That's the life that I grew up. Abriella C1:33

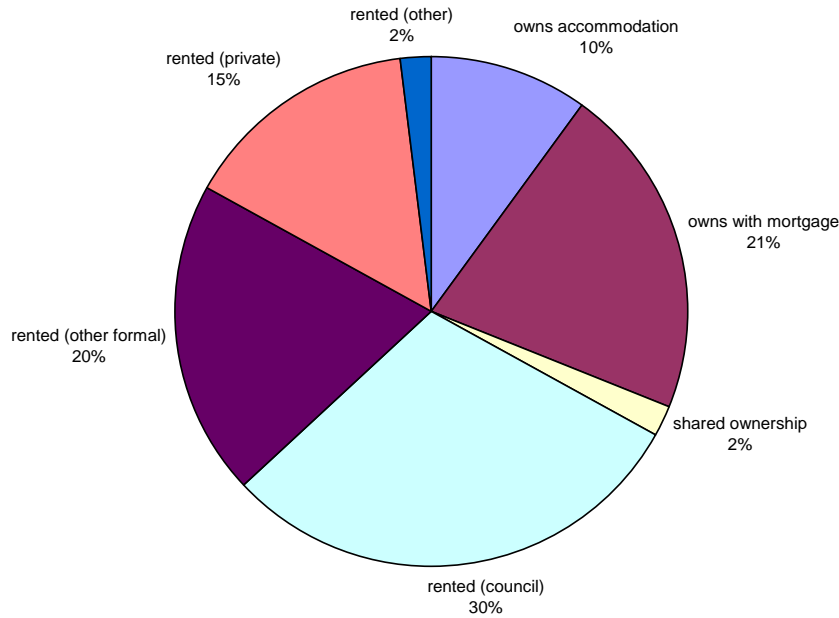


Figure 16: Housing tenure of households in Hackney (Office for National Statistics, 2007)

4.1.5 Crime

Levels of drug misuse and violent crime in Hackney are amongst the worst in England (Home Office, 2001). For example, in 2000/2001 over 3% of the residents were victims of some form of criminal violence compared with just over 2% in London and 1% in England (Home Office, 2001). Crime was high on the agenda of the mothers in my study as the following excerpts show, and at the time I was carrying out the interviews there was a fatal stabbing across the road from one of the recruitment sites. However, the women tended to like living in Hackney despite the high crime rate.

I'm constantly being burgled; I've been burgled here, not long ago; my first two flats on this estate, I've been burgled, but it hasn't put me off because I don't believe there's anywhere you can go where you don't get burgled. You can go and live somewhere rural, you can go ... it's everywhere. You know? So it hasn't put me off, I love Hackney. Winona C1:422

4.1.6 Employment

Hackney had a higher unemployment rate than the national rate and twice the rate for London four years before the study (Office for National Statistics, 2001). Most of the employed residents work in professional, administrative or service occupations and this was reflected in the occupations of the employed women in my sample (see Table 7).

4.1.7 Domestic violence strategy

At the time of the study, Hackney was at the consultation stage regarding its strategy on a coordinated multiagency approach to address the problem of domestic violence and other forms of gender violence. The borough was already very active in its efforts to reduce domestic violence and deal with incidents appropriately and effectively.

A thriving Domestic Violence Forum worked with the Safer Communities Partnership to implement domestic violence priorities, enabling a well coordinated and multiagency approach. I was privileged to attend forum meetings and to present my work to the agencies involved.

Domestic violence was already included in a number of strategies and action plans in Hackney at the time of the study, including:

- Homelessness Strategy and Draft Action Plan
- The Crime and Disorder Reduction and Combating Drug Misuse Strategy
- Hackney Homes (Draft) Domestic Violence Policy for Housing Management Partners
- Hackney's Reducing Substance Misuse strategy.

In total, 2,514 incidents of domestic violence were reported to the Hackney Police during 2005/6, which was thought to represent the tip of the iceberg since a Home Office report suggested that only 35% of domestic violence incidents were reported (Home Office, 2002).

There were four specialist domestic violence services in Hackney: the nia project, Hackney Asian Women's Aid, LBH Domestic Violence and Hate Crime team, and Jewish Women's Aid (based in Barnet).

4.1.7.1 The national and regional effort at the time the study began in 2005

In 2005 the government published the National Domestic Violence Strategy Reduction Delivery Plan, which detailed plans to reduce the prevalence of domestic violence, increase reporting rates, increase conviction rates, and ensure that victims are adequately protected and supported. The Second London Domestic Violence Strategy was also launched in 2005. In April 2005 a revised Best Value performance indicator on domestic violence came into force (BVPI 225, produced by the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions), which measured 11 service activities. Therefore at the time of the study there were several official domestic violence policies in force.

4.1.8.Hackney: The overall picture

As the descriptions above suggest, Hackney is generally described as a deprived inner city area with much poverty, poor housing, major health needs and high crime rates. The picture is generally negative, as are the epithets used for Hackney by non-residents. But as the excerpts from the women show, the statistics paint only part of the picture. Residents value the diversity. Nonetheless, the area has many problems and needs.

4.2 Summary of the women

The following table provides a numerical summary of some key demographic variables relating to the women; the next chapter explores these and other factors qualitatively in the context of the women's lives. The sample mean age was similar to that of the population of Hackney as a whole. In other respects, my sample was diverse as intended rather than statistically representative of Hackney or inner London residents, which was not my aim. The white British women were much more likely to be employed than women in Hackney overall and than the black women in the study, and held higher status jobs than them. However, the unemployed black women tended to choose this status whether single or not, preferring to be at home for their children (in at least one case on the order of their partner). Hence I have categorised them as house 'wives'. These women were not idle; each of them had various 'projects' that earned them pocket money or did voluntary work on several days a week. The white British women were also more likely to own their homes (with mortgages) than the population of Hackney overall and the black women. However, this did not necessarily mean their living conditions were better and may have reflected their particular values rather than their income. Being in inner London, housing was too expensive for many of the women to be able to afford accommodation to suit their need. Vanessa for example owned a maisonette:

We live, we're five people, we're five people in a two bedroom house. Vanessa W1:79

The black women all lived in council houses or flats; this was sometimes because they had fled an abusive relationship and at least two had previously owned homes conjointly with a partner.

The women who completed second interviews were slightly older as a group, and more likely to have children but there were no other strong patterns across groups.

Details at time of recruitment	Completed first interview			Total (first interview) n=20	Completed second interview			Total (second interview) n=12
	White British	Caribbean	African		White British	Caribbean	African	
Age, mean (range)	35 (19-48)	40 (32-51)	37 (26-45)	37 (19-51)	39 (30-48)	43 (32-51)	45 (45)	42 (30-51)
Relationship status:								
Married	1	1	2	4	1	1	2	4
Cohabiting	4	2	1	7	3*	1*	1	5
Separated (still cohabiting)	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	2
Separated (married)	2	0	1	3	2	0	1	3
Separated in last 12 months (not cohabiting, not married) effectively single	3	1	0	4	1*	1*	0	2
Partner ethnicity different to woman's	3	1	1	5	1	1	1	3
Employment:								
Paid employ	7	1	3	11	5	0	1	6
Unemployed	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	2
Housewife	0	4	1	5	0	3	0	3
Studying	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Employed < 15 hours/wk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Employed 16-34 hours/wk	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	1
Employed 35hrs/wk or more	6	1	2	9	4	0	1	5
Housing:								
Owned	7	0	0	7	5	0	0	5
Council/HA	2	5	4	11	2	3	1	6
Private rent	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Hostel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of children, mean (range)	1 (0-3)	2 (1-5)	2 (1-4)	2 (0-5)	2 (0-3)	2 (1-5)	4 (4)	3 (0-5)

Table 7: Details of participants and recruitment

Numbers are small, and the aim was for diversity rather than representativeness so that statistical analysis would be inappropriate. * = in process of becoming single, between first and second interview and hence counted twice in same column

4.3. Who are the significant others in the women's lives and what are they like?

I now turn to the women's social interactions. My aim here is to provide the 'bigger picture' of the women's relationships and set the scene for subsequent chapters, where I explore different aspects of these social interactions. As Watson (2009) says:

Our identities are shaped across our lives, both temporally and sectorally; any one person's 'identity' will only in part be an outcome of one particular experience or one particular role. It is thus important to look at the whole lives of people rather than their identities in one role (p. 62).





In addition to the abusive relationship with their intimate partner (which I consider in Chapter 5), the women described a number of significant other relationships, with their own and their partner's children, other relatives, previous partners, friends, work colleagues and community members. The most striking feature of these relationships is their diversity, both within and across relationship types. Table 8 demonstrates this for motherhood.

4.3.1 Children

As Table 8 shows, most of the women were mothers and three looked after stepchildren, including one with no children of her own. Fourteen mothers had young children living with them and a 15th had young and adult children who lived with her parents in Africa; two also had children who had died in toddlerhood. One woman had adult children only. All the Caribbean and African women had children; four white British women did not. One of the white British women with no children had been forced by her partner to terminate a pregnancy.

Table 8: The different relationships that the women described having with children¹²

Each icon represents one woman; the half women indicate one woman who has both an adult child and a toddler who died. To read the table, consider the first row, representing women with no young children. Two of these have no children at all. One has a stepchild but no children of her own, one has adult children and one has been pregnant only once but the child died.

	No adult, step, or dead children	A stepchild	Adult children	A child who died when young	Totals
No children aged 16 or less AND (see row)					5
1 child aged 16 or less AND (see row)					3
More than 1 child aged 16 or less AND (see row)					12
Totals	3	3	3	11	20

The following extracts indicate the significance women attached to their children in their narratives. Mostly the women talked about spending time with their children and trying to be ‘good mothers’ (May, 2008) despite hardships (see section 5.5 for more on this), and they measured events in their lives by their children’s’ ages as Fran does

¹² I interviewed one mother-daughter dyad. From the daughter I learned the mother had a child who died in toddlerhood, but since the mother herself did not tell me this I have not included it in my figure. I make this point to emphasise that what is described in these pages is not an exhaustive list of the women’s relationships but only those they themselves chose to talk about. I am assuming the women did not talk about relationships if they were not significant to them in relation to the conflict they experienced within their intimate relationship.

below. It should be noted that no woman was asked to talk about her children specifically.

He's coming onto seven, but he's my life and soul; I'd be lost without him. (sniffs) Spoilt rotten, as he's an only child. 'Mummy, have I been good today?' 'I don't know, what do you want now!' 'Can I have a toy from Woolworths?' (both laugh) He knows he's got me right round his little finger. I can't say no to him - augh! Mmn-hmmn. (...) He's got Tai-Kwando twice a week, football, swimming, and the occasional theatre. We went to the West End to see X-Men. Winona C1:164; 2

I got twins, I've been on my own for ... practically ever since they've been born, they're eight years of age; they were seven at the time I met this guy that I'm going to talk about. Fran W1:4

My children will get the best education they want. If it means selling my fridge, my television, my computer to pay school fees, I will do it. Patience A2:103

Nine of the women, all white British or Caribbean, spoke about protecting their children in some way, such as from harm, from smacking (corporal punishment), from seeing conflict and abusive relationships, or from exposure to alcohol or drugs.

Several described the need to protect their children from life on the streets, "... you know, we've had confrontational situations, drunks on the street, when you kind of go ... hmm! ... it's the children, purely the children, because you think, oh, I don't think I was exposed to that at age three, you know." (Cathy W1:168). Indeed three of the white British women (Cathy, Dinah, Tracy) compare their parenting skills favourably with those of other parents in the area.

*My boy, he's ... he's a good boy really. He's ... you know, he ain't ... he's got friends that are in the same class as him that, erm, live, er, in our area, that are totally ... see their mum's don't give a f**k and they're out on the street eleven, half eleven at night, smoking spiffs and doing this ... I'm not a mother that's going to allow my son to be out on the street at that ... them times doing ... and knowing and doing them things and giving them a tap on the back for it!* Tracy W2:352-354

According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995), mothers focus on their children as a symbol of the bonding and commitment they might have expected from an intimate partner now that divorce is common and the longevity of relationships is no longer guaranteed. Smart and Neale (1999) have similarly commented that parents post-divorce and separation tend to re-evaluate their lives and invest much effort in their

children, seeing these as their most enduring relationship. Therefore the women may be reflecting the relative instability of their relationship and their concerns about a lack of commitment from their partner, rather than presenting themselves as socially competent under the umbrella of hegemonic masculinity. However, in the absence of a control group I am unable to determine whether or not this is so and it is likely that non-abused women will also wish to emphasise their good mothering.

4.3.2 Other family

There were no significant differences between ethnic groups in the way the women talked about their children. But differences between the groups in their descriptions of other family members, as well as kinship structures, accorded with kinship studies in general (Hays & Mindel, 1973). All the African and Caribbean women talked about close relationships with grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, and children's partners (no white British woman had adult children) as well as – and sometimes for cultural reasons instead of – parents and siblings.

My mum and dad, I didn't really get to know them properly because ... I born here and they send me home when I was nine months, and then I grew up in Barbados with my grandparents, came back here when I was sixteen, meet my mum and dad for the first time and we never bonded, we never got on, you know. (...) And we didn't want to leave our gran because we had a ... fantastic childhood. We had our friends, we had the extended family, you know, like there were ... all them aunts and uncles and we had a lot! Naomi C1:14; 86

In general, the white British women talked only about parents (including their parent's new partners where applicable) and siblings, although they sometimes talked about more relatives when I asked them to define the term family in the abstract. Several then drew on what they explicitly stated to be the traditional model (that is, they may have been giving me what they saw as society's definition). This is particularly indicated by the use of 'I'd' in the following extract:

Int: What's your family?

U2: My family. For me ... it's my little unit that I'm in. (pause) And I'd probably take it quite specifically, I'd probably say, my ... well, my parents, grandparents - if they were all alive - and my parents' siblings and their families, and my siblings and their families. I'd probably be quite traditional in what I consider family. Ursula W2:250

The two exceptions were Tracy and Zoe. The area in which my research took place bordered that immortalized by Young and Wilmott in their 1957 book “Family and Kinship in East London”. Both had lived in the area all their lives as had their families, whereas almost all the other white British women had been brought up in different areas of the UK. The family ties of both were similar to those described in the Young and Wilmott book. However both women differed from the black women in initiating talk about their extended kinship network only in the context of getting help with accommodation. Perhaps their need for this help provides the explanation for their difference from the other white British women.

Yeah, I got my own place through an auntie, she knew the landlord, she used to work with a Jewish man, she used to work for him, and he had like loads of properties, and he had one going and erm I moved into it. Tracy W1:337

Many of the women were in regular contact with their families (and their partner’s families) but even so a few had problems with them in childhood and continued to have these problems in adulthood, did not get on with them or felt distanced because their mother was being abused, their childhood was characterized by emotional neglect, or as in the case of one Caribbean and two of the white British women, they were physically and emotionally abused in childhood.

I’ve never had a relationship with my mum, cos if she showed me any affection he’d beat her up. He was jealous. So me and my mum didn’t have one neither, it was only when he wasn’t around that we could have a cuddle or have a laugh, as I got older we’ve never done nothing, I never been on holiday with her, never.... Tracy W1:361

However several women across the ethnic groups, such as Bolanle and Zoe, described close loving relationships with relatives. The African women tended to hold their mothers in high regard; the Caribbean and white British women were more critical of theirs.

My family, we’re not very close knit, you know, erm. And mum has grown us like that; I am just getting them lot together now [her siblings], so that they can grow together and do things. But ... you know, I think my mum just didn’t know how to do that. Kalisa C1:114

Women across the ethnic groups included their partner's relatives as family, and occasionally also the relatives of ex-partners, staying with them, talking frankly to them¹³, and sometimes being treated as surrogate offspring.

Even when I went back home after five years, my brother-in-law was still the same, my father-in-law ... they were all happy to see me, they didn't change. They take me as their child. Sela A1:150

Despite this, women did not always have smooth relationships with their partner's relatives, as shown by the following extract:

But his mum will just like ... she's, you know, fallen out with me so many times over nothing that I've ever done to her, just because maybe I'm another woman that's in her son's life. Kalisa C1:40

The same ethnic differences applied here as with their own families, but with Tracy as the only white British woman not to restrict her talk to parents and siblings.

Significantly, Tracy went to her partner's family for respite from the abuse as she did not want to stay in her parental home with her abusive father.

I went to stay with his uncle and his cousins. They'd come round and I went to stay with them for a couple of days [after she had argued with her partner]they just put me up for a couple, cos I was pregnant at the time Tracy W1:138-140

Families that lived in the same London borough tended to be seen most often. There were no differences in frequency of family contact that could be related to ethnicity or to migration status. For example, white British families who lived in England but outside London were not necessarily seen more than once or twice a year.

¹³ The women might talk with relatives, including their partner's relatives, about arguments with their partner, but while they were committed to remaining in the relationship they did not label these as abusive or speak of them as other than normal everyday relationship quarrels, and their relatives responded with advice aimed at reducing the conflict. This is explored in more detail in subsequent chapters.

With regard to the following extracts, Zoe lived in the same borough as her family, Linda approximately an hour's drive away, and Patience a continent away.

My brother's just bought a house near around here, they're just round the corner from me and my sister, who's my best friend anyway, and then she, when I go to work she sleeps in my house with the kids, so that they don't have to be in her house. Zoe W1:71

L1:But I went home, erm ... I went home last weekend, and that was the first time I'd been home, to where my mum lives, since last summer, though I'd seen her at my brother's over Christmas. And everybody's kind of like, 'Well, what's happening?!' You know, and it was just like, 'Oh, I've got all this studying to do!'

Int: So your family lives quite far away?

L1:No, they don't! (laughs) that's the thing! Linda W1:20-24

I went to Africa to see to see my mum you know, it was everybody heard of what I was going through but it is a very far distance, so I went there to go for holidays, so I just came back now. Patience A1:87

4.3.3 Other intimate relationships

Several of the women had entered into an intimate relationship that later turned out to be abusive as a way of leaving home (Enander, 2011, noted the same in her sample of abused women). Most of the women had previous intimate relationships with men who were abusive, and many of the white British and Caribbean women were still in contact with them (and with their new girlfriends and wives where relevant), usually because of shared children. Relationships with ex-partners generally continued to have abusive undertones or might create conflict within the current relationship. By contrast, the two African women who had left abusive partners presented themselves as having cut themselves off from them entirely, even when they had shared children.

Int: So what's happened to your husband now then?

P1:I do have no idea, since I left. Patience A1:69

Three of the Caribbean and two of the African women said their partners were openly polygamous (that is, the men's time was separately shared between two or more partners, each of which was accorded a similar status, something also described by Wilson [1996] in a study of African American women), whereas the single white British man portrayed as unfaithful was described as having clandestine affairs. The

Caribbean women described dealing with abuse from their partner's concurrent or ex partners, that is from other women. The other current or ex partners of African men had no contact with the women I interviewed.

So five years later, he was in a relationship and he wasn't happy in that relationship so he came back to me, and I fell pregnant. But at the same time, he was still backwards and forwards in a relationship with somebody else. So our second child came along, and the arguments were still there because of the girlfriend that was there. She threatened my life Abriella C1:7

4.3.4 Work and home

Some of the women talked about the difficulties of balancing work and personal relationships. This is explored in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6. A few studied part-time and two had recently been full-time students.

4.3.5 Friendships

Women's friendships were often described as solid and long-standing irrespective of the type or severity of the abuse the women experienced:

She's one of my close friends, I've known her for like 20, 28 years....., they wouldn't, put it this way, they wouldn't stop coming to visit me because they didn't like him [her abusive partner]. Tracy W1:360

The African women said their friendships were distinct from those of their partners and that this was usual for Africans. As Jenny put it: "The man goes out separately and the woman should go separately" (Jenny A1:322). The picture was more mixed among the white British and Caribbean women; some described situations similar to those of the African women while some others shared friends with their partner or socialised with his friends.

His idea of taking me out, was just taking me up to the ... up the road to a domino house, just sitting watching all these black guys play dominoes, and I'm like ... needing matchsticks to keep my eyelids open. Winona C1:213

A lot of his friends know what's been going on, cos they're married to my friends. It's a common group. Zoë 1:90

Some women described moving to the area where they lived from elsewhere and whether the move was within London or England or between countries, this could make it hard to have active relationships with friends and family, although all had at least one or two good friends. Some had built up social lives in the area since moving there.

Ethnic insularity was an additional problem for black women born in the Caribbean or Africa who had migrated to England. In particular, three of the African women described how their partners actively kept them from white British influences and all four African women emphasized the importance of a good standing within their African community (this is explored in Chapter 4, Part 2).

4.3.6 Community

What the women considered as community varied but there were clear overall patterns. The black women tended to speak about it in terms of local individuals and their own ethnic grouping and considered it to be at the core of their social lives.

You walk up the road and you meet someone you know. Everywhere you go, there's somebody that you know and if you haven't seen them for a long time, you'll stand and you'll have a chat and stuff like that, you know? Naomi C1:174

[My partner's] what maybe they'd term mixed race, but he classifies himself as black. Now when I look at him beside me, until ... when I want to curse him or when I want to (laughs) tease him or whatever, then I'll say, 'You belong to them Indian people!' Right? Because that's what his mother is... (...) they're different communities. Queisha C2:257-261

The white British women instead based their social life around scattered friendships and described 'community' in terms of local formal and informal but structured organizations and services, from schools to clubs.

There is a caveat: when saying where friends *came from* two of the white British women said ‘the local community’, meaning they were local people. The distinction between being from the community and being part of the community is evident in the following comment made by Cathy when asked to define community. Only one of the Caribbean women, Winona, the only one born in England, spoke of community in the same way as the white British women.

Yeah, community. I don't know whether we have ... well, we do have it in Hackney but not ... I mean, I don't participate like you do in smaller communities, I suppose. I have friends locally, in the local community here (...)you have to make friends in the local area, the community, because it is important to have people locally. And I mean I do feel we have a bit of a community around here actually (...) like I play tennis over the park (...) I guess the kids went to scouts, although they don't do that any more. We do kind of do local things, but I don't feel we have a great sense of community here. Cathy W2:147

Although a few of the Caribbean and white British women had misused soft drugs at some time in their lives, only one, Helen, who had also misused hard drugs, spoke of a drug-abusing community, which was structured similarly to the black women’s ethnic communities.

From Queisha’s extract below we get an idea of why there may be some ethnic differences in conceptions of community.

Int: And what does community mean?

Q2: When I hear the word ‘community’ I will automatically think, it’s a group of people that’s working together ... for whatever cause, but they just working together. They belong with each other, er, first with some sort of ... through some sort of identification process ... either by terms of race, colour ... Queisha C2:225-226

If a community is a group of people with a shared identity, people in minority groups are more likely to be united through racism and discrimination. On the other hand the black women came from what have been described as collectivist cultures (Hofstede, 1983) and this may explain the difference.

4.3.7 Religion and spirituality

Only two of the white British women attended church (one began during the study) whereas most of the Caribbean and African women were involved in religious groups linked to their ethnic communities, and turned to religious leaders in times of crisis (similar patterns were found in the US by El-Khoury, Dutton, Goodman, Engel, Belamaric, & Murphy, 2004). Spirituality showed the same ethnic differences, and its significance is considered in chapter 7 on social support.

4.3.8 Conclusions about the other relationships in the women's lives

The main conclusion I wish to draw from this section is that the women had diverse relationships with people other than their partner, and so their experiences of abuse cannot be considered as something influenced only by their interaction with their partner; social and cultural context is highly relevant. In the next section I consider how each type of relationship expected particular behaviours and actions from the women and the effect this had on the women's responses to the abuse. I also show how, despite heterogeneity of relationship types, there were more similarities than differences in the way other relationships affected the women's responses.

4.4 The expectations of others

I end this chapter with consideration of the influence the others in the women's lives had on the women's behaviours, focusing on community and family expectations around intimate relationships. I end with a short reference to the way social norms influence the women's expectations. In the next chapter I consider in greater depth the way all of these influences moderate the women's behaviours and expectations and discuss the way the women's expectations may diverge from them and what they do when this happens. My interest in this chapter is rather on the power of these expectations to affect the women's responses to the relationship and the abuse.

4.4.1 Staying together

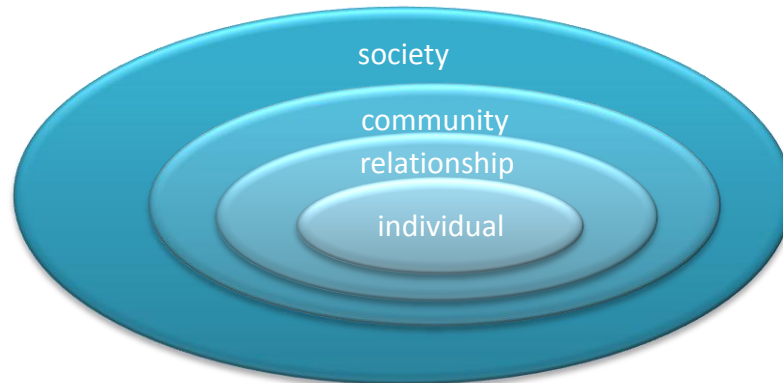


Figure 17: Heise's 1998 ecological model

Despite differences in the women's accounts of community, depending on ethnic group (see section 4.3.6), community cultural expectations generally acted to keep a couple together, come what may and regardless of ethnicity. Family obligations and expectations were linked to community expectations which were linked to societal ones. Heise's 1998 ecological model (Fig 17) is useful in illustrating this. It meant the women's descriptions of general family obligations and expectations were similar across ethnic groups and were generally gendered and related to normative ideals. For example, women might be expected by their families, including in-laws as Zoe relates below, to subsume their wants and needs to those of a man, or to do all the domestic chores and maintain responsibility for caregiving activities.

This is strikingly apparent in the story of Queisha (second extract below), who despite leaving abusive relationships herself tells her common law ‘daughter-in-law’ to stay with Queisha’s abusive son.

I think his mum is just devastated that we’ve broken up, and she’s seen that he’s, whenever we’ve been down there, he’s treated me really badly and she sees that. Not the violence, but definitely the aggression and not helping me and stuff, so. But she’s, I mean she’s just doing what she needs to do. She sort of thinks I should have been a better wife and clean and cook and look after him a bit better. But I think that’s just her defence mechanism of trying, of like trying to make sense of the situation Zoe W1:97-99

[Queisha recounts how she told her abused ‘daughter-in-law’] ..“You know, it’s a 50:50 thing...I can’t tell you to leave him...the children are going to need both of you... you know you’re not the only one, you’ve accepted that so it’s now how you’re going to manage that!” Queisha C1:113

Although types of expectations were similar across the groups, the women believed there were ethnic differences in their strength and the force of their impact, thought to be greater for the black women than for white British women. Correspondingly it was believed black women were more committed to the preservation of the relationship. Their expectations were also moderated by individual as well as community experiences of racism and social inequality, and community pressures were considered to have been particularly important in cultures that were oppressed to prevent the community from being weakened.

The way family and community expectations constrained the woman’s responses and usually kept the couple together was sometimes described by the same woman as both positive and problematic, in different parts of an interview. These divergent views may represent, respectively, women’s ‘public’ and ‘private’ accounts (Cornwell, 1984), or what Goffman called front stage and back stage performances. In their public accounts, women presented themselves as competent in fulfilling expectations, but in private accounts they revealed the tensions this caused. This meant that social relationships that seemed on the face of it to be likely to be supportive often were not. Ahmed, Reavey and Majumdar (2009) also report this in their discourse analysis of the accounts of sexually abused British born South Asian women living in the UK.

4.4.2 Hiding the abuse to appear socially competent

In all cases a woman was expected by those around her to appear competent according to societal ideals of her roles as a mother, intimate partner, family and community member (Gillis' life, or relationship, to live by). The identity of 'abused woman' did not fit with this so the women used various forms of impression management to deal with the mismatch. This most commonly constrained the woman's help-seeking and other responses to the abuse, silencing them and keeping them in the relationship, whether the community was ethnically or geographically defined.¹⁴

I never really used to talk to [my mother] about it. I used to keep it under covers and under wraps and, if I'd just had a big domestic and went round there, I'd never let her know. I'd act like nothing had happened. Tracy W1:103

The way women put up with, hide and deal alone with abuse and its consequences has been long-recognised in the literature (see for example Gelles, Steinmetz, & Straus, 1981; Wilcox, 2007). The black women explicitly stated that they rarely confided in friends and community members because they could not be certain they would keep their private business confidential. In hiding the abuse, as the ecological model might predict, often the emphasis was on community reactions even when moderated by family. Thus all the women were concerned about damaging their family's and their own reputation if they went against community values and expectations and revealed backstage performances. If they were socially incompetent this would tarnish the reputation of those around them (Morrison, 2006; see also my overview of the social order in section 3.6). The Caribbean women talked about reputation explicitly, the African women talked rather about malevolent gossip.

But my [African] culture, my people, when you go to them and you tell them this is what you are facing ... In presence of you, they will be nice with you, but the moment you've left, they'll start mouthing you, they'll look at you and say, 'She's not happy. Ey-ey-ey, she is fighting with the husband!' They'll be talking badder, and you'll be seeing it spreading, going round, round, round. Jenny A1:431

¹⁴ This more analytical look at help-seeking and support is extended in Chapters 7 and 8.

Although the African and Caribbean women said this was restricted ethnically (as Jenny said, ‘my culture’, in the extract above), a few of the white British women also spoke of embarrassment or being judged, others said they were encouraged to keep things to themselves. For example, Fran said “... my mum’s answer to everything is, ‘Oh, have a drink and block it out,’ that’s her answer. ‘Have a glass of wine, Fran!’” (Fran W1:6).

Constraints particular to families added to community effects. The women often reported the consequence as a lack of support. Some families were said to be emotionally distant from the woman or dysfunctional. Fran told me: “Families should mean, erm, the most special people to you, but dysfunctional families they can be your bloomin’ worst enemies, can’t they?” (Fran W2:254). Some of the other women across the ethnic groups wished to avoid an ‘I told you so’ reaction from family, such as Queisha below. A few were like Linda, who had witnessed abuse in childhood, and said “I’d come out of living in a particular way and so it was kind of normal” (Linda W1:172).

But the reason I stayed in the [abusive] relationship with him, even four years, was to prove to my family that I could hold down a long term relationship. And after seven years it was a waste of bloody time! Queisha: 30:119

A desire not to appear weak to others was true across ethnic groups but more common among the black women.

[talking about depression resulting from abuse] ...and when it’s within your family structure or within yourself, you don’t want anybody to know because maybe you think people think that it’s a sign of weakness, or ... where are you going with that? You try to sort your things out yourself, Kalisa C1:206

*I would go to my friends and I’d tell them, but I’d probably be like ... yeah, ‘The bastard’s f***ing done it, hasn’t he?’ And that’s it! Linda W1:104*

Similar worries, such as concern about being a burden, being judged or otherwise getting unwanted comments or feedback that suggested the woman was not socially competent extended to support services and friends, as Dinah explained:

D1: I think a lot of people ... would just dismiss counselling ... would just dismiss it. And so, you know, maybe (pause) ... the whole word 'counselling' is kind of quite scary for a lot of people.

Int: Mmmn. What does it mean?

D1: Well, telling someone all your deepest, darkest problems, isn't it? Revealing everything about yourself ... which I think is beneficial, but I think, you know, even if you're telling someone and they say, 'Well, it's confidential and no-one else is going to hear.' It's like, well, you're hearing! (little laugh) And do you have a view? And there's very much that feeling, there's certain things still that I ... would think twice about saying in counselling, because I don't want someone else to judge me. (...) I suppose the [other] thing about talking to my friends is that I'm aware that my friends have issues and I don't want to overload them with my problems.: Dinah 1:436-440; 459

Other partner abuse studies confirm that worries about shame and loss of honour are not restricted to particular ethnicities but feature in the narratives of white American and European, Asian and black abused women even after the relationship has ended (Aris, Hague & Mullender, 2003; Chatzifotiou & Dobash, 2001; Edleson & Toman, 1992; Enander, 2010; Gill, 2004; Hague, 2005; Knickmeyer, Levitt, & Horne, 2010; Mullender & Hague, 2005; Tower, 2007; Yllö & Biograd, 1988).

4.4.3 Geographical relocation and community expectations

Queisha and most of the African women commented that it was harder to uphold community expectations to make relationships work when living in the UK with its weaker commitment ties as opposed to the Caribbean or Africa. An additional factor the women cited was the difficulty in adequately sustaining traditional community networks in the UK; from their descriptions it could be concluded that community networks based on ethnicity were fragmented.

But I think that family and community are very important. As I said, I think with my first marriage, if my mother in law had lived in this country ... (...). Even when things were not good, she just felt family stay together, husband, wife and children, which I realise was the right concept. (...) Had we been in Jamaica, or she had been here, we would never have divorced. We would have still had our ups and downs, because that's part of it, yeah? She can't stop that. Queisha C1:129

Across the ethnic groups, movements to a different community with different expectations (including immigration but also relocation within the UK or even London itself) could lead to dilution of or changes in the influence of expectations from a particular group, of the sort that Queisha describes. Since the way community directly affected the women's actions in response to relationship problems was similar across ethnic groups, the main impacts of this, considering the stories of the women I interviewed, were on their potential for dissatisfaction with the relationship, their definitions of and contact with their community, and on their partner's rules around socializing. In particular, the African women said their partners prevented them from mixing with white British women, with the expressed intention of preventing them from adopting a white British culture (and therefore expectations) when they migrated to the UK (see also the example from Patience in Chapter 3). Bolanle was the only African woman to not say this but she did not mix with white British women.

There are African woman but he don't let meto mix with them because he feeled most of those women they are devils, see, they are too white you understand, he feel you going to woman like that youyou be you be you be too white for him. So he will not want you to go out to those women or bring those women to his house, no he won't.
Patience A1:192

Relocation to a different community could foreground expectations of the woman and her partner that might otherwise have remained subsumed in the 'taken-for granted'.

[Where he comes from up North] everybody will kind of ... not everybody will know each other, but it's smaller, you know. So, he ... when he came to London ... when I met him and he was like ... he was living in London, (...) so it's kind of like he would be ... 'Oh, you don't do that! That's not the way girls should behave!' or 'You're so free, you know, like with yourself. You always talk to everybody!' (...) [I said] 'Maybe where you come from, it's ... it's ... it's frowned upon.' Kalisa C1:32

In my data, this could push the woman into facing up to the abuse even when community discourses mitigated against her leaving the relationship. The movement could be within or between countries and might involve one or both partners.

The degree to which the women I interviewed adopted local cultural values, their level of acculturation or assimilation¹⁵ into the different community, whether it was black British, ‘white African’ or white British, depended on both the level of their interactions with the local community and on the amount, type and quality of social support available. Patience sat at one end of the continuum, with her entire family in Africa and restricted contact with other women on her husband’s orders; she remained ‘under’ her husband. At the other end, there was Winona, the only UK-born black woman in the study. Winona was also the only black woman to interpret community geographically in the same way as the white British women (see section 4.3.6). Throughout her interview, her responses to the abuse she experiences are portrayed in ways that correspond to the white British women rather than the other black women I interviewed.

4.4.4 The importance of considering family expectations

Individual families may have expectations that differed from societal or community norms as a result of the intersection of a number of factors including ethnicity, socioeconomic status and previous experience. Family expectations affected a variety of events in the women’s life course – not just decisions they made around relationships, marriage and parenthood but also such pivotal events as education and career choices. They were often manifest as obligations.

Where you fall in the family can also have an impact. Because in our culture as African people, the eldest, you know, is the one, and I’m the eldest. (...) And the responsibilities that come with that... ... immigrant families, when we earn £10, we have to send home £5 or £3 or whatever! It is like a disgrace if you’re not doing that; apart from the fact that you know that there are relatives or whatever you’ve left behind are going to be suffering and they’re depending on you, but culturally, it’s what we do. We have to do it. Queisha: C2:119; 125

¹⁵ Acculturation is the process by which members of one cultural group adopt the beliefs and behaviours of another group. Usually this means that a minority group adopts habits and language patterns of the dominant group, as in this case, but the dominant group may also adopt patterns typical of the minority group. Assimilation refers to the process by which one cultural group changes its language preference, attitudes and values, memberships of common social groups and institutions, and political or ethnic identification to fit that of the group with which it assimilates. Assimilation is therefore more complete than acculturation.

[My father] was going to stop me having any more education, basically, and I think [my mother] kind of realised that that wasn't a good thing and ... she's a teacher as well, and obviously at that point, thought, I'm going to have to do something now, because he's going to ... I mean, he literally said, 'You're not doing A levels; you're going out to get a job!' Linda W1:150

I really struggled at school, and that was quite significant for me, because I came from a family which had high academic expectations (.....) ... and I just felt very left out; I was doing something which wasn't academic. Dinah W1:213-216

Such pressures and expectations could impinge on the intimate relationship, for example if they differed from the man's or the man's family's, or if the pressures created economic or other stresses.

At times they [husband] don't give [money]. If they are giving, they are thinking, oh, I have to send money home: my dad, my mum, my sister. Oh, you are worry me too much with money! It's part of the [African] men. Jenny A1:286

In some cases then, family expectations led to conflict between the woman and her partner, that potentially exacerbated any pre-existing problems or created or triggered new ones. In such cases, the women were particularly vulnerable given the abusive nature of the relationship.

4.4.5 The influence of broader social norms

So far I have shown how community and family expectations acted to moderate and constrain the women's responses to their intimate partner and to the abuse. As Heise's ecological model illustrates, family and community expectations are themselves moderated by social norms. These might be expected to also act directly on the women themselves. Indeed, my open requests for the women to talk about their intimate relationship and also about other people in their lives led to lengthy narratives from all the women about what was normal and expected, as well as what they experienced in practice. The example below comes from Abriella, whose volunteered idea of what a relationship should be like accorded with what other of the women conveyed across the ethnic groups in often smaller more scattered chunks of narrative.

1 †'d love to have a ...husband that his morals ... he knew his morals was in the house, that he had
 2 to take care of his house. Even though I can take care of the house, but h-him taking care of the
 3 house doesn't mean he has to financially take care of it; he has to put ... in his work at it, help
 4 tidy up, help maintain the children, bath them, read stories, take them to the park, do what a
 5 dad's supposed to do. Help ... you know, i-if one day I-I'm so tired, he'd say, 'Oh, don't worry
 6 sweetheart, I'll cook the dinner.' You know, help with his family, not just his child or with
 7 children, or wife - we all come as a package, as a family thing. So, to me, I may be old fashioned
 8 like that. Abriella C1: 17

It is instantly apparent from Abriella's talk that the relationship she desires is shaped by social norms and discourses. In line 1 she refers to obligations (morals), which Goffman describes as part of the social order (section 3.6). In line 2 and through the use of the word 'help' throughout, as well as her explicit declaration in line 7 that she is 'old-fashioned', she shows that she is drawing on a traditional model of the division of labour in the home. Although in line 3 she seems to diverge from this (he doesn't have to financially take care of the house) it is quickly clear that she means *only*, as his domestic care is mostly restricted to supporting her by "doing what a dad's supposed to do" (lines 4-5), 'supposed to do' being a clear reference to social norms. This means only taking over with selected help when she is "so tired" (lines 5-6). She stresses the family is a package (line 7), children and wife must all be taken care of by him. Each of these aspects of a relationship will be evaluated in more detail in the next chapter, with normative descriptions in the data compared with the women's lived experiences.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has considered how the expectations of others may affect women's responses to abuse and representations of their experiences of abuse as 'not abuse'. The women aimed to appear normatively socially competent as measured by the expectations of others, which were socially constructed and they also drew directly on social norms. This chapter has also shown how expectations may vary with relationship, interaction, setting and other contextual factors.

By staying in the relationship and presenting themselves as non-abused, the women tended to satisfy the expectations of others. But there was a divergence between what the women presented to others – what was expected – and what they experienced. In the next chapter I add the women's own expectations to the mix, showing that there was another layer of divergence in expectations. The way the women managed their situation and various divergences in expectation, is a focus of the rest of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5: THE WOMEN'S EXPECTATIONS OF AN INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP, AND WHAT THEIR RELATIONSHIP WAS LIKE

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter I considered the way the expectations of others affected the women's responses to the abuse, looking at two of the three levels of influence on the couple and individual in Heise's 1998 ecological model, that is, society and community (including family). In this chapter I turn to the women's expectations, experiences, responses and negotiations within the intimate relationship itself, showing how these are influenced by society, community and family expectations.

I extend Gillis' two-element concept of the relationship to live by and live with, as adopted by Smart (section 3.14.4), to consider the intimate relationship at three levels, something that emerged from the women's talk. These are: the relationship the women desired, the less good but acceptable relationship that the women expect in practice, which I call the expected relationship, and the societally unacceptable – which I call the lived relationship or the relationship the women lived with. I consider how the women met the expectations of others by presenting their relationship as fitting the levels of the desired or the expected, while experiencing the unacceptable.

These topics are explored through consideration of the various aspects of an intimate relationship, focusing as the women do on the gendered division of labour and its link to social competencies, the divergence of the women's ideologies and desires with what they expect, and with their practices within their lived intimate relationship, and any divergence of these from the expectations of society, community and the other relationships in their lives. I do not dwell on either professional or informal support in this chapter, leaving Chapter 7 to do so.

PART 1

5.2 Love and romance: the beginning of the relationship

As an ideal, romantic love is said to be ‘perfect’ and able to conquer all obstacles in its path (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1992). The women did not speak of love or their experiences in this way; it is not clear whether or not it is an ethnocentric rather than universalistic ideal. Romantic love has also been operationalised more concretely in the literature as a reported desire for proximity and physical contact, resistance to physical separation and feelings of excitement and euphoria when with the loved one (Tennov, 1979). These aspects were encapsulated in all the women’s conceptualisations of love as shown by Kalisa’s comments below. The women in the first few interviews volunteered such descriptions, which emerged as an early theme, leading me to ask all the women to define love for me if they did not give a description unasked.

It’s an emotion that you feel from the heart, you know, these types of pangs for people. These types of, withdrawal symptoms and you feel like ...that person is just so ... so much in your system, in your being. (...) you want them to be around. Kalisa C1:18; 102

For fewer of the women, love also meant companionship, having someone to share things with:

[Love is] being nice to one another, you walk the street, you hold hand. You go shopping, you have a laugh, you know, stuff like that. You have a cuddle. To me, that’s what love is. (...) Little things - making a cup of tea, having a laugh, you know? Naomi C1:202

Four of the women reported being vulnerable to any hint of romance (see Fran’s remark below), and one commented this was like an addiction.

When I meet someone, I instantly know if I like them or not, and I jump in head first and it’s a ... whirlwind romance. I get absolutely caught up with the moment. Fran W1:32

The women's conceptualisations of love and respect were often similar. For example, Dinah, when asked to define respect, which she had mentioned, said it was "looking at what's important to ... to the other person. (*slight pause*) Erm, and making an effort, and understanding" (Dinah W2:127), while Zoe said love meant "you do stuff for each other because you want to" (Zoe W2:139).

All the women talked about romance and love but the African women did so the most parsimoniously and the white British women with the most colour. This contrasted with the remainder of the women's narratives, which the black women were more likely than the white British women to pepper with metaphor and allegory. Two of the African women and one of the Caribbean women at one point in their narratives declared that romance (if not 'romantic love' itself) could be expected from white British men but not from men from their own ethnic groups. Yet romantic love is believed to be cross-cultural – as relevant to Bollywood as it is to Hollywood Rom Coms, for example. Certainly in all cases the women's own relationship was seen by the women as a 'love match' when they entered into it, as Jenny confirms below (one black woman, Patience, subsequently decided it was not). And they certainly wish for romantic love, as Abriella makes clear.

J1: You know, I think white couples, they love each other. They've got ... they have a real love to me. (...)

Int: But when you married your husband, did you feel love?

J1: Yeah, but our men they don't give love, too much love, you know? Jenny A1:298-300

...a lot of black women now, they're going to white men, because they're finding that white men are more ... more loving and more understanding and more like, God, this is what we've been looking for! Abriella C1:65

This suggests that there may not be a marked cultural difference in the emotion of love but rather in how it is 'done'.¹⁶ Bolanle was typical of the black women in saying "the love died" quickly, but the white British women usually described the man as falsely constructing the *myth* of a romantic love that was subsequently shattered by his abusive behaviours.

*He was writing me lovely letters, you know, and I fell in love with the letters, and the words, and like ooh, somebody feels like this about me and I feel this way about them..... Initially,well it was all the emotions and that that I had you know, all the the the, your belly rolling over, the hotness the sweats, the rush, the having a cuddle and just getting blown away andAnd.....it's, it's you know, it's like inside there's an ache, it's, I had an ache inside me, a longing, you know when we weren't together you know, I'd literally ache. What a f***ing load of bollocks. Tracy W1:205*

However, as Helen points out, the myth was actually a *co-construction*, built up by the woman with 'help' from the man.

I fell head over heels of this image that I'd built of him, that he himself had helped to construct, and then, it wasn't true - none of it was true. Helen 1:64

5.3 Relationships in the longer term

In this thesis I take longer term relationships to mean those in which there exists some sign that the couple are 'serious' about each other, committed, such as choosing to live together, or getting engaged or married. Words associated repeatedly with such relationships across the ethnic groups were 'contentment' and 'security', as something desirable. This is Linda's offering. She mentions a generalized feeling of security but also the security of forward planning enabled through commitment.

[It's] about contentment, and ... not being sad, and not being angry, and ... enjoying life, and ... (slight pause) looking forward to coming home and having plans and ... (slight pause) having things to look forward to, I suppose and feeling safe and secure, ... and being sunny and warm and ... not cold and grey and ... mmn. Linda W2:253-256

¹⁶ I write this as an 'outsider', that is from my standpoint as a white European.

Freedom to ‘be yourself’, described by three of the women, was related to feelings of security and came from the idea that within a committed relationship the woman would be accepted warts and all. She could behave in ways that she wanted to be kept ‘behind closed doors’. In two cases this was positioned as expected in any relationship (see the extract from Patience below) but in the third as something desirable but possibly problematic and requiring work.

*There’s something too a family can do, like if give gas you know, you say ‘bingo!’
Patience A1:130*

*... just saying to yourself, look, I’m me and he met me this way, and this is how I’m
going to be! Queisha C1:82*

Within their own relationship the women considered they had lost rather than gained freedom (being in the relationship was “like a prison”, as Patience [1:197]) said. By contrast the man expected the freedom to do things behind closed doors, such as be abusive, that the woman would keep hidden as an obligation according to the social order (see section 3.6).

Security was mentioned more often than happiness as something the women expected to gain from a serious relationship, perhaps because of the impact on the women’s accounts of their lived experiences, perhaps because security was a more basic need. It mostly revolved around the women’s desire to have children, the need to have a male role model in the lives of any children they had, and the expectation the man would be the main ‘provider’ in the relationship (i.e. the unacceptability of anything else). This differs from a more narrow concept of *economic* security, which Simon and Barrett (2010) say is increasingly less likely to be contingent upon a relationship, because what the women described included other aspects of security, such as attachment security (Gillath, Sesko, Shaver, Chun, & David, 2010) contingent on the bond of parenthood specifically.

*As long as you have partner, you are safe. That’s why I say ‘my half.’ So I would say
that he is more important than the job, because job, I can always get a job at any time,
you know? Patience A2:331*

This might explain why, although several of the women considered that friends and family could provide most of the benefits of an intimate relationship, security was the exception. This was not what I would expect. It might go part way to explain why the women might sustain a relationship even when they knew their partner had other girlfriends or was abusive and why societal pressures to sustain a relationship were so strong, as Cathy indicates below.

You think, actually, maybe, it would be better [to leave]. And then you just think ... well, I always just think it's the children. I always go, 'Well, what about the children?!' (slight laugh) I just couldn't. Cathy W2:124

The women painted a generally negative picture of their lived relationships, once the romance of the early stages had died away. In particular, rather than enjoying the companionship or contentment they desired and expected, they talked of feeling generally negative emotions.

Seven across the ethnic groups spoke of fear of the abuse whether it was psychological or physical.

Some of the other women spoke of different fears, such as being afraid to reveal or act on their feelings or to fail the man's expectations in their day to day lives, as Zoe's extract below illustrates.

...that fear of like if I haven't done something ... I'd be absolutely not scared, but I'd like worry about telling him and I just want that kind of relationship when I'd say to somebody, 'You know what? I've had a really crap day. You know I said I'd do this thing but I haven't done it!' and they'd go, 'All right then. Well, I wanted you to do it, and I'm a bit pissed off but not ... whatever,?' And not, 'Oh, for God's sake - it's all you had to do today!' (pause) It's just ... I hate kind of aggression and all of that kind of stuff. Zoe W2:241

Again across the ethnic groups, seven of the women talked of probable depression or clinical depression (that is, for which they had received treatment) and the others spoke of unhappiness within their intimate relationship.

He used to make me feel really bad about myself. When I met him, I was like how I am now; I was really vibrant, I used to do a lot of things with my life and stuff. And then ... I used to get up in the morning and be like a zombie, not even knowing what I'm doing with my day, I just used to stare into space. I lost all my personality, lost my sparkle, didn't know what I was doing (...)and then I came where I used to not really dress that well, and just be like in leggings and T-shirts all day. You know. Not that you're trying to make yourself look bad, but you can't be bothered. Kalisa C1:184

Five years ago was probably the last time he made me laugh, do you know what I mean? (pause) These are all frown lines, and not laughter lines. Tracy W2:111

Three of the women said they had lost their previously 'bubbly' personalities. This phenomenon may not be restricted to abusive relationships but to any unsuccessful one. Smart reports that for the women she interviewed, divorce was the moment of regaining their 'old' selves (Smart, 2005; Smart & Neale, 1999). This loss has also been linked by to the 'spoiled identity' of stigmatisation; the stigmatised individual can become disinterested in maintaining a sense of self – resulting in a loss of self (Aris, Hague & Mullender, 2003; Goffman, 1963).

5.3.1 Parenthood

Reflecting the association the women made between relationships, security and having children, their talk was dominated by narratives around parenthood, even though I did not ask about this directly (preferring the open question "Can you tell me about the other relationships in your life"). Several of the women, in telling me why and how they had embarked on their abusive relationship, talked about wanting children with the man. In most of these cases the women had come from emotionally unsupportive families.

Indeed several of the women had ‘left home’ (that is, moved out of the family home to be with their partner, not realising he was abusive, as mentioned in the previous chapter), because they saw this both as an escape from their families and the way to a better – even idyllic - future.

When I met him, he was divorced. But at the time, it didn't really matter to me! All I wanted to do was get out of my mum and dad house! It was so depressing and stressful, you know? Naomi C1:96

And then he asked me to marry him, I think after a month and ... because my family had not been very supportive, I've always had sort of problems with my family, me being the only girl. So I thought, right, I'll, erm, I'll sort of make a go of it with (husband), and you know, have our own little family, something that I've always just ... I always wanted, you know (...) I just felt, well, if there is a God, then, th-this is fabulous. Fran W1:6

The women considered their *desire* to have children as fitting the normative ideal – women as a group were expected to enter into a committed relationship and have children as a major part of their biographies (O'Reilly, 2004). Finch (2005, p. 26) similarly reports that according to the British Social Attitudes Survey of 2004, “no younger women and only 1 per cent of older women thought that childlessness was the ideal – although, as we have seen, around a fifth will end up being so.”

As Linda says about her mother: “But I think she’s also kind of hoping that I was going to meet somebody ‘more my own age;’ and with him I would settle down and have children” (Linda W2:31), and later, “She’s sort of worried about ... how it’s going to pan out for me and she wants me to have children and ... You know, and I don’t really want to have children!” Linda W2:97. Linda’s comment here is significant. She was the only woman who did not want children but in stating so several times and justifying this she marked it out as not normal.

Excepting Linda, since women were ‘meant’ to have babies and an intimate relationship was expected to provide the security this required, plans to have children were thought to justify the continuance of, and even improve, a problem relationship, as in the extract from Fran (which is the opposite line of thinking to Linda above), or to act as an expression of love and commitment to a man, as Tracy describes.

Considering Fran, it becomes evident that while the need for security to have children can keep a woman committed to a relationship, this security is viewed as an obligation for men. Having a baby would make the man more committed.

I wanted a baby desperately. And I thought that it would ... it would just make everything all right - people do, don't they! (in soppy voice) 'Oh have a baby!' Fran W1:179

I just wasn't prepared to have a child with any of my other relationships because I didn't love them, and I would only, you know that's the only reason why I had William, cos I loved his father. Tracy W1:392

Other research (Finch, 2005; McDonnell, 2011) shows cultural pressures to have children *within a committed relationship* remains the dominant discourse within UK society. Thus security could be indirectly linked to social competence and therefore social status. As Queisha commented:

Again, coming back to what you say, culturally, it's a case of you're with this person, you're having a child, you're going to get married. Queisha C1:40

As a result, those women in my sample who had become single mothers because they had separated from their child's father often desired and expected to have a new father figure in their child's life:

And it will be nice for my son to have a father figure. A reliable, honest, responsible father figure. You know, I'm never going to rule that out, never. I just feel it will happen one day. Winona C1:392

5.4 Equality

5.4.1 Superior or inferior?

Across the ethnic groups the women expected to be treated as inferior to the men within an intimate relationship. This was stressed by the African women, who said African men considered women to be of lesser intelligence, and fit to be ‘slaves’ rather than equals.

[Ghanaian men] think they know more than you. What you are telling them, they know more. They are intelligent than you, so they don't take you [seriously]. They'll tell you, 'You're a woman. What do you know!' That's how they are. That's what they are ... they've got the upper hands, yeah. They won't take advice from women, no. Jenny A1:310 - 314

As a result, whether in Africa or the UK, the African women expected less companionship and less sharing of social worlds from a relationship than did the white British women. But in the UK, the African women also expected their relationships to develop fragilities because inequalities were challenged or potentially threatened when an African woman assimilated into the white British culture (see the extract from *Patience*, p. 167). The African and Caribbean women actually considered themselves superior to the men in many ways as Kalisa explains below.

We're definitely the head of a lot of things, but the men tend to think that ... and I think a lot of the men will feel inferior in situations, because ... we are strong and we will do what we want to do and, you know, they won't give you a lot of praise, they won't give you a lot of compliments, because you're doing without them, and you're getting on fine! Kalisa C1:204

Thus for them it was the need – shaped by societal expectations – to hold down a relationship rather than the belief that men were superior that led them to expect to have to put up with being the inferior one in any relationship.

Most Caribbean women, they normally think the man is so important, right? Th-the man is ... it's more important to live with that man and have that man, than to think about what he's doing to you. Naomi C1:140

All the women across groups expected to be respected by their partner, whether or not they were considered inferior to the man; most said they did not have this in practice.

5.4.2 *The division of labour*

Abriella considered the sharing of domestic labour and responsibilities in her description on p. 167, and such matters dominated the women's talk. They may be considered using Hochschild's (1989) conceptualisations of the traditional, egalitarian and transitional (see section 3.16).

5.4.2.1 The traditional

The traditional women, such as Abriella, declared that doing all the domestic duties such as cleaning, cooking, and caring for their family was the 'woman's job' and something that would show them to be a 'good woman' ('good wife', 'good female partner' or 'good mother'). As Sela puts it, "the loving wife always has food on the table" (Sela A1:204).

It was important for the women to show to me (within the context of the interview at least) how they matched these ideals; they devoted large parts of their narratives to this. This was even when they did not believe in the traditional ideology, so that it reflected the expectations imposed on them by others. Kalisa is an example of this; here she is talking about the beginning of her current relationship, which she acknowledges as abusive. She does all the chores as asked, although disparaging about gendered inequalities in the last two lines:

Well I used to go and visit him and he used to want me to put away his plates, like, if I washed them. 'I don't leave them on the draining board. You have to put them in the cupboard.' And, 'Oh, look, you have to tidy my house because it's ...' And then when he used to come to mine, all the times that I've known him, he doesn't push a Hoover around the floor, he doesn't even take his clothes out of the wash basket! (...) Just because I'm a woman? 'My woman should this!' and 'A good woman should ... der, der, der!' Kalisa C1:34

5.4.2.2 *The egalitarian: variations in the desired*

Overall, seven of the women I interviewed expressed traditional views and half held egalitarian views about the division of labour within and outside the house. That is, half the women made such statements as ‘I believe in equality’, even though in some domains of their ideal relationship (such as in their ideas of romantic love and security) they expressed more highly gendered, that is traditional, views. Hochschild’s own data demonstrate what is commonly known, that categorisation of people by ideology is an inherently messy business (people ‘do’ rather than ‘are’ as discussed in section 3.13.2). None of the couples she talks about in her book fall neatly into her three categories, something she herself acknowledges. Similarly, there was great diversity in the women’s expressions of what equality actually entailed. Tracy, whose father abused her mother and herself physically and psychologically, considered equality to relate to freedom of choice, but the choice she describes is very constrained (the woman should choose *when* rather than *whether* to do the washing up). Lack of free choice is considered several times later in this thesis, reflecting the emphasis on cultural and social pressures on the women, in line with the original research question.

Well, I think that if a woman wants to be at home....and deal with the cooking and cleaningthen it's fine, but I think that women should do exactly what they want to do when they want to do it. They can wash up on the next day if they want to. Do you know what I mean? Like, that's another thing, you get men that like, want the washing up done, cause murder cos the washing up ain't done or... Tracy W1:173

Kalisa distinguishes sex and gender (see section 3.12), and makes it clear that women are in fact perfectly capable of doing ‘men’s’ jobs, but in referring to such jobs as high-powered she highlights how a socially driven gendered difference has sustained a power divide between men and women:

To me, times have changed; we're not living in the dark ages, and women can do ... the same thing that men can do. If they want to have numerous partners, that's up to them! If they want to go out and get a high powered job, that's up to them. Kalisa C1:204

Despite their ideology, all the egalitarian women were strongly influenced by the traditional model as socially normative as well as structurally supported through

patriarchy. Obeying this model was seen as the key to appearing socially competent. Helen, for example, describes her mother's key attributes as a mother as cooking and being 'huggy'. She only paints an alternative picture of her mother as liberal, bohemian, modern and well educated incidentally in relating particular events in her life. While cooking and being huggy does not sit in tension with any of these characteristics, the careful selection of these two attributes on their own has implicit power in shaping a picture of traditionalism, given that – as Helen herself emphasises - this is the dominant discourse in society. This is all the more noteworthy since Helen thought of herself as strongly egalitarian.

As a child, my dad was very much goes to work, comes home, erm. I didn't see a lot of him, and mum was always there, but she was very ... she was a fantastic mum, she was always cooking and, you know, very huggy and very loving. Helen W1:61

The following extract from Patience, like Kalisa above, shows how the women understood gendered practices to be fluid and overlapping - men can take on women's roles and vice versa - and how this is contingent on context. Gender fluidity is considered in more detail in section 5.8 (see also section 3.13.4). Although traditional, Patience believes that by having to work outside and therefore break out of the purist traditional mould, she is entitled to be treated differently. But she stumbles over the idea of true equality.

So if you want a wife to support you for all this payment then, the woman and you, you are equal in the house, when I mean equal not that you are equal in the house, you understand. A woman should respect a man in the house, give him his due respect, but the man should also respect the woman in the house, you see you don't have to treat her oh, em treat her like a slave or ...Patience A1:125

5.4.2.3 *The expected relationship: the women's take on men's ideology*

In general, the women expected to have partners who espoused the traditional. This appeared partly moderated by ethnicity, with the African and Caribbean women explicitly describing their men as more traditional than white British men. However, the data did not uphold this view.

Jamaican men are ... (pause) ... yeah, they're very narrow minded, they can be very narrow minded as in ... it's their way or no way at all. A lot of men are like ... can be like that but I find it's ... a majority of ... of some Jamaican men can be like that. And I find that it goes down a generation where the father will come in, he'll work, he'll sit there, wait for his dinner. Abriella 56-57

The women's expectations were met in practice. All but one of the egalitarian women lived out lives that subsumed their beliefs to their partner's more traditional ideology (Cavanagh, 2003; Rivas, Kelly, & Feder, in press). An example is Linda, below. Thus hegemonic masculinity was apparently supported by their behaviours.

As a kid, my brothers didn't have to do anything, and I had to do everything with my mum ... and I really resent that now. (.....) ... you know, I would [have it]... absolutely 50:50! There's no way I would have it any other way. (pause) But having said that, I wasn't like that! (laughs) When I was with my first boyfriend, it was just ... no, I wasn't like that at all. But then I think it's because of ... I'd come sort of out of living in a particular way and so it was kind of normal. Linda W1: 170-173

5.4.2.4 *Responsibilities and gifts*

All but two of the women were responsible for and tended to do *all* the household chores routinely (cooking, cleaning, household management and administration and childcare). The two negative cases were Queisha who is discussed in more detail in section 5.8.2, and Winona who was disabled.

The men were said to see domestic chores as the women's 'job', in line with traditionalism, even, as in Vanessa's case, when the woman was the breadwinner and the man unemployed:

Int: What does he expect from a wife?

VI: He expects, er.... Well he says he's a modern man and he's emancipated, or he's seen the light as he puts it, but you know when the chips are down. he does expect his chips in the oven if you like (smiles broadly). He does expect actually to, me to do some cooking for him, he certainly expects me to do the housework because he's actually said 'That's your job', and in the current situation he doesn't have an income, he can't drive, he doesn't do the shopping, he will occasionally go and get some milk, or get some bread from Tesco's on his way back from wherever he's been, but he will not do the shopping. Vanessa W1:90-93

As Hochschild reported of her Californian sample, the women talked about things that 'needed doing' and took responsibility for the mundane daily grind. Their partners were seen as opting to do only certain chores, and even then often only occasionally – the so-called downstairs chores (Hochschild, 1989) as Linda describes below (see also section 6.3):

And then last week I got a puncture, which was really annoying. But Scott's going to fix it because I have a man (little laugh) in the house who can fix it! (both laugh) Which is very cool. Erm. Yeah, so ... so right, that's another added benefit, he can fix bicycles, which is quite cool, because I wouldn't know how to take a wheel off a bicycle! Linda W2:52

This matched the picture the women presented of the 'good male partner'. Though incomplete as it was not their focus, this was someone responsible for doing paid work who will occasionally do domestic chores (note that Vanessa's husband was jobless but trying to get paid work). As socially normative, this could be used in impression management by the women with egalitarian ideologies to suggest the relationship was more or less egalitarian, even though it was not. This is what Hochschild (1989) called a family myth (see section 3.16.2); essentially it is a way of coping, keeping the peace, and saving face.

5.5 Being good mothers, meeting expectations

Childcare was grouped with other domestic activities as something the woman felt and expected to be ultimately responsible for in the relationship, even when she was the main wage earner. Ursula talked about the double bind this created, within a society where women expected to do ‘women’s work’ competently both inside and outside the home, while several of the other women talked more generally of the problems of reconciling the responsibility of childcare and housework with expectations of being able to have an external income.

A lot is expected of us now as women, I think, generally. We are expected, as well as working, to be good mothers and also, you know, do the housework and, you know, it is a bit like that, I think. We’re trying to do too much and sort of feeling we don’t achieve either very well, because you’re just trying to keep up with doing everything. Cathy W2:86

Several of the women across the ethnic groups spoke at length about the amount of effort they invested in their children and the quality time they spent with them, presenting themselves therefore as good mothers (see section 5.5).

The father also has a part to play in childcare, as Abriella described in the extract at the end of the last chapter, but this equated with ‘downstairs’ types of parenting. It was the women, not the men, for example, who worked part-time to be able to pick their children up from school, even when they earned more than the man.

5.6 Financial independence: the dominance of male traditionalism

Men in the traditional model were meant to be ‘good providers’ no matter what the woman’s own financial situation. As Queisha said: “Even if [women,] they’re working, the man had better go to work and he had better pay that rent” (Queisha C1:95). Correspondingly, all the women put their partner’s career first. As Zoe said: “... when we were together, it was always his career that always kind of took ... (slight tut) you know, the forefront of everything ...” (Zoe W2:15). They considered this to be socially expected of them.

Four of the women upheld financial independence as desirable, something to strive for so they did not have to depend on a man. Three of these women were among the seven who espoused an egalitarian ideology.

One of my big aims in life is to be able to earn your own money, have your own ... be able to survive on your own; your own money, not have to rely on a man. Whereas the thing is always, you know, find a rich man, and you know, you've got to find a man! A man's supposed to go to work and you stay at home, but I ... I wouldn't want that.
Onaedo W1:194

Despite this, even when a woman earned more within the intimate relationship, this did not actually give her independence. Most of the working women saw their income simply as contributing to household needs and giving them 'pocket money', and this was as true of women who earned more than the man as of women who did not. They gave up control of their income to their partner; although they might have separate bank accounts, as in Cathy's case, the man dictated how the money was used so that no woman considered herself financially independent. Onaedo, stating that she aspired to it, had it when she met her partner but gave up her job at his behest.

5.7 Sex and fidelity

I did not ask any woman about sex or fidelity (because I was not comfortable about doing so), but these topics were raised by many of them. With the exception of one woman (Linda), they portrayed the sexual act as something they were expected to do to have babies or for men's recreation rather than their own pleasure. This applied when they talked about relationships in general and when they spoke of their own relationships as specific instances. It may be that their way of talking about sex in relationships in general had developed primarily from their sexual relationship with their partner specifically, as symbolic of the relationship. Alternatively or additionally, it may have been due to their own discomfort in talking about sex as pleasurable or because they sensed mine or it may have reflected the social norms they were brought up to follow or current cultural discourses – although these are complex and contradictory.

My reticence to talk about sex stems from my upbringing as a teenager in the 1980s, with such topics not considered feminine or lady like within my social circles. This was a common attitude in the 1980s (Ebert, 1988; Hubbard, 1985; Radway, 1983), but not universal and may not have applied to all the women or it or may have applied only partially or situationally; the women sometimes talked about the sexual act in some detail when telling me about their own experiences. Medically prescribed contraceptives had been introduced in the late 1960s, and the early 1970s were characterised by counter culture movements and a sexual liberation of women, with greater freedom of reproductive choices and sexual expression.

But it may be noteworthy that only Linda talked about sex from this standpoint and even in the current climate of further sexual freedom for women, it is often argued that male desire remains privileged. As a result, women may still be said to have little sexual autonomy unless this is framed as masculine (Muisse, 2011) or as exaggerated femininity that is separate from and outside of an intimate relationship, such as glamour modelling (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1998). As Fine and McClelland (2006) note, while sex is now splashed all over contemporary culture, female “desire remains silenced” (p. 300). Notably, in the WHO study (García-Moreno *et al.*, 2005), fewer women felt a woman could refuse sex if she didn’t want it than if she was ill or the partner was drunk or abusive. In some countries, 10-20% of women said women did not have the right to refuse sex under any of these circumstances.

Just as sexual enjoyment was considered by the women (and has traditionally been considered) the domain of men rather than women, infidelity was seen by all the women as typical male behaviour and therefore more acceptable for men than women in society.

It's like men get fed up when they're with a lady for a very long time. Because firstly ... when you're new, it's like buying something new, like buying a shoe; for that few months you have the shoe that's new, you still love the shoe so much, you want to be with the shoe all the time. When the shoe is getting old, you see, you don't want to put on the shoe. After a while, you can sling it out. That's a man for you. Bolanle A1:170

This was particularly stressed by the Caribbean and African women, who described men from their cultures as often unfaithful, sometimes polygamous:

My granddad was fairly polygamous, my dad too, turned out to be (...) so I have grown up in this family that's just got all mothers and all fathers, and all children and everybody is just there! Queisha C2:175-181

They have to put one [wife] here, maybe one in Shoreditch and one in Liverpool Street. Jenny A1:395

The women also presented their understanding of normative male and female socially constructed sexuality as a double negative. They declared that women who had several partners or treated sex as recreational could expect to be talked about in a derogatory fashion while women had to put up with men's promiscuity. As Helen said, "[Even if you are a gay man cruising] you can have that kind of 'it's just sex' - I don't think women can do that as easily" (Helen W1:78), while Patience commented:

Well eh you know, I used to say to [my friend], 'I just go from a marriage before, I don't want to marry from this hand you know, different men, people would think I, you know, 'she's horrible, that's why she change men like like a clothes', you know, so I don't want to.' Patience A1:153

The women's talk about the unfairness of inequalities in gendered sexual practices suggests the desirable is equality with men. Linda was the only one to talk about sex as a physiological need she had but in comparing the narratives from her first interview when her relationship was fragile and her second when it was improving, this can be seen as impression management work used to help her mask her emotional distress about her problems.

5.8 Stepping outside of traditional gendered role play

There were several women among my sample who appeared to step outside of traditional gendered role play. Only one appeared to have an egalitarian relationship, but this was a deviant case as she was disabled and unable to do some chores. The remainder are considered in this section.

5.8.1. Unidirectional role leaking

Some of the women became the main breadwinners and some (oftentimes the same women) did the DIY and other chores that men in traditional families might be expected to do. Despite this, the women remained responsible for the domestic sphere. I have termed this unidirectional role leaking as explained below.

5.8.1.1 Why was it traditional?

Why do I class this as role leaking and a variant of the traditional, rather than role reversal or egalitarianism?¹⁷ First, it was unidirectional. Second, the man's domain remained work undertaken outside the home, which is a hallmark of traditionalism (Hochschild, 1999). The women who went out to work mostly had to, for the family to have sufficient income, but this was still the man's world (and 'a' man's world as described in this chapter) and they were merely his help mates. They were the subcontracted, never the boss.

5.8.1.2 Why was it not egalitarian or transitional?

With traditional ideology, a man who helps a woman with domestic chores is gifting this to her (see section 3.16.2); the appropriate social response of a 'good woman' is gratitude. This is a social exchange as part of the social order, with obligations and expectations being followed. The woman's main role is to support her male partner and free him to focus on his sphere (here, economic security specifically). If role leaking indexed egalitarianism, the woman, in contributing to the household income, should correspondingly be seen as gifting this to the man, with gratitude his response also (see for example Table 6, Chapter 3). However in the sample studied here, when the woman also earned, or earned more than the man, this was not met with gratitude or treated as a 'gift'. That is, the man felt no obligation to reciprocate an exchange,

¹⁷ Because of the way I class these women I have already used data from their interviews in this chapter to provide examples of traditional role play, in line with my argument that typologies should be used as tools not constraints.

but rather saw this as a threat to his masculinity or in some cases as an easy ride. The man always controlled the woman's income. This all fits the traditional.

According to Hochschild, traditional men do some domestic labour (see section 3.16). The women reported their partners made a minimal contribution to household chores. This might be said to make them a better fit to Hochschild's transitional typology (Table 5, Chapter 3). However, Hochschild says transitional man encourages his wife to have an independent career in parallel to his. By contrast, the women in my sample mostly said their partner did not want them to work, or if he did, it was to make up the shortfall in his own income (see what Patience has to say about this in section 6.3.6.1) rather than for her self-fulfilment. Transitional men are, by definition, on the path to egalitarianism and the narratives of most of the women indicated this did not apply to their partner.

An example is Cathy, who worked part-time but earned more than her partner who was in full time work. He was self-employed and able to arrange his work so he could pick their children up from school and give them tea on the days she worked. It would make economic sense for Cathy to work full time and her partner to commit to the school run each day and she wanted this, being egalitarian in ideology. But working part-time she earned enough for their needs so he rejected the idea of her going full time to develop her career. Cathy portrays her partner as using tactics to ensure what he wants - he does not learn to drive on purpose. This is considered in more detail in the next chapter.

Sometimes I resent him not doing more, but more physical things really, like the driving, I'm kind of ... it's been a bug-bear all our ... you know, just because of the ... what it entails, like, you know, it's an excuse for me to do ... you know, to have to go and pick the kids up and to have ... so I spend a lot more time doing those things and that's always niggled me. Cathy W1:14:129

Many other women in the sample had similar tales to tell:

- they all did ‘women’s jobs’ outside the home and were expected to put their partner’s career first or work to support his studies, and
- they did shift work, flexi time or took time off to accommodate such responsibilities as childcare and other domestic chores for which they continued to have the default responsibility whether or not the man worked.

Cathy’s example also illustrates how, on top of this, such women often also did other ‘male’ chores. She says she is not the ‘little woman’, and explicitly suggests she has reversed roles with her partner because she does virtually all the chores traditionally associated with men, such as the DIY and driving. But her continued responsibility for the domestic sphere means this is not so. Several other of the women across the ethnic groups were like Cathy in being competent both domestically and with the ‘man’s’ chores while their partners were apparently either inept at or unwilling to do either (although the African women did not talk of doing DIY). Many of these women, instead of speaking of ‘role reversal’, considered they had to ‘do it all’ and not one was accorded primacy in the relationship. Dinah for example recognises the unidirectional displacement of male responsibilities, saying she has the male role *and* the female role.

That’s something that I struggle with, because I feel like I’ve still very much got the female role, but I’ve also got the male role, because [my partner] doesn’t do any DIY; it’s up to me to sort out. So ... I actually feel like I’ve got everything onto my shoulder! (slight laugh). You know? And ... and ... I’m still ... I’m responsible, say, for the money and the bills [gently banging table] and it’s like ... I’m sure it shouldn’t be like this! (laughs) Dinah W2:187-191

Within the framework of hegemonic masculinity it is often argued that a man’s status may be threatened by economic inequality in favour of the woman, potentially resulting in partner abuse (see section 8.1.2.5) as the man tries to reassert his masculinity. This may have applied to these data even though the men were mostly reported by the women to be content with the situation when I asked directly about this. None of the women said their partner had compromised his ideology for theirs (that is, the men remained staunchly traditional), and it became apparent that several of the men felt what Vanessa below was the only woman to name as ‘status anxieties’,

that may have affected the relationship. Although the men continued to control the women's labour choices (as well as income) and what they did and did not do, this will have required effort and also remedial work by the man, given that the women held the economic capital in the relationship.

Int: Because before you were talking about how he has quite a lot of status ...

V2: What, status anxieties?

Int: Yeah.

V2: Yes, he does, a lot! I mean, he's ... (slight pause) among his friends, he likes to be on an equal footing, which of course at the moment, as he hasn't got a job, in his mind, and probably in their mind, he's not. So, ... he has anxieties about, you know, going out and meeting them and so on. (...) I mean the way they tend to socialise is that they ... they go to a pub ... or nightclub, and spend quite a lot of time drinking until the early hours. So ... it can prove quite expensive in fact. I mean ... he says that his friends are very generous and, if someone hasn't got any money, they'll still buy ... everyone will buy them drinks, but he doesn't like doing that repeatedly. Vanessa W1:11-14

The women did not consider they benefited in any way from the arrangement and without the man's gratitude or support they felt overburdened, pressured, distressed or resentful.

The concept of maternal or parental gatekeeping (Sano, Richards, & Zvonkovic, 2008) has been discussed in the literature; it encompasses all domestic chores although parenting duties are pivotal. A parental gatekeeper tries to control and restrict the relationship between their child and the other parent. In the case of mothers this may be because of guilt, worries they are dispensable, or the desire to present themselves as socially competent. However, only one woman, Ursula, showed any signs of maternal gatekeeping, because her competencies were said to be superior (but see Chapter 6, section 6.3.4, where I argue that her belief in her abilities may have been played on by her partners' 'remedial work').

The other women considered they had no choice, as Dinah indicates above. This supports the impression I gained from the data that unidirectional role leaking was able to occur because of women's subjugation within a traditional framework.

5.8.2 Role reversal

Only in role reversal does the woman take on the man's role entirely and devolve responsibilities for the home to the man (albeit that this might be with limited success). Although Cathy and Dinah talked explicitly about role reversal, only Queisha gave the impression she had embraced this. Stepping out of gendered norms in this way was problematic for her; she tried to deal with the issues through remedial work. Several times throughout her two interviews she talked about being so male-like in her behaviour that other women had wished they were married to her. The most striking difference from the other women I interviewed is the way she proclaims (with caveats) that she is actually not a very good mother at all, more like a father might be expected to be, and does not always like her children. This is illustrated by the following extract.

1 *As I say, my children are apart from me because I want to make a better life, hard as that ... it's*
2 *our history, it is our history. (...) For the first time, two of my children are growing in a family*
3 *with a mother and a father, which makes me happy. And those two people don't argue for some*
4 *fight, like they've seen me argue for some fight, yeah? Erm. And the lady who's raising them,*
5 *that's my same friend who was my nanny before, for X (laughs) you know? Erm. She's a very*
6 *conscious woman and even more than me. I actually think she's a better parent than me to be*
7 *honest! (laughs) Maybe she thinks I am a good parent, but in a different way, but she's very*
8 *good with children and families and sitting down, and the kind of advice that she would sit my*
9 *children down and give them, and take the time out to counsel them. Even though I know those*
10 *things, I feel I fall short sometimes; I'm more the type that will ... like I'm more like the husband*
11 *type, because she usually says to me, 'Oh, if you were a man!' You know? 'I wish you were a*
12 *man and then we could just run away together!' and that kind of ... so I'm more the husband type,*
13 *I'll go out and do the providing, the working and bringing all the material things and, yes, I'll*
14 *talk to them, but I'm more likely to talk to them while I'm doing something else. And I'll take them*
15 *out and I'll spend money and I'll do all that, whereas she is the real ... mother. (...) She's*
16 *always got a story to tell, and I'm not talking about my long winded story, I'm talking like in the*
17 *evening, when everyone's finished everything and everyone's on the veranda, she can sit and she*
18 *can tell you a story to make you laugh, you know? Story upon story, right? She's just wonderful*
19 *like that! And I think my children appreciate those things. When they're here, you know, they get*
20 *some of that, but they don't get a lot of it. Queisha C2:133*

In lines 1 and 2 she explains that her children are living away from her for cultural reasons, as something normal for people from her Caribbean island, although choice of the words “hard as that” and the allusions to history suggest this is not an ideal. In lines 3-4 she says that in this way they also avoid witnessing her partner abusing her. This makes her happy; in lines 1-4 she displays her social competence as a good

mother. But in line 6 she suddenly calls this into question – the nanny is a better parent than she is. She corrects this quickly by qualifying her statement, the nanny thinks Queisha is a good ‘male’ parent, a good parent in a ‘different way’. The remainder of the extract describes how she is the ‘husband’ and the nanny the good mother. The extract ends with a display of parental competence because she recognizes she is no good at being a mother and has therefore sent her children to someone who they can ‘appreciate’ as one. Having read the entire extract, it becomes clear that even in lines 1-4 Queisha does not describe being a good mother so much as a good parent.

This description fits with her argument, which permeates her interviews, that she is to blame for the abuse because she tried to be the male in her intimate relationships. Therefore this is not the talk of someone who sits happily with role reversal but who feels wrong because she is aware she has gone against social norms and cannot background this awareness (her particular coping skills may be key here).

Queisha is very clear in regretting her ‘masculinity’. She blames it on feminist influences and like Dinah who experienced role leaking she favours a return to traditional relationships. Indeed (unlike Dinah) she had begun trying this out in practice, saying it was less confusing and would improve her intimate relationship.

Role reversal is a ‘deviant case’ as Queisha’s accounting work shows. What might explain her being the only woman to describe role reversal? She spent her early years in the Caribbean, came to England as a child, where she was emotionally and physically abused by a family member, returned to the Caribbean as a young adult, entered her first serious relationship and had her first child there, returned to the UK at the height of second wave feminism, and despite trying various ways of challenging the abuse she experienced from different partners, remained unsuccessful in so doing. All the other women across the ethnic groups had more stable residence patterns (if they migrated to the UK they stayed put), most did not mention childhood abuse, and most were younger. Being a ‘deviant case’, this example supports the overall analysis

as it marks out role reversal as requiring remedial work. It is of course possible that Queisha is doing remedial work with me specifically, because she is aware of her role reversal and concerned I may judge it as socially incompetent, rather than because she regrets it, but her current return to traditionalism suggests this is not so.

5.9 Abuse and gendered role play

5.9.1 The man's abuse

So far what I have described – excepting some psychological aspects described in section 5.3 – might be thought to apply in non-abused relationships. So what is different about the women's experiences and expectations of relationships, as discussed in this chapter, that are associated with the abuse?

Almost all the men came across from the women's descriptions as strongly traditional. But they helped in the home less than Hochschild's traditional men and I have argued that when the women took on some of their partner's role, this was unidirectional. Therefore – and given the other data discussed in this chapter – the men's lack of help in the home ties in with a lack of equality in the relationship, and the men's misuse and exploitation of this (i.e. abusiveness towards the women), rather than the possibility the men were generally moving to a transitional state (although one or two may have been). The situation is complex; the lack of help is a marker of both societal and relational inequality. Its degree, the way inequalities were exploited by the men, may have been related to the men's status anxieties: the men not only got the women to 'do everything', they often also drew on the woman's failures within the domestic sphere. In both ways they marked themselves out as masculine.

The men's criticisms also served to justify the abuse. LeCouteur and Oxlad (2011) found something similar in their interview data from male perpetrators of abuse, recruited from counselling, analysed using membership categorisation analysis. The WHO study (García-Moreno *et al.*, 2005) also supports this interpretation, with both women and men often saying partner abuse was justified if the woman failed in her

feminine duties (Table 4). This highlights the way patterns in my data are supported by broader societal expectations of a 'good woman' as traditional, as Cavanagh (2003) also reported.

It may be that in an abusive relationship the man is more likely to put pressure on a woman to fit an idealised version of traditional womanhood or to expect it or to feel justified in his attitude. For example, Vanessa called the police after an abusive episode from her partner and reported the following to me:

He kept getting the policeman to comment on the state of the house, he kept saying well what do you think of it? Don't you think she should do this washing up? Don't you think she should tidy up these boxes of books. But afterwards, Robert said 'I don't know why they didn't make a st, write a statement about the state of the house, and why couldn't they see that you should have been tidying the house up. And why couldn't they see that this is why I'm angry?' Vanessa A1:212

A particular problem experienced by the women was that often the criticism, pernicious and abusive in nature, was, they claimed, unjustified, but since it fitted social norms it could be passed off without challenge and used to keep them down:

My mum taught me to cook and I know I can cook good. I'm not into junk food. (...) But [my husband] used to bring me down, and always had a comment about my cooking, no matter what I cooked. (slight pause) (groans) Winona: 89 - 106

5.9.2 The woman's responsibility for the abuse

From the women's accounts it emerged that they were considered to have 'asked for' problems when they took on some of their partner's role. The women fell into three groups in this regard:

- the 'strong (black) woman' (see section 1.5.2), mentioned by some of the African and white British women and used by all the Caribbean women to describe themselves
- women who felt pressured to 'do it all' because their partners abrogated all responsibilities. They felt overloaded and considered it hard for them to do anything well as Cathy says in section 5.5, giving the man more chances to criticise them
- women who took on male practices because of ideological beliefs. Queisha was the only to consider she had done so (and condemn herself for it), but many of the other women saw this as problematic for relationships. Strikingly, Queisha and Dinah depicted men as the victims of women's exercising of autonomous choice. Queisha had once aligned with Women's Lib, as already described (section 5.8.2), Dinah had

been brought up in a family that campaigned for feminism, and both women had subsequently rejected feminism, which might explain this.

Personally, I think women have been ... have been put in quite a difficult position - and men - because of that; men have also been put in quite a difficult position. I think there was ... in my mother's time, there was a period when women wanted ... to do more. They wanted to be able to have the access to do whatever they chose, and because of that, the roles ... aren't clear any more. Dinah W1:531

The women often used negative terms and tones (in bold text in the extracts below) when describing how they took on some traditionally masculine practices or complained about traditionalism. This is a form of remedial work (see Chapter 6) that marked this out as socially incompetent behaviour:

*[All the illnesses my mum had and] because my dad's Irish, he just believes that the daughter ... should run everything and my brothers didn't do anything. I know **it sounds really awful, but ... well, it sounds as though I'm sort of feeling sorry for myself**, but they didn't - they literally didn't do anything. My older brothers, I would come home from school, I would clean the whole house, because it would be an absolute wreck, and I'd cook the dinner. Fran W1:79*

*Before I used to be like I'm Miss Independence, but I'm here with you, you know, but I'm going to pay the bills and I'm going to do ... this is my house and it's ... **grrrrh!** And I find that that was just not it. **So in the end, as I say, it would appear as if they were abusing me, but I was actually too ...** Queisha: 88-89*

PART 2

The grandparents we interviewed saw divorce (as a social phenomenon) as deeply regrettable and most saw it as something that has come about because the younger generation lacks commitment and the willingness to work hard at relationships. (...) Looking back over a span of 40 or more years, they could remember difficulties and times when they were unhappy. But, by definition, they felt they had stuck to their commitments and had weathered the storms, to arrive in a place of relative contentment. Given that they felt the difficulties they had shouldered had brought contentment, they were disappointed with younger people (in general) who apparently would not or could not do the same (Smart, 2005, p. 544).

5.10 A new theory of relationships

5.10.1 Adding to Gillis' and Smart's conceptualisation of relationships

From Part 1 it is clear that a dominant theme in the women's accounts was the way they had been 'brought up' to expect to have a serious (committed) intimate relationship at some time in their lives and had predefined ideas about what such a relationship would or should be like.

When I was younger, I was a very, very happy little girl. So, I thought I'd grow up, get married and have children and live a wonderful life. Fran W2:219

They also expected and hoped that the relationship would last, which coincides with what others around them also expected (see chapter 4).

I wanted us to be together for ever... Tracy W1:392

The broader social norms affecting such aspirations and commitment were unpacked by Smart, in her paper "Textures of family life" (Smart, 2005), from which the quote at the top of the page is reproduced. I have summarized her findings in section 3.14.4. but the important point to note here is her distinction between the lives to live by (which Smart considered as imaginary, illusory) and the lives to live with (imperfect, but accounted for in ways that tried to make them fit lives to live by), a distinction first used by Gillis (1996).

It was evident from the women's narratives that their ideas and expectations of the various practices within an intimate relationship (and family) to live by were primarily affected by societal, community, friend and family expectations, in keeping with Heise's ecological model and Smart's conceptualisation. It was also evident that the women described a further element of relationships not captured by Gillis' and Smart's model. They talked of the relationships they lived by and with, as Gillis and Smart report, but they also talked of the relationships they *expected* having to live with. This acknowledged that the relationship to live by was normative but unlikely and that it was also *normal* to have a less good relationship if it remained within the bounds of the acceptable (i.e. that which was normatively anticipated). Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton and Radley (1998) similarly observed that ideology had two components:

- the intellectual, based on coherent, internally consistent, relatively unchanging, formalised thoughts and values
- the lived, developed from a commonsense understanding of the everyday world.

The relationship my informants actually lived with made up a third layer (Box 3). This had unacceptable elements that had to be dealt with through remedial work. This is where Smart's accounts of divorce may fit for her particular sample (rather than mixed in with the normal but non-ideal as Smart has it), and where abusive behaviours lay. The three elements of my theory are shown in Fig 18. This is a rough schematic to show how they are interlinked. The concepts of the relationship to live by and with differ from Gillis' and Smart's as a result of my further unpacking, and are discussed in the following subsections.

Box 3: The three layers of relationships that make up the proposed model

- The desirable relationship
- The expected (normatively acceptable, typical) relationship
- The problem (undesirable, unacceptable) relationship the women lived with

5.10.2 The desirable: a revision of the relationship to live by

The rough equivalent of Gillis' relationship to live by in the proposed theory is desired and not necessarily unattainable although it often is. It is the social 'gold standard' people use, in the same way that a clinical trial is held up as the gold standard in quantitative medical experiments, giving the 'best' evidence, but not always feasible. It is also individualised; just as the clinical trial may not be appropriate for particular research questions, so what one woman desires may not be appropriate for or desired by another woman. But just as an alternative to a clinical trial should still follow standards of rigour and quality, so variations of the desirable should remain socially normative. The reader may wish to refer back to chapter 3 part 1, e.g. section 3.7, to understand this.

5.10.3 The expected: an acceptable relationship

The relationship the women expected was full of behaviours that are acceptable according to social norms and expectations but that often fall short of what they desired.

5.10.4 The unacceptable: the abusive relationship

The relationship the women lived with contained socially unacceptable behaviours (which they acknowledged so that they did work to make them appear acceptable as described below). An abusive relationship is not the only type of unacceptable relationship there is and Smart's divorce would also fit here. Note that what is 'unacceptable' is socially determined and therefore variable.

The behaviours at the top of the funnel represent what may be done in a particular role (see section 3.5). These include the desirable and ideal behaviours (which are subsets of the acceptable) and those behaviours that extend to the limits of what is normatively acceptable, as well as behaviours that are sometimes associated with that role but are considered socially unacceptable.

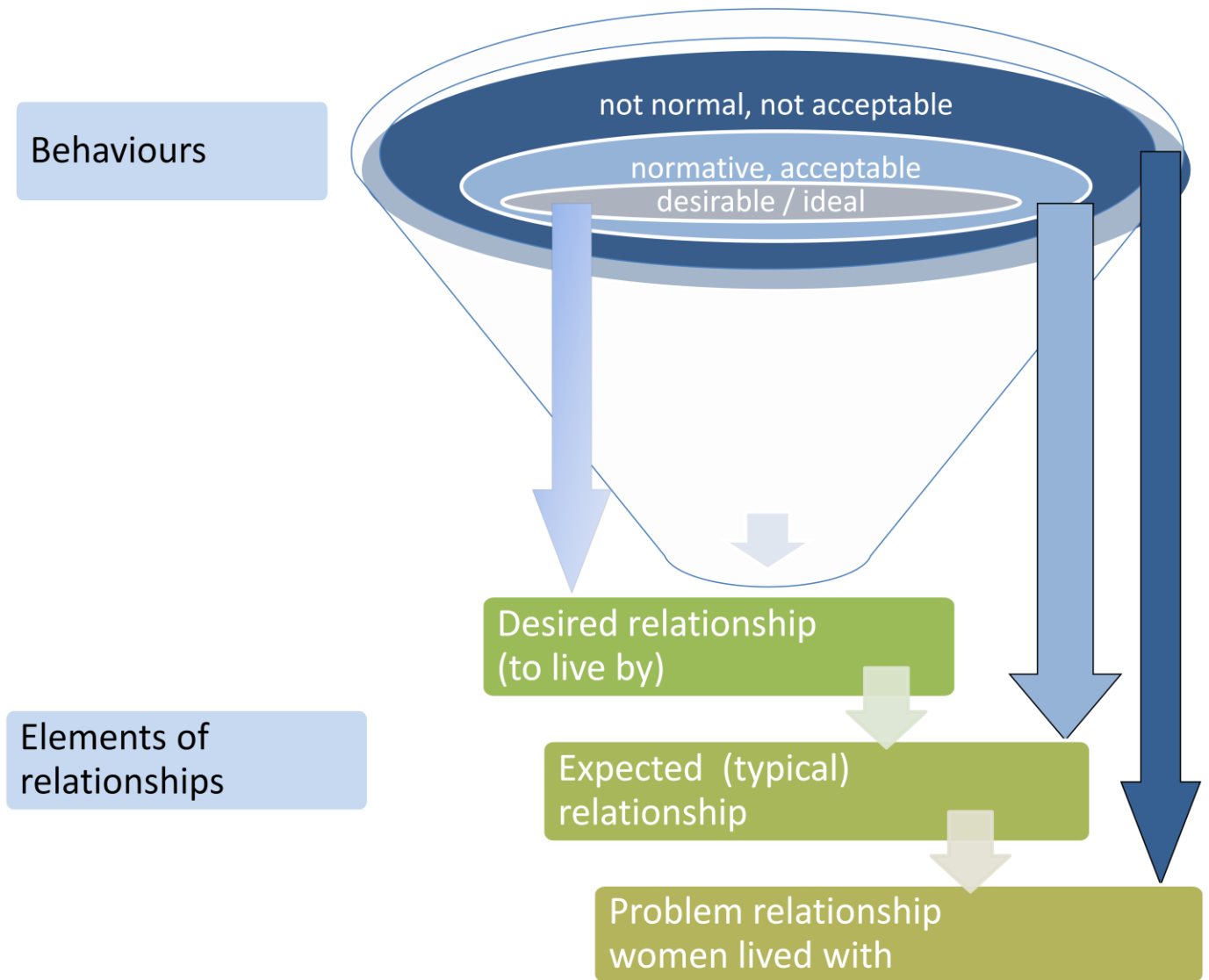


Figure 18: The three-element theory of relationships

The desirable relationship roughly equates with Gillis’ and Smart’s relationship to live by, and the other two elements – the expected and the unacceptable - are encapsulated by their relationship to live with.

The boundaries between these different groupings are fluid and permeable; what is unacceptable in one context may not be in another so that the unacceptable are not merely those behaviours that are not associated with that role. Hence I have drawn the unacceptable surrounding the acceptable. The funnel is used in the diagram to indicate that through social interaction we draw on subsets of behaviours from within these groups. These shape relationships (the doing of relationships feeds back into the selection we make but this is not shown in the diagram). The desired relationship will only contain behaviours from the 'desirable' subset, the expected relationship is shaped by acceptable behaviours, which may include some desirable behaviours. The expected and desirable relationships do not contain unacceptable behaviours but the unacceptable relationship may contain the desirable, expected and unacceptable, hence the arrows linking the different relationship elements. It is therefore important to note that what I label an unacceptable relationship because of its abusive components has many aspects in common with non-abusive relationships. It is also important to note that what a desired relationship constitutes is highly dependent on context; for example what women in Africa see as ideal will not be what they aspire to in England.

I now consider the proposed theory in more detail, with illustrations to show how it emerged from the data.

5.11 How the model emerged from the data

5.11.1 The desirable as socially constructed

I have shown how what the women desired was normatively desirable and promoted in popular and classical culture. They wished to be swept off their feet by a Prince Charming who would give them happiness, security and companionship. I have also shown how even among the women with egalitarian ideals, the meaning they attached to this was affected by traditional discourses so that often what they most wanted combined elements of the egalitarian and the traditional. As part of the desired, the women, and society as they experienced it, considered they should have children and

that the children needed to be brought up in a family unit with two parents. Divorce and the breakdown of serious relationships may have become socially more acceptable in recent years, but they were still seen as failures to the women in this sample, as in Smart's work. Some of the women considered it better to suffer abuse than to divorce. Abuse can be hidden through remedial work in a way that divorce could not (although divorce may be *accounted* for).

5.11.2. The ideal: only comes within your mind?

None of the desired elements were unattainable in parts, in theory at least; even the 'romantic bubble' of the Prince Charming scenario was said to be at least briefly experienced by many. But this may have been more perceived than enacted, or captured only fleetingly or the desired elements may not work well together meaning that the desirable could never be achieved in its entirety. As a result, a few of the women explained that what they desired was at the same time both never and always attainable.

As Helen says in line 1 of the next extract, Prince Charming is the fantasy of little girls but in line 2 and on that something approximating this can be achieved through working at a relationship.

1	<i>When I was a little girl, and I'm sure I'm not alone in this, you do kind of believe in Prince</i>
2	<i>Charming. And then after a bit, you kind of realise that ... you make your own Prince Charming,</i>
3	<i>that there isn't one man out there who is the sum of every single good quality, who's the only</i>
4	<i>right man for you. You can pretty much ... you can make your relationship work, but it does take</i>
5	<i>compromise. So you can meet a good man, and he can be Prince Charming, even if you've</i>
6	<i>already had a ... one Prince Charming and been married, or whether the relationship fell apart,</i>
7	<i>or whatever. Helen W1: 22-50</i>

Queisha echoes this in the extract below. Prince Charming then is described by the women as a construction, developed from something expected, anticipated, normal, but less than desirable, never a reality ‘out there’. The anticipated relationship is one that required much construction work.

*... the ideal man only comes within your mind, yeah? It's what **you** make it to be! They say life is what you make it and every relationship is what **you** make it!" Queisha C1:107*

Sela explains this in more detail. Note how her narrative tries to fit the expected to the desired. Thus in lines 1 to 2 and 6 to 8 she talks about women having careers (being independent and men’s equals) but also as wanting children at some point in their biographies. This is a desired life that is instantly problematised as non-attainable in its entirety. Therefore, to have some sort of career and also to have children, a woman (and her partner) need to settle for less than their ideal; in this case, they go to work at different times, a kind of shift-work parenting, and so rarely get to spend time together. Ultimately, in this excerpt, parenthood is prioritised over everything (although the phrase “he wants” creeps into line 4-5 and is quickly corrected).

1	<i>Some women are independent, that's why some women just stay until 50 or 60, they're over the hill and then decide they want to have children - it's late. But if you compromise ... if you compromise with each other, if the husband says, "Oh ..." like I have a ... I have a friend. The husband works, she works in the morning and he goes to work at night. All because he wants ... they want to ... they can't afford to have a nanny and things. That is how you're supposed to do it, you're supposed to compromise. You're not supposed to always say, because you are the woman, you stay at home! That is like the eighties, sixties, fifties, forties, thirties ... we're in the 21st century when everybody wants to be independent - agreed yes. Sela A1: 106</i>
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

A normal, expected, acceptable, relationship was not going to be “plain sailing” and arguments were part and parcel of successful relationships. Note the way Queisha talks about the most successful of marriages experiencing the bitter as well as the sweet (line 3) and arguing (line 4) in the following extract.

1 *I listen to people saying, Oh, we've been married forty years. We've been married fifty years.*
2 *We've been married seventy years! But you know what, I realise these people always say, they've*
3 *had to take the bitter with the sweet. (...) We imagine that the Jones's never had an argument, it's*
4 *just that maybe you never heard it. We imagine he's never hit her, it's perhaps because you don't*
5 *know that, because she's not going to tell you, right? We imagine she's never hit him - we don't*
6 *know that either, because he's never told you; worse, he's not going to tell you that!" Queisha*
7 *CI:58; 60*

A few women, including Queisha, explained that the problem was that people enter relationships with histories, or ‘baggage’ and the man will have his own perspective on the desired relationship that may differ from the woman’s.

.....you just wanted to, you know, get married, have a nice man, two up, two down, you have kids and stuff, right? But you went in and this man has his own baggage, he's brought it in and his just happens to be from a very whatever, whatever, erm, perspective. Queisha CI:107

Similarly Sela pointed out that relationships are the coming together of two different individuals who must learn to live together. In such ways, most of the women emphasised the need not only to put ‘work’ into a relationship, but the necessity of compromise, described here by Bolanle.

*But my mum, really made us realise some things. Any situation you find yourself, just try and cope, survive, you can always make it when you're determined. So that's why, when I tried with the first relationship, it didn't work out the second one. **I just have to adjust to this third one to make it work.** So my mum always says if you want something to work, it works. Only if you don't want it to work. Bolanle A1:198 (my emphasis)*

What this means in practice is that the expected relationship, like the desired relationship, is socially acceptable and therefore women in either type of relationship may be considered as socially competent.

5.11.3 Why three elements instead of two?

I argue that the three-element theory more easily shows how change and aspirations, social constructions and remedial work may be done within a relationship compared with Gillis' and Smart's two-element version, and therefore extends and adds to their interesting work. In this section I consider some of the areas of the women's narratives that support this argument and that helped shape my theory.

5.11.3.1 Sex, infidelity and polygamy

The way the women talked about sexual activity for women as a group largely accords with findings reported in the psychological literature for womankind, and may indicate the relationship they expected. But their emphasis is slightly different. The literature stresses the use of the sexual act by women as a way of communicating love and commitment. The women said that love and commitment would be achieved by motherhood itself. Is this what they expect or what they desire? If the latter, there may be a difference in the desires of abused and non-abused women. The three-element theory highlights this as an issue; in a two-element model the subtleties may not be apparent.

All the women suggested it was normal for men to be unfaithful and the African women all talked about polygamous men as a way of life. Yet in no case was this considered desirable. Jenny's comment "they tell lies" (Jenny A1: 398) and the women's talk around gendered norms show that although such masculine sexual behaviours may be considered normal, expected and acceptable within society, they were not acceptable to the women. Using Gillis' and Smart's model, the two more obvious ways of looking at the data are as follows:

- polygamy and infidelity, particularly in the African and Caribbean communities to which the black women belonged, is encompassed by the life to live by, and polygamy 'badly' done, such as when Jenny recounts that her husband spends more than half his time with his girlfriend and is told off by his community, is the life to live with that requires remedial work.
- monogamy is the life to live by and both polygamy and polygamy gone wrong the life to live with that must be accounted for.

In the first case, polygamy and infidelity would be things the women would work towards. Yet polygamy is only normative within subgroups in Africa (Vallely, 2010) and other countries where it is practiced, such as parts of the Muslim world. The alternative case goes too far the opposite way. With three layers, there is greater fluidity, allowing for multiple realities as in the constructivist viewpoint I have adopted. Polygamy and infidelity may be seen as unacceptable for the women in my sample in the way they are played out, although *sometimes* acceptable to them if done in particular and expected ways (as they made clear in their narratives) because they were socially normative. There are some situations in which polygamy may be seen as desirable for a relationship although not ideal, which is allowed for in the model I propose; it may even be seen as ideal if that is what society and the individual determine it to be in other (perhaps hypothetical) contexts than those that I have described.

Abusive behaviours condoned by both parties to the act (the abuser and the abused) as suggested by the WHO data, exploitative infidelity and polygamy (that does not follow the 'rules', whatever those rules may be) and even honour killings are often claimed to be 'cultural', and therefore to become almost acceptable (or at least often ignored) by falling outside the dominant morals and culture when played out in the UK (Benhabib, 2002; Begikhani, Gill, 2004; Gill, & Hague, 2010; Gill & Sharma, 2005; Mama, 1996; Narayan & Shah, 2000). The three layered model allows them to be placed in the unacceptable but stemming from behaviours that are acceptable and expected within particular societies and cultures, rather than placing them within the life to live by or lumping the acceptable and the unacceptable together, as in Smart's model.

5.11.3.2 *'Black men don't love like white men do'?*

The black women said that white men loved and black men did not, and that they desired such love, but they also said they got it at first. Does this contradiction reflect a 'cultural envy' or Hall's idea of a 'collective group identity' (Hall, Held, & McGrew, 1992; Helms, 1990) that seeks to differentiate the women from the dominant white

British culture as a response to racism and cultural adversity?¹⁸ The problem with adopting a simple interpretation of Hall's model is that the women were running down their menfolk. Moreover, three of the white British women made relevant comments that were similar to the black women's; in all cases they saw black women as subjugated by men, and as having to put up with infidelity and polygamy as the norm.

Using the three-element theory, this is accounted for and the 'doing' of the women's relationships explained. It may be that the women had lower expectations of relationships with black men than they have of relationships with white British men, perhaps because of media representations of extreme stereotypes (Lawrence-Webb, Littlefield & Okundaye, 2004). Notably Patience was the exception, arguing that such expectations reified a falsehood that there were intrinsic ethnic differences in goodness and badness. Given, however, the societal stereotypes, the other women's expectations of the black men may be considered as falling within the acceptable for them, in terms of my model, and their perceptions about white men as fitting the desirable. The black abused women might refer to their menfolk's behaviours as expected and acceptable to distance themselves from the abuse in the relationship (the unacceptable) and therefore sustain their social competencies despite the abuse. This may protect the women but not their menfolk from cultural adversity; it certainly does not conform to the finding of Levitt and Ware (2006) that black women will protect their abusive menfolk from any criticism. Using Gillis' and Smart's two elements, the black men's style of loving and their abuse both fall within the same element (the life to live with), making the mechanism by which the women may be doing their accounting work less easy to unpack in a systematic way.

5.11.3.3 Migration and difference

Patience emphasised (see her comment in section 6.4.1) that notions of ethnic

¹⁸ The different images of black and white men have conceivably resulted from racism, colonialism and discrimination, but my interest here is in the way intimate relationships are negotiated and the black women position the men's' behaviours as undesirable without also tainting themselves.

difference are highly dependent on context. In the following extract, in lines 1 to 5 and 12 to 16 she refers to the difference in culture between Africa and England. In line 4 she says women in Africa are expected to serve men – hence they will expect to do so - but signals that this is not what they aspire to in England with the words “some of them they can’t take the pressure any more” (lines 4 to 5).

1 *When some of them, when some African woman when they come to this country, and they try to*
2 *take the culture of this country, the marriage doesn't last. Because the man will say, 'Ooh you*
3 *trying to be English, ooooooh you trying to be English, no that's not my culture, that's not.'*
4 *because they want the woman to serve them. But some women, some of them they can't take that*
5 *pressure any more. (...) Em, like in Africa, right, people saw women, women are moreshould*
6 *I say more slavery to men than here. Because in Africa the men erm, for instance the man will*
7 *come back from work, and he will just sit down, cross his leg on a chair, reading this like that,*
8 *asking the wife, the wife will go and prepare the food, put the food on the table, then he will move*
9 *like a lord you know, go to the table, eat and after eat, he come back again and sit down and*
10 *watch television, and she will put the shoe off and take the plate off, wash the plate, keep the*
11 *place tidy, the man doesn't help at all.... 70% of African men are very lazy. When I mean very*
12 *lazy, they are very lazy in domestic work, they want the woman to do everything for them. In this*
13 *country, well if you if your partner or your husband come back to the house first, he can be able*
14 *to prepare something for himself, a cup of tea, you understand, but African man will sit down*
15 *there and ask you to bring a cup of tea for him, which is which is not good you know. (...) It is*
16 *different for woman in Africa and woman here Patience A1:113 – 115*

It is clear from her description in lines 5 to 6 that in Africa, some women who live a very traditional life supported by particular local and more broad societal structures and discourses will do what Patience calls slavery without protest. This is the life they are meant to live by (in the way Gillis and Smart use this term) and any other life would disrupt their local social order (Bolanle talks about a different type of life in Africa, highlighting the heterogeneity of women’s experiences caused by the intersection of cultural norms, status, economic capital, local environment and so on) . Here in the UK, these women are faced with an alternative, the white people and their culture (lines 1 to 3) as Patience puts it, and this then becomes the life to aspire to, what they desire in a relationship. In this way, moving from one context to another may change the perceptions the people in a relationship have of the way they would like, or expect, the relationship to be.

5.11.3.4 *Desire for the traditional*

Two of the women experiencing role leaking wanted a more clearly traditional relationship. Dinah said it would remove confusion about who did what even though it would not be ideal. She thus seems to be articulating what she thought people ought to expect in a relationship, rather than the desirable. From her statement she appears to claim egalitarianism as the ideal, but one that is unattainable in current society, so that trying to apply it resulted in something unacceptable. This is different from the arguments of any other role leaking woman and seems rather defeatist. In fact Dinah's personal preference was always to be traditional; she had not wanted to work, for example, but to be a 'full time mum' but said that was not acceptable to her family, who espoused strongly egalitarian ideals. It is these external influences – which included pressure from her husband, who aligned himself with her family - that have left her with something unacceptable that she has had to do work around.

In the first extract below she describes how she was pressured into working, and in the second extract she does accounting work to describe this as a sensible option, and her desire for the traditional to be something that needs qualification ("I wouldn't want to go back to that", women should have the "freedom" to be "independent"). In this case, the woman is traditional, her partner traditional (as the data from Dinah's interview overall make clear) but masquerading as something else, and her family egalitarian. Broader society is a patchwork of ideologies (see section 3.14.3), so that it does not help to clarify the situation.

Int: So what pressures did your family put on you?

D1: It is ... it's all hidden pressures, they're not really saying or doing anything. But there was a sort of ... you know, I said to my mother at one point, 'Oh, I don't want to go back to work.' And she said, 'Well, you know, if you get out of the workplace ...!' Dinah W1:544-545

[My husband] was very adamant that I-I-I wasn't to give up work, and ... (...) ... although my jobs aren't well paid, it is sort of managerial and it is a slightly better salary [than his]. So it was ... you know, so he was sensible, 'You're not going to give up work!' (slight laugh) So, that's kind of how it was. Erm. And I suppose in that

respect, I felt that ... I've always thought ... I mean, I know this goes back to the sort of traditional roles, but I think to some extent, roles made sense, because you did ... you knew where you stood. Whereas I think in modern day living, although of course, I wouldn't want to go back to that, and I wouldn't want to go back to not being able to ... you know? I don't know. But, erm, I ... I think there is an element. I see relationships which work because there is a clear role defined, and it goes back to th-the traditional role of man working and bringing in income, (slight pounding of table again) female generally looking after the kids, but also having the freedom to be herself and be independent, and do some work, and bring in some income. Dinah W2:137-139

Vanessa also tried to get her relationship to revert to a more traditional pattern, by teaching her (very traditional) husband to do DIY, but was only partially successful in this. She did not do so because she believed in traditional practices as desirable but to reduce her load within the confines of what was reasonable to expect. Like Dinah's example, this highlights the problem that arises when society is a shifting patchwork of ideologies. In this case the issue is that parts of society, and the woman, are more egalitarian, but the man and other parts of society more traditional.

Now with the building itself, like building maintenance, needing things, he's not even very good at that. He did, after a very long period, it took him six months to get round to putting a wardrobe up, a wardrobe, an old wardrobe that needed to be reconstructed in my room. That took six months to get him to put it up. Since then he has also put up one set of shelves in the sitting room, those shelves with the metal bracket at the back that you put on, and I gave him the spirit level and I warned him, warned him very carefully to make sure that they were absolutely straight, they're not straight. I had to pad them up on one side. Um, I taught him how to get into a plug to change a fuse. Um, the basics, and he's now, he's now got my tool box, tool, two tool boxes. But basically um, he hasn't been very good at that sort of thing. Vanessa W1:90-93

5.11.3.5 Egalitarianism and traditionalism

Kalisa did not expect a relationship to succeed if she tried to enforce her egalitarian ideology. So she did not expect to have the relationship she desired; this may relate to her identity as a strong black woman or, more simply, the discordance between how she perceived the expectations of those around her (male partner, family, community, society) with her own ideals, with the former (these others) prevailing over the latter (her own). Kalisa therefore problematises her ideology in the following extract, conceding some points but expecting others to be fulfilled. This supports my argument that to separate out the desired from the expected is not necessarily defeatist;

the Caribbean women were more likely to feel this way and the white British women generally did not. Indeed, as I show with Onaedo in section 5.12.3), the three-element model enables hope to be exercised. The societal discourses Kalisa was familiar with were strongly patriarchal. In patriarchal theory, men hold the power in the family, defined as “the ability of an individual to change the behaviour of other family members, or as the ability to influence social outcomes” (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1993, p. 124).

I'm not great at DIY and men's things anyway, so I like somebody who can do that. So, those roles are definitely fitting, but ... it's a two-way street It's not just me that has to cook, not just me that keeps the house clean.... (.....) And I'm not to be controlled either - well, nobody is. Kalisa C1:204

5.11.3.6 Getting older

Winona suggests that women compromised their ideals in a relationship because it was more important to have a man (and children) than happiness (such happiness being a desirable that could not always co-exist with other desirables, rather than a necessity).

Similar concerns were apparent as women aged.

*W1: I was older, wasn't I? I was ... (whistles) ... 36. I was about 36, as opposed to 20.
Int: How did that make you stay with (your son's father) ?
W1:(pause) I think I really wanted to settle down. I truly wanted to settle down. On our good days, we'd talk about IVF, we'd talk about children. We even talk about ... talked about adopting. Winona C1:329-335*

As the women reached their 30s they became worried they might never have a relationship or children and this led them to lower their expectations of the type of relationship they might have. Helen for example said: “And then of course the older I get, the more these ... half-assed divided relationships look attractive” (Helen W1:70), which preceded an account, reproduced on the following page, of how she wanted to have children (resembling Winona's comments above).

Helen begins by talking about her desire to get married and have children as the ideal that everybody aspires to (lines 1 to 2 and 4 to 6). In lines 2 and 3 she disparages the romanticized notion of this, the Disney fantasy, but then in line 4 admits that she would

like that too. She just wants to emphasise the importance of commitment over romance – something I have already discussed as the focus of most of the women. A committed relationship is a goal (the desired), line 4 to 5, and co-parenting an important part of Helen’s desire for a relationship. Her admission that half-assed relationships are looking attractive is justified in lines 7 to 8 on medical grounds, and so made socially acceptable and expected, and the whole is brought back to fit the ideal with the vision in lines 9 to 10 of weekends in Paris with the children happy at home with their grandparents.

1 *I mean, everybody ... I really want to get married and I really want to have kids and I really want*
2 *to be a mum. When I say 'get married' I don't mean, I want to get married so I can have a big*
3 *flouncy white dress and lots of people drinking champagne and going, "Oooh, isn't she lovely!"*
4 *Although that's a big part of it, but I would like to be married or at least, in a ... in a committed*
5 *relationship. That's really one of my goals for myself. And I really want to have children, and I*
6 *don't want to be a single mum, I'd like to be, you know, co-parenting. And ... it worries me*
7 *constantly, because I'm 31 and I ... I really want to have children before I'm 35, because of the*
8 *health risk and I ... I don't want to be an older mum, I want to be a young mum. I want my ... my*
9 *parents to be bloody young enough to look after them for the weekend if I feel like going to Paris*
10 *or something! Helen W1:70*

This narrative might seem to herald an abandonment of the romantic love type of ‘gold standard’, to be replaced with a new ‘gold standard’, that of the ‘half-assed’ options that were talked about in terms of the expected, acceptable, relationship (or even the unacceptable) by those under 30 or who had children. But this turn could in fact be interpreted as being driven by external pressures to satisfy cultural ideals of romantic love as the three words in particular at the start of this extract (“I mean, everybody”) from Helen’s interview would suggest. In other words, failing to achieve the desired or even the expected and acceptable relationship, the women aim to get something less to masquerade to others as the expected. Being single is what is not acceptable, rather than a ‘half-assed’ relationship, which they now feel they should expect, given their age, albeit acknowledging the socially normative desirable relationship. After all, the relationships can only be called half-assed if measured against something better. In this way, expectations can be seen to be affected by status, as in exchange theory

(Table 1). This example shows the complexity of relationships and the relationships work that is suggested would not be revealed by applying Gillis' and Smart's two-element model.

5.12 What does this mean for abuse?

5.12.1 Vulnerability to coercive control

This chapter has shown how some of the women held onto ideals of love and happiness despite expecting a lesser but acceptable relationship. Even when they ended up with the unacceptable, the abuse, they continued to believe in the ideal or desirable. This might be interpreted as meaning they are never likely to be satisfied with anything that falls short of this (as Borochowitz [2008] described for abusive men below). Or it may mean they believe their ideal is a fantasy, and that it is not realistic to try for it. According to the proposed model, the expected relationship could still have some desirable behaviours. But from the data the women's continued belief in the desirable seems most likely to be an expression of the process of agentic resilience (Fraser, Richman & Galinsky, 1999; Gilgun, 1999; Higgins, 1994) in the face of problems given that the women were committed to remaining in the relationship despite the abuse. Swidler (1986) comments that cultural ideologies are particularly important in shaping activity in "unsettled lives" (p. 278). Belief in the desired as attainable may therefore be a consequence of abuse rather than as something that made the women vulnerable to abuse.

However, the yearning for romance made them vulnerable to – and potentially addicted to – any expressions of love they got from their partner, whether or not this vulnerability preceded or was developed from the abuses. They were able to construct 'myths' that the relationship was built around a romantic love that was there at the start and may be retrieved. Manifestations of coercive control might partially depend on this vulnerability and this is considered in section 5.9. Being addicted to or yearning for love and believing in an ideal that did not match their experience might lead the women to put up with the abuse and the relationship, and keep trying to get it to match their ideal.

This explanation goes beyond Kearney's in 2001 (see chapter 1). These women might be seen to be trying to close the gap between the desired relationship and that which they lived with, the unacceptable. Social norms and expectations might affect this in several ways. For example, they may have helped shape the women's ideals and expectations in the first place, or pressures on the women to sustain the relationship may have led them to fall back on their beliefs as a way of coping with or justifying the way they put up with the abuse. This might explain the stereotypical image of abused women which has them saying 'But he might change' (Dienemann, Campbell, Landenburger, & Curry, 2002; Walker, 1979) and help us reconsider their stance as one of active coping (Dutton, 1998; Dutton & Painter, 1993) rather than passive learned helplessness (Walker, 1979; Walker, 2000). The influence of the expectations of others on the women's responses to the abuse were considered in this chapter and in Chapter 4.

5.12.2 Abuse as acceptable

In the extract on p. 205 Queisha converges the expected and the desired as Sela did on p. 205, but also the unexpected with these (lines 4 to 7). In the next chapter I explore further how such comments may sometimes be used by women as a way of coping with an intimate relationship by making it seem normal when it is not. However, here I raise the issue that sometimes some degree of abuse may be considered normal within a society. This was reported by the WHO for some cultural groups (García-Moreno *et al.*, 2005) and it is not unreasonable to suspect this, given that societies are usually gendered in favour of men, and if abuse lies on a continuum of behaviours (Kelly, 1988) affected by the material inequalities, institutional values and historically embedded social practices that privilege men.

Certainly the African women were the most likely to cite physical abuse as an expected, and therefore normal - although certainly not desired - part of a relationship:

... you know, African men like to beat. Jenny A1:102

Such expectations were not simply dependent on ethnicity but were affected by the intersection of a number of factors, as evident from comments made by Bolanle, who came from the same country as Jenny:

Yeah, my dad was strict, but he never hit my mum. He used to say any man that hits a woman, should leave the relationship. (little laugh) It's not right man hits someone else; men aren't supposed to hit women. Bolanle A1:208

'Normal' does not always mean condoned in the way the African women described it, and could apply to white British women in the UK also. Ursula makes this point in suggesting that when abuse is discredited in society it becomes harder rather than easier to admit to it. When we are told that one in four women experience abuse in their lifetime, the odds are high that any individual woman will experience it. So it becomes part of the relationship to expect, normative but not ideal.

I think people probably feel more ashamed now than they ... than they did twenty years ago, somehow. And ... (slight pause) well, twenty years ago, probably people didn't report, but if they did report, they'd probably think, erm, it's only ... you know, it's not very widespread, I'm just one of them (... ..) You know [now from the newspapers that], most women have been abused or physically assaulted sometime, and... so maybe people now think, oh, God, it's so widespread, everybody knows it happens, but I'm too ashamed to admit it's happened to me. Ursula W1:72

5.12.3 Having something better to aspire to

Like Ursula, Onaedo points out that in some subgroups within society, context can make abuse accepted as the norm. She makes it clear that without something better to aspire to that is potentially attainable, women are more likely to put up with abuse as the best they can get and therefore the relationship they should expect.

If I wasn't working and I was living in a council flat or one bedroom, or renting a room ... (pause) I think I'd feel ... (slight pause) more vulnerable, less self esteem and I would put up with that kind of abuse, I think I would, because I would need that person. In fact, almost definitely I think I would put up with it, because it would become normal and it would become more ... this is the best I'm going to get, there's nothing better than this. So I'd probably still be with him now. Onaedo W1:298

If this is viewed within the framework of Smart's account of Gillis' model, the 'better life' to live by is dream-like, unattainable; the women might fantasise about it but have

no reason to try and grasp it. With Smart's model women who are not financially independent can only aspire to the ideal and this is unattainable. So Walker's model of learned helplessness (see Chapter 1) would be fitting and Onaedo's aim would be pointless.

In the following extract, Cathy describes the life her father expects her family to live with - one in which through thick and thin (line 6) you stoically stick at it (line 6). If you divorce, according to Smart (2005), this is a "quirk of misfortune" (p. 452) if it happens to others and justified through remedial work if it happens to you. According to Cathy's father, "it's not done" (line 13 and 14). In both Smart's data and the extract from Cathy, marriage is described as having problems and unhappiness that need to be worked on (lines 4 to 5), (which the other women corroborated as discussed earlier).

1	<i>C2: I think I've always, always been brought up to ... I mean, my parents, my dad would never ...,</i>
2	<i>he said it the other day, I went, 'Oh!' He'd say ... 'We don't ... we don't divorce in this family,'</i>
3	<i>(laughs) he said!' And I kind of went, 'Wow!' You know ... because he's got ... and he came from</i>
4	<i>such a Catholic upbringing, and my parents had terrible marriage problems, but they also had a</i>
5	<i>very good marriage, so they survived it, erm. But he ... he's got the Catholic guilt, I think, and he</i>
6	<i>just couldn't ... you know. You ... thick or thin, you know, you stay with someone.</i>
7	<i>Int: Mmm. Would he try and push you to stay together?</i>
8	<i>C2: I don't know whether he would. I was surprised to hear him say that, because the kids were</i>
9	<i>asking about some other family and saying, 'Well, that's their step sister or something, so that</i>
10	<i>meant they married again,' and Dad just went, oh, we don't ... we don't have that in our family,</i>
11	<i>separating and getting a divorce. And I thought, oh! (laughs) That's a bit strict, that's a bit</i>
12	<i>strong, but maybe that's where my attitudes comes from, and the guilt of you just don't do it, you</i>
13	<i>know, because it's not done. You've made that decision and you stick to it stoically. And I don't</i>
14	<i>really in my gut feel that... you know, I can understand divorce very easily, and separation, but I</i>
15	<i>just find it difficult, when I think of the children. I just ... how can you do that to them, you know?</i>
16	<i>Ultimately it might be better for them, and I think in lots of cases it is. But I just ... find it so</i>
17	<i>difficult to think about it. I think if I had lots of money, I'd keep ... lots of money, we could buy a</i>
18	<i>house near each other, (laughs) you know, both have lives and houses, and the kids could just</i>
19	<i>stay in one and come and stay wherever... Cathy W2:124-126</i>

It is unclear where this life belongs in Smart's model. If this is the life to live by (because divorce is not), it sets the standard pretty low. In fact Smart suggests that both divorce itself and the normal family full of problems and black sheep are

examples of the life to live with. Both smack of socially incompetent behaviours and the remedial work she describes aims to make the family fit the ideal even though she describes the ideal as unattainable. This is open to the same criticism that has been levelled at Goffman's Presentation of Self (Stryker, 1987, p. 603), that it makes all life into a pretence. There is no incentive to try and improve things. Yet as with Onaedo, Cathy talks about something better, that she would aim for if only she had "lots of money" (line 19), which is not impossible for her. This desired relationship for Cathy is described by her as an alternative and a contrast to the diktat from her father that she should never divorce (the relationship she expects, lines 12 to 14)

5.13 Chapter summary

The analysis I have presented in this chapter suggests that 'normal' acceptable relationships may contain a mixture of desirable and expected but non-desirable behaviours and that these should be differentiated. Abuse was considered unacceptable, and exemplifies a third element of relationships. With this three-element theory there is always something to aspire to that seems attainable, no matter how good or bad the relationship, and this supports the idea that women can be agentic while remaining in the relationship. At the same time, the model shows how the women sometimes do work to make someone 'half-assed' seem to be their Prince Charming.

In the next chapter I show how remedial work is able to effectively close the gap between the relationship the women lived with, which had unacceptable behaviours, and the acceptable but not necessarily desirable. They could then try working on closing the gap towards the desirable relationship.

CHAPTER 6: REMEDIAL WORK

“The maladaptive consequences of a gap between who one is and who one prefers to be is a recurring theme in psychological analyses of personal and social adjustment.” (Burris, Branscombe, & Klar, 1997, p. 75)

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the relationships the women desired and expected, and the discrepancy between these and the relationship they had.

Three types of actual relationships were described: one in which the women took on ‘traditional’ gendered roles irrespective of their prior expectations and ideologies, one in which the women took on some of the men’s role, which I referred to as role leaking, with the man abjugating some of his role to the woman and not taking over some of hers in return, and one in which the women stepped outside of traditional gendered practices and took on the male role in the relationship wholesale, relinquishing ‘female’ chores. In making these distinctions I was not attempting to type or categorise relationships, but rather describe different behaviours, more than one of which may be manifest within the same relationship.

From this analysis it was clear that traditional gendering was socially embedded and hard to overcome. Several subthemes emerged that demonstrated this: the way the women mostly lived traditional lives despite conflicting ideologies, the discussion of domestic chores as the ‘woman’s job’; the emphasis on their competencies as a ‘good woman’. I have shown that this made the women more vulnerable to being abused, and how they had to deal with this to sustain the presentation to others of social competency and that this required them to manage the divergence between the desired, the expected and the actual (partly unacceptable) relationship.

The way they did this is the focus of the current chapter. I consider how the women set and negotiate boundaries in the relationship to construct their identities as similar

(e.g. not abused) and different to others and how this is reflected in the way they 'perform' their presentations of self. I do so by considering which parts of their role plays are treated by them as "unmarked" (Ochs, 1992, p. 343) or "normal" (Kiesling, 2004, p. 234) and which as "marked" or "emphasised" (Connell, 1987, p. 187), and made to appear normal through remedial work. I therefore draw primarily on Goffman in this chapter (see Chapter 3, part 1).

6.2 What the remedial work had to achieve

The relationship the women had to live with was different from the women's ideologies or the relationship they lived by or expected to live with, as shown in Chapter 5. To deal with this divergence, the women developed gendered rationalisations and justifications for their gendered behaviours, which Goffman calls remedial work and Hochschild 'family myth'-making (see also Komter, 1989, p. 209). I touched on this in the previous chapter but now explain this in more depth. This work had to do three things:

- account for the way they did gender
- account for the abuse
- account for the divergence between the role play in the relationships they lived with and their ideologies when all may be considered acceptable.

The third falls out of the first two, which are each now considered.

6.3 Task 1: Accounting for doing gender

6.3.1 Social choice

Some of the women spoke within male hegemonic discourses and had traditional relationships even as they seemed to be proclaiming their liberation from traditionalism. Performing gender in this way (see Chapter 3, part 2) the women reproduced traditional gendered divisions even when this conflicted with their ideology, or took on some of the man's roles without this being reciprocated. This might occur in both abusive and non-abusive relationships. In the following extract

Helen does not mark out the fact that her father and brothers did not learn to iron when her mother died, but then states that just because she has a vagina she is not going to take on more than her fair share of chores within domestic relationships:

Because mum died, I can iron a shirt in three minutes! (makes ironing sound!) Next! (makes ironing sound again!) Straight away! And you know I'm damned good at those domestic chores, but I choose not to do them. Why ... why the hell should I? You know, like I said, having your vagina does not magically entitle me to my fair share ... more than my fair of domesticities; it's not on. It's not going to happen. Helen W1:125

Later, she admits to performing gender by drawing on traditional practices within relationships but frames it as her choice and says that it is unfortunately necessary in present day society to get a man.

I love cakes and I love baking and I'm very, very good at it, but I never reveal that side of myself to a boy unless I want to impress him, because they just go mad for it! Helen: W1:125

This echoes Kalisa's comment in section 5.11.3.5. Helen does not believe in traditional and rigid gendering, but she talks about social (that is, contextual or relational) rather than free choice (Smart and Shipman, 2004) in being able to exercise her beliefs. That is, any decisions she makes – whether to depilate or not for a man, for example - are dependent on societal context. Performed gender is justified as beyond the women's control. Helen, Kalisa and Linda, the three women who spoke the most adamantly about their egalitarianism, all showed similar patterns in subsuming their ideologies to their more traditional partners within their (abusive) relationships, and all related this to social expectations. Pleck (1985) also noted that in general there is a weak relationship between what people believe in and what they do within relationships.

Given that only two of the women had male partners who they described as egalitarian within the relationship and in both cases there were special circumstances (in one case the man was going through a divorce from someone else and in the other, the woman was disabled), it would seem that egalitarian coupledness was either hard to achieve or was not likely within abusive relationships. This makes sense, given that the

definition of partner abuse involves the concept of a power differential within the relationship, and control of one of the partners by the other. But the same pattern is seen in non-abusive relationships. Erchull, Liss, Axelson, Staebell, and Askari (2010) report that in the US at least, the traditional division of labour in the heterosexual home has been maintained even though women have increasingly been part of the paid labour force. One study considered by these authors, published in 1997 by Ferber & Young, found that in the US most college-age individuals held egalitarian attitudes about the division of labour in their future homes, but their actual intentions were more traditional.

However, the abuse may have further weakened the relationship between what people believe in and do. Sometimes the way the women's lack of choice led not just to traditional role play but also to a lack of say in the sharing of chores that went on within that traditional mould was not just evident from the dissonance between the desired and expected relationship, but was explicitly stated by them (see section 5.11.2). Some of the women stated that they did exercise choice in relation to domestic and paid work, but this was often still constrained by the discourses of hegemonic masculinity. Thus Sela and Abriella describe choosing not to work (Sela) or go clubbing (Abriella) because their children need them.

Because the men are selfish people; normally number one selfish person. ... look, if I had my choice, I'd be working, right? But when I wake up I find out that the children want to be supervised, and things like that. Now if a woman wants to, you can't pin a woman down to say she should go and work, if she doesn't want to work. Sela A1:100

I obviously was a mum very early, but I knew my responsibility, I knew that ... my first priority was my child, and th-the father was too busy wanting to go with his friends, and wanting to go nightclubbing. Abriella C1:7

There are thus many instances in the data of the way 'choice' is contextual. They show how gendered expectations may blur the distinction many theories make (e.g. Lloyd, 2001) between responsibility (which is said by Lloyd to be volitional, an active choice) and duty (which Lloyd argues is more or less enforced by obligations and so is relatively passively enacted, and less likely to be ignored). In other words, the

women's choice may be constrained by societal context in general (such as setting, ethnic group, age) but is further constrained when hegemonic masculinity leads to particular expectations that the woman must fulfil. So even when the women hold ideological beliefs, what they do in practice is constrained by a sense of hegemonically determined obligation. They frame this as their chosen responsibility but in their talk it presents as if they only had one choice. Their framing does work in setting up their accounts of social competence.

Graham (1983) has shown that women carers will likewise continue to meet their obligations even when they are unhappy in their role and derive no benefits, and even when they do not love the person they are caring for. Graham argued that symbolic bonds come into play to hold the relationships together. This appears to be true also for the women I interviewed. Thus in many ways the women are describing themselves as active agents of their responses, but the women, as any other person would be, are constrained always by obligation as part of the social order, which removes free choice. This may explain why the women need to do remedial work around their traditional role play when it differs from their ideologies even when both may be socially acceptable.

6.3.2 The men's use of strategies to avoid doing 'female' work in the house

From the women's narratives it was evident that their acts in doing gender were reinforced by strategies from the men that accounted for their lack of help in the home. As a result, according to the women, whether or not the couple lived traditional lives or the woman had absorbed some male roles, the men were the ones to exercise choice in what they did both overtly and by using strategies such as enacted incompetence in doing certain chores and other remedial work, just as Hochschild reported.

When I've been out and come back and found out that he hasn't fed the children or put them to bed or bathed the baby ..., and he's said, 'Oh, well, you'll have to write down what you want me to do.' Vanessa W2:161

I end up taking a lot of things on, which I shouldn't do, because I just know he wouldn't do them properly or he'd forget. Cathy W2:134

6.3.3 Family myths and 'gifting' help

To reconcile the men's behaviours and their own with the expectations of others and to be able to cope with their situation, for example in upholding egalitarian ideals whilst living traditional lives, the women sometimes resorted to the type of work Hochschild called 'family myths' (see Table 6). For example, some managed to get their partner to do one small chore regularly, which equated with Hochschild's concept of 'downstairs' chores (see section 5.4.2.4); this could then be used by the couple to give the illusion of fairly shared domestic labour. But this was less common than other responses to the abuse. Thus on the whole, the women I interviewed accepted their lot. Most made only occasional complaints or used tactics once in a while that led their partners to cook one meal, something that comes under Hochschild's category of 'gifting' the woman some help.

So when I make nice with him now, I say, 'You don't do nothing around here. You don't help me do nothing!' 'Oh (sighs),' he said, 'Oh, me tired, me tired!' I said, 'Is it?' And then for the whole week it goes on like this - no Hoovering, no cleaning, no nothing, you know! And then ... then he realises that I've had enough now, and he'll come home one day, and he'll come home early, and when I come home, dinner will be ready; so he'll cook the dinner. And I said, 'This don't make up for you not helping me, you know?' I say, 'But, I appreciate it because I can come home and put my feet up this evening.'
Naomi C1:30-31

Hochschild saw family myth-making and gifting as forms of remedial work that left women feeling that there was equality even though their relationship essentially continued to be traditional. The women I interviewed did not consider they had achieved equality but were grateful for the help and the 'gifts'.

The women depicted themselves as mostly getting on with things without asking for help. Given that they all experienced some degree of abuse from their partners, support within the home might be less likely to be forthcoming than in non-abusive relationships. Help-seeking attempts might be saved for moments when support was most needed. Alternatively, help might be less sought because the women were trying to show social competence.

Lothaller, Mikula and Schoebi (2009) analysed questionnaire data from a survey of 632 dual-earner couples with young children from three European countries. They found the division of labour within couples may be accepted by women as ‘distributive justice’ if social comparisons are similar, and women perceive they are appreciated by their partner; this accords with the above data and Hochschild’s notion of ‘gifting’. It also provides a mechanism for McRobbie’s equality masquerade (see section 3.16.2), and lays the foundations for abuse, as I shall discuss later in this chapter.

6.3.4 Maternal gatekeeping or justification?

The concept of maternal gatekeepers (Sano, Richards, & Zvonkovic, 2008) cannot be ignored and as argued in section 5.8.1.2 may explain Ursula’s comments below.

I probably take on quite a male role in (slight pause) decision-making and work probably, which I think men sometimes don’t find very easy. And I think both of my previous relationships have been slightly sort of ... mmn ... maybe they weren’t as capable as me, so I would take on paying the bills, organising things. (slight pause) But then I’d resent it, I used to think, oh, you know, I don’t want to do everything! And they would say, ‘Oh, but you’re so good at it.’ or, ‘You ...you’ve ... you don’t really trust me to do it anyway, because you think you do it better yourself.’ And that was a failing on my part, because I do sometimes think (slight pause) ... I’m not very good at delegating, because I always think they don’t do it quite the way I think it should be done. Ursula W1:154

However, this could equally be an example of Ursula’s partner feigning incompetency as an opt-out strategy. Even though many of the women said their partner displayed a lack of competency (real or enacted, we cannot be sure), the women did not believe them to be incapable of sharing, and saw this as a sign of laziness. So Ursula may have been compensating for this by excusing her partner and blaming herself. In any case, the concept of maternal gatekeeping, based generally on feelings of guilt and incompetence, is simply another manifestation of choice constrained by social norms of hegemonic masculinity. Without these, there would be no guilt or threat to competence as a ‘domestic person’ (which is gendered).

6.3.5 Rationalising doing gender as beneficial

Previous sections have shown the importance to the women of presenting their relationships as appropriately gendered, and the strategies they used to account for the man's lack of help in the home. But the women went further; they often depicted traditional gendered divisions positively in some parts of their talk despite deploring them in other parts. Given the embedded nature of traditional gendered divisions within society, there are many arguments that might be used to demonstrate its benefits (Doucet, 2008). This section considers the benefits suggested by the women I interviewed, as well as the flip side of these benefits.. The benefits may be viewed as real but the women's accounts of them may also be seen as a more common form of impression management work than the strategies described in the previous sections of this chapter, whether or not the women were aware they were doing this work.

6.3.5.1 Sense of identity

Traditional gender divisions gave the women a strong sense of identity. Since the women drew on social norms to develop an understanding that was shared with others around them of the desired relationship and what to expect of their relationship and indeed any relationship, they were able to present themselves to others as socially competent by reference to their gendered practices. As I showed in sections 4.3.1 and 5.5, many were proud of their competencies as good wives and mothers and spent much time describing them to me. Framing their lives as normal and themselves as socially competent was portrayed as a comforting thing to do.

You know your woman is going to come in and the man is looking forward to her being a woman, and she's looking forward to him being a man, right? And it's as simple as that, and everything's quite fine. Queisha C1:86

Impression management work that presented the women as accomplishing gender in a socially appropriate manner could be used by egalitarian women to close the gaps between their desired relationship, the relationship to expect that was moderated by local social interactions and social norms more broadly, and lived experiences.

Gendered practices could also be used as leverage by women when presented (social) and self identities and expectations (and therefore the desired and expected relationship) converged as traditional, to sustain these and preserve the benefits for the woman:

You see, one of the things I admire about Jamaican women in Jamaica, the majority of them, right, I won't say for everybody, but the majority of them, is that they do have that sense of self. They're not even thinking about it, but they have it. The man must ... even if they're working, the man had better go to work and he had better pay that rent, and he had better ... Queisha C1:95

Such deployment of gendered practices and norms around them could conceivably also be used in non-abusive relationships.

6.3.5.2 Mutual support

The women spoke of the main purpose of gendered divisions as being to enable the individuals in an intimate relationship to be mutually supportive. This is redolent of theories of economic efficiency (Marx and Engels' political economic theory and the specialisation of tasks theory, see Chapter 3 part 2) but is represented as practically sound. For example, in the following extracts, Queisha draws on the church and the bible, which are heavily patriarchal, but Onaedo's extract is more typical, being a general statement that she did not relate to any particular influence (except for society's norms in a broad sense):

[Our church] definitely points that the bible says that the woman is the help mate; so the man has a function or several functions, the woman has, but it's about helping each other. Queisha C1:50

You know, I understand that in a relationship, men and women ... men do men's things, and women do women's things; they need each other to ... get on. Onaedo W1:190

Their comments echo Wilson (1983), who is in favour of traditionalism (and therefore hegemonic masculinity) and who argues that:

It is social cooperation, not excessive individualism, that would form a better basis for social life and for relations between the sexes, and would best meet the needs of most of us, women and men together (p. 242).

Using Maslow’s model of need (Maslow, 1987) helped me make sense of the way such statements fitted into the statements the women made about their desired and expected relationships and the one they had, and the discordance between these. Kalisa provided a good example of the conflict when she talked about her beliefs in gender equality but then played down her more ‘masculine’ skills (section 5.11.3.5), to conform with hegemonic masculinity and avoid conflict with men.

Maslow says every person fulfils the following needs sequentially in life (see Fig 19) in the following order:

- basic physiological needs (for shelter, food and so forth)
- safety
- belongingness
- self-esteem and esteem from others
- self-actualisation (personal attainment).

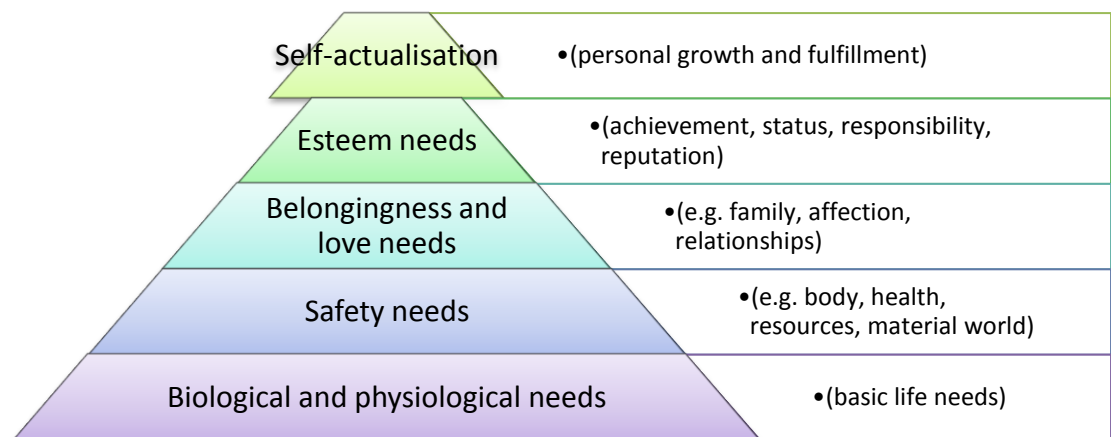


Figure 19: Maslow’s hierarchy of needs

The first two may be said to involve primarily physical work and the last three psychological or emotions work. According to the women I interviewed, traditional labour divisions helped make sure that the first two were dealt with for both partners in a relationship. Men and women both did work to fulfil these needs, but in different spaces. The men were meant to provide the family’s basic needs by going outside the house to achieve these and the women to look after and maintain these once the product of the men’s work was brought home. However, the last three needs listed by

Maslow tend to be fulfilled through work primarily done by women, in the gendered society the women described (see Chapter 5). Women generally still do most of the emotional work in families (e.g. giving emotional support to partners, doing things to improve or maintain the relationship [Strazdins & Broom, 2004]) and when one phrase is chosen to sum up their labour it is usually ‘the caring role’. This situation, described in the literature for relationships in general, was strongly evident in the data from the abused women I interviewed.

Several of the women described being cared for by their partners. As Fran put it: “I just love the comfort of .. of a male, thinking that they’re going to look after everything” (Fran W1:27). However this did not conflict with the idea of women being the caregivers because the women provided emotionally laden care through emotions work and the men rather a mental sense of safety and security through their physical labours.

Maslow’s hierarchy can be used to explain some of the statements made by the women that apparently conflicted with their impression management work. It shows how the provider role is more powerful than the caregiving role, taking care of more basic needs, and making men of superior status to women because they are indispensable – what they do comes lower on Maslow’s pyramid. If these basic needs are not fulfilled we cannot survive – and the women’s talk in Chapter 5 makes it clear they prioritise security over other needs. Women help men to fulfil their higher needs – but this tends not to be reciprocated by men (something that is explored in detail in Chapter 5 and is certainly true for this sample of women). Hence the women in this study felt superior to men – they were able to take care of higher needs and men were only capable of more basic and primal ones – but at the same time had to accord men higher status as indispensable and were not able to have their own higher needs fulfilled and therefore could be repressed. Using this interpretation of Maslow’s hierarchy suggests why some women may find it comfortable to conform to a power imbalance even when they are capable of being men’s equal. As Marx and Engels argued, and as social exchange theory is able to explain, in return for being ‘masculine’, it might be

argued, the men expect the women to do all the emotions work, just as the women were expected to do the housework. In return for being ‘feminine’, women get material and bodily security. It is ironic therefore that, according to Abrahams (2007), men’s abuse of this power through physical and psychological violence is likely to destroy women’s physical and mental sense of safety and security.

Some of the women spoke of their partners as like children. Infants cannot provide safety and security but need to be cared for themselves. So there is the sense that some of the women inverted the power differential and positioned themselves as more powerful according to Maslow’s hierarchy. This may have reflected the way they felt or it may have indexed the difference between believing and doing (the desired and actual relationship) in their accounts – with men meant to provide the security so that remedial work had to be done to explain why the women were. Or it may simply have been a direct reference to the men’s failures, a figure of speech used as a means of gaining shared understanding rather than being particularly laden with deeper meaning. Boonzaier and de la Rey (2004) believed that when abused women positioned themselves so they were like mothers to their partners they were behaving in appropriate feminised ways and as stronger than their partners. However Boonzaier also noted the double bind this created, with some women feeling compelled to stay in the relationship because their partner needed them (Boonzaier, 2008).

6.3.6 Gendering and abuse

6.3.6.1 Power imbalance

Benefits could be easily turned into disadvantages. I have already alluded to this when considering mutual support, showing how traditional practices nurtured a power differential that men might abuse; The very term ‘help mate’ as used by Queisha (see her extract in section 6.3.5.2) suggested that women supported men more than men supported women. This fits my interpretation of the data using Maslow’s hierarchy, above.

The following example, from *Patience*, emphasises the way women do not always work because *they* need the money but to pay for their partner's wants, needs, desires.

Things have changed, people want to live a better life, in those days [19th century] there's no television, there's no beer, there's no dance, so if the man happen to go and do some job and come back, that money's enough to feed the children. But now he want to drive a car, but now he want to watch the television, music set, cable, and everything is pay, you pay for it, so our our standard of living generally in the whole world, it have changed. (...) We have everything now, but everything we have to pay for it, so a man cannot afford to do you know, pay all this, so the woman have to support him. Patience A1:125

With traditional practices of hegemonic masculinity, since men held the power in the relationship, the women were automatically of a lower status. Such an imbalance might be said to equate with abuse of all of womankind at the level of society – this is supported by my analysis of Maslow's hierarchy. But what about at the relationship level? Societal norms such as this can be drawn upon by men within a relationship and in my sample they were, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Less severely, the power imbalance led to paternalism from the men, something that might also occur in non-abusive relationships. While Fran found paternalism to be a source of comfort and security (p. 233), Linda found it annoying and undermining of her identity. For example, she recounts how her partner gave her instructions on the right way to run for fitness, when this was something she was more accustomed to doing than him. Accordingly she says she exclaimed to him: "You're being the man now, you're kind of showing the little girl how to run, kind of thing!" (Linda W1:46) This type of behaviour limited women's sense of achievement and therefore their fulfilment of their higher needs (Maslow, 1987). As Dinah's comments below show, paternalism was not necessarily associated with abuse, but rather with societal norms.

I was in ... in Europe in the summer, and I really ... I kept noticing something happening that was men would keep making comments ... because I went with my friend, it was just me and my friend with our kids, (sniffs) men kept coming up to me, making comments about how I was looking after the kids. And someone said, 'Your son is climbing on the rock!' I said, 'I know, that's why I'm watching him!' (slight laugh) And someone else came up to me and said, 'You should ... you should get your son to put the stick down, he might poke his eye out!' (laughs) Men, completely out of the blue would just come up to me and give me advice, and it was very much like it suddenly clicked to me, that actually that's very much a cultural thing, that a woman on her own with her children needs a man there! Dinah W2:187-191

Women may of course undermine men's activities, for example with regard to childcare competencies. I did not interview men, and do not have relevant data to analyse, but I would predict that such undermining tends to reinforce gendered difference and be seen as negative, as 'nagging', for example. Paternalism also reinforced gendered difference and is generally conveyed as positive and protective.

Several of the women described subsuming their own desires and identities to that of the man (compare this with the way gendering can provide a *sense* of identity in section 6.3.5.1). They talked about being expected to keep busy doing the chores at home while their partner went out and enjoyed himself, and thus equated gendered divisions with a life lacking – for them but not their partners - enjoyment and fulfilment:

They want you to stay indoors, right, while they go out to parties and enjoy their self, that's what they want. And they want like when they come in, their dinner's ready, the house is clean but you stay indoors; you don't get dressed up and go out with friends! That's how they are, you know? Naomi C1:132

In this way, the women played out their days attending to Maslow's' basic physiological needs, with even their need for security violated by the men, unable to move up Maslow's hierarchy. The men meanwhile had their basic needs supported by the women's industry and availability (including for sex), and were free to attend to their higher needs and have these attended to by the women. It is no wonder then that women like Patience, and several other of the women I interviewed, used the epithet of slave for themselves. Sela's talk is peppered with comments about African men in general expecting women to be like slaves and of inferior status, for example: "they think that when an African man speaks it's the final say" (Sela A1:41). In this way, she emphasizes the intersection of ethnicity and gender.

6.3.6.2 *Over-dependency and commitment*

A couple of women in my sample talked about the men being dependent on them – this is where the metaphor of the child mentioned previously may be relevant (see also the

paragraph on male psychopathology theories, Chapter 1 Table 1). Several of the women talked of women being stronger than men in many ways. I have accounted for this using Maslow's hierarchy but it may also be explained more directly as due to their partner's over-dependence on them; the men often needed their help for more than domestic chores, for example to find things, or to organise their lives, or to help with their work. However, it is difficult to disentangle this from the women's and men's remedial work such as that used to develop family myths, suggesting that at best the situation is complex.

On the other side of the coin, some of the women considered themselves dependent on the man. For example they described needing him for security and for money because of their lack of suitability for high-powered work or their feelings of obligation towards or responsibility for their children. This was considered in Chapter 5.

Some of the data already presented in the last chapter (e.g. section 5.12) suggest that for some women abuse might be most likely to succeed when the woman is over-dependent on the man because of a power imbalance, although the relationship is not a simple one. Over-dependency might also manifest as a hegemonic co-dependency that results in over-commitment. Rubin (1975) argued that co-dependency assured the union between men and women in evolutionary time and this might be a benefit in some contexts – certainly Engels would say that it was. However, in what I wish to mark out here as our current *quasi*-individualist or fractured society (in deference to McRobbie and Smart, see section 3.14.2), this creates problems in the democratic search for the ideal relationship and the allied notion of an easily severable commitment tie. Co-dependency (and therefore commitment) is sustained by the suppression of similarities between the sexes and therefore by behaviours such as male ineptitude with the domestic chores, and male suppression of women's power in the workplace – in other words co-dependency and patriarchal hegemonic masculinity are bedfellows. In this way, the women's gendering of social competencies and their subsequent reinforcement of these in gendering their behaviours within the abusive relationship supported the sustenance of the relationship. The committed relationship

expected of them from their social others was supported by their finer-grained behaviours as also socially moderated.

6.3.6.3 Use as a tool of abuse

Hegemonic masculinity may lead covertly to partner abuse in various ways, as already described in this section. But gendered divisions could also be used more overtly as a tool of abuse. Thus women were sometimes praised by their partners for their competency in the domestic sphere but sometimes their competency was questioned – as the women described it, unfairly so, which fits Stark’s (2007) description of the way abusive men achieve coercive control. But in both cases there was the underlying ‘shared understanding’ that a woman had to be domestically competent to be a ‘good female partner’. This is discussed in more detail in section 5.4 of the previous chapter. In section 4.4.1 I also described how Zoe believed her mother-in-law drew on traditional understandings to try to make sense of the abuse her son meted out to Zoe. Thus expectations around gendered practices are not simply used by men as a weapon or tool of abuse, but may be used by other people in the woman’s social sphere to justify the abuse and put pressure on her to put up with it.

6.3.7 Summary of gendered practices and remedial work

The previous sections have shown how traditional gender divisions were accounted for by the women as beneficial in providing intimate partners with mutual support – according to social exchange theory this augurs well for relationships. However, they could lead to over-dependency within the relationship. Power imbalances that were also created and sustained by traditional gendered practices independently or in tandem with over-dependency, and that were sustained by family myth-making and other forms of remedial work, could lead to the man abusing the woman. This abuse was often perpetuated by the man drawing on traditional ideologies to praise the woman for domestic competence or criticise her for its supposed absence. This criticism-reward system of control enabled benefits to derive from the relationship for women as well as

men, even though the main benefit for the woman was simply praise, validating her social competency and thus a particular identity. The man, the woman, and others with whom they interacted socially all drew on traditional discourses, which shaped their behaviours, as considered in Chapters 4 and 5. The embedded nature of these discourses within society made it hard for the woman to resist the abuse – they limited her social choice, that is the subset of options available to her within the particular settings that she passed through. Abuse therefore fed into and reinforced the power imbalance in the relationship. It also left the woman's higher needs unfulfilled whilst allowing the man to fulfil his own higher needs. This reinforced the woman's inferiority and her lack of enjoyment of life and made her more vulnerable to criticism and paternalism since her self-esteem could not be developed. This in turn reinforced the woman's over-dependency on the man, reinforcing the abuse.

6.4 Task 2: The women's remedial work in relation to the abuse

The previous section has shown the remedial work the women do to account for their gendered role play, including its intersection with the abuse. I now turn to the remedial work they do to present themselves as not abused, the drivers for which have been discussed in section 4.4.2. Some of their strategies have been well described in the literature but I will consider them briefly here, before moving on to remedial work that has been less well characterised. I look at how the abused women use accounts and justifications (Goffman) to do relationship boundary setting and negotiation to construct their identity as similar (not abused) and different to others and how this is reflected in the way they 'perform' their differences and similarities while maintaining the abusive relationship.

6.4.1 Living with abuse: it is where you draw that line

In their descriptions of the relationship they lived with, the women often expressed dissatisfaction with their partner. One way the women tried to deal with the divergence between their experiences of abuse (the relationship they lived with) and

the desired or expected relationship was to situate this dissatisfaction within normal relationship dynamics, that is within the bounds of the expected relationship, using remedial work or role distancing for impression management. Remedial work was described by Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash and Lewis (2001) more narrowly as a way of aligning the understandings of the abused and the abuser; I consider that it aligned the woman's understanding with that of the significant others in her life including the abuser (see also Lempert, 1996). This occurred to the extent that many of the women initiated new rules similar to those their partners set for them as part of the abuse. Although this was to the advantage of the male abuser, it may be seen as a way for women to preserve their perceived competencies generally, as a part of identity work, as Ursula describes. This was both social (presented) identity and self identity.

The aspects of a relationship that are tricky, we've always played down while we were in the relationship, because you can't think about it too much. So if somebody's very undermining or ...it's like abuse - physical abuse - people often play it down because if you've decided to stay in it ... you couldn't possibly say to yourself, oh, but this happens every week or every day or every month, otherwise ... you'd feel that ... You'd be questioning your sanity of putting up with it...(...). It would make your life unmanageable. You'd be so ... unsatisfied with the situation that you couldn't possibly ... carry on, day on day. Ursula W1:166-170

Mostly the women did minimisation and denial work. Many who normalised said their relationship problems were inevitable living with or being close to someone: "... it isn't going to be plain sailing" (Cathy W1:122). There was no such thing as an 'ideal' relationship in these descriptions, nor even a 'great' one, with the locus of the problem situated in 'human relationships' or cultural stereotypes ("African men, the heat they beat" [Jenny A1:106]; "Jamaican men in particular are very ignorant and very small-minded to a lot of things" [Abriella C1:57]) rather than their partner. Patience, who had just left an abusive African man and whose new white British partner was also abusive, was the only black woman to say ethnic norms – and appearances - were reified when rationalising abuse ("you can stay with a very ugly black man or a very ugly white man and you're happy, you can go to a very handsome white man or a very handsome black man and you not happy" [Patience A1:137]).

Using Goffman's conceptualisations, the women used normalization as a form of role-distancing to preserve presented competencies (Bury, 2001; Pierret, 2003), given the social and cultural contexts of their daily lives. Through normalization, women avoid acknowledging their experience as unacceptable and being labelled 'incompetent abused woman'.

Normalisation is a recognized response to abuse (Eisikovits & Winstok, 2002; Morrison, 2006; Tower, 2007). The three-element model of relationships, presented in the previous chapter, shows how this approach works. As a form of remedial work the purpose of normalisation is clearly to situate problem interactions within the boundaries of normal role play (the expected relationship) so the women's social competencies are preserved. Boonzaier and de la Rey (2004) and Anderson and Danis (2007) reported that abusive men use similar strategies of minimisation, justification and denial.

Several of the women drew on the 'strong black woman' stereotype to explain problems in their relationships. In the language of remedial work, this enabled the women to present their situations and responses as normative and therefore acceptable for black women, thus preserving their social competencies. Ironically, as Mama (1999; 2000) and Burman and Chantler (2005) in the UK have shown, the same stereotyping and normalising may reduce black women's access to and use of support services, reinforcing their silence and their normalising remedial work.

While community pressures and the desire to appear strong were portrayed as characteristic of black women in the narratives that I collected from the black women as well as in those reported by Edge in a study of postnatal depression in Caribbean women in the UK (Edge, 2003), they were also described by the white British women (see also Davis, 2002). Women in general may associate 'weakness' with role incompetence (see section 4.4.2). Edge comments that black women who state that such phenomena as 'strong woman' are culture-specific when they are not are drawing on a 'collective group identity' (Hall, Held, & McGrew, 1992; Helms, 1990) for

sociocultural reasons. Some of the women achieved a similar effect by downgrading their experiences. In the following, for example, Queisha says her partner never gets “physical” with her (line 2 and 3, then describes an episode when he pushes her as “the only thing”, which juxtaposes the pushing with the physical, relating it but keeping it distinct. She has already implied that pushing is not physical abuse by saying in line 1-2 “there’s no violence” and “he used to be abusive verbally”. This is reminiscent of Mooney’s findings as reported in section 1.4.1.

1 *So, as I say, we're kind of struggling on. It's the first relationship I've been in where there's no*
2 *violence. Er, he used to be abusive verbally. And I'm finding with him that, as I say, he never*
3 *even attempted to be physical with me; the only thing is when he starts getting angry (laughs)*
4 *he's like ... you know, if I'm lying on the bed and ... and there's something that triggers his brain*
5 *to be angry, he'll go (makes slight snarling sound) push me out and I'll say, "Don't... don't push*
6 *me out." You know, and then he'll get up out of the bed (...) he'll go like overnight and he'll*
7 *probably go and do something that he shouldn't do - usually with a woman! (laughs) Queisha*
8 *C2: 219*

Some such women went so far as to compare their experiences favourably with others'. Dinah had been to a support group for abused women where: "I just felt very insignificant everyone else's problems were so much worse." (Dinah W1:403).

Herbert, Silver and Ellard (1991) administered questionnaires to 132 abused women recruited through radio, television, and newspaper announcements in southern and central Ontario, US. They showed women who stayed in a relationship were more likely to believe things would not get worse and they found more that was positive within their relationship, stating also that the relationship was not as bad as it could be. However, the direction of effect was unclear, i.e. they could not determine whether the positive attitude preceded the abuse or was a coping response. Psychosocial adjustment did not differentiate women who left from those who stayed. The authors suggested that some women look for reasons to stay, although an alternative explanation supported by my data might be that their positivity was a coping strategy and that the reason(s) they remained in the relationship should to be sought elsewhere. Zink, Jacobson, Regan, Fisher, & Pabst (2006) similarly noted that when abused

women 'make sense' of their partner's behaviours through what I have called remedial work they feel more in control and able to cope with the abuse.

Many of the women minimised the abuse by concentrating on positive aspects of the relationship, exemplified by Maria: "I can only think of the good things even though I feel like this [clinically depressed]!" (Maria W1:244). Several focussed on other relationships where they could immerse themselves in a different role to that of 'abused partner'. For example, some provided lengthy descriptions of their good mothering (see section 4.3.1). Some blocked out thoughts of the problems. Justifications and excuses were infrequent but occurred. For example, Patience suggested her new partner came from a lower social class than her and so spoke in a way that she considered rude but was routine for him. The man was also sometimes excused by invocations of the strong black woman stereotype.

*If he wants me to go to the bedroom and [stop studying], then the best thing to do is draw away the books and then say, 'Come to bed.' There's no point in screaming and, er, asking me to move my backside to the ... to the ... bed. I said, 'That is ... that is rude!' But he never sees that's rude. So he'll sometimes say, 'Hey, f**king c***, get inside!' No, no, no, no. I say, 'That is ... no. That is not my life, no.' I say, 'You are very, very rude!' You know? He tried that on me but he see that is not my style of life ...*
Patience A2:141-143

6.4.2 Boundary work

Remedial work is designed to give a surface impression and account for problem behaviours. Boundary work goes beyond this, for example it is used to set rules for how behaviours in the relationship should be done as well as interpreted. Cathy was one of several women to explicitly describe using a symbolic line or boundary to decide what was acceptable or non-acceptable behaviour within the abusive relationship. But through their remedial work, the other women marked out the hypothetical boundaries to their roles that they negotiated through their interactions with others. Remedial work cannot be successful if these boundaries are not determined and 'spoken to'. For some women, including Cathy, the boundary was vague, with these women using such phrases as "I always thought, oh, no, no, no, it's

not that bad" (Onaedo W1:334). Thus too, Ursula said she was suffering from "that soft end of unhappiness ... it wasn't as though I needed to run away and hide from [physical] violence or anything!" (Ursula W1:72). Typically, boundary setting in relationships is initially vague but is gradually refined and strengthened (Riesch, 2010), in line with social interactions generally (see section 3.5). I cannot say whether this will happen for the women represented here; certainly Cathy had been in the relationship for over a decade and so the situation is likely to be more complex.

It is where you draw that line and ... I think maybe if (partner) had been more abusive, I would have left. You know, it's a more subtle ... isn't it? If it was a more obvious type of ... I'd just go. Cathy W1:122

Because the women did remedial work such as normalising, what a woman described as within the boundaries of the acceptable generically often conflicted with what she said was 'acceptable', 'normal' or non-abusive in her own relationship. I have explored this in detail elsewhere (Rivas, 2010). For example, Tracy said abuse was unacceptable, asserted that she was not abused, then depicted the way her partner restricted her social life by intimidation as normal conflict. Cathy (above) acknowledged she was abused but said it was subtle and so acceptable. Other women said non-physical abuse fell within 'normal' relationship behaviours but physical abuse did not, even though the women often also said when talking about abuse in the abstract that more 'subtle' psychological violence was more debilitating. This may be because physical violence is more visible to others ('if it was a more obvious type' as Cathy says) and its physical signs such as bruises and cuts have to be accounted for or hidden to avoid stigma or having to admit to the abuse. This would mean the women would have to face up to the abuse and therefore would not be able to use remedial work to cope.

As the extract from Queisha below shows, boundary setting was dynamic and agentic. The women might use the boundary work not only to negotiate their relationships (although this was less well defined when boundary setting was vague) but also to feed back into relationship re-negotiations as a way of dealing with the abuse, following on

from an internal dialogue that enabled them to work at their identities and their understanding of self.

*You drew a boundary for yourself. And when you drew a boundary, you say, I am not going to allow him to hit me! I am not going to allow him to talk to me like this.
Queisha C1:62*

Boundary lines were not only used to negotiate performed identities with others. As the extracts above show, boundary drawing may have helped the women to maintain their self-esteem in this way by distancing the 'acceptable', which they were experiencing, from the unacceptable out there. This enabled them to justify their actions in putting up with the abuse even when they did not feel comfortable about it. It also enabled them to deal with the mismatch between their experiences and the desired or expected relationship, and therefore to appear socially competent.

Since boundary drawing was individually determined and influenced by the specific multiple contextual factors in each individual woman's life it was different for each one. The African women felt that what was 'normal' or 'acceptable' to them was not to white British women. This was not borne out in comparisons across ethnic groups. However, there was a difference in the way women *talked* about the normal or acceptable. The African women explicitly articulated the cultural norms of their ethnic community when drawing boundaries. For example, Jenny tolerated her husband's infidelities, although unhappy about them, until he spent more time with his girlfriend than with her, which she said her Ghanaian community considered unacceptable. The Caribbean and white British women tended to talk in the first person more often as if boundary setting was set through individual expectation, despite involving social and cultural influences in their descriptions.

6.4.2.1 The boundary is breached

Since a number of the women operationalised boundaries in their relationship it was possible to examine instances when these boundaries were breached. Sometimes the man did so by being abusive in front of others. The women were no longer precluded

from seeking help as they could appear credibly abused. Sometimes the man did so by adding physical abuse to the psychological abuse. Queisha describes such an instance below; her partner used a variant of physical violence meted out more usually to children in retribution. Such boundary breaches were described both retrospectively (as having happened) and predictively (it would be unacceptable).

When he hit me that time, he turned me over on his lap like a child, and hit me on my backside. And (little laugh) it wasn't anything - my reaction was based on nothing sensible, nothing to do with being conscious that I'm in a violent situation or anything! It was simply because I do not like people slapping me on my backside! And when he did that, it just flipped something in my head that day, and the minute I jumped off his lap, I just started hitting him and I scratched all his back and everything! Queisha C1:22

Queisha is clearly describing her partner's disregard for the rules of deference. When these rules are not followed or are followed in ways that show them to be an act, the relationship is destabilised and likely to be renegotiated. Thus boundary breaches may be said to occur when the rules of conduct are broken.

6.4.2.2 The boundary is reset

Sometimes the boundary itself was reset to a lower abuse threshold, representing a change within the woman herself; boundaries were dynamic and individual, as Kalisa explained:

But when you're in it, you don't know why you're in it! And that's what I say to a lot of women, you don't know why you feel like that, all the time, you're jealous or you're upset and you're like - what for? This person is just completely off-key! And then one day, you ... you just pack up and go ... this is rubbish! And then you just don't want any more of it ... and you can't never put a time span on it though, because everybody's different aren't they? And everybody's ... threshold or, boundaries are ..., different. Kalisa C1:190

Such boundary shifts were mediated by social and cultural context including changes in the stance of others towards abuse in general (for example in the media), as well as support and explicit comments made by others about the individual relationship. Nonetheless, as Tracy said, "You can encourage somebody till the cows come home, and until they've decided that's what they really want, then there ain't nothing nobody

can do (Tracy W1:273). Tracy herself changed her threshold because of a combination of support from a friend and a dawning realisation of what she was experiencing that may have been moderated by her friend's support.

T1: I had a friend, who was going out with his brother, and she was a lot younger than me, but she was very very strong. And she used to say to me, 'Don't have none of it, dididuh and what have you, stick up for yourself!' and she helped me out to to be... I would have been probably a lot weaker if it wasn't for her being hard around me cos I lived with them, so she helped me herself.

Int: Moral support?

*T1: Yeah it was a bit of support from her, and a bit of, I just decided I woke up one day and I was like, 'I ain't f***ing having it no more'. I was just not gonna have it any more and I didn't. Tracy W1:119*

Such changes in abused women have previously been related to 'turning points' in their lives as discussed in section 1.5.2.1 (see also Campbell, Rose, Kub, & Nedd, 1998; Eisikovits, Buchbinder, & Mor, 1998; Kearney, 2001), but the connection between turning point events and moments of change is often vague and frequently only suggested by hindsight in such research. The model presented here better reflects the lived situation.

What seems to be happening is that the women are made aware in some way that if they disclose the abuse they will *not* be stigmatised or otherwise considered as socially incompetent. The divergence between what they should expect and what they experience no longer has to be dealt with by remedial work and is marked out as deviant because the man's behaviours are socially incompetent and not because theirs are.

Sometimes the woman shifted the boundary on experiencing a life event that was not directly related to the abuse, but that acted like an "epiphany" (Kalisa C1:10). In four cases this was a bereavement that led the women to reappraise their lives. For some of the women a similar shift occurred once they realised they had lost their 'bubbly personality' (see section 5.3) or other aspects of their previous identity through the abuse.

We had a very volatile relationship, and he had a very, very volatile temper, and it used to be the tiniest little thing that would start him off. And it reached the stage where I went from being a very outgoing, a very bubbly, very talkative person to actually being terrified to speak to him, or to behave in a way that would get his attention. Like, he'd always accuse me of flirting with other men, and I am chatty and outgoing - I'm that kind of person. Helen W1:26

This type of re-evaluation was also noted by Smart (2005) after divorce and occurs in people who have near death experiences (Greyson, 1994). At this time the individual is seen to be under threat and becomes prioritised. It could also be seen as a realisation that no relationship is for ever.

6.4.2.3 Renegotiating boundaries, renegotiating the relationship

As the boundaries to desired and expected behaviours change, the make-up of the relationship itself is changed (see Fig 20). I have said in Chapter 5 that the desired or ideal feeds into the expected. If the desired behaviours are considered as those representing the most competent role play, less competent behaviours can be represented as spreading out from these to the boundary of normative acceptable behaviours. Outside this boundary are the unacceptable. Thus there is an inner boundary to the desired and an outer boundary to expected acceptable behaviours (Fig 18). This resonates with the responses of stigmatised individuals in work on patients with mental illness (Dinos, King, Stevens, Serfaty, & Weich, 2004).

Changes that led to the boundary to expected behaviours being breached or the woman's tolerance threshold – and therefore outer boundary – moving towards the inner boundary around the desired (as shown by the arrows) – meant that some of the man's behaviours fell into the area of the deviant or unacceptable and the woman acknowledged the relationship was abusive. She had two choices. She could continue to negotiate an understanding of the abuse as acceptable – protecting herself from the stigma of association with it, keeping it hidden and widening the gap between boundaries again, which only Onaedo, the youngest participant, still living with her parents, did temporarily. Or, as the other women did, she could renegotiate with others her role as a 'good partner', being now someone who has been wronged; this

was helpful in dealing with the abuse and renegotiating it with her partner as unacceptable. Most of the women did so using assertiveness and rebellion:

Most of the time I'm just a bit defensive and say, 'Wait a minute, I'm not this or I'm not ... don't say that about ...' ... (...) But I'm getting much more aggressive rather than passive! (laughs) I'm much better at that now, because I feel ... wait a minute!! Which I didn't see in the past, but now I see it ... I hope I come back much more at him. Cathy W1:72

I will say, 'So let's not go further, because the more you are arguing, the more you bring more problems, so just forget about it.' So [he say] ... 'Oh. It is when I was young ... I ... I ... er, I wouldn't take this rubbish. I'm going to give you one punch.' I said, 'Those punch days have gone. Not now! Women don't take no punch now.' Patience A2:160

The need to satisfy social pressures from family and community and conform to norms of social competency led many to continue to 'do gender' – that is they performed in the ways described in Chapters 5 and 6 - albeit under their own terms. This remained the appropriate way for an 'abused female partner' (as opposed to 'good female partner' as previously) to perform, since hegemonic masculinity (see Cavanagh, 2003) was rooted in everyday life for the women in this study and for those with whom they came into contact.

But the performance of gender contrasted with their previous use of this strategy in three ways. The women were uncomfortable about using it, they justified this as a stratagem of choice that was used as a means to an end, and it was undertaken with the support of others. The aim was to keep the man in a good mood and gain negotiating space rather than give in to the man's rules (the women often went behind his back to do things he would not allow).

Some of the women instead tried to step outside society's gendered roles in the way they dealt with the abuse emotionally (see also Cavanagh, 2003) and these women may be better placed to improve their situation than the women who continue to 'do gender' (see also Du, 2008).

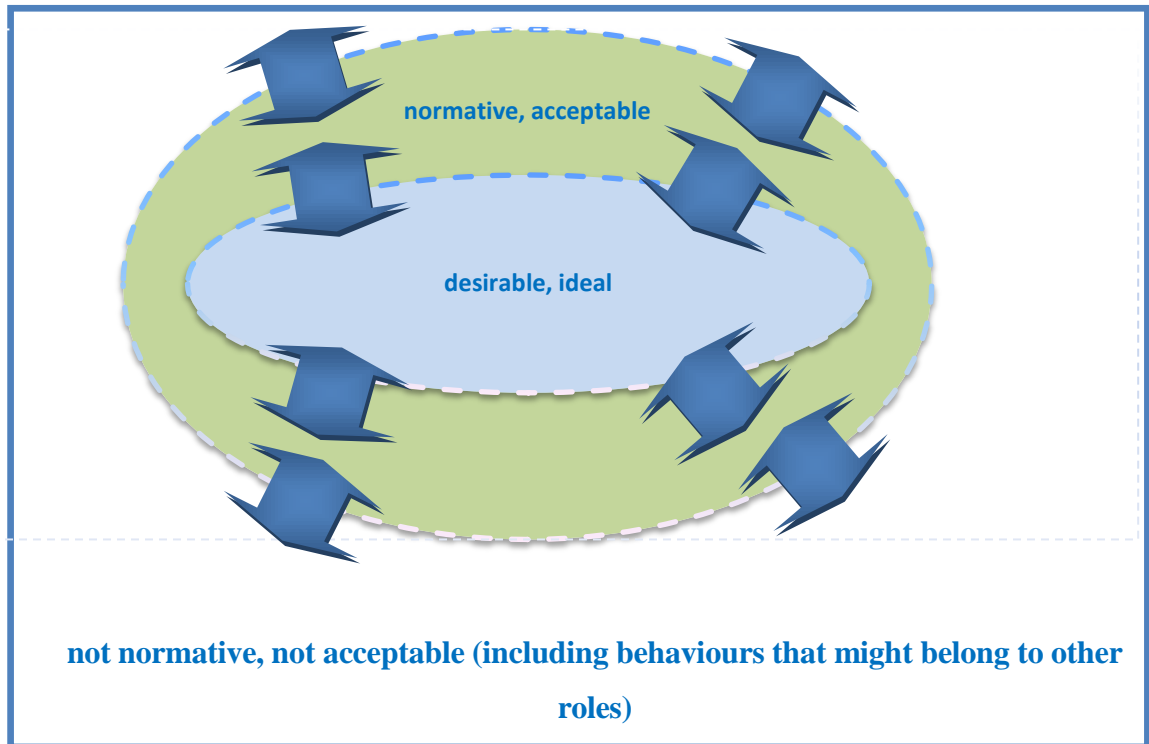


Figure 20: Representation of women’s everyday role boundary drawing

The outer lines are dotted to show they may be breached. The lines can shift up or down (see arrows). The diagram is two-dimensional but boundary setting is multi-dimensional, reflecting the intersections of such factors as race, socioeconomic status, time and space, as shown by the central arrows. Hence in the text I talk about boundaries rather than boundary lines, although the women themselves often refer to lines. See also Figure 18.¹⁹

¹⁹ The model depicted in Figure 16 was developed separately and then I realised its correspondence with the boundary work: this provides some validation of my interpretation since the data support it when considered in different ways.

But such attempts led to confusion and self-criticism. These women said they became “hard” and aggressive. Some of the white British and Caribbean women said they physically hit the man back (this has been listed as a turning point in other studies, see section 1.5.2.1). The African women were the most likely to define their anger as undesirable, but across ethnic groups women used self-critical terms to describe it. This does not mean the relationship became one of ‘common couple violence’ (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; see section 1.2.1) since it was still characterised by asymmetric expressions of male coercion and control. As an example, consider Tracy’s comment: “I’m such a hard, hard bitch now.....I do go a bit over the top sometimes, ‘cos my tolerance level, if things are not right, if he steps a little bit out of... and I think oh no you shouldn’t be...” (Tracy W1:70, 82). Falconer (2009) noted similar ways of dealing with tensions in identity in her study of female backpackers. They described themselves as not girly but strong and resilient to deal with the way they could not look good or maintain good hygiene while backpacking. Yet they also described being *uncharacteristically* rude when approached by strange men, because they felt weak, threatened and frightened even though the men may have been benign. This suggests this accounting cuts across a variety of situations for women. Hollway and Jefferson (2000, p. 26) say the ‘defended subject’ is dealing with vulnerable aspects of self. Ellsworth (1996) talks of situated responsiveness where responses to situations are specific to a particular situation.

As well as renegotiating the relationship when the boundary was breached or reset, the women usually confronted their emotional responses to the abuse, seeking support from their informal networks of friends and family (see Chapter 7). Emotional support helped the women shift the man’s abusive behaviour or its impact on the woman back within the bounds of the acceptable, expected, normal; it either gave the women the strength to deal with the abuse or buffered them against its effects. Particularly when the boundary was also reset, this may be considered as positive action from the women’s perspective.

Research has suggested women often find it hard to challenge abuse because of an emotional commitment to the relationship (Enander, 2010). The data presented here show that often the women began to disconnect emotionally from their partner at the time they reset the boundaries, as Kalisa describes below. Some said they began to care less about being with their partner (the antithesis of love as defined in section 5.2). This is similar to the findings of a number of other qualitative researchers (Campbell, Rose, Kub, & Nedd, 1998; Kearney, 2001; Lloyd & Emery, 2005).

Some of the situations I wouldn't have tolerated before, I'm now tolerating; for example, him going off on weekends with friends. (...) And I used to find, ... I used to get very upset about this and angry because obviously I'd be left with all the children to deal with then on my own the whole weekend, without any let up at all, and he's ... (slight sigh) ... he's sort of stopped doing that a bit, but also I've stopped caring about him doing it, because ... latterly he's ... he's been so difficult to be with that I've ... I've considered it more of a ... relief that he hasn't been around for a couple of days (slight pause) So that situation I'm tolerating more. Vanessa W2:161-165

6.4.3 Efficacy and empowerment

Some of the women felt what they themselves labelled as “empowered” (a word that was never suggested by me), although they interpreted this in different ways. Kalisa said it meant being in control of her own emotions, while Vanessa described it in terms of equalizing power strategies. Abriella and Queisha depicted it as “rising above” the abuse, opening up your options and finding your strengths. I suggest the feeling of empowerment arose in my sample because changes in the women’s presented identities that occurred when they told others about the abuse also altered their perceptions of self, or self-identities. In other words, something in their social and cultural context had changed.

I've a lot more confidence in myself and I say to him (...) 'If you want to go out there and meet somebody or do something, like cheat or whatever, then that will be your downfall, because if I find out about it, it just would be completely over. There's no ... second chances, there's no ... coming back to this again, this is the ... the final time that we're trying.' So ... it's ... a very strange feeling of some type of empowerment, but not over him, over my actual emotions, because it's time to think with your head and not with your heart. And so I actually ... don't feel like I'm in love with him, like I used to be, that I need him to be around me and I need this, and I need that (...) ... that kept making me just hold on to him all the time, because ... I couldn't cut that ... emotional tie to him. Kalisa C1:19

In Davis' (2002) community sample of abused women, empowerment meant using common-sense, developing safety nets, and drawing on inner resilience. For Allen, Bybee and Sullivan (2004), empowered abused women were those able to access resources, and for Sethuraman, Lansdown and Sullivan (2006) in India, they were women who made decisions in the home, had full freedom of movement, and were employed. Nash and Hesterberg (2009, p. 358) comment that such notions of empowerment understate or "unwittingly obscure abused women's efforts at self-preservation or problematise them as not good enough" when these efforts involve such actions as placating the abuser.

Significantly, the women reported on here all used their perception of their own empowerment to reduce the abuse or its impact, rather than to leave, which most continued to reject as an end goal within an abusive relationship. This did not necessarily make the relationship more obviously equal; sometimes, the empowered women still 'did gender'. The critical point was that it then became a strategy of choice, and the women felt better about the relationship and stronger and in control. Davis' sample also emphasised the development of inner strengths (Davis, 2002). The continued constraining effect of family and community (Burman and Chantler [2005], go so far as to call them oppressive as well as supportive) which I have indicated as influencing the type of boundary renegotiation strategies used, was sometimes explicitly stated as explanation for staying.

6.4.4 Parallel lives

Some of the women, on emotionally detaching from their partner, established parallel lives that enabled a different but continuing relationship. This might be seen as a form of role distancing. Two of the four African women remained with their partners and continued to live by the man's rules but now frequently challenged them. Their own expectations had changed even though their community's had not, and they felt empowered in private if not in public. There was tension in their narratives: they mostly normalized their experiences as not abusive, yet sometimes described them as

having crossed to the unacceptable. Two of the white British women who had separated from their partner continued to live in the same house as him. Unlike the African women, they stopped obeying his rules, but this led to conflict and did not make them feel empowered.

6.4.5 Physical distance

As well as detaching emotionally, many of the women in a continuing relationship often distanced themselves physically from the abuse as a way of reducing it. Responses ranged from moving to another room to temporary respite with their families. Drawing on Goffman, it could be said that the women responded to a lack of deference from their partner by using avoidance rituals, to re-establish the status quo.

I suppose I have coping mechanisms, like walking away quite a lot. Dinah W2:43

He's picking apart at me and so I was avoiding being at home. I was out a lot with the kids and doing stuff. Zoë W1:41

One time [he] was going on and on and on, and I just walked out of the house and sat in the car. I mean, it was evening, it was just about 8 o'clock at night and I didn't really want to sit in a park. Erm. I just went and sat in the car. Vanessa W2:114

As an alternative to physical detachment, some of the women tried to spend more time with their partner in ways designed to improve the relationship (and, they said, therefore to reduce the abuse). Vanessa and her partner did community work together. Kalisa and her partner tackled their communication issues.

The arguments used to stem from misunderstandings, sort of us speaking two different languages; not waiting for that other person to finish, not respecting that other person, calling people names, having the type of ... mindset of ... how that person is. 'Oh, ... you're disgusting, you're a cheat, or you're somebody that I can't trust.' And all the insecurities, the misunderstandings, the not letting anybody finish their sentence, not letting anybody speak! Just constant ... disrespect towards each other. (...), that's how it used to be and now, we allow each other to talk. Kalisa C1:19

However in the second interviews it transpired that such efforts were often unsuccessful and involved further negotiation and renegotiation. Note in these examples there is talk about doing things to resolve the situation as a couple, rather

than unilaterally, which marks a change in the dynamics of the relationship regardless of the success of such attempts.

6.5 Conclusions

The analysis in this chapter provides new insights into psychologically abused women's identity work. I have explored how the women actively used remedial work and symbolic double boundary setting to negotiate their intimate relationships, preserved identities and role competencies. I showed how role and identity boundaries may be drawn, shifted, redrawn and used in various ways by abused women to live with and manage abuse. This process is mediated by the cultural pressures on women to remain within abusive relationships, with family and community contributing to the way the intimate relationship is played out, and undertaken through remedial work such as doing gender or creating and sustaining family myths.

CHAPTER 7: SUPPORT-SEEKING

7.1 Introduction

The women might sometimes have been conscious during the interviews of having used remedial work and other strategies as responses to the abuse. But they may not have construed them as such at the time of use, and may not have acknowledged to others or acknowledged at the time of the interview that they were abused rather than unhappy. There is a paradox in the situation of the women who stayed and endured and transformed the problems into the acceptable even though they knew they were unhappy – and in some cases recognized they were abused - in order to get through the day. Women were precluded by these same responses from help-seeking for the abuse specifically, and from responding to offers of help. Onaedo describes this conflict when she considers what would have happened if counselling had been offered her.

Well, I'd probably say, 'Oh, no, he's all right really, anyway, he's just having a bad day.' ...if I was to go to a counselling session I'd talk about the problems, and then I'd end up convincing myself that they're not really that big a problem, everything's all right. So it'd be like, oh, yeah, I don't need to see you again, everything's fine.
Onaedo W1:120

In this chapter I provide a brief overview of how the women's support-seeking varied depending on their other responses to the abuse, and how help-seeking was also affected by social and cultural context.

7.2 Features of the support-seeking

7.2.1 Types of support

Support-seeking, when it took place before the women acknowledged the abuse and revised their boundary work to the unacceptable, mainly involved emotional support, with remedial work by the women to downplay their problems or otherwise place them into the bounds of what might be called acceptable. Other types of support, including housing and judiciary, were avoided while the woman wished to remain with her

partner, being perceived as compromising the stability of the relationship. Once the women began to actively work at reducing the abuse they often used counselling to learn ways of dealing with it, rather than as a source of emotional support as previously.

I have weekly [counselling] sessions, but I noticed a direct impact because I use some strategies that she's given me, like if he's going on and on and on I say 'Stop! Stop!' and I have to repeat it, I go 'Stop stop you're not listening, I'm moving out of the room now.' Because if he's going on and on and on and I can't actually get a word in edgeways and I can't have a conversation there's no point in us both being in the room. Vanessa W1:177

They no longer needed to use remedial work to downplay the abuse with everyone; indeed this would generally be counter-productive, although it might still be undertaken with some people. More practical types of help, such as the provision of accommodation, were then also sought but because the sample included many women who did not label their experiences abusive there are few instances of this.

7.2.2 A hierarchy of support

Support-seeking was hierarchical. Thus most of the white British women would talk to friends before family, and even if this was not the case, once they talked to family they would also talk to friends. The Caribbean and African women would always choose family before friends, as long as they had family in this country, and older before younger people, and would totally avoid intentionally involving friends.

Int: So did your friends know?

W1: Family, yeah, I confided in my cousin and in my sister.

Int: You don't go to friends?

W1: No, you're supposed to keep it in the house, even if it's going on in your head, you don't tell. Winona C1:208

I did have this friend....She was a lot of support to me, because I didn't tell my parents or anyone, nobody else knew, she knew obviously. Tracy W1:161

[Abused women²⁰] prefer to go to older people, you know, that's how they were brought up, like their father's age. It's not ... I mean, OK they may confide in their father, but if they are very close to their f-f-friend's father, they may confide in him or they may have an older friend, older than him sort of thing, and they'd confide, because they've had more experience, or marriage experience, and they confide in them. Sela A1:19-22

Humphreys and Thiara (2002) similarly noted that minoritised (sexually or ethnically) abused women were less likely to talk to friends about their problems than were white British heterosexual women. The differences may arise in my sample because the women's friends often encouraged them not to put up with the man's behaviour, without suggesting ways of dealing with family and community pressures, as indicated in the following extract from Cathy. These pressures were greater for Caribbean and African women but felt by all the women and had to be dealt with for effective support; my analysis in Chapter 4 and other research suggests such pressures push people to seek help from family first, drawing on ties of mutual obligation (Marshall, 2008).

Probably a good five years ago, I was very low and thought I can't put up with this any more, and a friend ... almost talked me into leaving actually; she was going, 'Right, this is what you do; you need this, this, I'll look after the children!' and I was like, 'Wait a minute!'. (laughs) (.....) For her, things were very black and white. For her the line of where you leave someone when she's unhappy is just like (ker-shuut) - you don't put up with anything! I'm sorry! You're off! Cathy W1:116-118

Friends and family acted as confidants, providing the opportunity for what Goffman termed off-stage interactions, that is fronts with individuals that differ from fronts to the group to which these individuals belong. Even when the women sought support from friends or family, and acknowledged the abuse to them, the abuse was not acknowledged within the women's wider community. This remained constraining as described in Chapter 4. This suggests relationship boundary negotiations can occur at several different levels so long as competency is preserved at each level. This accords with the poststructuralist view of multiple shifting identities. For example, a woman's family, in acknowledging the abuse, may see the woman as competent in her roles but be concerned the larger community will not.

²⁰ Sela often spoke in the third person; her mother, who had suggested her involvement in the study, told me she would not accept that she was abused so this may have been a form of impression management work.

Much remedial work was done by the women who acknowledged their abuse to account for why community and professional sources of support were often their last resort. This was especially so for the black women, who said that black people should keep things within their family and did not tend to resort to counselling because of pride or a desire not to appear weak.. The white British women typically said their problems were not bad enough for counselling or other forms of formal psychological/emotional support from services, or that these services were not appropriate because they had not left the relationship. This occurred even when they were being severely abused according to their concept of partner abuse in the abstract (see Rivas, 2010). The women made comments such as:

I always thought, oh, no, no, no, it's not that bad. Or, you know, oh, no, they're going to see right through me. I'm going to talk about this problem partner and then in a week's time, I'll be back round his house again. Onaedo W1:334

In such ways, they did the same impression management around formal support services as they did in their boundary setting work within the relationship (Chapter 6) and for informal support.

7.2.3 The link between informal and formal support

The existence of good informal support did not necessarily preclude women's professional help-seeking, but a lack of informal support often increased their professional help-seeking. Cathy was one of the three women with good informal support who did not seek professional help for their relationship problems.

Int: Do you think [your not using professional services] that's because of what you've said about your close family?

C1: Yeah, probably, yes. Because I know they would be supportive, and I know if I needed, you know, the kids looked after or ... you know. so I think friends as well, I've got a strong friend, you know, network, that I know if I had to get help I could lean on them. Cathy W1:116

Conversely, Sela is an example of a woman who had good informal support, but had sought professional help. However, in such cases the type of help sought was very

limited. An African woman, Sela was trying to preserve her marriage and asked her pastor for help; “but the GP, no” (Sela A1:190). Patience was the only African with virtually no informal support, and her entire family remained in Africa. Therefore, unlike the other African women, she felt the need to turn to her GP, as an alternative to family, saying that “My GP is like my family to me” (Patience A1:272) and that GPs “should give us more support, moral support, emotional support, you know, not all is medical” (Patience A1:272). Fran likewise went to her GP because she had no support from her family, finding them too critical.

The GP's been really good actually, to the extent that she's actually offered me her mobile number to phone her any time. (...) she's said that ... she's there and she'll support me and she ... you know, she assures me that I'm a good mother and she's like that, I must consider with all my problems, I am doing well. Whereas my family never, ever say that I'm doing well ... I suppose. Fran W1:132–137, 161

From these examples it is clear that the degree of informal support the woman had was not the only factor affecting her decision as to whether to use professional support:

- The presence of physical abuse and related boundary work that challenged the abuse, as described in the previous chapter, often led to the women seeking professional support.
- Help-seeking was reduced when the woman was deeply committed to the relationship and influenced by external pressures to stay so; she tended to hide the abuse to present herself as socially competent, as discussed in the previous chapters.
- Barriers sometimes prevented a woman from seeking help even when she wished to do so (for example, uncertainty where to go; attempts to phone that only reached an answer machine).
- Previous failed attempts to use professional support or poor previous experience of professional support might put the women off further help-seeking.

7.3 The support given by the main sources

In the previous sections I described the hierarchy of sources of support the women used and the types of support sought. Here I link the two, looking in more detail at the support given by different sources.

7.3.1 Family support

The black women went to family first, receiving judgmental support and advice from them designed to keep them within the relationship. It might seem from a white ethnocentric perspective that this help more often than not added to rather than reduced their burden, and some of the women certainly avoided it. Others however said they welcomed it. Judgmental emotional support provides a clear, unambiguous, external evaluation and validation of how the woman should behave. Although this might go against the woman's desires it enables her to maintain the social order and fulfil obligations to the others in her life in ways that make her socially competent. There is an equitable exchange; if the advice is taken, the giver and so that particular relationship benefit. Mostly then, the black women described this support as removing confusion from their minds, and making them feel empowered and active in shaping the relationship, and it benefited their social situation, self-esteem and sense of self (see section 6.3.5). It may also be noteworthy that these women often sought help from both their own family and their partner's, which may be linked to their apparently collectivist culture; they knew there were many people to go to should they choose to do so.

The white British women mostly went to family about their problems only once they considered them to be abusive. All the white British women who named the abuse for what it was tended to get support that blamed the man and therefore this was the type of family support mostly described by these women. This was often at variance with family influences on the way the women had shaped their desired or expected relationship. This is in keeping with the presence of more individualistic influences within white British culture, in the patchwork community of which Smart and Shipman (2004) speak. It is reminiscent of Smart's (2005) analysis of the work grandparents do when their children divorce. Overall it seems that initially the women in this study feared telling others about the abuse in case they were perceived as socially incompetent. But as the previous chapter has shown, once they acknowledged the abuse, they could be re-positioned as socially competent for putting up with the abuse.

The repair work the families did to achieve this might be linked to ethnicity. The black families tried to repair the damage so that the woman could remain with her partner, trying to mediate in the relationship. The white British families considered the men as the socially incompetent ones and the women as competent given the problems they had experienced – in other words they did remedial work if the women's behaviours did not match social norms. In terms of the boundaries model of the previous chapter, they transformed the unacceptable into the acceptable, but this was not the transformation of the abusive behaviours but of the women's responses and behaviours. Some families did give the judgemental feedback the women feared but they were in the minority. Note that the remedial work I describe was done by families when the women played down the abuse, presenting problems for example in terms of a single event, and not just when they labelled the man's behaviours as abusive.

7.3.2 Friends and community support

Friends tended to encourage the women to leave the relationship and their advice was usually ignored. Informal community support worked to keep couples together and was rarely sought.

7.3.3 Formal support

7.3.3.1 Emotional support

Women who are abused by their partners may potentially have access to a wide range of formal support services meeting a variety of needs, ranging from charities and domestic violence agencies, through health and social services to council departments (for example for re-housing and benefits) and the judiciary. When the women in the study played down the abuse, they only sought practical help from professionals for other domestic stressors, such as childcare, chores or problems with other relationships (such as parents). But once the boundary they set to what they considered acceptable

behaviours from the man was breached or reset, as described in the previous chapter, the women wanted professional support more directly related to the abuse.

7.3.3.2 General practitioners

The universal perception among the women was that general practitioners (GPs) and general practice nurses were neither resourced nor trained to take on an emotionally supportive role (see also Feder, Hutson, Ramsay, & Taket, 2006):

I think the doctor's role is to treat the sick, not to deal with people's psychological problems. I think there's enough people out there that have got physical ailments that need addressing (.....) I don't think the GP should have any particular role in sorting out the situation; I don't think they're resourced to do that. I don't think it's what most doctors go in for, either, is it, really, to sit down and listen to women's problems Linda W1:219

Nurses are more practical, aren't they. They kind of they fix you up, sort of, do you know what I mean, they're not like....they're kind of formal people. You want somebody like...like yourself, just to sit here and chill, and have a cup of coffee, do you know what I mean? Tracy W1:312

Warshaw (1996) similarly reported that accident and emergency consultants dealing with partner abuse cases tend not to look beyond the presenting event (physical injury). Like the women I interviewed, she argues that this is because they have traditionally been trained to deal primarily with the physical, which may include mental health but not emotional wellbeing.

As a result of their perceptions, several of the women avoided going to their GP for support, expecting the outcome to be a prescription for antidepressants, which they did not want. Kalisa echoed the sentiments of most of the women when she said she had never thought about getting help from her GP because “I’m not a person that pops pills” (Kalisa C1:242) and Onaedo said “I never think of them for mental things” (Onaedo C1:109). As Cathy commented:

And they've always been great with ... with the children and stuff. [My youngest son] had meningitis and they diagnosed that ... I mean they came round within half an hour of me phoning them, they were so quick, they were so good, and he was whipped away! (.....) But emotionally? Yeah, I would go. Er, a good friend of mine, went once when

she was low and was put on some sort of antidepressants that ... yeah, no, I would if I needed to, definitely. Cathy W1:164

When Patience went to her general practitioner (GP) and told her about the abuse, according to Patience the GP focussed on its measurable effects:

I went to the doctor I told them I'm going through a lot of stress, all my hair start losing it, I was looking really haggard I was going through a lot of stress, problems, every day, getting sick, they asked me to go for blood check up, they don't know what to do with me. Patience A1:51

This may however have been a valid medical response and the GP later gave Patience considerable emotional support too. Eight of the white British women likewise obtained emotional support for the abuse from their GPs (see also Feder, et al., 2006) and with six referred on to counsellors, sometimes in spite of believing GPs did not deal with the emotional. Only one regretted this. This echoes Pill, Prior and Wood's (2001) findings for help-seeking by depressed individuals. The women who did not tell their GP about the abuse mostly stated that they had made the appropriate choice. The others generally mentioned the abuse to their GPs simply because they were the most accessible form of formal support. Therefore it seems that, as with family support, the women are put off help-seeking from GPs because of worries that are not upheld in practice.

All the women saw GPs as a less problematic source of emotional support outside the family than 'going public', but the black women only accessed GP support incidentally when presenting to their doctor for another reason. Patience was the exception. She was the only African woman interviewed who had migrated to the UK without any kinsfolk and like the other African women she was kept from the local more assimilated ethnic community by her African husband.

7.3.3.3 Religion and spirituality

Support from religious leaders was treated by the black women as a halfway house between more formal service provision and informal community help because of the way it was embedded in their community values, and this support was occasionally

chosen when white British women might have gone to their GP for counselling (see the next section). Seeking such help meant the women's responses would continue to meet community expectations; the support tended to encourage the women to stay in the relationship. This was in all cases described as helpful to the woman and ultimately what was wanted or needed, according to their accounts to me. Studies from America report similar findings (see for example Gillum, Sullivan, & Bybee, 2006).

Like when I was having a problem with him, I went to see the minister and then he came to my house and talked about what was going on (... ..) And the minister he sit him [her husband] down and explained to him, and then he asked if we loved one another; I said, yeah, he said, yeah. He said, 'It's simple. Stop it!' (both laugh) And he was right!
Naomi C1:175-191

Most of the white British women and one Caribbean woman eschewed religion, although some of the white women had a religious upbringing, for example with cleric fathers. No white British woman sought out a religious organisation for support or help, although two attended church. A form of emotional support not mentioned by any white British woman but that was used by almost all the black women was prayer. Indeed, black women often described it as their first choice of support, helping them to cope without revealing their private lives to anyone else.

If I have marital problems, the first thing I do, I pray to God, because I see a lot of visions. So ... and I meditate a lot. So, if I don't get a good answer, and the thing is to wor ... because I know my mum worries a lot about me as well. So the last resort will be my mum, but normally I would go to pray, I meditate, I pray. Normally God gives me an answer, but it just takes a while for me to act on it, really. Sela A1:127-128

7.3.3.4 Counsellors

Half the women saw counsellors. Mostly this was individual counselling, which they received within the relationship or afterwards, but a few women spoke about couples counselling. One woman accessed counselling through a domestic violence refuge and one through Sure Start. All other women accessed counselling via their GP, some specifically requesting it, one on the advice of her friend and one because her partner in a previous abusive relationship had taken her to couples counselling. Some of the women obtained counselling for the abuse specifically, but this was rare. Usually, a

woman went to her GP about some other problem for which she received counselling, and then could talk about the abuse during counselling sessions.

Got pregnant and I then had another child, but he died; he suffered brain damage at birth, and he died when he was a toddler at Great Ormond Street. And then after that.... it was so stressful that I got depressed and then ... but the best support I had was my doctor here, she sent me for counselling. She never give me no pills nor nothing, she sent me for counselling and that did me the power of good; and that actually make me stronger! (little laugh) Because, er, things that I used to put up with, I don't any more; if he's wrong [her abusive husband] I tell him. Naomi C1:16-18

The black women explained that people in their black communities would not normally choose to go to counselling or GPs. This was the expected, what the women saw as the social norm. They said black women tended to avoid counselling, because "... pride is so deep with black women" (Abriella C1:65) and because of the pressures on them to keep private problems hidden.

We're quite a private people. I... you know, a lot of, erm, white people, I think they will speak a lot more about what they're doing in their private life. You know, I think it's ... it's a cultural difference there. Kalisa C1:206

This echoes what the black women said about not wanting to seek some types of informal support, including community support. However, in practice, five of the nine black women I interviewed advocated counselling from their own experience of it, none having initially sought it out. Breaking from the mould of the expected did not result in unacceptable behaviour in their accounts because they only described benefits from the encounter. In such ways, desirable and expected behaviours in society may be slowly changed. They considered this should be so, feeling it was an important service and one that would benefit other black people.

Ethnic differences were less than perceived by the black women. The white British women sometimes said that the abuse, although often very bad, was not bad enough for counselling or other forms of formal psychological/emotional support from services. They used phrases such as "I always thought, oh, no, no, no, it's not that bad. Or, you know, oh, no, they're going to see right through me. I'm going to talk about this problem partner and then in a week's time, I'll be back round his house again" (Onaedo

W1:334-340), or "I just felt very insignificant everyone else's problems were so much worse" (Dinah W1:403). This was the same form of remedial work they used in relation to informal support – and as Dinah's extract below indicated, for similar reasons - and served to push the unacceptable into the bounds of the acceptable so that help became unnecessary.

D1: I think a lot of people ... would just dismiss counselling ... would just dismiss it. And so, you know, maybe (pause) ... the whole word 'counselling' is kind of quite scary for a lot of people.

Int: Mmm. What does it mean?

D1: Well, telling someone all your deepest, darkest problems, isn't it? Revealing everything about yourself ... which I think is beneficial, but I think, you know, even if you're telling someone and they say, "Well, it's confidential and no-one else is going to hear." It's like, well, you're hearing! (little laugh) And do you have a view? And there's very much that feeling, there's certain things still that I ... would think twice about saying in counselling, because I don't want someone else to judge me. Dinah 1:436-439

However there was some variation in the way the different ethnic groups spoke about counselling that might be interpreted as reflecting their degree of collectivism or individualism. The black women wanted their community to embrace counselling, as Naomi desires below, whereas the white British women did not make any such suggestion for their own ethnic group when asked but considered that the usefulness of counselling depended on the individual.

And most black people, they keep things in too much - that's what I find. And I used to do that when I was younger, because I didn't know no better anyway. And then when I ... when my son died, I had counselling ... which sort of teach me a lot. I think, if I didn't have that counselling and stuff, I'd be keeping stuff in, I'd be walking around suffering from depression too, you know? But I find that talking about things, you feel better. It's not up there in your head, going round and round, you know? (...) And you don't just ... you know, you come into the office and you don't go and say like, 'Oh, you have to see a counsellor!' You don't just tell them that; you have to ease them into it gently, because if you just say, 'That's what you need!' most black men, especially black men, they say, 'No! Oh, I'm not putting my business out in public!' That's what they're like; they don't just say, 'Well, you know, let me sit down and talk it over!' They'll never do that - never!! That's how they are. You have to ease it into them gently; they wouldn't ... they wouldn't just say, 'Oh, I need help!' The first thing they ask you for is the pills. Naomi C1:68-88; 103-107

Across the ethnic groups, once the women accessed counselling they appreciated its confidential nature, the way it could be accessed without friends, family or community being aware of it, and the neutrality of the counsellor:

I can talk to my therapist because she's neutral. She doesn't ... you know, I pay her. She's not ... she's not a friend, or anything like that. And I just don't think it's fair, you know, she's [friend] got her own life; she doesn't need me. I mean, I have therapy three times a week; she doesn't ... she probably doesn't want to see me three times a week for an hour, I should imagine. Helen W1:99-101

Telling it to a stranger was better than telling it to family, because you sort of talked about everything - no holds barred, and it's better that way to talk to a stranger. Naomi C1:68

7.4 Summary

This chapter has shown how the expectations of others affect the women's help-seeking in the same way that they affect their other responses to abuse. Drawing on the three-element model (Chapter 5) in the analysis, I have shown how help-seeking (and its avoidance) involves the same remedial work and boundary setting strategies, to transform the unacceptable into the acceptable. Importantly, women were not precluded from support-seeking even when they did not name the abuse as abuse, and this provides opportunities for service providers to reach them. Importantly too, the nature of the unacceptable may change once the women seek help. This is considered in the next, and final, chapter of this thesis, where overall conclusions are drawn from the data chapters and tentative recommendations for service provision are made.

CHAPTER 8: FINAL DISCUSSION

I end this thesis by discussing analyses from the different data chapters, and positioning them within the literature. I critically appraise findings and the method, considering particularly the use of interview accounts, and outline some implications of my study for researchers and practitioners and therefore for abused women.

8.1 Expectations of a relationship

8.1.1 The expectations of others

Overall, this thesis emphasises the potential for our performance in any role to affect our other roles and how this is taken into account when we negotiate the boundaries to our roles and interactions and our presentations of self. As Turner (1962, p. 87) says: “But the placement of any one of these boundaries, whether for a fleeting instant or for a longer period, limits or determines the identification of other roles.” Goffman (1956) says the “properly demeaned” person, that is the person who shows the appropriate demeanour, blocks certain impressions of themselves so that they are not “contaminated by them” (p. 490). Goffman goes on to say:

Most importantly, perhaps, good demeanour is what is required of an actor if he is to be transformed into someone who can be relied upon to maintain himself as an interactant, poised for communication, and to act so that others do not endanger themselves by presenting themselves as interactants to him (p. 490).

This shows the social importance of protecting the family and community and putting them first, which is what the women tended to do when they acted as if not abused.

Goffman also explains that each individual is responsible for the demeanour image of himself and the deference image of others and says therefore “that for a complete man to be expressed, individuals must hold hands in a chain of ceremony, each giving deferentially with proper demeanor to the one on the right what will be received deferentially from the one on the left.” In other words the individual is affected by those around them and they affect the individual; again this shows the importance of

community obligations as part of the process of having identity as a ‘complete man’, or as is the case here, a ‘complete woman’.

Correspondingly, the women prioritised their negotiated competencies as ‘good partners’ at the expense of other roles. This was consistent with their prioritisation of family and community expectations over those of friends and colleagues. The Caribbean women vocalized this most clearly (which has also been reported for African American women by Billingsley [1992] and Boyd-Franklin [1991]). The result in all cases was a code of silence, hiding the abuse. The women believed they had to put up and deal with the abuse alone if they were to maintain impressions of competency; their talk, in volunteering social constraints on leaving, tacitly or explicitly acknowledged this as an alternative advocated in feminist and professional discourses but that was not desirable for them. They made it clear that if they failed in the relationship – and they were the ones held responsible for it by the others in their lives - they were seen as letting down themselves, their families and their communities.

Women in non-abusive as well as abusive relationships are held more accountable when relationships ‘fail’, both by the community at large, and by themselves (White & Epston, 1989, p. 26). This accountability is context-bound; for example older women who married at a time when divorce was more highly stigmatised, and those who are active within the church, are likely to feel a higher degree of accountability (White & Epston, 1989). Maslow’s hierarchy of need (Maslow, 1987) helps to explain this. It shows how skills, behaviours and duties considered ‘feminine’ in our society come higher up the hierarchy of need, being therefore non-essential, while men provide more basic, essential, needs that place the woman in an inferior supportive role. In such ways the women are obliged to do a great deal of work to remain in the relationship and account for the abuse, presenting themselves as non-abused and their partner as not abusive in ways that maintain what Goffman called the social order.

While women of all the ethnic groups obeyed the code of silence it was only explicitly articulated by the black women. The researcher was white, and white women may

have assumed a common understanding that need not be expressed. This was something that I might have tested in the later interviews had I considered it sooner. Another explanation may be that differences in the characteristics or significance of community expectations between groups make it less problematic for white British women to 'go public' (Cavanagh, 2003) with the abuse. The variation in my sample in the strength of community expectations accords with considerations of individualism and collectivism, which have been briefly referred to in this thesis (Hofstede, 1983). Statistics also bear this out; ethnic minority women in London are slower than white British women to report abuse. Eighteen percent of all abused women in the UK go to a doctor to report the abuse in its first year; over 50% do so by year two. But approximately 50% of Asian, African, Caribbean and Arab women wait five years before seeking help for the abuse (WAITS, 1995). However, this may be for other reasons, such as a lack of culturally appropriate services (Whittaker-Khan, 2008).

Despite the women subsuming their own expectations to those of family, community and society, problems could arise when some of these expectations changed. For example, this occurred when the women were exposed to different cultural influences and their family was not (or their partner resisted these), typically when they moved home. The women described how they tried to accommodate family obligations and expectations even when these went against their own hopes and plans. They recounted that their families often explicitly advocated the preservation of the relationship despite its undesirability for the women. This was linked by the women to the way families were influenced by community expectations. As Haj-Yahia (2000) explains, when an abused woman expects to, and does, seek help and support from her husband's family and from her own family of origin, this reflects values that emphasize preservation of the family's privacy and good name and reputation as well as values of mutual support, mutual dependence, and family solidarity.

In this way, community expectations influenced family expectations which could augment and strengthen individual expectations – which were influenced by family and community expectations in the first place (see Chapter 4 and also Chapter 3 part 1) or

could conflict with them. Carter (2010) reported a similar situation in a cross section of women, who had mostly been in non-abusive relationships, showing that the impact of such constraints on the women I interviewed does not mark them out as abused. Carter found that the balance of ‘pull factors’ such as the desire to be in a relationship, and ‘push factors’ such as family expectations determined whether or not a couple remained together. Smart and Stevens (2000) similarly talked about ‘mutual elements’ of commitment. For example a couple may purchase a house because of a desire to be together but the complications of explaining things to their families and dividing up the house if they split may push them into sorting out problems and remaining together when their relationship does not run smoothly.

8.1.2 Expectations of the women

In Chapter 5 I showed how, influenced by the expectations of family, community and society, the women viewed serious relationships as lasting ‘for ever’. I also showed how they did not necessarily assume this would be the ‘happily ever after’ they desired – or as in Gillis’ and Smart’s model, ‘lived by’. They expected a relationship that fell short of the desired but still fitted into a normative framework. They saw the expected relationship as lacking in companionship, with men becoming less loving over time, and likely to be unfaithful. They also expected arguments and conflict – which were therefore considered normal – and gendered inequality, despite often contributing significantly to the couple’s income and despite aspiring to equality. Work on the relationship and its outward show, and compromises, were anticipated to:

- live in harmony (in a relationship that may be less than their desired) and ensure the relationship itself endured come what may
- meet socially normative expectations of the desired in their outward show, and their commitment to their partner
- achieve something that might better approximate what the women themselves desired.

If they did not do this work, they would have to put up with the consequences because society held women in general responsible for the success of relationships.

Overall, the women experienced neither the desired nor the expected relationship. They gained some sense of security from their relationship, despite their partners being unfaithful, which was anticipated. But the relationships had many unacceptable elements: they were shorter on happiness and love, and full of fear, depression, repressed freedom and identity and other manifestations of abuse. This pertained whether they stayed within traditional role play or stepped outside it.

8.1.2.1 Romance and companionship

In almost all cases, when a woman talked about relationships in the abstract she positioned herself (or any woman) as a damsel in distress – one that needs rescuing from a single life – being swept off her feet by an attractive, well-off, kind and devoted Prince Charming (see also Cokely, 2005; Wood, 2001). Cue ball gowns, confetti, and a life lived ‘happily ever after’. Such notions pervade society, through its films, books, ‘true-life stories’ in magazines and other popular culture. So this ideal is shaped within broader society. What the women experienced in practice was somewhat different – but not, the white British women in particular thought, initially, since they spoke of passionate and romantic beginnings to their relationships (see sections 5.2 and 8.1.2.1).

Physiology and qualitative studies describe the death of romantic love after the first flush of passion and physical attraction (often colloquially referred to as the ‘honeymoon period’), to be replaced by ‘companionate’ love (Dion & Dion, 2010), ‘being in love’ as opposed to ‘falling in love’ (Jackson, 1995) or the slightly different confluent love conceptualised by Giddens (1992). This type of love is also called pair bonding or attachment by behaviourists (Plutchik, 2001) and develops from mutual obligations (see Goffman, 1959) and shared intimacy (Giddens, 1991). It is closer to friendship than passion (although there may be passionate elements) but because society accepts that romantic love rarely endures, this transformation is encapsulated in

the concept of the ‘desired’ or ideal relationship.²¹ This is the happy ever after, the couple walking hand in hand into the sunset of their lives.

The literature for non-abusive relationships reports that as passionate love transforms into companionate love, desire for proximity lessens, and feelings of security and comfort predominate (Dion & Dion, 2010). Companionate love was described by a few of the women as something to aspire to, but was almost never attained in their abusive relationships. Although all the women maintained that staying with their partner gave them security, their relationships were not comforting as the desired and expected relationships were said to be. Thus the quality of these abusive relationships in the short term fitted societal ideals and was even sometimes interpreted by the women as an extremely competent manifestation of the ideal. It is when companionate love should take hold that these abusive relationships compared unfavourably with non-abusive ones.

Some women suggested the men consciously manipulated them or set a trap for them by false representations of romance at the start of their relationship. But other understandings are possible and from the data collected, it is not clear which interpretation is the most appropriate. For example, abusive men may in fact be competent in doing romantic love but not companionate love, and may even be more adept at romance than non-abusive men (Borochowitz & Eisikovits, 2002). There may be nothing remarkable in the loss of romance, as I have indicated in section 8.1.2.1, only in what replaces it. But there may be additional factors at play in abusive relationships. For example, the psychology literature has linked extreme attachment styles with abusive personalities, that are characterised by greater passion and also more intense reactions to perceived rejection (see Table 1 Chapter 1).

²¹ In arranged marriages both types of love increase through the years, and within five years may exceed the highest levels found in love matches at any time in the relationship (Epstein, 2009).

It is important to consider abuse as a social phenomenon moderated by many factors including psychological make-up, embodiment and biographies. The men all entered the relationship with emotional ‘baggage’, that is experiences in life that had affected their attitudes to relationships, as Queisha remarks (section 5.11.2). I did not interview men and so cannot consider their standpoints in depth. But other research has shown that men may enter the relationship with their own expectations of the desirable relationship and become abusive once these expectations proved unattainable (for example, see Borochowitz, 2008). Another possibility is that the women were doing remedial work in the interview to justify their actions in entering and committing to the relationship. As yet another alternative, it may be that the women imposed normative scripts of romance onto the relationship and made it fit these, at the time the early relationship was playing out, or in their narratives with me. For example, Fran says she jumped into the relationship head first, taken over by the *idea* of romance and Helen built up what she herself comments as being a false, romantic, image of her partner. The data are consistent with the last option.

8.1.2.2 The influence of culture: love as a social contract

There may be cultural differences in the concept and significance of romantic love, emotional intimacy and commitment. Intimate relationships have been described as a form of social contract and Smart alludes to this in her 2005 paper. This contract may be treated differently in the black and the white women’s cultures. The black women appeared to place the wellbeing of their community and/or family above their attainment of individual goals and wellbeing; the cultural focus was consistent with the economic thesis propounded by Marx and Engels for families (see section 3.14.1) and with collectivism (Hofstede, 1983).

Relationships in countries such as the UK have become more individualistic, democratic and reflexive than this and are increasingly freed from economic dependency or other traditional influences (Smart, 2005; Smart & Shipman, 2004). Love is claimed to be the ‘central pivot’ in these relationships (Beck & Beck-

Gernsheim, 1995, p. 170). This might explain why the women all had lower expectations of traditional black men than white British men, and why the white women anticipated needing to do a great deal of work to maintain the relationship and get it to approximate the relationship they desired, whereas the African women expected to do work rather to lead parallel lives. In an individualistic society, as represented by the white British women, relationships that fall short of the ideal are more likely to be terminated than in the past (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995); in more collectivist groups represented by the African women, it is more important to sustain the relationship by living a parallel life. This was reflected in the strength of effect of social expectations on the women's behaviours. The Caribbean women potentially represented a transitional state.

8.1.2.3 *Parenthood, security and sex*

The women desired and expected to have children within a loving and supportive relationship, one that provided parenting security. Feelings of security were not contingent on the man's income, but rather related to attachment and parenthood, making the intimate partnership indispensable. Nonetheless monogamy *per se* was not expected according to the women's accounts, supporting society's gendering of sexual behaviours (see section 5.7).

In hegemonic masculinity discourses the concept of the 'male sexual drive' may be drawn upon by men to explain the inevitability of their infidelity – the doing of which emphasises their 'successful masculinity' - as well as the need for their partner to be always sexually available to them (Boonzaier, 2008). It may also have been drawn on by the women. Though made unhappy by their partners' infidelities, they were able to do remedial work to account for – and even excuse them - as 'to be expected', without losing 'face'. The precise form the hegemonic masculinity norms took was influenced by the particular subculture the woman belonged to. This is shown in the data by the way the black women were often in polygamous relationships but the white British women were not, and by Jenny's distinction between appropriate and inappropriate

polygamous behaviours. Similarly, some research has shown that Jamaican immigrant women in the UK may sometimes live with children independent of a husband or father as one of many accepted family configurations for these women (Reynolds, 2005), but as something that would be highly stigmatising for many South Asian immigrant women (Ayyub, 2000). Expectations of infidelity do not need to conflict with ideas of romantic love; Bolanle's talk about the shoe that gets old (section 5.7) is an example of how tension between the two expectations may be resolved through temporal shifting.

Most research on women's perspectives on sex has surveyed a cross section of women, only some of whom were likely to be abused, with no comparisons made. Boonzaier (2008) considered abused women specifically and found they emphasised their passive role as recipients of sex with men as active takers, which echoes the current data. But it is not clear from this study or Boonzaier's how different this is from non-abused women and overall abused women seem likely to belong within a subset of women rather than being distinct in this regard. For example, as indication of this, just as the women I interviewed expected men to be unfaithful, other research has found that men tend to find sex with someone they love as only marginally more satisfying than sex with an 'acquaintance' (Bardwick, 1971; Sorenson, 1973) and have sex for pleasure, fun, and physical need. Not all men are unfaithful of course, and many women are. Men do enjoy love, emotion, and commitment in a sexual relationship but research indicates they may have less need for it when having sex than do women (Sprecher, 2002).

8.1.2.4 Division of labour

The women in this study lived out traditional lives even when they expressed more egalitarian ideals and desires. The literature suggests this is usual for women of the represented age groups, abused or not (e.g. Carter, 2010; Finch, 2004), and attempts have been made to explain it using various theories (Table 9). Space precludes their detailed consideration here, but they are mostly based on judgements and principles of

justice, practicability or the common good, which do not apply with abuse. Relative resources theory is based on power differentials and so is abuse, and this theory provided a good fit to the data.

Table 9: Theories developed to account for the division of labour in relationships, and their goodness of fit to the data

Theory	Overview	Comments relating to the data from this study
Gender ideology (Hochschild, 1989)	See section 3.16.1. Couples with more egalitarian attitudes and more flexible beliefs about gender roles share household tasks more equally (Hochschild, 1989; Kroska, 2004; Stevens, Minotte, Mannon, & Kiger, 2006).	Hard to apply in practice, and role leaking problematises this (see section 5.8), but remains a useful tool for exploring the data
Demand-response (Coverman, 1989)	Individuals participate in domestic labour to the extent that is demanded of them	Fits the men more than the women
Time availability (Finley, 1989)	The person with the most time to do the chores does them; evidence conflicting (see e.g. Kalleberg & Rosenfeld, 1990) and appears only to fit egalitarian households (Canary, Emmers-Sommer, & Faulkner, 1997, p. 123) where patterns of availability are likely to be different from other relationships	Not a fit, see e.g. unidirectional role leaking. Other researchers have similarly reported how some men reduce the amount of work they do around the house if their earnings are less than their female partner's or they are unemployed (Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre, & Matheson, 2003; Brines, 1993; Greenstein, 2000; Minnotte, Stevens, Minnotte, & Kruger, 2007)
Role congruity theory (Diekman & Eagly, 2008)	Developed from the social psychology theory of social role identities, scarcely tested with	Not suitable for exploration of this

	data (Erchull <i>et al.</i> , 2010); rewards accrue when an individual's behaviours align with the demands of their relevant social role and in-group	
Specialization-of-tasks hypothesis (see Erchull <i>et al.</i>, 2010)	Couples work to maximise the economic welfare of the family (a revised form of political economic theory); women are more likely to do voluntary (unpaid) or low paid work so do the domestic labour	Does not fit. When the women earned more, the men did not contribute with domestic labour or prioritise the woman's career, and economic efficiency was not maximised
Spillover theory (Kanter, 1977)	The boundaries between work and family life are fluid, with work often 'spilling' over into the family domain for one individual; it may cross over to affect the other partner (e.g. if they adapt their activities to accommodate the spillover, or are affected by the stress; Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001)	Little relevant data
The principle of least interest (Sprecher & Felmlee, 1997)	The person least invested in the relationship has more power to dictate the terms of the relationship	The data suggest the women are more invested in the relationship because of gendered social constraints, with the men dictating the terms correspondingly. But see also the comments I make regarding investment theory
Investment theory (Sprecher, Schmeekle, & Felmlee, 2006)	The amount of <i>perceived</i> investment in the relationship determines the amount of work done to maintain it	The women were committed to the relationship and this potentially laid them open to 'doing it all' and trying too hard, and to abuse that drove them to do more by

		leading them to believe they were not doing enough. Investment theory may explain the talk the women did around commitment and security and having children, their vulnerability to the abuse, and the practicability of staying in the relationship, but does not explain why the women stayed and made the investment in the first place
Social exchange theory (see also Chapter 1, Table 1)	Relationship interactions work towards mutual benefit. The main breadwinner should benefit the other partner with their income, in return for freedom from domestic chores	The data do not provide a sufficiently taxing test of the theory but it seems to apply. It helps to explain, for example, society's approval of the sanctity of the relationship (see Chapter 4). Needs to be combined with relative resources theory to explain this
Relative resources theory (Brines, 1993; Stevens et al., 2006; see also Chapter 1, Table 1)	Domestic labour is unpleasant and individuals with relatively more resources, more capital (Bourdieu, 1985) (e.g. money, the power of hegemonic masculinity, violent behaviour) will 'buy' out of performing domestic labour (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996)	Useful in explaining role leaking and other behaviours described in the data – see main text

Sometimes external pressures operated to get the women to step out of gendered role play and take on some of the role that her partner was expected to do, without his reciprocation. I have termed this unidirectional role leaking as a subset of traditional behaviours. In all cases when the women assumed some 'masculine' gendered

practices they dealt with the issues through remedial work. Thus the women talked about themselves in very negative terms and some yearned for more 'purist' traditionalism. Sometimes this sustained the impression that they were behaving competently within the bounds of appropriately gendered behaviour for an intimate relationship. In some cases it allowed them to explicitly acknowledge their behaviours but excused them.

The idea of unidirectional role leaking fits there being parallel and overlapping sets of behaviours rather than polarity towards more female or more male. Schipper's hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity may fit with this, although non-heterosexual behaviours, easily allowed for in my model, need explaining in Schipper's. The gendered behaviours may rather derive from the sets for 'wife', 'husband' and so on, that is, intimate relationship role sets intersecting with gender. Role leaking is not a typology but a doing of behaviours.

Relative resources theory, intersecting with hegemonic masculinity, has been commonly applied in other studies of abusive relationships. Applying this theory helps to show why the women in this study put up with their situation, with unidirectional role leaking, despite being significant earners, by shedding light on the interplay between different types of capital. It shows how *within* the relationship hegemonic masculinity was a significant source of capital. Financial capital was not the primary determinant in the division of labour but hegemonic capital may have been. The women who were the main breadwinners could not buy out of domestic labour because the men exercised control over their income using their greater hegemonic capital.

Given this explanation it is easier to understand why some of the women were nostalgic for a more traditional society at large even when they held egalitarian ideologies, and also to understand the conflicting talk in their narratives around financial independence. They had been brought up with hegemonic masculinity and those around them drew on hegemonic norms in ways that constrained the women's responses to the abuse (see Chapter 4). Financial independence occasioned by more

liberal laws and a move to greater egalitarianism in society was believed to provide a way out but this did not materialise in practice because of the greater weight given to hegemonic capital and its influence on their lives.

How did the women deal with the tensions created when on the one hand egalitarianism and independence are marked up as desired or ideals but on the other, their relationships and strategy choices are highly gendered and traditional because of the constraints of family and community expectations in particular? I have shown in Chapter 6 how they undertook impression management through remedial work, to account for the divergence between the desired and their experiences in practice. Studies have shown that perceptions of equity and fairness in the division of household labour are often more predictive of marital happiness (Frisco & Williams, 2003), marital satisfaction (Wilkie, Ferree, & Ratcliff, 1998), and psychological well-being (Robinson & Spitze, 1992) than the actual amounts of labour performed. Such remedial work therefore has huge implications.

Backett (1992) studied new middle class families in the UK and found parents used coping mechanisms to help maintain a belief in the fairness of labour divisions in the household even when fathers remained peripheral e.g. by saying the fathers were willing to help. Hochschild (1989) drew attention to the use of such strategies, which she called family myths, as a way of dealing with traditional inequalities in abusive and non-abusive relationships so they could be sustained.

The remedial work the women did often resulted in something similar to a masquerade (McRobbie, 2009), but it should not be forgotten that family myths and strategies that support gender performances serve important personal and social functions. They allow individuals and couples to retain and preserve deeply held commitments to particular and individualised ideologies and at the same time keep relationships and families intact (Hochschild, 1989), even when this may conflict with these ideologies. This is achieved by making the lived relationship appear to match the expected or the desired.

Within the abusive relationship the women deployed gendered practices that drew on social norms to gain ‘gifts’ of support from the men and develop ‘family myths’ that made the relationship appear to others to fit their expectations, and at the same time to help the women to cope. These benefits may therefore have real currency even if they are viewed as illusory.

The attempts of at least some of the women to live their lives within the possibilities of the evolving patchwork quilt of larger society and at the same time to cope with the abuse within subcultures obeisant to hegemonic masculinity made things very difficult for them. The infiltration of society’s changes into their male-controlled lives led to unidirectional role leaking; role reversal was not supported within their subcultures. The intersection in my data of broader societal changes with subcultural hegemonic masculinity may explain why role leaking and role reversal did not emerge as distinct in Hochschild’s analysis of the 1980s when the current changes in society were not yet evident.

The combination of relative resources theory with social exchange theory can be used to explain other responses in the abusive relationship, such as Hochschild’s concept of ‘gifting’. It also explains why lack of abuse might be ‘sufficient’ reward for ‘doing it all’. A woman who earns money and does all the housework may feel sufficiently rewarded if she receives emotional support from her male partner, rather than physical help, as the women themselves indicated, because he is of higher status.²²

8.1.2.5 *Status and role leakage*

According to relative resources theory, men who adhere strongly to hegemonic masculinity (and *ipso facto* a traditional ideology) will see any leakage of their

²² The power of traditional discourses has also been shown in studies of lesbian couples. Qualitative studies reveal that such couples structure their sharing of household labour in “strikingly similar” ways to that of heterosexuals (Carrington, 1999, p. 21) using family myths and gender strategies such as those described by Hochschild to actively *create the semblance* of egalitarianism in their relationships (Carrington, 1999; Dunne, 1998). Lack of space precludes further discussion in this thesis.

behaviours into the subset of women's gendered practices (or the converse) as threatening to their masculinity. Beliefs in such threats, when extreme, can increase the risk of coercive control and hence partner abuse (Stark, 2007), as a means of forcing the woman to conform to expressions of idealised 'emphasised' femininity (Connell, 1985). Thus society may *facilitate* abuse but it is at the level of the individual relationship that abuse may or may not manifest.

In the data presented here, the women who worked posed a threat to their partner's masculinity. Since doing the housework is a 'feminine' and female activity according to traditional ideology, the men do not adopt it in return for the women doing paid work, as theories of the division of labour, other than social exchange and resources theory, might predict. By refusing to do domestic work, the man not only avoids further emasculation, he dismisses it as lacking in value, which reasserts his superiority. DIY and paid work are more masculine activities but the men reclaim their status when the women do these by exerting control over the products of the women's labours. Because the women potentially hold much of the economic capital, if the men do not control this they lack the resources needed to meet expectations of masculinity (Gelles, 1987; Jewkes, 2002) and their hegemony is brought further into question. They do not have the money to buy the trappings of hegemonic masculinity (drinks in the pub, nights out and so forth); a few women noted that this determined their partner's social status. The men are driven to try to claw back from the women their status over them (Kimmel, 2000), with partner abuse one way of doing so. (Lea, 1992; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980).

Yllö's (1993) analysis supports my arguments above. She ranked women's status in 30 different US states along economic, educational, political and legal dimensions. Domestic violence was most common in states where the women's status was lowest. However the prevalence of violence did not decrease incrementally with increases in the women's status but troughed in states where status was mid-range. Yllö postulated that in states where women's status was lowest they had few options and resources to leave the abusive situation, and so were compliant with and did not resist the abuse,

while in states where their status was highest men felt threatened and used force to maintain their dominant position (see also Kibria, 1994; Kudat, 1982; Menjívar, 1999).

8.2 The three-element model

In Chapter 5, drawing on the data, symbolic interactionism, Goffman's theory on the presentation of self, and the literature, I developed and supported a three-element model of relationships that builds on the two-element model described by Smart (2005) and adapted from Gillis and comprising in its simplified form:

- The desired relationship to live by
- The expected (normatively acceptable, typical) relationship
- The problem (undesirable, unacceptable) relationship the women lived with.

In the proposed model, symbolic representations (desires and ideals) feed normative expectations which then feed practices, making for a complex whole that the women were active in negotiating. This chain was bidirectional, acted on by intersecting contextual moderators such as ethnicity and hegemonic masculinity. The contextual factors operated at three levels – broader society, the community and family, and the intimate relationship, as in Heise's model (Fig 17).

The proposed model comprises the relationships to desire and expect, which both represent acceptable relationships made up from acceptable behaviours, and the unacceptable relationship the women lived with, which contained unacceptable as well as acceptable behaviours. In this model, since the aspirational is achievable but the expected is less than this, and since unacceptable abusive behaviours may be transformed into the acceptable (the expected), individuals may always work towards improving their relationships. I argue that the two-element model that Smart works with does not easily allow for this because the ideal is never attainable and all other behaviours are grouped together.

The desired and expected are shaped by social norms and practices and the data are revealing of these. Using this model helps to show the ideal relationship does not describe disembodied decontextualised perfection, but what the women would like best

given the various contextual constraints in their lives. Using this model also helps show how social norms play out in practice in the lives of these abused women. The expected relationship acts as a buffer zone between the desirable and the unacceptable, just as social constructivism (with its focus on the interplay of social norms and identity) would predict.

Some aspects of the women's relationship matched their expectations. Thus they gained some sense of security from their relationship, despite their partners being unfaithful, and the gendered division of labour was likewise often anticipated albeit not necessarily desired. Differentiation of the expected from the relationship the women had was generally quite clearly indexed by their remedial work so this is not likely to be a case of circular reasoning. The rules of social conduct and impression management would predict the women would emphasise what could be most easily transformed to the acceptable. This explains the women's focus on gendered role play but perhaps also over-emphasises the role of hegemonic masculinity in their lives.

Behaviours that adapt to or circumvent gendered issues – e.g. women who stay at home saying they want to, women who live what I have called parallel lives, women who perform gender as a strategy in a way that conforms to hegemonic masculinity - recognise and give currency and value to the concept of gendered inferiority even when they do not agree with it. However, sometimes the women's coping strategies actively confronted the issues. This has the potential to improve their situation.

8.3 Remedial work and boundary setting

Drawing on the proposed model, Chapter 6 provides detail on how the expected may be made to seem desirable or ideal through remedial work and other impression management work and how the unacceptable may be transformed so that it appears to fit the acceptable. Thus gifting was one strategy used to try to achieve this, another was the development of family myths that depicted the relationship as equitable when it was not. But other forms of remedial work such as normalisation and distancing and

gender performances (such as reported by Cavanagh) were more common. The accomplishment of gender entailed women caregiving, taking responsibility for the relationship, aligning themselves with the man's take on the relationship, and protecting the man's status at cost to their own cost. The way the women did gender was strategic and driven by different goals depending on whether the women were working out how to challenge the abuse and position the abusive behaviours within the unacceptable, or were choosing to keep it hidden from others and work to transform the unacceptable to the acceptable. The data show that gender, like other social behaviours, is fluid and dynamic. Both men and women can perform a range of constructed subjectivities that shift and may conflict (e.g. a man can help at home but deny it outside; the woman can do role leaking as described in this thesis but construct an image of her partner to others as hegemonically masculine).

Cavanagh also found that when her women redrew and renegotiated relationship role boundaries in ways that named and challenged the abuse (Cavanagh, 2003) they sometimes contravened norms for gender roles. But unlike other theorists, I invoke not one symbolic boundary to role play in interactions, but two. One boundary is to the desirable and another to the expected, with a further subset of behaviours not appropriate for the role but sometimes associated with it falling just outside of these.

Behavioural symbolic boundaries were negotiated within relationships not only with the woman's partner but also with the woman's other relationships. Boundaries were either explicitly described or implicit and evident through the way the women talked about their relationships. Boundary work hid the abuse so long as it could be accounted for as not abuse. Analysis of the data in terms of the boundaries separating the three elements of the model revealed instances of how and why boundary lines may be shifted or breached and what this meant to the women, and how they sometimes began to manage the boundaries to their own behaviours in ways that enabled them to seek support.

Sometimes something happened that stopped the women doing their remedial work around boundary setting in the relationship, as discussed in Chapter 6, such as an escalation of violence or a 'turning point'. For example, the women often said they would draw the line at physical abuse and put up with the more 'subtle' psychological violence even though they also often said that this was more debilitating. This may be because physical violence is more visible to others and its physical signs such as bruises and cuts have to be accounted for or hidden in order to avoid stigma or admitting to the abuse. The women then became confident that they could confide in certain others, usually family if black and friends if white, without being seen as socially incompetent. The problem became reframed as their partner's social incompetence and boundaries to relationship behaviours were reset in consequence.

The transformations encapsulated in the model are achieved by renegotiating shared understandings of what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, what bounded sets of behaviours may be said to belong in each element of the model. I have argued that these changes have both costs and benefits, being:

- potentially supportive of the non-acceptable
- sometimes used as a tool of resistance, setting the benchmark for acceptable behaviour
- used by the women to manage the abuse and cope whilst remaining in their relationship
- a mechanism for enabling women to respond dynamically to changes in their situation.

8.4 The balance of power

My data show that power is not absolutely located in social structures but is complex and dynamic. Abused women can be both superior and inferior depending on the context of the situation and the particular standpoint adopted. For example, the capital of hegemonic masculinity may carry more weight than monetary capital, making some women who were the breadwinners powerful in some situations and not others, with multiple identities that each involve negotiations at multiple levels.

8.5 Abuse and the model

I have shown how gendered divisions of labour increase the women's vulnerability to abuse; they may be used to create and sustain power imbalances, making women dependent on men, with men more powerful and less dispensable because they provide the family's basic needs in life. They may be used to underscore a criticism-reward system of control. In 'doing gender' women may 'lose' or repress their identities, replaced by performances that give them a different sense of identity that sustains the abusive relationship. In learning to maintain and sustain their performance as non-abused through their boundary work, the women become vulnerable to coercive control. The model thus provides a mechanism to show how this key feature of abuse may develop.

This thesis shows how male intimate partner behaviours that fall outside acceptable role boundaries results in three types of response from the abused women:

- Impression management and remedial work that pulls the inappropriate behaviours back into the domain of the acceptable
- Renegotiation of boundaries so that unacceptable behaviours are more clearly marked out as not normative
- Behaviour change.

Professional services may be able to provide support that makes the first of these options the least likely.

8.6 Goffman, symbolic interactionism, multiple identities and help-seeking

The proposed model allows for both Goffman's focus on the divergence between social norms and the presentation of self, and symbolic interactionism's emphasis on the divergence between presented and self identity. Drawing on both approaches I have been able to explore some of the processes and mechanisms through which the symbolic interactions and behaviours and role plays of the abused women in the sample sustain and nurture and are shaped by culturally embedded gendered

inequalities in their bounded everyday - psychologically abused - lives and I have begun to explore how the tension between these and their self identities may be managed. This last aspect of the PhD, drawing on symbolic interactionism, is considered especially in a paper on emotion work currently in preparation and has been touched on less in this thesis than the tensions between presentations of self and social norms because of space constraints.

In terms of Goffman's theory, the analysis has shown how the abused women strove to maintain the social order and the appropriate rules of deference and demeanour by following co-constructed moral obligations to behave in particular ways as constrained by local and more broadly applied social norms. As a result, the women's representations of identity, their presentation of self involved remedial work used to give others (here, typically friends, family and community) an impression of competent role play within social norms, in other words, that the women were 'good' female caregiving partners and their abusers were 'good' male partners in charge (Cavanagh, 2003). The various forms of impression management undertaken by the women enabled back stage abusive events to be kept hidden within the home, to meet family and community expectations of a front stage performance of unity and family harmony. Front stage performances that hid the abuse precluded much help-seeking but did not prevent it altogether. This is considered in more detail in Chapter 6. The women may still obtain support from individuals, confidants who would not expose the mismatch between their back stage and front stage performance. For the mismatch to stay hidden, the women cannot leave the relationship.

Those women who confided in family still aimed to keep the abuse hidden from their wider community. Using Goffman's terminology, this is an off-stage performance to family, away from the community. The women preferred to confide in friends and family and gain emotional support to help them to remain in the relationship, and avoided 'going public' to the broader community (something Ahmed, Reavey and Majumdar [2009] also report for sexually abused British born South Asian women living in the UK). This shows how the women redefined the outer boundary in their

double boundary relationship negotiations (Fig 20) according to context and that it therefore had multiple versions.

Conflict resolution is required for the social order to be sustained. The less powerful (the women in this study, acted on by hegemonic masculinity) are the ones that need to subsume their role to the obfuscation of the other, do remedial work and otherwise show role competency befitting their status to enable the relationship and the social order to be maintained. As Stokes and Hewitt (1976) also argue, this has the effect of legitimising the abuse. The data have shown how hegemonic masculinity trumps other forms of capital such as monetary, in the sample studied.

So long as the women continue to show role competency, their audience would be predicted to usually accept the abused and the abuser's behaviours, whether or not they approved (Turner, 1962, p. 97), to assure the social order. This was upheld by the data. This means that if the women present themselves as not abused the others with whom they interact are unlikely to probe them to confirm whether or not this is so, for to do so would break the rules of social conduct and moral obligation and therefore the social order. Even when the woman confides in a friend off-stage, that friend is likely to keep the confidence to maintain the social order and in accordance with their own moral obligation to the woman. Goffman's theory therefore helps to elucidate how the many influences and processes operate to conceal the abuse from others, and is a good fit to the data. The proposed model draws on his work.

8.7 Culture and hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity operates differently in different cultures (Almeida & Dolan-Delvecchio, 1999; Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy, 1999; Dasgupta, 1998). The natures of transgressed gender norms and stereotypes of good womanhood also vary with culture (Jewkes, 2002) so that cross-cultural differences in expected gender roles or manifestations of male privilege may be linked to partner abuse without necessarily meaning that one culture is more at risk than another. For example in the sample

studied here, women were vulnerable to abuse if they stepped outside gendered norms of the man as provider and the woman as housewife but in other groups of women different reasons for vulnerability may operate. Hegemony is not only expressed through gender. For example, immigrants, may also be affected by altered or repressed social positions and the historical specificities of their migration (Menjívar, 1999) and other factors considered briefly in this thesis such as acculturation (see section 3.13.4.2).

8.8 Ethnicity

There were some ethnic differences in perceptions between the groups studied; in particular the black women believed they were more likely to be treated by men as inferior and be abused and less likely to experience romantic love. On the whole, traditional gendered norms within relationships and the requirement to stay in the relationship come what may were expressed the most strongly by the black women, more weakly by the white British women and with the Caribbean women in between. Relationship patterns were however similar across ethnic groups and drew on traditional norms; other factors were important as well as ethnicity. Even when Queisha commented that more egalitarian chore sharing was common amongst Caribbeans she embeds this within a traditional mould.

By contrast Lawrence-Webb and colleagues (2004) cite several studies that claim African-Caribbean couples in America have more androgynously defined (Dade & Sloan, 2000) or at least more egalitarian (Hill, 1999) relationships (there are no corresponding UK studies apart from my own). Hegemony in the US cases has been claimed to affect black couples only within the context of broader US society and not within the relationship or the local community. The current analysis suggests this reading is problematic. McRobbie's (2009) thesis of an equality masquerade may be sufficient explanation – commentators may simply fail to spot the hegemonic masculinity in operation. Alternatively, Smart and Shipman (2004) argue that within any society, ethnic minority couples incorporate the traditional and the individualistic

together in their lives, and the way they do so would vary with setting. Overall, the data show the white British and black women alike aimed to maintain their reputations when seeking help; putting ‘appearances’ before individual interests was cross-cultural (see also Burman & Chantler, 2005). The way they did so and the interpretations of social competencies they used fit Enander’s (2010) explanation that shame (for example from damaged reputations, or from not performing gender) is a gendered response embedded in general patriarchal discourses.

The black women in this study preferentially sought support from family, and otherwise generally considered help from their community’s religious leaders to be the most appropriate as culturally attuned. El-Khoury, Dutton, Goodman, Engel, Belamaric and Murphy (2004) reported similar findings from the US. By contrast Lynam (1985), in her study of English-speaking immigrants to Canada, found women preferred to share personal or family experiences with ‘outsiders’ rather than ‘insiders’ from their ethnic and kinship communities. It was said outsiders would be able to draw on different (less constraining) values and would be more likely to uphold confidentiality.

8.9 Social choice

As social beings, humans do not have free choice and the body of this thesis shows how the range of subjectivities that an individual can perform, while vast in theory, is limited in practice and made available through dominant or oppositional discourses and social norms. Although the women were not free agents, able to make choices independent of their relationship or society, I am not arguing that they were passive victims as a result but rather that they were relatively limited in their choices. Men also are unable to exercise truly autonomous choice but there is an issue for the women in the way their choice is gendered using a subset of possibilities shaped by hegemonic masculinity. This puts pressure on the women to remain in the relationship even when they do not appear from, say, a practitioner’s particular standpoint, to derive particular benefits from staying, and it makes them vulnerable to abuse. Using my model and

the data I show how both conforming to and stepping outside gendered role play can put the women at risk of abuse because of the influence of social norms. Despite or perhaps because of this, the women aspired to free choice or approximations to it rather than masculine behaviours. The women were varied in their wants and needs but wanted to be able to express and work towards these, whatever they were, without retribution and oppression.

8.10 Changes in society

It would seem from the data that hegemonic masculinity is powerful and societally entrenched, at least for the sample of women I interviewed. Dinah says the blurring of the distinction between the two extremes in modern relationships – that is, between hegemonic masculinity and essentialised hyperfemininity although she does not name them - is what may create tension and violence in relationships, and resource theory also suggests this. Hochschild and Beck-Gernsheim among others have noted that society has been shifting to greater gender equality and women increasingly becoming breadwinners. Hochschild stays within a traditional framework in her discussion, with couples doing remedial work to act as if they were doing traditional gendered practices, even when they were primarily egalitarian. So in Hochschild's version, couples do impression management to sustain a family myth of traditionalism externally even though society is increasingly able to accommodate their egalitarianism. Hochschild conducted her interviews between 1980 and 1988, publishing finally in 1989. But there remain similarities with the data reported here, for example in the way several of the women claimed to rebel against traditionalism and to adopt a more egalitarian ideology but drew on traditional practices within the relationship (see also Chapter 6 on gender performance).

Committed relationships are still entered into 'for life' (Lewis, 2001). Expectations remain that women "will prioritize caring relationships with others over their own personal fulfilment" (Holmes, 2004, p.256). Beck-Gernsheim avers that "the family and loving relationships continue to be idealized on every level of society" (1995: 172)

despite the greater acceptability of divorce. This may be because or in spite of the increasing fluidity and flexibility of contemporary relationships. Beck-Gernsheim argues that contemporary women often experiment with relationships on the path to the 'real thing'. These relationships would not be expected to last and should not lead to a mistaken belief in a general lack of commitment. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995) call the family a "refuge in the chilly environment of our affluent, impersonal, uncertain society" (p. 2). Gross (2005) says that the image of traditional family life "continues to function as a hegemonic ideal" (p. 288), through the influence of "meaning-constitutive traditions", which involve "patterns of sense making passed down from one generation to the next" (p. 288). Traditional cultural constraints operate even if weakened.

Carter (2010), in supporting these arguments with interview-based data from women aged 19-30 in 2008, found her sample believed that society held a view of marriage (as unstable, non-permanent) that differed from their own (where they desired and aspired to commitment, certainty and permanence in an intimate relationship). Her findings, being so similar to my own but for heterosexual generally non-abused women, lend further credibility to my arguments. For example, the women she interviewed yearned for the traditional, prioritised having a family (husband, children) over love, and associated commitment with providing a secure and stable environment in which to have children (marriage, in Carter's sample, made this stability more likely; see also Jamieson, Stewart, Li, Anderson, Bechhofer, & Mccrone, 2002). As in my sample, Carter's more individualistic informants remained at least partially wedded to the idea of traditional family values. They associated sex with reproduction rather than enjoyment, but also referred to sexual double standards that reified this. However, some of Carter's informants noted that these double standards were in decline, with men increasingly expected to be faithful in relationships.

Carter's informants also considered it 'natural' or their responsibility to make sure the domestic chores (including childcare) were done. Indeed excerpts from Carter's interviews concerning expectations of relationships are remarkably similar to those

from my informants' interviews. Carter's informants, like mine, yearned for and aspired to the fairy tale romance but were pragmatic or less aspirational in recounting what type of relationship was normal or likely for them. The women in Carter's study also felt pressure from society, family and others to stay within a relationship even though separation and divorce were more acceptable than in Smart's grandparent generation. Overall, Carter's findings and analysis support my model, in which aspirations are separated from expectations. Notably Carter's and my informants were mostly middle class and women from other social classes may consider things rather differently in the detail.

Smart's (2005) concept of a patchwork society explains why, despite recent changes in gendered behaviours in society, more traditional expectations such as those expressed by the women and by Gross and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim have proved hard to shift in the generations that grew up under their influence. Smart (see also the quote from her paper at the start of Chapter 5 part 2) reports of the older 'grandparent' generation she interviewed:

Every divorced person we interviewed stated quite categorically that they had either been brought up to believe, or they simply assumed, that marriage was for ever. When they married this was the belief system they brought with them and it was based, they said, mainly on seeing their parents' marriages (p. 549).

Such influences were evident in the talk of all the women, including those who said they believed men and women should be equal. In Smart's sample, those younger people who had divorced saw it as socially acceptable; the women in this study did not which may reflect differences between samples in certain undetermined factors, one of which might have been the abuse itself.

Texts such as *The Surrendered Wife* (Doyle, 2001) as well as populist books such as *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*, (Gray, 1992) have been said to promote gender traditionalism in intimate relationships as the "road to intimate harmony" (Crompton & Lyonette, 2005, p. 605), and this was mirrored by Dinah and Queisha's comments in response to their abuse. The pressures and disappointments inherent in

emergent individualisation have also been described as provoking a longing for traditional certainties (Smart and Shipman, 2004).

Does this mean society is changing too fast for individuals to keep up? Hochschild certainly concluded thus. Two themes may be linked to this in the data:

- the difference between the desired (e.g. the egalitarian) and the expected (e.g. the traditional) was sustained
- negative terms and tones often marked out the women's remedial work when describing how they stepped outside traditional gendered practices or complained about them.

This all suggests that partner abuse may increase rather than decrease as society changes, until such time as the patchwork quilt of society becomes truly homogenized as individualist. However, recent statistics from the Council for Europe (2010) report a decrease in partner abuse (from 1 in 4 to 1 in 5 women; this figure may be weighted by changes in the youngest age group). This homogenization may already be well advanced in the youngest generations at least – or the hypothesis may be too simplistic or wrong and the beginnings of a shift to individualisation do not lead to an increase in partner abuse. It is perhaps the most valid to conclude that women's lives are likely to be diverse, in our increasingly individualistic, shifting, liquid world and generalizations cannot be made. My data, although they provide a window into only a small section of abused women's lives, highlight the need to bear this diversity in mind and emphasise the importance of adopting an intersectionalist stance.

8.11 The literature

My analysis is consistent with findings from other studies and enriches and builds on them, as examined in this section.

8.11.1 Agency

The ways the women showed agency confirm findings from other studies that have described abused women as actively choosing particular strategies. This includes Kearney's 2001 review from which she drew out the concept of enduring love as both

an adjective and a verb to encompass both staying and Lloyd and Emery's 'agency-as-missing'.

My proposed model provides an alternative way of explaining how Kearney's and also Lempert's (1996) women coped agentially with simultaneously seeing the man as their source of love and affection and as 'the most dangerous person' in their lives. Lempert (1996) conducted in-depth interviews with 32 abused women recruited through an outreach group. Her analysis has parallels with mine. She found the abused women were "active, although not co-acting equals: in the interactions with their partners; in the development of their own strategies to halt, change, and/or cope with the violence; and in the constructions and reconstructions of their relationships and their senses of self" (Lempert, 1996, p. 270). Her analysis revealed a process whereby both the women and their partners initially attempted to keep the violence hidden from others by an array of methods that she categorised as 'face saving strategies', 'contradictory beliefs' and 'interactive processes'. The women and their partners adopted very different strategies to the same end. The woman actively constructed a 'happy family' while the man focussed on controlling the woman and what she said outside their own relationship. He seemed to consider the abuse as invisible so long as it was not revealed by the woman. However, as the violence continued and intensified, the women felt no longer able to make the abuse 'invisible' at least to themselves. They adopted new strategies to contain the violence, that included 'problem solving' or 'coping' strategies' and 'self-preservation'. Ironically, when they tried to tell others about the abuse, their previous strategies to hide it meant that often they were met with disbelief according to Lempert, although in my study, responses may be more complex. Worries of such responses may stop the women from help-seeking but may not be realised in practice.

In my analysis, I showed how community and family interests and expectations influenced help-seeking behaviours. The women in my study only tended to seek help when able to reframe the abuse as due to the *man's* social incompetence. Lempert does not consider the role of external factors in influencing the women's behaviours

and therefore cannot explain how, for example, love for the man induces the woman to hide the abuse from others despite the problems this causes her within the relationship. Lempert emphasises the importance of considering the women's actions within the context of the core contradiction – between love and violence. My model is able to explain this (and therefore also Kearney's findings), showing how the women do work to make the violent relationship approximate a more loving one. My model can also be used to show how changes in strategy arise and are worked on.

Campbell, Rose, Kub and Nedd (1998) studied the process 31 abused women used to become free of the abuse, in a longitudinal study, data collected three times over two and a half years. The majority of the women had either left their abusive relationships or were trying to. Campbell and colleagues grouped the women's behaviours into three broad types:

- responding to turning points (such as escalating abuse, changes in the woman) by reflecting on and labelling their experiences
- negotiating internally with self and externally with their abuser (negotiations might involve the woman offering to give the man something or doing something he wanted in exchange for a lack of abuse and so differed in nature from what I have described for dynamic boundary work, being more like the 'gifting' the women in my sample only rarely spoke of)
- trying various strategies and combinations of strategies to reduce or end the abuse and improve the relationship, revising strategies if the desired effect was not obtained.

These patterns were found in my data but I question whether they should be considered separately. The proposed model, in going deeper, looks at the way these responses were done and shows they are simultaneous and interconnected.

Like Campbell and colleagues I found the women were motivated in various ways to reshape their understanding of the relationship although I consider the process involved – a resetting of role boundaries - rather than labelling the triggers as 'turning points'. The same features of the women's responses as those reported by Campbell and colleagues were evident in the current analysis, including 'making do' by continuing to perform gender, becoming emotionally detached from the relationship and challenging the abuse, although unlike these authors my analysis does not require leaving the

relationship to be an end goal when considering the whole set of features. The women in Campbell's and the current study used problem-solving strategies that were actively deployed, although they involved subordinating self despite their active status; this was also found by Cavanagh.

8.11.2 Empowerment

The women in renegotiated relationships that challenged the abuse felt more empowered but talked about this in terms of emotions rather than power, in contrast to some of the domestic violence literature ((Allen, Bybee, & Sullivan, 2004; Davis, 2002; Sethuraman, Lansdown, & Sullivan, 2006). I suggest it is important to distinguish between power and empowerment in this way and that the women's empowerment arose because changes in their performed identities also altered their self-identities. Significantly, women said they used empowerment to reduce the abuse, rather than to leave their partner. The continued constraining effect of others was sometimes explicitly stated as explanation.

8.11.3 Turning points

Several qualitative researchers (Campbell, Rose, Kub, & Nedd, 1998; Eisikovits, Buchbinder, & Mor, 1998; Kearney, 2001; Lloyd & Emery, 2005) have ascribed changes in stratagem use to sharply defined 'turning points' that led women to face up to abuse, and usually also to leave the relationship. In my analysis these correspond to factors that shift the boundary line until the man's behaviour lies on the unacceptable side of the line. The women situate these factors within a sociocultural context and show how they often do not result in the woman leaving, which contrasts with the conclusions of existing research. The data also emphasise that the women are not moving from passive to active but remain active and agentic at all times; rather they change their strategies to suit their particular positions at a particular time and in a particular context. My analysis emphasizes the dynamic nature of the women's responses in their relationship, and the meaning ascribed to their experiences of abuse

as different social interactions are played out in their lives. Lloyd and Emery (2005) considered that women who changed their strategy after a turning point but continued to accommodate their partner in a similar way to that undertaken before the turning point were doing so to plan their escape, which does not agree with the current analysis in which various contextual factors constrained the women to stay.

8.11.4 Boundaries

Welfare service staff in Sweden said in an interview-based study they believed abused women with mental health problems were partly to blame for the abuse and made themselves more vulnerable, because they tested the boundaries in the abusive relationship to find out what they were when they were uncertain of this (Bengtsson-Tops, Saveman, & Tops, 2009). The women in the current study who said they did this were described by some of the advisory group as being masochistic. This echoes the early works of Freud and his theory that women were predisposed to pain; the early partner abuse literature similarly cast abused women as ‘masochists’ who wilfully chose a ‘sadist’ partner (Miller, 1995) because they psychologically ‘needed’ or wanted or were ‘addicted’ to the abuse (Pizzey, 1974; Walker 2000). The proposed model provides a different perspective, showing the women push at the boundaries to cope and to *prevent* or reduce pain and distress. This fits the majority of the literature, which positions abused women as active and not as psychopathologised, as discussed at length in section 1.5, Chapter 1.

8.11.5 Responses to hegemonic masculinity

Du (2008) interviewed 31 women from three women’s folk dance groups in Taiwan. The focus in her study was on hegemonic masculinity, the way the women were frowned upon for dancing with or for men, and how they responded to this, and so although not a study of abuse has relevance to my analysis. She found the way the women negotiated their identities affected their response to societal constraints. Some women reproduced them, some resisted them. The constraining factors themselves did

not affect the choice of negotiation strategy used in Du's study; however she considers only factors at the level of society. The main factor influencing the negotiating strategy used was the desired effect. When the strategy was adaptive, the woman aimed to change her own "cognition or behavior to be socially acceptable" (p. 183). For example she might rationalise her or others' behaviours or cease to participate in the activities. When the aim was to cope the woman would change "the opponent's [other interactant's] cognition or behavior to reduce social pressure" (p. 185) by persuading them the woman's activities were acceptable, getting the others to join the women, or resisting their criticisms.

It could be said that the abused women considered in this thesis used adaption and reproducing techniques before the boundary was breached and Du's coping techniques when the boundary was breached. The similarities with Du's findings suggest my own may be generalisable to non-abusive relationships. Du points out that what she calls coping strategies may make women more "aware of their disadvantaged situation and to change it proactively for the better" (p. 186). For example, encouraging their critics to join in their activities had the potential to make these activities more socially acceptable. In the same way, in my study the abused women who reset the boundaries to what was acceptable were potentially able to improve the relationship using strategies that have been described. Du did not consider how women might move from one to the other stratagem; her focus was on societal discourses whereas, in looking at the individual relationship, I have been able to show how women talk about temporal changes in the negotiation strategies they use and how they explain these changes in strategy. Cavanagh and Lloyd and Emery likewise were able to do so; my findings agree with Cavanagh rather than Lloyd and Emery (see section 1.5).

8.11.6 Ethnicity and response

Nash (2005) found that abused African American women protected their children from losing a father (i.e. they remained in the relationship for the sake of the children). I have argued that social norms place strong emphasis on the need to have and to stay in

a relationship to provide security suitable for raising children. Yet many couples outside of the sample drawn on for my analysis cannot or do not have children. They do not abandon their relationships as a result, and indeed, albeit rarely (Finch, 2005), may have chosen to be childless. This highlights the lack of generalisability of the specific findings of this study to all women, although the model itself may be tested in other samples.

I found, like Nash, that most of the black women were reluctant to seek formal help, such as counselling or medical treatment, and saw this as the domain of white women, with whom they felt no shared identity. However since my study is comparative I am also able to show that the white women were similarly reluctant to seek such help. Nonetheless there remained differences in their standpoints as the white women saw women as individuals likely to either like or dislike going to counsellors whereas the black women saw dislike as ethnically moderated.

Other findings on ethnic difference with regard to support-seeking by abused women, such as the propensity of black women to tell family first and the white women friends, and the black women to be more likely to turn to spiritual and religious support, corroborate a number of reports in the literature (El-Khoury, Dutton, Goodman, Engel, Belamaric, & Murphy, 2004; Gillum, Sullivan, & Bybee, 2006; Griffith, Yound, & Smith, 1984; Nash, 2005). The only black woman to have been born in the UK was more similar to the white British than to the black women, with regard to the findings reported here.

8.11.7 Identity

The qualitative studies that exist have described a suppression of identity in abused women, yet no studies have explored this in more depth. My analysis shows ways that this can occur and the processes involved, as well as the way women do remedial work around this. I also consider the interplay of the gendered division of labour and identity.

8.12 Other models

8.12.1 Health expectations

A number of health expectations models have been developed, mostly by psychologists. Janzen and colleagues (2006) reviewed the literature and reported that Thomson and Sunol's 1995 model was the most often cited and indeed the only conceptual model of use to research into health attitudes or behaviours. It comprised four types of outcome that they related to satisfaction:

- ideal (desired or preferred)
- predicted (actually expected)
- normative (what should happen)
- unformed.

Like the model proposed in this thesis, this differentiates the desired from the expected and positions the desired as potentially attainable. It does not include what is actually experienced and the difference between the ideal and the normative may be problematic from sociological standpoints. Janzen and colleagues also argue that the desired is equivalent to hope rather than expectation. This might apply to the proposed model also, but I consider hope and desire to be conceptually different. Desire is what is wanted and it can be hoped for but may also be assumed or considered unattainable. My model allows for any of these options for individual desired behaviours.

8.12.2 Boundary work models

The proposed model conceptualises relationships boundary work. Stein (2007) has developed a single-element boundary work model using psychoanalytic theory, Gillis (1996) and Smart (2005) a two-element one which I have built on in this thesis, and Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell (1987) a three-element model based on social role theory.

Turner and colleagues (p. 45) suggested there were three interdependent levels of identity categorization:

- the superordinate, or 'human'/ideal level
- the intermediate, or 'social' level
- the subordinate, or 'personal' level.

Self identity in this model depends on which levels it is salient to compare, which is similar to what happens in the model I propose. For example, if the social level is salient, the individual (level 3) needs to perceive themselves to be representative of their 'in-group' (level 2) for positive self-evaluation. The superordinate level (1) represents ideal humanity (which, as in the proposed model, is potentially attainable). Turner and colleagues' model was developed specifically to look at the development of social maladjustment and so in a sense represents the antithesis of the one presented in this thesis. It is not flexible; 'in-groups' are an integral part of the Turner model, making it specific for approaches that consider social role theory, and it represents a psychological rather than sociological perspective with its focus on the way individual traits compare with group ones rather than a comparison of social and cultural norms, individual interactions and setting as in my model.

Stein (2007) also developed a theory of boundary work. However his boundaries are both symbolic and physical (mine are symbolic) and relate to the workspace within organisations and his model is drawn from psychoanalysis as an alternative to dramaturgical models such as mine. He talks of a boundary region as I do, rather than a line, and the significance of the permeability of the boundary region, which is similar to my discussion of boundary breaches. He argues that inadequately permeable boundary regions may lead to rigid behaviours not amenable to adaptation and learning. Applied to the current data this would mean the abuse would remain fixed and hidden in the relationship. But boundary regions that are too permeable lose their effect, with excessive 'integration' and leakage.

Considering the current data, leaky boundary setting would have minimal strategic value to the women and abuse would be considered normal. Stein says 'buffering'

zones and ‘thresholds’ may be used to manage the permeability of boundary regions; these were evident in the women’s data, with buffering particularly from sources of emotional support, and thresholds explicitly described by the women. In Stein’s model, regions become contaminated when there is poor control of the boundaries or excessive permeability and people then feel ‘toxic’ and become vulnerable to further contamination, which they might fear. This could explain the development of coercive control. ‘Toxic substances’ cannot be digested or easily eliminated, and a ‘contaminated’ person may develop an ‘unhealthy’ response; in the women’s data this may mean submitting to coercive control or becoming depressed.

On the face of it, Stein’s toxicity model is an adequate model to use when explaining my data. But it is not sufficient, and cannot explain all the behaviours that the proposed model does with its *double* set of boundary layers. Nor does his model match the data in all cases. For example, when talking about how the person has a surfeit of toxicity that exceeds their coping resources, Stein says they effectively vomit it out again, back at the person being toxic, thus seeking revenge. While the women did reach points in the relationship where they began to challenge and resist the abuse, this was not a process of regurgitation of the toxicity, a psychoanalytic purging of the psyche, but more careful and strategic, as dramaturgy would allow.

8.13 What makes these women abused?

Are the descriptions of expectations in this thesis characteristic of abused women specifically? The analysis, informed by the literature on non-abused women, suggests not. An alternative question, influenced by consideration of the proposed model, might be: “Do abused women misinterpret the normative framework (as abused men might do, see Arias, Samias and O’Leary, 1987)?” Their expected relationship has many quite negative elements but I have shown that the literature suggests this is true also of non-abused women. Many factors intersect to shape expectations and interpretations of experiences and responses to these, such as age, relative power in the relationship, status in society, and so forth as well as hegemonic masculinity *per se*,

creating a range of possibilities for expected and desired relationships. Are women who yearn for the ideal also more likely to accept an abusive man's occasional expressions of love as a reason to work at the relationship, and therefore more vulnerable to coercive control (see section 5.12.1) or do they yearn for love because of the abuse? Alternatively, do abused women have expectations at the low end of normative? Women with low expectations may be better able to cope with abuse. Janzen and colleagues (2006) point out that:

Extreme unfulfilled expectations result in greater dissatisfaction than average expectations, which when unfulfilled, may yet still result in some degree of satisfaction (p. 45).

The data are not clear on this. However, the sample contained a mixture of more and less traditional women and women from three broad ethnic groups, mitigating at least against the oft-repeated claim (see e.g. Follingstad *et al.*, 1990) that abused women are more traditional than the non-abused.

What the analysis does show is how the abusive relationship – indeed any relationship – is a co-construction, a negotiation between the woman and the various others in her life at the micro, meso and macro levels of society. The expectations the woman has can only be considered in relation to abuse when incorporating the context of the expectations of her partner, their families, their community and subculture, and broader society. The coming together of a particular mixture of this is what leads to the abuse being done, hidden and sustained, or repressed, challenged and dealt with.

Earlier I talked about the similarities between my data and Carter's (see section 8.10) but there were also some differences. When her informants talked of their own experiences, they rarely described romantic love in the flowery terms used by my informants. And they found love harder to define; some were even uncertain as to whether they had experienced it. Does this mark out abused from non-abused women? The data cannot answer this but again, to say this would be to ignore the effect of cultural context on women's expectations. These may be so strongly felt by some women that they construct their own myths of their romantic love experiences.

Are abused women more likely to remain committed to the relationship come what may? Or are they more naive about the possibility of preserving relationships? Significantly, none of the women expected the relationship they desired; other research suggests this is normative for non-abused as well as abused women (Carter, 2010). Commitment as an ideal was prevalent in both Carter's study of predominantly non-abused women and my own study, and there is nothing to suggest their expectations made women more vulnerable to abuse or that they were relatively naive, optimistic, defeatist or pessimistic. To believe this would be to ignore the effect on the women's responses of the expectations of others. I have shown that other analysts suggest this commitment to be commonplace. But it may be that abused women have such a great reserve of resilience (Anderson, 2009), such effective coping mechanisms, perhaps coupled with ineffective mechanisms to assert themselves and challenge abuse and cultural pressures and constraints, that they remain within relationships that other women would abandon, or abandon more quickly. The analysis also shows how the interviewed women drew on various strategies to deal with the abuse and maintain social competencies and how this could make it hard for the women and those around them to acknowledge the abuse as unacceptable. It may be that women who stay in an abusive relationship are particularly adept at using these strategies, although if they are, this may be because of their experiences rather than pre-dating them.

The model proposed in this thesis shows how many aspects of abusive and non-abusive relationships may be similar. An abusive man may have unacceptable behaviours but he may also have behaviours more representative of the expected and even the desired. It may therefore not be hard for a woman to do impression management work to make the relationship seem acceptable and this also accommodates Lempert's finding that men are both a source of love and affection and the most dangerous person in the lives of the women they abuse. Core to my analysis is the idea that identity is determined by behaviours mediated and moderated by social interactions, and is in constant flux.

This means that men are ultimately abusive rather than abusers, just as women are ultimately ‘being abused’ rather than ‘the abused’²³

When I have presented this study at seminars, it has sometimes been suggested that therefore there is no such thing as abuse, merely behaviours done by men at particular points in time and given particular contexts. The problem with this argument is that it takes the behaviours out of the social interaction. Everything that is done has an impact on the person it is done to, which feeds back into the interaction and shapes future interactions. Roughly defined (see p. 17 for the formal definition) abuse is the repeated misuse of power by one person to obtain control over another. Its social construction does not make it ‘not abuse’, but social re-construction can be used to change the pattern of the interaction. An abusive relationship does not need to end for the abuse to stop, given that the behaviours are not fixed within the individual, but work on the social forces that constrain these may be needed. The proposed model, in helping to show this for the women, may inform professional practice. A similar study of men’s abusive behaviours would be complementary and give a more complete picture of what is going on in the abusive relationship and how abusive behaviours may be changed.

8.14 Limitations of the study

The study has several limitations, which I now consider.

8.14.1 The sample

The sample size is small and represents a limited range of women chosen purposively rather than as a randomly representative sample: 20 heterosexual women who are in ‘women’s jobs’ and from particular cohorts of women in terms of both migration and age. Older women were not included because I often could not approach them to

²³ I have lapsed into more usual references to the abused and the abuser throughout the text, following convention in the abuse literature; perhaps it is time to challenge this convention?

invite them to join the study. They frequently came to general practice accompanied – sometimes by their partner, but more often by other women or children – or started talking there to people they knew, or were divorced or widowed with no current relationship. I chose places with high population densities of black women when recruiting but white British people were still predominant in all areas. This needs to be borne in mind when considering what the women said. The women in each group may have been affected by the expectations of more than one cultural group in a way that women from less ethnically mixed areas would not be. Some of the women were the main breadwinners; all lived in relatively deprived areas, but half were from middle socioeconomic groups. These limitations highlight the difficulties in accessing the stories of more marginalised members of society. But they have also provided rich and sometimes surprising data.

The screening questionnaire may have selected a particular subgroup of abused women. However, the prevalence rate for partner abuse found in this study was similar to that reported in a previous survey of general practices in the same area of London (Richardson and colleagues, 2001) using a different screening questionnaire, so this is unlikely.

8.14.2 The nature of accounts

There were sometimes contradictions in what the women said, for example in their narratives around financial independence, highlighting that the interviews provided *accounts* of the women's relationships. This makes it hard to interpret some of the data without further research. Rather than being events in action, accounts are narrative reconstructions and reworkings of events, including re-evaluation and comparison of expectations and experience, developed by the informants, perhaps over time. Their precise form is undoubtedly also shaped by the interview setting and in this study by my particular interaction with the women.

It is important to remember the circumstances of the women's lives, including their abuse, when considering this. Narratives are often used by the narrator to situate themselves in a reality in which conflicts and difficulties are resolved (Hunt, 2000) and their identity is presented as consistently competent. As such, the narrator talks both inwardly, being reflexive, and outwardly, to their listener (here, me), "making sense for themselves of who they are at the same time as they are making sense for the other of who they are" (Watson, 2009, p. 432). This presents a dilemma in analysis. The data presented in this thesis can be seen as more or less literal depictions of what goes on in the women's lives. But I have tried to go beyond the literal, using the remedial work the women reveal in the interview as markers for conceptual analysis. I take the view that the women are voicing what they as individuals living a particular life in a particular social and cultural context want their audience to hear, and this in turn must then be influenced by their social worlds. As Dingwall (in Crabtree & Miller, 1999) says, an interview does not tell us what it is like to live the life of the interviewee, which is an unknowable experience. What it does tell us, he says, is the work that is being done in order to live that person's life, to which I would add, the work that is being done within the interview according to certain social rules in order to provide one of many negotiated, constructed and goal-driven windows onto their world(s). As Portelli (1991) says, "Oral sources... are not always reliable in point of fact. Rather than being a weakness, this is however their strength: errors, inventions, myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings" (p. 2).

My own assumptions and biases in the analysis and write-up led to further modification of the accounts. To get around this and increase validity, I 'interrogated' the data to consider alternatives (including those suggested by my supervisors and advisory group in data analysis exercises), and remained sensitive to and reflexive about the various biases. My analysis represents one viewpoint, and there may be other valid interpretations of the data. This is in keeping with my constructivist approach.

8.14.3 Ways of looking at the data

I considered all partner abuse that the women described experiencing, although my focus was on the current relationship. The only potential for bias that became evident was that some of the women considered their current relationship non-abusive but recognised previous similar ones to be abusive; indeed some spoke more about previous partners than current ones as a result. Nonetheless I found that in my cross-sectional analysis the themes and concepts I developed were unaltered whether or not the data about ex-partners were bracketed out.

Women reported not only their own expectations – which form the substance of this thesis - but also their understanding of the expectations of others, including their partner's and this will have affected my analysis. This is not such a significant limitation as it might seem at first sight, given that I have devoted significant space to the expectations of others, because I was particularly interested in the impact of others on the women, and also because the particular ways that the narratives were co-constructed by the women often marked out these expectations in the manner of Cooley's (1902) 'looking glass self'. I make no claims that the women's accounts are more authentic than these others, or sufficient to gain an overall picture of partner abuse (a criticism of early standpoint feminism) but they were sufficient for my particular focus, which was on providing data with which service providers might engage to help the women.

8.14.4 The longitudinal data

This was intended to be a longitudinal study but I have not presented the data as such here, due to constraints of time and space. I have analysed the data from the first and second set as a whole, in the manner of a cross-sectional study. This could potentially bias the analysis in favour of the data from those women interviewed twice, but I kept the datasets separate during initial analysis, combining them only when I could see there was no difference in themes or early interpretations. A longitudinal analysis

might reveal systematic changes in the data over time. But in most cases, the women said very similar things across the two interviews and there was as much divergence at different parts of the same interview as there was between two interviews, in each case either marking out women's 'public' versus 'private' accounts (Cornwell, 1984), or the different co-construction that was developed because of the particular small story within the interview. For example, divorce was seen as acceptable when talked about in relation to abuse in the abstract, but not when the woman talked about her own experiences. In one or two cases the women's situation had changed at the second interview but only Linda showed marked variation in her second narrative. Since this involved talking about social norms in ways that matched the other women, this did not affect the overall analysis but rather strengthened my conclusions. Two of the women had confronted the abuse by the time of the second interview, not having acknowledged it in the first interview. This may have been the result of their taking part in the study but again confirmed rather than problematised earlier analysis. I plan to analyse the data longitudinally at a later date. Notwithstanding, a longitudinal analysis of the behaviours and accounts described in this thesis would be a useful adjunct to the cross-sectional data and would help to validate or develop my conclusions.

8.14.5 Gender and intersectionalism

I only consider the abuse of women by men; a similar model may apply to same-sex relationships and abuse of men by women. Although this thesis concentrates on the gendered division of labour in a heterosexual relationship, which might be considered a limitation, this is because it reflects what the women themselves said. Cavanagh (2003) also reported this of her sample. I have shown how talk about domestic labour may help the women do remedial identity work. It is important however to remember that gender is one of many factors to shape the women's lives, identities and responses to abuse. The three-element model is not exclusive, it allows for a wide range of intersecting contextual factors to be taken into account. Some additional factors, such

as age, status, racism, migration, have been briefly considered. Income was considered often, but related always to gendered role play.

I did not consider religion or spirituality in depth but this may have been relevant. El-Khoury *et al*, (2004), Gillum *et al* (2006) and Nash (2005) found religion was a source of social support for black but not Caucasian women. Knickmeyer, Levitt and Horne (2010) report how in their sample, Christian faith communities prioritised marriage over the abused women's safety, something reflected in my findings more generally. Significantly, most of the black women in my sample were spiritual and most of the white women were not. Where I talk about the influence of community in collectivist societies, the critical factor may be religion per se within these communities. Social inequalities resulting from race and class as well as gender may have intersected with religion and other factors but were not considered in any detail although I subscribed to intersectional feminism.

8.14.6 My own identity

My particular standpoint is that of a woman who has herself been abused. This may have coloured my interactions with the women and my interpretations. I have therefore taken great care to discuss my analysis with a large number of people informally, men and women, abused and not, as well as with the advisory and steering groups. My particular coping mechanism enabled me to distance myself from the stories and at no point have I consciously compared them with my own. At the same time, in line with feminist approaches, my experiences made me more engaged with the women's accounts and may have made me more theoretically sensitive to the data.

I was not matched with the black women, being white and middle-class, and therefore may have been more ready to perceive their experiences as different, being an outsider looking in. There is some evidence of this bias in parts of the analysis where I am forced to speculate on their situation. Nonetheless, on the whole I believe that because of my own background, which is ethnically mixed, and with a Chilean husband, I was

both different enough to the white British women and culturally sensitive enough to all the groups of women to minimise this bias. I have considered matching in more detail in section 2.6.3.

8.14.7 Culture

The black women tended to tell their stories in particularly descriptive ways and their interviews sometimes lasted longer. Indeed one of them remarked that if you talked to a black woman you should be prepared to set aside the whole day for them, and that it was therefore a particular failing of support services, and especially general practice, that they were meant to tell their troubles in a 10-20 minute appointment slot. As a result of their expressiveness, I had to sift through a greater volume of data from these women. This could have biased findings because a) I had more examples from them than from the other women, affecting the final selection for the thesis, b) their examples were often more colourful and descriptive, making them a more attractive choice for me when choosing examples. On the other hand, sometimes the same qualities led me to treat large tracts of data as representing the same code, which I had to revisit subsequently, and to find it hard to find extracts that were short enough to use without destroying readability.

There is a danger in grouping all the women from one area of the world together, as internally homogenous and distinct from those from other areas, as I have done, and therefore in assuming my findings can be generalised to all black women. For example, sociological research in Africa shows that some societies there have historically given women considerable autonomy whereas others have been highly patriarchal (Kandiyoti, 1988). Moreover, all women in any one country in Africa are not the same. To presume this would be to ignore the main message of this thesis which is that each individual is influenced by a particular mix of intersecting social and cultural factors that is different from those mixes affecting other individuals. Thus there is no single homogenous group of 'African abused women', 'black abused women' or even 'women' but all women are different. It is also important to

appreciate that black women in the UK have experiences that will be different from black women elsewhere. Most qualitative research on Caribbean and African abused women comes from the US and although findings are often similar to mine it should always be borne in mind that the histories and social experiences of so-called African-American women differ considerably from those of Caribbean women in the UK. As a result, African-American women are generally described as more autonomous than Caribbean women in the UK, and to be more adversely affected by the conflicts between their strengths and the pressures on their men of white social norms (Blazina & Watkins, 2000; Collins, 2000; hooks, 2000). The black women I interviewed were more closely aligned with the white British women than their American counterparts are represented, and traditional in the way that Hochschild described this. Queisha was the only one to have shown more autonomy in her past (the only one to exhibit role reversal), but her biography showed a number of differences from those of the other women that might explain this and were discussed in section 5.8.2.

8.14.8 The effects of remedial work

Experiences were described to me within the context of a current intimate relationship and so will have been shaped by this and by previous intimate relationships the women had. The use of normalizing strategies and other remedial work to negotiate a divergence between what is expected and what happens in practice often made it hard to disentangle expectations from reflection on the women's current abusive relationship and what the women would like changed. However the data have proved informative and shown there *are* differences between their desired relationship, their descriptions of the expected and their reported experiences (see also Rivas, 2010). Some expectations were more surprising than others, and the women took me in different directions to those anticipated at the start. Initially I did not ask any questions about mothering or the household division of labour (with more open questions about family relationships and day to day lives) but both were mentioned a great deal and hence became a key area of exploration within this thesis.

8.14.9 Research into household labour

Canary and Hause (1993) note several problems with research on the division of household labour (see Box 4).

Box 4: Problems with research on the division of household labour

as noted by Canary and Hause (2003), with comments in relation to the current study in italics

1. Most research considers the sharing of traditionally ‘women’s work’ such as shopping, cooking and cleaning, and not the division of ‘men’s work’ such as mowing the lawn, cleaning the car, or ‘neutral chores’ such as running an errand.
I did not differentiate and indeed some of the women talked about also doing the ‘men’s work’. However, the study would have been enriched by interviews with the male partners also.
2. Most research does not include childcare.
This is considered at length by the women I interviewed.
3. Most does not consider help from other family members, including children.
Again this was considered in my study, but incidentally, and in relation to the abuse rather than in its own right.
4. Most studies use self-report data which is open to recall or reporting bias.
I tried to reduce the effects of this by recruiting women still in abusive relationships but it remains an issue and here again the data would have been enriched by interviews with the men.

These limitations do not invalidate my findings for several reasons. First, my interest was in understanding the women’s experiences from their own standpoints so this could be related to support-giving by professional agencies. Therefore, while interesting, the viewpoint of their partner and others would answer different research questions. Second, my intention was to gather data from women still within the abusive relationship, many of whom did not acknowledge the abuse, and it would have

compromised their safety and my own if I had also interviewed their partners. The number of studies is increasing that considers both the man's and the woman's accounts within an abusive relationship but in all cases the man has been accused of the abuse by outside agencies and has undergone some form of professional intervention; recruitment has always been within a court or remedial counselling setting (see e.g. <http://www.provide.ac.uk>). Third, my findings are consistent with those reported by Cavanagh and by Hochschild, both of whom interviewed men and women.

8.14.10 Analytical method

An advantage of using grounded theory is that because it is developed from a positivist paradigm it allows for a high level of systematicity in the analysis, and produces a theory that may be tested. However, I have found it hard to present the emergent theory in an easily digestible manner. To do so requires labels, but these can be as constraining as they are helpful. The names I have used for the layers of my model have changed numerous times in the development and may need to be changed again.

8.14.11 Other issues

I only visited literature specific to the themes once most of my analysis had been undertaken and concepts had emerged. But in writing the thesis it is hard not to give the impression that I read the literature first and made the data fit what I read.

8.15 Strengths and scholarly contributions

8.15.1 Strengths

Strengths of my study include its grounding in the women's current experiences, its focus on the women's experiences within the relationship rather than as a step towards leaving as with other studies, my consideration of three broad ethnic groups, and my focus on an under-studied group: women experiencing predominantly psychological abuse from a male partner. Most had previously reflected on their relationships, but

few had contacted support services, and many said they were unhappy or distressed rather than abused. Overall, the findings are consistent with other studies and confirm and add to previous UK research on partner abuse of ethnic minority women that has shown the pressures on such women to avoid disclosing abuse and shaming their families (Ahmed *et al.*, 2009; Gill, 2004; Mama, 1996; Thiara, 2005). I have shown that women's experiences of and reactions to abuse are more similar than different across ethnic groups and so have avoided falling into the trap of 'cultural relativism' (Thiara & Gill, 2010, p. 45). I have also considered some of the processes by which barriers to support operate for abused black and minority ethnic women (see also Anitha, 2010; Hester *et al.*, 2007; Khanum, 2008; Mama, 1996; Rai & Thiara, 1997; Thiara & Gill, 2012). Throughout this thesis I have marked out cases of deviance and dissent, that is where data seemed to contradict the analysis. I have used these cases to support and strengthen the analysis.

8.15.2 Scholarly contributions

I have extended Goffman's ideas around the presentation of self by including in my analysis the effect of interactions that are not face-to-face, thus allowing the influence of people with whom the women may never directly interact or even consider relevant to their own social performances, because these others help to shape social norms. I have extended Cavanagh's valuable contribution to understandings of the remedial work abused women do by undertaking careful analysis of the social structures that underpin psychologically abusive relationships and exploring these through boundary setting. I have incorporated influences at the meso level of the ecological model as well as the micro and macro levels that Cavanagh considered and developed this into a three-layered model of relationships, which in simplified form comprises:

- The desired relationship to live by
- The expected (normatively acceptable, typical) relationship
- The problem (undesirable, unacceptable) relationship the women lived with.

This model also extends work by Gillis and by Smart, who described a two-element model in which the ideal was the desired and the relationship to live by, and the

relationship to live with accounted for every other nuance of relationships. I have also added to Hochschild's work on the division of labour in relationships, with the idea of role leaking. My model emphasises what Hochschild acknowledges, which is that typologies are useful as a point of departure when exploring the data but not as an explanation of what is being done within intimate relationships; the latter is facilitated but not imposed using the model.

The proposed model emerged from detailed exploration of the data rather than by testing *a priori* hypotheses and I did not anticipate the directions my analysis took when the study began. My initially broad research question became gradually more focussed. The proposed model brings together symbolic interactionism and dramaturgy, traditions that were not even on my radar when I began the study. The model can be used to consider, test and extend different theories, such as those concerning the causes of abuse. The model is also economical in that it can potentially be applied to other situations and settings and not just abusive ones. This might be tested further. The proposed three-element model, when used to understand how the women accomplish gender, helps to explain anomalous findings in the literature around women's earnings and male status.

The model I have used enables behaviours and *perceptions* of behaviours in intimate relationships to be considered as separate entities, something that has been missing from the domestic violence literature (Rhoades & Stocker, 2006). By differentiating the desired relationship (the one to live by) from the expected, I separate the sought for version of relationships such as the type that populates popular culture, from the imperfect but usual and therefore acceptable relationship that is talked about as a given. Smart described the relationship to live by as imaginary. My take, developed through immersion in the data, is different: in its entirety it is probably illusory and unattainable but small parts may be accessed, albeit in its ideal form often fleetingly and interspersed with periods of less than ideal. This is not to be confused however with impression management work that makes a relationship seem to match the ideal. I am also able to separate both the desired and the expected from the unacceptable and

socially deviant that is often not talked about at all. This last is the relationship the women actually lived with.

The development of my model has benefited from the subject matter – Smart considered divorce, which occurred for many reasons, most being described as socially acceptable and therefore likely to fall into the bounds of what I have called expected relationships, at least since the turn of the century. The current analysis has drawn rather on what may be loosely considered an extreme case, where abused women need to account for behaviours potentially discordant with social competency, and stigmatising, according to their understanding of social norms. I have also benefited from a focus on remedial work, which marks out deviations from social norms and therefore identifies the norms themselves, and from the wealth of data given me by the women.

Compared with Gillis' and Smart's model, the proposed model enables women to aspire to something better than they have and to set goals for themselves knowing these can be achieved. This strengthens the idea that women can be agentic while remaining in the relationship. It allows impression management as in Gillis' and Smart's model and the convergence of the women's presented identity with social norms, but also real change and the convergence of presented and self identity as in symbolic interactionism.

I have given examples of the data that are hard to explain with the two-element model but not the proposed three-element model. For example, Helen says that being single is what is not acceptable, rather than a 'half-assed' relationship, which she now feels she should expect, given her age, albeit acknowledging the socially normative desirable relationship. In this example, the relationships can only be called half-assed if measured against something better. In this way, expectations are seen as multiple, shifting, and affected by status as in exchange theory.

8.16 Future work

It is significant that the findings from this study resonate with those from other studies even though they come from very different samples (for example the current data and those from Campbell and from Cavanagh). This may have relevance to research on partner abuse in general; if the retrospective views of formerly abused women and the experiences of currently abused women converge this has implications for the generalisability of studies. Nonetheless, this study has shown the feasibility of doing research with women from different ethnic groups who do not acknowledge their abuse, and who are currently abused. It has also shown that it is possible to access the same woman more than once.

The analysis has raised a number of questions that warrant further research. For example, there is an irony in that while traditional relationships allow abuse, so do those in which the women step outside traditional roles and seemingly have more independence whilst still constrained by the more traditional expectations of those around them. It would be interesting to undertake similar research on established relationships in the youngest adults of today, who may have gained more gender equality (but see McRobbie, 2009), and explore the relationship with abusive behaviours in such a sample. It would also be interesting to see if non-abused and abused women are equally likely to emphasise good mothering, to test ideas that this is more likely in fragile intimate relationships including abusive ones.

It would also be valuable to compare my findings with the use of boundary setting, remedial work, gifting and family myths in women who are not abused and who are predominantly physically abused, although coercive control unites the experience of women in all types of abusive relationships as an attack on human rights or “liberty crime” (Stark, 2007).

Future research could determine whether abused women have a greater propensity to accept infidelity than non-abused women of the same generation. This might involve qualitative research or the use of questionnaires.

There is a lack of consideration in the literature of the effect of deferred motherhood on women's expectations of the type of relationship they are likely to have, and also the situation when relationships are begun once a woman is too old to have a child. The data presented here suggest the value of studying relationships such as these. The women attached great importance to motherhood as a biographical requirement and considered they had to meet this by dropping their standards of what to expect in a relationship, once they had reached 30 and were still single. Helen cites both physiological and sociological reasons as explanation. Yet popular discourses of the last 20 years describe women as delaying motherhood until their 30s and more recently 40s so they can establish careers first in self fulfilment (Hakim, 1996). This is supported by the statistics (Finch, 2005). *In vitro* fertilisation (IVF) as mentioned by Winona (section 5.11.3.6) has helped make this possible, being an antidote to the biological reduction in fertility with age.

It would be instructive to explore through focus groups and interviews the way white British women view African and Caribbean relationships; overall, from the limited data available from this study, the white British women's views echoed those of the black women. This suggests that the desired relationships are ethnically mediated but relationships to anticipate are less clearly defined ethnically (that is, there were more commonalities than differences).

Abused women will use different strategies to deal with the abuse, depending on their audience. This could be investigated by interviewing abused women and people from among their friends, family and community. This would be a delicate proposition and a great deal of thought needs to go into designing a study that is safe for the women but not limited (for example choosing only women who have told others about the abuse). The design of other studies that have explored networks may be used; for example

Cornwell's study of the East End, or Gillies' (2003). One such study is currently being undertaken by a PhD student at another university and I await the findings with interest.

The proposition that abused women may have expectations at the low end of normative (see section 8.13), might be investigated with a comparative questionnaire-based study of a larger and more population-representative sample.

It would be valuable to compare non-abused and abused women in a study similar to mine, and abusive and non-abusive men, and to include other sources of data, such as diaries and other documents. This is an interview-based study of abused women, using grounded theory. I considered presenting the data using two or three cases, to address the way the thematic analysis broke narratives into small disconnected fragments, and other approaches to the analysis, such as narrative, discourse or life story work would complement the current analysis and provide a rich picture of broader societal context. In a comparative study, I would also consider keyword analysis to get at themes that I may have missed (Seale & Charteris-Black, 2008).

8.17 Observations and recommendations for service provision

This study leads to a number of recommendations and observations relevant to practitioners.

8.17.1 Making psychological abuse more visible

Psychological abuse can be considered a form of 'symbolic violence', that is, the unnoticed (partly unconscious) domination of a person through every-day social habits that support this domination (Stark, 1997). But it is not only through the ordinariness of everyday life that the women and those around them can ignore psychological and other forms of abuse, but through the way the women's remedial work – as shown by the proposed model - places the unacceptable and the extra-ordinary into the ordinary, typical, acceptable. If practitioners keep the model in mind, they might be more alert

to the presence of abuse, even when inquiry from professionals fails to elicit disclosure of the abuse by the women. Practitioners also need to be wary of the double catch; women may normalise to conceal the abuse from them, but individuals use normalisation to conceal what may be perceived as their ‘unacceptable’ or ‘abnormal’ behaviours (Bury, 1982) (such as staying in the abusive relationship). Thus when these are revealed, practitioners must be careful not to validate their unacceptability.

8.17.2 The need to consider the multiplicity of intersecting factors that affect the impact on the woman of abuse and interventions for it

The analysis suggests that abuse might best be measured in terms of the impact on the abused, from their standpoints, to take into account the particular mixture of intersecting factors that shape their behaviours and experiences. This is not current practice. I have considered some aspects of this question in a paper associated with the PhD (Rivas, 2010). I would impress on practitioners the need to consider these other factors and the problems that may be caused if interventions, support and advice conflict with the various social constraints acting on the abused. Such considerations will also help practitioners understand why sometimes a woman does not wish to disclose her abuse or receive intervention for it.

8.17.2.1 Definitions of partner abuse

The women did not invoke concepts of patriarchy or gendered power differentials in their definitions or when they named their own experiences (see Rivas, 2010) even though the gendering of abuse is included in the United Nations definition, upheld by extensive research (Connell, 1987; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000) and suggested by the women’s own responses to abuse. This may be strategic – since their accounts of their own experiences emphasised gendered norms, to exclude these from definitions is to distance their experiences from the label of abuse.

However, my analysis shows just how gendered their abuse is. To encompass both standpoints, I would recommend that definitions keep phrases such as “most commonly committed by men” to allow for flexibility. First, this gives the women

space to do remedial work to cope with the way they present the abuse to others, should they choose to do so. Second, a definition that is rigidly centred on gender downgrades other factors intersecting with gender within the abusive relationship and may be in danger of removing other intersecting factors from the consciousness (Damant, Lapierre, Kouraga, Fortin, Hamelin-Brabant, Lavergne, & Lessard, 2008; Mama, 2000; Morrison, 2006). Third, the more specific a definition is, the more likely it is to be considered by some abused women as not applying to them. It might also be seen by some as excluding same-sex relationships.

8.17.3 Changing abused women's understandings of the unacceptable

As a concept, the women considered abuse unacceptable, but often did not reflect this in the way they labelled and downgraded their own experiences. The gap between their conceptualisations of abuse and the labels they gave to their experiences, which involved remedial work to make the unacceptable appear acceptable, must be narrowed if we wish to increase the number of women acknowledging and ending their abuse (Rivas 2010).

The cultural and social pressures on the women to remain in the relationship meant boundaries the women set within the relationship are socially embedded and difficult to shift. However, a key point to emerge from the analysis is that understandings and presentations of what is acceptable and unacceptable, that is boundary thresholds to these, could be changed. This was discussed especially by the African women because of their migration to the UK with its different culture to Africa, but can happen for many reasons. This is something that domestic service providers could engage with. For example a woman may be assisted in shaping the boundaries to her partner's behaviours in ways that enable her to name and challenge the abuse. Such intervention has the potential to target early abuse and act to prevent the abuse from worsening. The data also suggest it may be appropriate for service providers to work with current expectations, changing them bottom-up rather than trying to impose their own top-down.

At the same time, women need to be educated that it is not stigmatising to be abused. They may feel only able to seek help if their abuse is seen as authentic – e.g. if they are physically abused, in line with typical mass media representations (Leisenring, 2006; Stark, 1997). They need to appreciate that they can be agentic but still be judged to really be abused and at the same time not be held accountable for their abuse (Picart, 2003). This needs to be conveyed in media campaigns so more women will be encouraged to seek help. An effective solution is for abused women and service providers to contribute jointly to training (Mullender & Hague, 2005).

A trial conducted in family planning clinics in an urban area in northern California, United States found women given education on partner abuse, harm reduction strategies, and information on further local resources were less likely than controls to report a partner applying psychological pressure to become pregnant or sabotaging contraception, and the women were also more likely to report ending their relationship because it was unhealthy or they felt unsafe (Miller, Decker, McCauley, Tancredi, Levenson, Waldman, Schoenwald & Silverman, 2010). This trial therefore suggests the effectiveness of targeted education on abused women's behaviours. However, this study was small and with limited follow up (Taket, 2012).

8.17.4 Changing other family members' understandings of the unacceptable

This thesis has shown that the abusive relationship cannot be considered in isolation of other people within the abused women's social networks. Education is therefore important:

- within the media, that, as Stark (1997) argues should not focus on the more extreme cases but should emphasise the problem of coercive control
- that includes messages from my study, enabling other family members to appreciate their effect on the women's responses to abuse so that they may better support the women
- within schools, as a preventive and early intervention measure.

8.17.5 Cultural competencies

The Department of Health (DoH) paper, Commissioning services for women and children who experience violence or abuse (Golding & Duggal, 2011), cautions against the free sharing of personal information about their case between professionals without their explicit consent. My findings suggest that in the case of minority women there should be particular caution in sharing with organisations embedded within their social and cultural community groups. Support from such groups may be culturally sensitive and culturally appropriate, but what ‘appropriate’ means is subjective. From the viewpoint of the community it may mean the women are supported in staying within the relationship; the support may act as a buffer. But the woman may be better helped with support that, while remaining culturally informed and culturally appropriate, does not prioritise her community over her own needs, but helps her to use less adaptive, more cognitively active strategies.

The analysis shows that there were more similarities than differences across the groups and that the black women describe themselves as different to white British women when sometimes the data suggest otherwise. This supports the idea that cultural competency should be mainstreamed. On the other hand, it is counterproductive to refer minority women to mainstream services designed for the white British population that are not culturally sensitive.

8.17.6 The role of general practice

This has been debated in the literature (Fitzpatrick, 2000; Heath, 1995) although the Department of Health and others acknowledge the importance of the listening role (Cocksedge, 2005; Department of Health, 2005). The data here suggest patients might be re-educated in this regard. The women were put off approaching GPs because they doubted the appropriateness and the usefulness. Feder, Agnew Davies, Baird, Dunne, Eldridge, Griffiths, Gregory, Howell, Johnson, Ramsay, Rutterford and Sharp (2011)

have shown the effectiveness of a GP-coordinated advocacy referral system, using a cluster randomised controlled trial.

8.17.6.1 Enhanced advocacy interventions

Advocacy interventions aim to help abused women directly by providing them with information and support to facilitate access to community resources. I previously contributed to a systematic review of advocacy interventions for abused women (Ramsay, Rivas & Feder, 2005) which showed intensive advocacy may decrease physical abuse more than one to two years after the intervention for women already in refuges, but there is inconsistent evidence for a positive impact on psychological/emotional abuse, depression, quality of life and psychological distress. There was evidence that brief advocacy increases the use of safety behaviours by abused women. The Australian Mothers' AdvocateS In the Community (MOSAIC) controlled trial reported that non-professional mentor support for pregnant and recent mothers resulted in a significant difference in mean abuse scores at 12 months (Taft, Small, Hegarty, Watson, Gold & Lumley, 2011). Findings from the current study might be used to inform the design of such advocacy interventions in the future and improve on these benefits, making them culturally competent and culturally sensitive.

8.17.6.2 Training and education for practitioners

Findings from my study might be incorporated in professional training to maximise impact and therefore increase successful outcomes from interventions. Ramsay, Rivas and Feder (2005) showed that training programmes for domestic violence providers have benefits so long as they are periodically repeated. Unfortunately, partner abuse is often left out of the curriculum in training programmes for relevant professionals so there needs to be a more strategic approach embedded in policy with regard to the training of health, welfare, social service, education and criminal justice staff (Sen, Humphreys, & Kelly, 2003).

Since this review, Feder and colleagues (2011) have added to the evidence base with a cluster randomised controlled trial of a GP referral system, which involved training and supporting primary care clinicians and administrative staff to increase identification of women experiencing domestic violence and their referral to specialist advocacy services. This approach was developed because screening of patients for domestic violence has not been adopted due to insufficient evidence of benefits (Feder, Ramsay, Dunne, Rose, Arsene, Norman, Kuntze, Spencer, Bacchus, Hague, Warburton & Taket, 2009), and showed that training can improve identification and referral in the absence of routine screening. It is not clear whether this will translate into improved outcomes for the women.

Training is also needed to help service providers cope and provide the right type of help for abused women. Service providers who have themselves been abused may fear stigma, and others may not appreciate the ‘authenticity’ or severity of psychological abuse. Sometimes service providers may treat abuse survivors as fragile, a further stigmatising stereotype that assumes they are so damaged they need to be protected from people who might voice what they have experienced. Each of these factors can create barriers to effective service provision (Hague, 2005; Mullender & Hague, 2005).

8.17.7 The need for more evidence

If all the above recommendations are adopted, some women will continue to deny their abuse, to cope with their lives or to ‘save face’ and avoid stigma and maintain their reputations as ‘good wives’ and ‘good mothers’ (Aris, Hague & Mullender, 2003; Cavanagh, 2003; May, 2008). Critically for further service provision, the effectiveness of implementing effective culturally competent interventions needs to be measured, using for example those outcomes suggested in the DoH paper. It is important to measure “success” in a way that has meaning to the women themselves. Westmarland, Kelly and Chalder-Mills (2010) report that quantitative measures of incidents (usually therefore of physical abuse) are routinely used by formal service providers to measure success of a service; this is often required by funders. Abused

women, their abusive partners, and service providers more often cite softer outcomes as what they hoped to get from an intervention, for example Sen, Humphreys and Kelly (2003).

Use of the recommended approach with greater sensitivity and openness to the women's individual situations should certainly open up possibilities for abused women. In such ways, service providers may encourage women to name their experiences as abusive and therefore to manage them differently and so the recommendations may result in more women seeking and receiving appropriate support. The imminent NICE guidelines will hopefully incorporate some of the study findings. These also have the potential to foster a changed attitude within society more generally, for example in determining what constitutes abuse.

9. Final summary and conclusions

9.1 The women

This is a study of 20 currently psychologically abused white British, black Caribbean and African women from Hackney in London. Key features of the sample are that:

- Many had not sought help for the abuse, or had not sought professional help
- They were still involved in the abusive relationship although not necessarily co-habiting
- Mostly, they did not intend to leave the relationship
- All experienced psychological but not all physical abuse
- Several did not acknowledge their experiences as abuse.

This group may therefore be seen as a particular sample, different to samples of abused women considered in many other qualitative studies. Its particularities have enabled a model to be developed with potential for informing early interventions and prevention (although some had endured their abuse for years), interventions for women who do not acknowledge the abuse, and interventions that target coercive control specifically.

9.2 Theoretical underpinnings

This thesis is based on a grounded theory analysis of interview data:

- The approach was that of feminist constructivism, which was appropriate as I wanted to investigate the women's standpoints with a view to informing formal support services
- The focus was on the interplay of the women's social identities and role play with broader social norms, and of the women's perceived and social identities, drawing on Goffman, Cavanagh, Smart and Hochschild.

9.3 Innovation

My study is innovative in several ways:

- Its purely sociological stance has enabled me to examine the processes behind the women's responses to partner abuse, and to consider what it means for women to be psychologically abused but to not label their experiences as abuse
- My focus on remedial work has extended Goffman's Cavanagh's work in that I have included proximal interactions with friends, family and the community, according to ecological theory, and have included the influence of physical presence *de facto* and prior or anticipated microscopic social interactions (although Goffman did consider these in relation to stigma)
- This has enabled new ways of looking at abusive relationships, highlighting the need to consider attachment security from their partner (associated with parenthood) as more important to the women than economic security, the way women can feel both superior and inferior, and the prioritisation of the expectations of others over their own needs and desires. These are all linked to societal discourses of hegemonic masculinity which continue to influence the women's behaviours
- I have added to Hochschild's categories of relationships with a development of the traditional relationship that may have been enabled by changes in society since Hochschild's study, but is linked with the abuse, and have called this unidirectional role leakage
- I have inductively built up a new model of relationships that incorporates the women's remedial work as a process, with three layers, which extends Gillis' and Smart's work, in simplified form being:
 - The desired relationship to live by
 - The expected (normatively acceptable, typical) relationship
 - The problem (undesirable, unacceptable) relationship the women lived with
- This model can be used to provide innovative explanations about how the women manage the abuse and their social competencies (with multiple identities in play) and conflicts between the women's ideologies and their daily lives, and to problematise cultural essentialism when considering abusive relationships.

9.4 The initial literal thematic analysis

In an initial literal thematic analysis, taking the women's accounts as direct representations of their experiences and perspectives, the following points stood out:

- Gender intersected with other factors such as the women's geographical relocation, within as well as between countries, but dominated the women's talk
- The women generally emphasised their performative gendered role play within the relationship, the importance of having children, their good mothering, and the way society devalues single or separated women, even when they had an egalitarian ideology, showing how traditional gendering (as influenced by hegemonic masculinity) was expected and embedded in these relationships
- Their behaviours were influenced by the expectations of the others in their lives (and perceptions of these), that is not only their intimate partner, but their family, community and larger society
- There were few cultural differences across the ethnic groups, except in the strength of impact of the expectations of others.

9.5 More abstract conceptualising

The main body of the thesis is concerned with conceptualisations of the data using the process of grounded theorising. Some of the key points are:

- Gendered divisions of labour increased the women's vulnerability to abuse, with both men and women appealing to gendered norms: a) to underscore a criticism-reward system of coercive control (men) and b) passing off criticisms and accounting for their gendered behaviours or discrediting lapses of these (women)
- In 'doing gender' to avoid the stigma or label of social incompetence or 'abused woman', the women may 'lose' or 'fracture' or repress their identities, replaced by performances that give them a different sense of identity that sustains the abusive relationship. The analysis suggests an underlying process for coercive control
- This study supports a social exchange and resources theory explanation of the gendered division of labour as the men in role leakage relationships did not help the women in the home
- Abused women can be both superior and inferior depending on context and standpoints, which is something that has not previously been explored in this way in the literature. For example, the capital of hegemonic masculinity may carry more weight than monetary capital, making some women who were the breadwinners powerful in some situations and not others, with multiple identities that each involved negotiations at multiple levels
- The women set boundaries to the men's behaviours within their relationship negotiations and their accounts. They then used these to do remedial work and give a surface impression of gendered competence, accounting for problem behaviours as if they were not problematic.
- Boundaries and expectations were negotiated and situational with multiple versions, e.g. for community versus family. The man's behaviours might cross to the

unacceptable or the women's bounds to the unacceptable could be changed - boundary setting was dynamic and agentic. These two points have implications for practice

- The model of relationships (see section 9.3 above) incorporates boundary setting and remedial work, which define the different layers. The expected relationship acted as a buffer between the other two layers, the desired and the normatively unacceptable; the divergence of the unacceptable from the expected was sufficiently narrow that the women could make it appear to match the expected through their remedial work. Such work had important functions: it enabled the women to function in society as competent individuals and it also helped them cope with their situation
- By separating out the undesirable from the expected, the model allows these to be seen as distinct even though connected. This has the potential to help practitioners to understand how behaviours shaped by culture and considered normatively acceptable within that culture can result in behaviours that are unacceptable, enabling them to engage with the unacceptable whilst being able to maintain a cultural sensitivity to the acceptable
- Similarly the model can be used to show how behaviours within a relationship can be seen as desirable within particular contexts (such as traditionalism) even when not theoretically ideal, and how the desirable shifts with context (e.g. with immigration, opportunity and age)
- The model also allows that men's behaviours are dynamic and can be changed; some of their behaviours may be unacceptable but others are not, and they are abusive, not abusers as something intrinsic to manhood. 9.6 Practical implications for the support of abused women.

The findings, model and analysis have implications for understandings of support seeking and provision, showing that:

- Women's help-seeking followed a hierarchy, with the black women more likely to go to family first and the white British women to friends or family; but all groups avoided taking the abuse into the community. This needs to be considered by service providers and the role of general practice in supporting abused women needs to be emphasised, clarified through policy, and disseminated to lay audiences
- Culturally competent services should not reinforce community constraints on the women's responses, but work with them to achieve what the abused women themselves perceive as benefits. In many cases, this may mean an improved intimate relationship achieved in situationally relevant and appropriate ways, rather than its abandonment, but also a shift in the women's understandings of what is acceptable within an intimate relationship so that when needed, they may seek appropriate help and support that engages with and challenges the abuse
- Practitioners should engage with the women's impression management work. In so doing they need to recognise that this work is driven by the need, as Goffman reported, to maintain the social order through shows of social competency, and how social competency, and any associated impression management work, as well as the effectiveness of the man's coercive control, is affected by culture, gender, and other intersectional factors, in ways such as those described in this thesis.

Such messages should be incorporated into existing advocacy and other intervention work and education schemes, into the UK National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (NICE) and other guidelines and into training programmes for professionals, women and children, to increase the effectiveness of prevention and intervention approaches to partner abuse.

References

- Abrahams, H. (2007). *Supporting women after domestic violence: loss, trauma and recovery*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Ahmed, B., Reavey, P., & Majumdar, A. (2009). Constructions of 'culture' in accounts of South Asian women survivors of sexual violence. *Feminism and Psychology, 19*(1), 7–28.
- Alcoff, L., & Potter, E. (1993). Introduction: when feminisms intersect epistemology. In: L. Alcoff & E. Potter (eds.). *Feminist Epistemologies*. New York: Routledge, 1-14.
- Allen, M. (2011). Violence and voice: using a feminist constructivist grounded theory to explore women's resistance to abuse. *Qualitative Research, 11*, 23-45.
- Allen, N.E., Bybee, D. I., & Sullivan, C. M. (2004). Battered women's multitude of needs: Evidence supporting the need for comprehensive advocacy. *Violence Against Women, 10*(9), 1015-1035.
- Almeida, R., & Dolan-Delvecchio, K. (1999). Addressing culture in batterer's Intervention. *Violence Against women, 5*(6), 654-683.
- American Psychological Association (APA). (2009). *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed.). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Anderson, C. (1997). Violence within the family. In: B. Johnson (Ed.), *Psychiatric-Mental Health Nursing. Adaptation and Growth*, 4th edn. New York: Lippincott-Raven Publishers, 823–850.
- Anderson, K.L., & Umberson, D. (2001). Gendering violence: masculinity and power in men's accounts of domestic violence. *Gender & Society, 15*, 358-380.
- Anderson, K.M. (2009). *Enhancing resilience in survivors of family violence*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Anderson, K.M., & Danis, F.S. (2007). *Adult daughters of battered women: resiliency in the face of danger*. National Conference on Health & Domestic Violence, San Francisco, CA. March 16.
- Aneshensel, C.S. (1992). Social Stress: theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology, 18*, 15–38.
- Anitha, S. (2010). No recourse, no support: state policy and practice towards South Asian women facing domestic violence in the UK. *British Journal of Social Work, 40*, 462-479.
- Aris, R., Hague, G., & Mullender, A. (2003). Defined by men's abuse: the "spoiled identity" of domestic violence survivors. In E. Stanko, (ed.) *The Meanings of Violence*. London: Routledge, 149-164.

- Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 9(3), 237-248.
- Backett, K. (1992). Taboos and excesses: lay health moralities in middle class families. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 14(2), 255-274.
- Baker, N.V., Gregware, P.R., & Cassidy, M.A. (1999). Family killing fields. *Violence Against Women*, 5, 164-184.
- Bancroft, L. (2002). *Why does he do that? Inside the minds of angry and controlling men*. Berkley: Berkley Books.
- Bancroft, L., & Silverman, J.G. (2002). *The batterer as parent: addressing the impact of domestic violence on family dynamics*. Thousand Oaks CA:Sage .
- Banyard, V.,Williams, L., Saunders, B., & Fitzgerald, M. (2008). The complexity of trauma types in the lives of women in families referred for family violence: Multiple mediators of mental health. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 78, 394-404.
- .
- Bardwick, J. (1971). *Psychology of women: A study of biocultural conflicts*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Barnard, A., & Burgess T. (1996). *Sociology explained*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barrett, M. (1988). *Women's oppression today: the Marxist/feminist encounter* (revised ed.). London: Verso.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1995). *The normal chaos of love*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization*. London: Sage.
- Becker, E. (1962). Socialization, command of performance, and mental illness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 67(5), 494-501.
- Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1998). On the way to a post-familial family: from a community of need to elective affinities theory, *Culture and Society*, 15, 53-70.
- Beckwith, J. B. (1992). Stereotypes and reality in the division of household labor. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 20(4), 283-288.
- Begikhani, N., Gill, A., & Hague, G., with Ibraheem, K. (2010). *Honour-based Violence (HBV) and Honour-based Killings in Iraqi Kurdistan and in the Kurdish Diaspora in the UK - Final report*. Centre for Gender and Violence Research, University of Bristol, UK, & Roehampton University, UK in partnership with Kurdish Women's Rights Watch.
- Bell, K. M., & Naugle, A. E. (2005). Understanding stay/leave decisions in violent relationships: A behavior analytic approach. *Behavioral and Social Issues*, 14, 21-45.

- Bengtsson-Tops, A., Saveman, B.I., & Tops, D. (2009). Staff experience and understanding of working with abused women suffering from mental illness. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 17(5), 459-65.
- Benhabib, S. (2002). Political geographies in a global world: Arendtian reflections. *Social Research*, 69(2):539-566.
- Benney, M., & Hughes, E. (1956). Of sociology and the interview. *American Journal of Sociology*, 62, 137-142.
- Bent-Goodley, T.B. (2004). Perceptions of domestic violence: a dialogue with African American women. *Health and Social Work*, 29(4), 307-316.
- Berger, B., & Berger, P.L. (1983). *The war over the family: capturing the middle ground*. New York: Garden City.
- Bianchi, S. (2000). Maternal employment and time with children: Dramatic change or surprising continuity? *Demography*, 37(4), 401-414.
- Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D., & Radley, A.R. (1988). *Ideological dilemmas*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bittman, M., England, P., Sayer, L., Folbre, N., & Matheson, G. (2003). When does gender trump money? Bargaining and time in household work. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1): 186-214.
- Bjørkly, S. (2003). A brief commentary and a preliminary literature search concerning the role of warning signs in the treatment and prevention of intimate partners' violence. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 96, 812-816.
- Blau P. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York: Wiley.
- Blazina, C., & Watkins, C.E. Jr. (2000). Separation/individuation, parental attachment, and male gender role conflict: Attitudes toward the feminine and the fragile masculine self. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 1,126-132.
- Blood, R.O., & Wolfe, D.M. (1960). *Husbands and wives*. New York: Free Press.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bonomi, A. E., Allen, D. G., & Holt, V. L. (2006). Conversational silence, coercion, equality: the role of language in influencing who gets identified as abused. *Sociology of Science and Medicine* 62(9), 2258-2266.
- Boonzaier F. (2008). 'If the man says you must sit, then you must sit': the relational construction of woman abuse: gender, subjectivity and violence. *Feminism and Psychology*, 18(2), 183-206.
- Boonzaier, F., & de la Rey, C. (2004). Woman abuse: The construction of gender in women and men's narratives of violence. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 34: 443-463.

- Borochowitz, D. Y. (2008). The taming of the shrew: batterers' constructions of their wives' narratives. *Violence Against Women, 14*(10), 1166-1180.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss*. New York: Basic.
- Brenner, J. (2000). *Women and the politics of class*, New York: Monthly Review.
- Brewer, L. (2001). Gender socialization and the cultural construction of elder caregivers. *Journal of Aging, 15*(3), 217-235.
- Briggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science*. New York: Vassar College.
- Brines, J. (1993). The exchange value of housework. *Rationality and Society, 5*, 302-340.
- Brissett, D., Edgley, C. (1990). Foreword. In D. Brissett, & Edgley, C. (Eds.). *Life as theater : a dramaturgical sourcebook* (2nd ed.). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- British Medical Association (BMA). (2007). *Domestic abuse*. London: BMA Board of Science.
- British Sociological Association (BSA) Medical Sociology Group. (1996). Criteria for the evaluation of qualitative research papers. *Medical Sociology News, 22*, 69-71.
- Brooks, A., & Hesse-Biber, S.N. (2007). An invitation to feminist research. In Hesse-Biber, S.N. & Leavy, P.L. (eds.), *Feminist Research Practice* (pp. 1–24). CA: Sage Publications.
- Brown, C., Lloyd, K. (2007). Qualitative methods in psychiatric research. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment, 7*:350-356.
- Brown, G. W., & Harris, T. (1978). *Social origins of depression: a study of psychiatric disorder in women*. New York: The Free Press.
- Brown, J. (1997). *Documenting women's work and choices: the Process of Change in Abused Women Scale (PROCAWS) - preliminary results*. Paper presented at 5th International Family Violence Research Conference, Durham, NH.
- Bughra, D., & Bahl, V. (1999). Ethnicity – issues of definition. In: D. Bughra and V. Bahl (Eds.). *Ethnicity: an agenda for mental health* (pp. 1-6). London: Gaskell, Royal College of Psychiatrists.
- Burge, S.K. (1998). How do you define abuse? *Archives of Family Medicine, 7*, 31-32.
- Burke, P. (1980). The self: measurement implications from a symbolic interactionist's perspective. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 43*:18-29.

- 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(1), 59-74.
- Burns, T. (1992). *Erving Goffman*. London: Routledge.
- Burris, C. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Klar, Y. (1997). Maladjustment implications of self and group gender–role discrepancies: An ordered-discrepancy model. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27(1), 75–95.
- Bury, M. (2001). Illness narratives: fact or fiction? *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 23(3), 263–285.
- Buttell, F.P., & Jones, C. (2001). Interpersonal dependency among court-ordered domestic violence offenders: a descriptive analysis. *Journal of Family Violence*, 16(4):375-384.
- Campbell, J. C., Rose, L., Kub, J., & Nedd, D. (1998). Voices of strength and resistance. A contextual and longitudinal analysis of women’s responses to battering. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 13(6), 743-762.
- Campbell, J.C., & Soeken, K. (1999). Women's responses to battering over time: an analysis of change. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14, 21-40.
- Canary D.J., Emmers-Sommer T.M., & Faulkner, S. (1997). *Sex and gender differences in personal relationships*. New York: The Guildford Press.
- Canary, D. J., & Hause, K. S. (1993). Is there any reason to research sex differences in communication? *Communication Quarterly*, 4, 129-145.
- Cancian, F.M., & Olinker, S.J. (2000) *Caring and Gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine.
- Cant, B. (2006). Exploring the implications for health professionals of men coming out as gay in healthcare settings. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 14(1): 9–16.
- Carrington, C. (1999). *No place like home: relationships and family life among lesbians and Gay Men*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carroll, J.L., Volk, K.D., & Hyde, J.S. (1985). Differences between males and females in motives for engaging in sexual intercourse. *Behavioral Science*, 14(2), 131-139.
- Carter, J. (2010). *Why marry? Young women talk about relationships, marriage and love*. PhD thesis. York, UK: The University of York.
- Cauce, A.M., Coronado, N., & Watson, J. (1998). Conceptual, methodological and statistical issues in culturally competent research. In M. Hernandez, & R. Isaacs (Eds.). *Promoting cultural competence in children’s mental health services* (pp. 305-329). Baltimore: Brookes.
- Cavanagh, K. (2003). Understanding women's responses to domestic violence. *Qualitative Social Work*, 2, 229-249.

- Cavanagh, K., Dobash, R.P., Dobash, R.E., & Lewis, R. (2001). Remedial work: men's strategic responses to their violence against intimate female partners. *Sociology*, 33, 258-281.
- Çelik, E., Wöhrer, V., Ersche, C., Stoll, F., Jimenez, J.G., Altrogge, J., & Vogelmann, M. (2011). A commentary on Boike Rehbein's approach to critical theory after the rise of the global south and on his concept 'kaleidoscopic dialectic'. *Transcience Journal*, 2, 1.
- Chan, K.L., Brownridge, D.A., Tiwari, A., Fong, D., & Leung, W.C. (2008). Understanding violence against Chinese women in Hong Kong: An analysis of risk factors with a special emphasis on in-law conflict. *Violence Against Women*, 14,11, 1295-1312.
- Charles N. (2002). *Gender in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Charmaz, K. (1990). "Discovering" chronic illness: Using grounded theory. *Social Science and Medicine* 30, 1161-1172.
- Charmaz, K. (2004). Premises, principles, and practices in qualitative research: Revisiting the foundations. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(7), 976-993.
- Charmaz, K. (2005). Grounded theory for the 21st Century. In N.K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 507-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2005). *Grounded Theory: Methods for the 21st Century*. London: Sage Publications.
- Chatzifotiou, S., & Dobash, R. (2001). Seeking informal support: Marital violence against women in Greece. *Violence Against Women*, 7, 1024–1050.
- Chesler, M.A. (1987). *Professionals' views of the dangers of self-help groups: explicating a grounded theoretical approach*. Ann Arbor, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan: Center for Research on Social Organization, Working Paper Series.
- Cocksedge, S. (2005). Listening as work in primary care. Oxford: Radcliffe.
- Coid, J., Petruckevitch, A., Chung, W.S., Richardson, J., Moorey, S., & Feder, G. (2003). Abusive experiences and psychiatric morbidity in women primary care attenders. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 183, 332-9; discussion 340-1.
- Cokely, C.L. (2005). "Someday my prince will come": Disney, the heterosexual imaginary and animated film. In C. Ingraham (Ed.). *Thinking straight: the power, promise and paradox of heterosexuality* (pp. 167-181). New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P.H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*. London: Routledge.

- Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of 167-181 routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 1208-1233.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society*, 19: 829-859.
- Connell, R.W. (1985). Theorising gender. *Sociology*, 19(2), 260–272.
- Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and power*. Sydney, Australia: Allen and Unwin.
- Connell, R.W. (2002). *Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Cooley, C. H. (1902). *Human nature and the social order*. New York: Scribner's. Retrieved June 10, 2011, from <http://www.archive.org/stream/humannaturesocia00cooluoft#page/n3/mode/2up>
- Cornwell, J. (1984). *Hard-earned lives: Accounts of health and illness from East London*, London: Tavistock.
- Council of Europe (2002). *Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the protection of women against violence adopted on 30 April 2002 and explanatory memorandum*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.
- Counts, D. A. (1987). Female suicide and wife abuse in cross cultural perspective. *Suicide and Life Threatening Behavior*, 17, 194-204.
- Courtney, R. (1989). *Play, drama and thought: the intellectual background to dramatic education*. Toronto: Simon and Pierre Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Coverman, S. (1989). Women's work is never done: The division of domestic labor. In J. Freeman (Ed.), *Women: A feminist perspective* (4th ed., pp. 356-367). Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1279.
- Creswell, J.W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crompton, R., Lyonette, C. (2005). The new gender essentialism: domestic and family "choices" and their relation to attitudes. *British Journal of Sociology*, 56(4), 601-20.
- Crow, G. (2002). Community studies: fifty years of theorization. *Sociological Research Online*, 7(3). Accessed June 8, 2011, <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/3/crow.html>
- Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). (2006). *Domestic violence monitoring snapshot. Cases finalised in December 2005*. London: CPS Management Information Branch. Retrieved July 6, 2006, from http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/domestic/snapshot_2005_12.html

- Dade, L. R., & Sloan, L. R. (2000). An investigation of sex-role stereotypes in African Americans. *Journal of Black Studies, 30*, 676-690.
- Damant, D., Lapierre, S., Kouraga, A., Fortin, A., Hamelin-Brabant, L., Lavergne, C., & Lessard, G. (2008). Taking child abuse and mothering into account: intersectional feminism as an alternative for the study of domestic violence. *Affilia, 23*, 123-133.
- Danis, F.S. (2003). The criminalization of domestic violence: What social workers need to know. *Social Work, April 1*.
- Dasgupta, S. (1998). *A patchwork shawl: chronicles of South Asian women in America*. New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press.
- Davis, A. (1983). *Women, race, and class*. New York: Vintage Press.
- Davis, R.E. (2002). "The strongest women": Exploration of the inner resources of abused women. *Qualitative Health Research, 12*, 1248-1263.
- Dawkins, R. (1989). *The selfish gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Day, A., Chung, D., O'Leary, P., & Carson, E. (2009). Programs for men who perpetrate domestic violence: an examination of the issues underlying the effectiveness of intervention programs. *Journal of Family Violence, 24*(3):203-212.
- Deaux, K. (1985). Sex differences. *Annual Review of Psychology, 36*, 49-82.
- DeKeseredy, W.S., & Schwartz, M.D. (2001). Theoretical and definitional issues. In C. M. Renzetti, J. L. Edleson, R. Kennedy Bergen (Eds.), *Sourcebook on violence against women* (pp. 23-34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dempsey, K. (2000). Men and women's power relationships and the persisting inequitable division of housework. *Journal of Family Studies, 6*(1), 7-24.
- Department of Health (2005). *Responding to domestic abuse. A handbook for health professionals*. London: Department of Health.
- Diekmann, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2008). On men, women, and motivation: A role congruity account. In J. Y. Shah, & W. L. Gardner (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation science* (pp. 434-447). New York: Guilford.
- Dienemann, J., Campbell, J., Landenburger, K., & Curry, M.A. (2002). The domestic violence survivor assessment: a tool for counseling women in intimate partner violence relationships. *Patient Education and Counselling, 46*(3), 221-228.
- Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. L. (1993). Individualistic and collectivistic perspectives on gender and the cultural context of love and intimacy. *Journal of Social Issues, 49*(3), 53-69.
- Dinos, S., King, M., Stevens, S., Serfaty, M. & Weich, S. (2004). Stigma: The feelings and experiences of 46 people with mental illness. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 184*, 176-181

- Dobash R.P.; R. Emerson Dobash; Margo Wilson; Martin Daly. The Myth of Sexual Symmetry in Marital Violence . *Social Problems*, Vol. 39, No. 1. (Feb., 1992), pp. 71-91.
- Dobash, R. E., Dobash, R. P. (1998). *Rethinking violence against women*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dobash, R.E., & Dobash, R.P. (1979). *Violence against wives*. New York: Free Press.
- Donovan, C., Hester, M., Holmes, J., & McCarry, M. (2006). *Comparing domestic abuse in same sex and heterosexual relationships*. Research report, Manchester and Bristol Universities.
- Doyle, L. (2001). *The surrendered wife: a practical guide to finding intimacy, passion, and peace with your man*. New York: Fireside.
- Du, J. (2008). Women's leisure as reproduction and resistance. *Affilia*, 23,179-189.
- Duffy, M., & Gotcher, J. M. (1996). Crucial advice on how to get the guy: The rhetorical vision of power and seduction in the teen magazine. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 20, 32-48.
- Dunn, J.L., & Powell-Williams, M. (2007). "Everybody makes choices": victim advocates and the social construction of battered women's victimization and agency. *Violence Against Women*, 13(10):977-1001.
- Dutton, D.G. (1998). *The abusive personality: Violence and control in intimate relationships*. New York: Guilford.
- Dutton, D.G., & Nicholls, T. (2005). The gender paradigm in domestic violence research and theory: The conflict of theory and data. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 10(6), 680–714.
- Dutton, D.G., & Painter, S. (1993). Emotional attachments in abusive relationships: A test of traumatic bonding theory. *Violence and Victims* 8(2), 105-120.
- Dutton, M.A., Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Jouriles, E., McDonald, R., Krishnan, S., McFarlane, J., & Sullivan, C. (2003). *Recruitment and retention in intimate partner violence research*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice's National Institute of Justice.
- Eaves, Y. (2001). A synthesis technique for grounded theory data analysis. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 35(5), 654-663.
- Ebert, T.L. (1988). The romance of patriarchy: ideology, subjectivity, and postmodern feminist cultural theory. *Cultural Critique No. 10, Popular Narrative, Popular Images* (pp. 19-57). Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Edge, D. (2003). Perinatal depression among Black Caribbean women. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 12(5), 430-443.

- Edwards R. (1990). Connecting method and epistemology: A white woman interviewing black women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13(5), 477-490.
- Eichler, M. (1997). Feminist methodology. *Current Sociology*, 45(2), 9-36.
- Eisikovits, Z., & Winstok, Z. (2002). Reconstructing intimate violence: The structure and content of recollections of violent events. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12, 5, 685-699.
- Eisikovits, Z., Buchbinder, E., & Mor, M. (1998). What it was it won't be any more: Reaching the turning point in coping with intimate violence. *Affilia*, 13, 411-434.
- Eisikovits, Z., Buchbinder, E., & Mor, M. (1998). What it was it won't be any more: Reaching the turning point in coping with intimate violence. *Affilia*, 13, 411-434.
- El-Khoury, M.Y., Dutton, M.A., Goodman, L.A., Engel, L., Belamaric, R.J., & Murphy, M. (2004). Ethnic differences in battered women's formal help-seeking strategies: a focus on health, mental health, and spirituality. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 10(4), 383-93.
- Elliot, A., & Lemert, C. (2006). *The new individualism: the emotional costs of globalization*. London: Routledge.
- Elliott, E. (1997). *Researching the views of people from minority ethnic groups on their health needs*. Salford: Public Health Research and Resource Centre, University of Salford.
- Ellsworth, E. (1996). Situated respons-ability to student papers. *Theory into Practice*, 35(2), 138-143.
- Enander, V. (2010). A fool to keep staying?": battered women labeling themselves stupid as an expression of gendered shame. *Violence Against Women*, 16, 5-31.
- Enander, V. (2011). Leaving Jekyll and Hyde: Emotion work in the context of intimate partner violence. *Feminism Psychology*, 21(1), 29-48.
- Engels, F. (1884) *The origin of the family, private property, and the state*. Accessed Jan 4, 2007, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/index.htm>
- Epstein, R. (2010). Keeping love alive: Scientific American does its part. *Scientific American* (online), March 13, 2010. Accessed March 26, 2010, from <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=science-of-love>
- Erchull, M.J., Liss, M., Axelson, S.J., Staebell, S.E., & Askari, S.F. (2010). Well . . . she wants it more: perceptions of social norms about desires for marriage and children and anticipated chore participation. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34, 253-260.
- Evreinoff, N. (1990). *The Theatre in Life*. Reprinted in D D. Brissett, & Edgley, C. (Eds.). *Life as theater : a dramaturgical sourcebook* (2nd ed., p. 419). New York: Aldine de Gruyter (original ed. and trans. A. Nazarov, 1920).

- Falconer, E. (2009). Telling tales: A feminist interpretation of women's travel narratives. *Enquire*, 3(3), 1-24.
- Featherstone, B., & Trinder, L. (1997). Familiar subjects? Domestic violence and child welfare. *Child and Family Social Work*, 7, 147-159.
- Feder, G., Agnew Davies, R., Baird, K., Dunne, D., Eldridge, S., Griffiths, C., Gregory, A., Howell, A., Johnson, M., Ramsay, J., Rutterford, C., & Sharp, D. (2011). Identification and Referral to Improve Safety (IRIS) of women experiencing domestic violence with a primary care training and support programme: a cluster randomised controlled trial. *The Lancet* 12 October, Epub ahead of print, Accessed October 13, 2011, from [http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(11\)61179-3/fulltext](http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(11)61179-3/fulltext)
- Feder, G., Foster, G., Eldridge, S., Ramsay, J., & Spencer, A., on behalf of the PreDoVe steering group. (2005). Prevention of domestic violence (PreDoVe), a pilot randomised controlled trial of a primary care based intervention in primary care. Report to the Nuffield Foundation. London: Queen Mary University of London.
- Feder, G.S., Hutson, M., Ramsay, J., & Taket, A.R. (2006). Women exposed to intimate partner violence: expectations and experiences when they encounter health care professionals. *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 166(1), 22-37.
- Feder, G., Ramsay, J., Dunne, D., Rose, M., Arsene, C., Norman, R., Kuntze, S., Spencer, A., Bacchus, L., Hague, G., Warburton, A., & Taket, A. (2009). How far does screening women for domestic (partner) violence in different health-care settings meet criteria for a screening programme? Systematic reviews of nine UK National Screening Committee criteria. *Health Technol Assess*, 13(16).
- Ferber, M.A., & Young, L. (1997). Student attitudes toward roles of women and men: is the egalitarian household imminent? *Feminist Economics*, 3, 65-83.
- Ferguson, A. (1989). *Blood at the root: motherhood, sexuality and male domination*. New York: Pandora/Unwin and Hyman.
- Ferguson, A. (1991). *Sexual democracy: women, oppression and revolution*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.
- Ferguson, A. (2004). A feminist analysis of the care crisis. In: F. Birulés & M.I. Peña Aguado (eds.) *La Passió per la Libertat/A Passion for Freedom*, The Proceedings of the International Women's Philosophy Association (IAPh) conference, October 1-5, 2002. Barcelona, Spain: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Ferraro, K., & Johnson, J. (1983). How women experience battering: The process of victimization. *Social Problems*, 30, 325-339.
- Fevre, R. (2000). *The demoralization of Western culture: social theory and the dilemmas of modern living*. London: Continuum.
- Fielding, N. (1996). Qualitative interviewing. In N. Gilbert (Ed.), *Researching social life* (pp. 123-145). London: Sage Publications.

- Finch, N. (2005). *Demographic trends in the UK*. York, UK: Social Policy Research Unit University of York.
- Fine, M., & McClelland, S.I. (2006). Sexuality education and desire: still missing after all these years. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76(3), 297-338.
- Finn, J. (1986). The relationship between sex role attitudes and attitudes supporting marital violence. *Sex Roles*, 14, 235-244.
- Fitzpatrick, M. (2000). *The Tyranny of health: doctors and the regulation of lifestyle*, London: Routledge.
- Flax, J. (1990). *Thinking fragments: postmodernism, feminism and psychoanalysis*. University of California Press:Oxford.
- Florida Governor's Task Force on Domestic and Sexual Violence. (1997). *Florida Mortality Review Project*, Florida.
- Follingstad, D. R., Wright, S., Lloyd, S., & Sebastian, J. A. (1991). Sex differences in motivations and effects in dating violence. *Family Relations*, 40, 51-57.
- Follingstad, D.R. (2007). Rethinking current approaches to psychological abuse: Conceptual and methodological issues. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12(4), 439-458.
- Follingstad, D.R., Hause, E.S., Rutledge, L.L., & Polek, D.S. (1992). Effects of battered women's early responses on later abuse patterns. *Violence and Victims*, 7, 109-128.
- Follingstad, D.R., Rutledge, L.L., Berg, B.J., Hause, E.S., & Polek, D.S. (1990). The role of emotional abuse in physically abusive relationships. *Journal of Family Violence*, 5, 107-120.
- Frake, C. O. (1977). Plying frames can be dangerous: some reflections on methodology in cognitive anthropology, *Quarterly Newsletter of the Institute for Comparative Human Development* (Rockfeller University, New York), 3, 1-7.
- Fraser, M., Richman, J., & Galinsky, M. (1999). Risk, protection, and resilience: Towards a conceptual framework for social work practice. *Social Work Research*, 23(3), 131-144.
- Fraser, N. (1989). Talking about needs: interpretive contests as political conflicts in welfare-state societies. *Ethics*, 99 (Jan. 1989), 291-313.
- Frederick, L. (1997). *Presentation on theories of violence*. Domestic Violence Workshop, sponsored by the Bulgarian Centre for Human Rights, the Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation, and The Advocates for Human Rights, Plovdiv, Bulgaria, June 2.
- Fredriksen-Goldsen, K.I., & Scharlach, A.E. (2001). *Families and work: New directions in the twenty-first century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. W.W. Norton and Company Inc.

- Frieze, I. H. (1983). Investigating the causes and consequences of marital rape. *Signs*, 8, 532-553.
- Frisco, M.L., & Williams, K. (2003). The division of housework, marital happiness and marital status among dual-earner couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, 22(1): 51-73.
- Fuller, T., & Loogma, K. (2009). Constructing Futures; a social constructionist perspective on foresight methodology. *Futures* 41, 71–79.
- Ganley, A. (1989). Integrating feminist and social learning analyses of aggression: Creating multiple models for intervention with men who battered. In P. Caesar, & L. Hamberger (Eds.), *Treating men who batter* (pp. 196-235). New York: Springer.
- Ganley, A.L., & Schechter, S. (1995). *Domestic Violence: A national curriculum for family preservation practitioners*. San Francisco, CA: Family Violence Prevention Fund.
- García-Moreno, C., Jansen, H.A.F.M., Ellsberg, M., Heise, L., Watts, C. (2005). *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women. Initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (pp. 3-30). New York: Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1980). Blurred genres: the refiguration of social thought. *The American Scholar*, 49(2), 165-179.
- Gelles, R.J., & Cornell, C.P. (1990). *Intimate violence in families*. Newburg Park, US: Sage.
- Gelles, R.J. (1987). *Family violence*. Beverley Hills: Sage.
- Gelles, R. J. (1993). Through a sociological lens: Social structure and family violence. In R. J. Gelles & D. R. Loseke (Eds.), *Current controversies on family violence* (pp. 31-46). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Gelles, R.J., Steinmetz, S.K., & Straus, M.A. (1981). *Behind closed doors: violence in the American family*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.
- George, G. (1996). Contested meanings and controversial memories: narratives of sexual abuse in Western Newfoundland. In P. Antze, & M. Lambek (Eds.) *Tense past: cultural essays in trauma and memory* (pp. 45-66). New York: Routledge.
- Gergen, K. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist*, 40(3), 266-275.
- Gerrard, N. (1995). Some painful experiences of white feminist therapist doing research with women of color. In J. Adelman, & G. Enguidanos (Eds.), *Racism in the lives of women* (pp. 55-63). New York: Haworth.

- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity. Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformation of intimacy: sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, A. (1999). *Runaway world: how globalization is reshaping our lives*. London: Profile.
- Giles, D. C. (2000). *Advanced research methods in psychology*. Hove: Routledge.
- Giles-Sims, J. (1983). *Wife-beating: a systems theory approach*. New York: Guilford.
- Gilgun, J.F. (1999). Mapping resilience as process among adults maltreated in childhood. In H. McCubbin, E.A. Thompson, A.I. Thompson, & J.A. Futrell (Eds.), *The dynamics of resilient families* pp. 41-70. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gill, A. (2004). Voicing the silent fear: South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43 (5), 465-483.
- Gill, A. (2004) *'Honour'-based violence*. London: Change Kvinnoforum.
- Gill, A., & Sharma, K. (2005) No Access to Justice: Gender, Immigration Law & Domestic Violence, *Safe Journal, UK*.
- Gillath, O., Sesko, A. K., Shaver, P. R., & Chun, D. S. (2010). Attachment, authenticity, and honesty: Dispositional and experimentally induced security can reduce self- and other-deception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98(5), 841-855.
- Gillies, V. (2003). *Family and intimate relationships: a review of the sociological research*. London: Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group, South Bank University.
- Gillis, J. R. (1996). *A world of their own making: myth, ritual, and the quest for family values*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gillum, T.L., Sullivan, C.M., & Bybee, D.I. (2006). The importance of spirituality in the lives of domestic violence survivors, *Violence Against Women*, 12, 240-250.
- Giorgio, G. (2002). Speaking silence: definitional dialogues in abusive lesbian relationships. *Violence Against Women*, 8, 1233.
- Glaser, B.G., Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Glaser, B.G. (2002). Constructivist Grounded Theory? *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 3(3), accessed 25 August, 2011, from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/825/1792>
- Glass, D. (1995). *All my fault: why women don't leave abusive men*. London: Virago.

- Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance. Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109-118.
- Goetz, A.T. (2010). The evolutionary psychology of violence. *Psicothema*, 22,1,15–21.
- Goffman, E. (1956). The nature of deference and demeanor. *American Anthropologist*, 58(3), 475-499.
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry*, 18,213-231.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: essays on face-to-face behavior*. London: Anchor Books.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 1-17.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender advertisements*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. New York: Basic Books.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters: two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill.
- Golding, J. M. (1999). Intimate partner violence as a risk factor for mental disorders: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Family Violence*, 14, 99-132.
- Golding, N., & Duggal, A. (2011). *Department of Health (DoH) paper, Commissioning services for women and children who experience violence or abuse* (published to DH website, in electronic PDF format only). Accessed 10 September, 2011, from <http://www.dh.gov.uk/publications>; www.pcc.nhs.uk/violence
- Gondolf, E. (1988). Who are those guys? towards a behavioral typology of men who batter. *Violence and Victims*, 3(3), 187-203.
- Gondolf, E. W., & White, E. J. (2000). Implications of personality profiles for batterer treatment. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 15(5), 467-488.
- Gondolf, E. W., & Fisher, E. R. (1988). *Battered women as survivors: An alternative to learned helplessness*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Goode, W. (1971). Force and violence in the family. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 33, 624-636.

- Gordon L. (1989). *Heroes of their own lives: the politics and history of family violence*. London: Penguin.
- Graham, H. (1983). *Caring: A labour of love*. In J. Finch, & D. Groves (Eds.) *A labour of love: women, work and caring*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebook* (Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith, eds. and transl.). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Gray, J. (1992). *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Green, J., Thorogood, N. (2004). *Qualitative methods for health research*. London: Sage.
- Greenstein, T. N. (2000). Economic dependency, gender, and the division of labor in the home: a replication and extension. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 322-355.
- Greyson, B. (1994). Near-death experiences and satisfaction with life. *Journal of Near-Death Studies*, 13, 103-108.
- Griffith, E. E. H., Yound, J. L., & Smith, D. L. (1984). An analysis of the therapeutic elements in a Black church service. *Hospital and Community Psychiatry*, 35(5), 464-469.
- Gross, N. (2005). The detraditionalization of intimacy reconsidered? *Sociological Theory*, 23(3), 286-311.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Gutek, B. A. (2001). Women and paid work. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 25(4), 379-393.
- Hacking, I. (2004). Between Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman: between discourse in the abstract and face-to-face interaction. *Economy and Society*, 33(3), 277-302.
- Hagemann-White, C. (2010). *Protecting women against violence Analytical study of the results of the third round of monitoring the implementation of Recommendation Rec (2002)5 on the protection of women against violence in Council of Europe member states CDEG (2010) 12*. Strasbourg: Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs.
- Hague, G. (2005). Guest editor and introduction, Special Edition, *Violence Against Women*, 12(6)
- Hague, G, & Mullender A. (2006). Who listens? The voices of domestic violence survivors in service provision in the United Kingdom. *Violence Against Women* Jun, 12, 6, 568-87.

- Haj-Yahia, M.M. (1998). A patriarchal perspective of beliefs about wife beating among Palestinian men from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. *Journal of Family Issues*, 19, 595-621.
- Hakim, C. (1996). *Key issues in women's work: female heterogeneity and the polarisation of women's employment*. London: Continuum Press.
- Hall, S., Held, D., & McGrew, T. (1992). *Modernity and its futures: understanding modern societies—an introduction, Book 4*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hamberger, L.K., & Hastings, J. E. (1986). Personality correlates of men who abuse their partners: A cross-validation study. *Journal of Family Violence*, 1(4), 323-341.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's wrong with ethnography?: methodological explorations*. London & New York : Routledge Paul.
- Hampton, R., Oliver, W., & Magarian, L. (2003). Domestic violence in the African American community: An analysis of structural factors. *Violence Against Women*, 9, 533-557.
- Harada, N.(2007) Domestic violence among Japanese American women and their cultural background. *Journal of Nursing Student Research*, 1,1, Available at: <http://repository.upenn.edu/josnr/vol1/iss1/1> (downloaded June 20, 2010).
- Haraway, D. J. (1985). A manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s. *Socialist Review*, 15, no. 2.
- Harding, S. (1986). *The Science Question in Feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Harding, S. (2004): Introduction. In: S. Harding (ed.). *The feminist standpoint theory reader*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Hartmann H.I. (1979). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: towards a more progressive union. *Capital and Class* 3, 1-33.
- Hartsock, N. (2004). The feminist standpoint: developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In S. Harding (ed.), *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*, New York and London: Routledge.
- Harwood, I. (2002). *Developing scenarios for post-merger and acquisition integration: a grounded theory of risk bartering*. Southampton: University of Southampton, School of Management.
- Hatch, M. J., & Cunliffe, A. L. (2006). *Organization theory* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hays, W. C., & Mindel, C. H. (1973). Extended kinship relations in black and white families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 35(1), 51-57.
- Heath, I. (1995). *The mystery of general practice*. London: Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust.

- Heath, I. (2003). The presentation and diagnosis of domestic violence. In S. Amiel, & I. Heath (Eds.), *Family violence in primary care*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heelas, P., Lash, S., & Morris, P. (1996). *Detraditionalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hegarty, K., & Gunn, J. (2004). Associations of depression and partner abuse in women attending general practice: A cross-sectional survey. *British Medical Journal*, 328, 621-624.
- Hegarty, K., Sheehan, M., & Schonfeld, C. (1999). A multidimensional definition of partner abuse: development and preliminary validation of the composite abuse scale. *Journal of Family Violence*, 14,(4), 399-415.
- Hegarty, K. (2005). The Composite Abuse Scale: further development and assessment of reliability and validity of a multidimensional partner abuse measure in clinical settings. *Violence and Victims*, 20, 529-547.
- Hegarty, K., Bush, R., & Sheehan, M. (2005). The Composite Abuse Scale: further development and assessment of reliability and validity of a multidimensional partner abuse measure in clinical settings. *Violence and Victims*, 20, 529-547.
- Heise L.L., Germain, A., & Pitanguy, J. (1994). *Violence against women: the hidden health burden*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Heise, L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. *Violence Against Women*, 4,3, 262-290.
- Hekman, S. (1997). Truth and method: feminist standpoint theory revisited. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22, 2 (Winter), 341–365.
- Helms, J.E. (1990). *Black and white racial identity: theory, research, and practice*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Hendrick, S. S., & Hendrick, C. (1992). *Romantic love*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Herbert, T. B., Silver, R. C., & Ellard, J. H. (1991). Coping with an abusive relationship: I. How and why do women stay? *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53(2), 311-325.
- Heru, A.M. (2007). Intimate partner violence: treating abuser and abused. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, 13, 376-383.
- Hester, M. Chantler, K., Gangoli, G., Devgon, J., Sharma, S., & Singleton A. (2007). *Forced marriage: the risk factors and the effect of raising the minimum age for a sponsor, and of leave to enter the UK as a spouse or fiancé(e)*. Research report. www.bristol.ac.uk/vawrg
- Higgins, G. (1994). *Resilient adults: Overcoming a cruel past*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hochschild, A. (1983). *The managed heart: the commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

- Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: working parents and the revolution at home* (with A. Machung). New York: Viking Penguin.
- Hochschild, A. (1997). *The time bind: when work becomes home and home becomes work*. New York: Metropolitan/Holt.
- Hochschild, A. (2000). Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In W. Hutton & A. Giddens (editors). *Global Capitalism*, New York: The New Press, 130-146.
- Hofstede, G. (1983). National cultures in four dimensions: a research-based theory of cultural differences among nations. *International Studies of Management and Organization* 13,(1-2), 46-74.
- Holland, J. Ramazanoglu, C., Sharpe, S., & Thomson, R. (1998). *The male in the head: young people, heterosexuality and power*. London: Tufnell Press.
- Finley, N. J. (1989). Theories of family labor as applied to gender differences in caregiving for elderly parents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 51, 79- 86.
- Hollway, W., & Jefferson, T. (2000). *Doing qualitative research differently: free association, narrative and the interview method*. London: Sage.
- Holloway, W. (1989). *Subjectivity and method in psychology: gender, meaning and science*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Holmes, M. (2004). The precariousness of choice in the new sentimental order: a response to Bawin-Legros? *Current Sociology*, 52(2), 251-257.
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A., & Stuart, G.L. (1994). Typologies of male batterers: Three subtypes and the differences among them. *Psychological Bulletin*, 116, 916.
- Home Office. (2010). *Recorded crime statistics 2002/03 - 2009/10*. London: Home Office.
- hooks, B. (2000). *Where we stand: class matters*. New York: Routledge.
- Hubbard, RC. (1985). Relationship styles in popular romance novels, 1950 to 1983. *Communication Quarterly*, 33(2), 113-125.
- Hughes, E. C. (1945). Dilemmas and contradictions of status. *American Journal of Sociology*, 50, 353–359.
- Hull, S. A., Rivas, C., Bobby, J., Boomla, K., & Robson, J. (2009). Hospital data may be more accurate than census data in estimating the ethnic composition of general practice populations. *Informatics in Primary Care*, 17(2), 67-78.
- Humphreys, C., & Thiara, T. (2002). *Routes to safety: protection issues facing abused women and children and the role of outreach services*. Bristol: Women's Aid Federation England.
- Hunt, L. (2000). Strategic suffering: Illness narratives as social empowerment among Mexican cancer patients. In C. Garro, & L.C. Mattingly (Eds.). *Narrative and the*

cultural construction of illness and healing (pp. 88-107). California: University of California Press.

Jack, D.C. (1991). *Silencing the self: Women and depression*. New York: HarperCollins.

Jackson, S. (1995). Women and heterosexual love: complicity, resistance and change. In L.Pearce, & J. Stacey (Eds). *Romance revisited*, London : Lawrence and Wishart.

James, W. (1950). *The principles of psychology* . New York: Dover. (Original work published 1890).

Jamieson, L., Stewart, R., Li, Y., Anderson, M., Bechhofer F., & Mccrone, D. (2002). Single, 20 something and seeking? in G. Allan, & G. Jones (Eds.) *Social relations and the life course* (pp. 135-154). London Palgrave.

Janzen J. A., Silvius J., Jacobs S., Slaughter, S., Dalziel, W., & Drummond, N. (2006) What is a health expectation? Developing a pragmatic conceptual model from psychological theory. *Health Expectations* 9(1), 37-48.

Jewkes, R. (2002). Partner violence: causes and prevention. *The Lancet*, 359(9315), 1423-1429.

Johnson, H. (1998). Rethinking survey research on violence against women. In R. E. Dobash, & R. P. Dobash (Eds.). *Rethinking violence against women* (pp. 23-51). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Johnson, M. P. (1995). Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57, 283-294.

Johnson, L. E., Benight, C. C. (2003). Effects of trauma-focused research on recent domestic violence survivors. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 16(6), 567-571.

Johnson, M. (1991). Commitment to personal relationships. *Advances in Personal Relationships*, 3, 117-143.

Johnson, M. P., & Ferraro, K. J. (2000). Research on domestic violence in the 1990s: Making distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 948-963.

Jorgenson, J. (1991). Co-constructing the interviewer/co-constructing "family." In F. Steier (Ed.), *Research and reflexivity* (pp. 210-225). Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Kalleberg, A. L., & Rosenfeld, R. A. (1990). Work in the family and in the labor market: a cross-national, reciprocal analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52(2), 331-346.

Kan, M. Y., Sullivan, O., & Gershuny, J. I. (2011). Gender convergence in domestic work: discerning the effects of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data. *Sociology*, 45(2): 234-251.

Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, 2(3), 274-290.

- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Work and family in the United States: A critical review and agenda for research and policy*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Katz, J., & Arias, I. (1999). Psychological abuse and depressive symptoms in dating women: Do different types of abuse have differential effects. *Journal of Family Violence, 14*(3), 281-295.
- Kearney, M.H. (2001). Enduring love: A grounded formal theory of women's experience of domestic violence. *Research in Nursing and Health, 24*, 270-282.
- Keddy, B., Sims, S. L., Stern, P. N. (1996) Grounded theory as feminist research methodology. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 23*(3) 448-453.
- Kelly, L. (1988). *Surviving sexual violence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kelly, L. (1990). *Abuse in the making: the connections between pornography and sexual violence*. CWASU: Bristol.
- Kelly, M. (2010) . The role of theory in qualitative health research. *Family Practice, 27*(3), 285-290.
- Kelly, L., Regan, L., & Burton, S. (1992). Defending the Indefensible? Quantitative methods and feminist research. In H. Hinds, A. Phoenix & J. Stacey (Eds.), *Working out: New directions in women's studies* (pp.149-161). Lewes: The Falmer Press.
- Khanum, N. (2008). *Forced marriage, family cohesion and community engagement: national learning through a case study of Luton*. Report. Luton: Equality in Diversity.
- Kibria, N. (1994). Household structure and family ideologies: the dynamics of immigrant economic adaptation among vietnamese refugees. *Social Problems 41*(1),81-96.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2004). What does a focus on 'men's language' tell us about language and woman's place? In M. Bucholtz (Ed.) *Language and woman's place: text and commentaries* (pp. 229-236). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kimmel, M. (2000). *The Gendered Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kirkwood, C. (1993). *Leaving abusive partners*. London: Sage.
- Klevens, J. (2007). An overview of intimate partner violence among Latinos. *Violence Against Women, 13*,2,111-122.
- Knickmeyer, N., Levitt, H., & Horne, S.G. (2010). Putting on Sunday best: the silencing of battered women within christian faith communities. *Feminism Psychology 20*(1), 94-113.
- Kollock, P. (1994). The emergence of exchange structures: an experimental study of uncertainty, commitment, and trust. *American Journal of Sociology, 100*(2), 313-345.
- Komter, A. (1989). Hidden power in marriage. *Gender and Society 3*(2), 187-216.

- Kramer, A., Lorenzon, D., & Mueller, G. (2004). Prevalence of intimate partner violence and health implications for women using emergency departments and primary care clinics. *Womens Health Issues, 14*(1), 19-29.
- Krane, J. Oxman-Martinez, J., Ducey, K. (2000). Violence against women and ethnoracial minority women: examining assumptions about ethnicity and "race". *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal, 32*(3), 1-18.
- Krane, J., & Carlton, R. (2008). We're all women and we're all going through the same thing: Intersectionality challenges practice in a battered women's shelter. In S. Arcand, D. Damant, S. Gravel, & E. Harper (Eds.). *Violences faites aux femmes* (pp. 253-272). Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Kroska, A. (2004). Divisions of domestic work. revising and expanding the theoretical explanations. *Journal of Family Issues, 25*(7), 890-922.
- Kudat, A. (1982). *Personal, familial and societal impacts of Turkish women's migration to Europe - Living in two cultures: The socio-cultural situation of migrant workers and their families*. Unesco.
- Kunitz, S.J. (2004). Social capital and health. *Br Med Bull, 69*,1, 61-73.
- Kushner, K.A., Morrow, R. (2003). Grounded theory, feminist theory, critical theory: toward theoretical triangulation. *Advances in Nursing Science, 26*(1), 30-43.
- Lamont, M., & Molnár, V. (2002). The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 167-195.
- Landenberger, K. (1989). A process of entrapment and recovery from an abusive relationship. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 10*, 209-277.
- Lash S., Urry, J. (1987). *The end of organized capitalism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lawrence-Webb, C., Littlefield, M., & Okundaye, J.N. (2004). African American intergender relationships a theoretical exploration of roles, patriarchy, and love. *Journal of Black Studies, 34*(5), 623-639.
- Lea, J. (1992). The analysis of crime. In J. Young, & R. Matthews (Eds.). *Rethinking criminology: the realist debate* (pp. 69-94). London: Sage.
- LeCouteur, A., & Oxlad, M. (2011). Membership categorization, morality and the management of accountability in descriptions of domestic violence. *Feminism & Psychology, 21*(1), 5-28.
- Lederach, J.P. (1995). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Lempert, L. (1996). Women's strategies for survival: Developing agency in abusive relationships. *Journal of Family Violence, 11*(3), 269-289.
- Lenton, R. L. (1995). Power versus feminist theories of wife abuse. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 37*, 305-330.

- Leone, J.M., Johnson, M.P., Cohan, C.M., & Lloyd, S. (2004). Consequences of male partner violence for low-income, ethnic women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(2), 471-489.
- Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Levitt, H., & Ware, K. (2006). "Anything with two heads is a monster": Religious leaders' perspectives on marital equality and domestic violence. *Violence Against Women*, 12, 1-22.
- Lewis, J. (2001). *The End of Marriage?* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
- Lincoln, Y. S., Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lindhorst, T., & Tajima, E. (2008). Reconceptualizing and operationalizing context in survey research on intimate partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 23(3), 362-388.
- Lloyd, M. (2001). The politics of disability and feminism: discord or synthesis? *Sociology*, 35(3), 715-728.
- Lloyd, S.A., & Emery, B.C. (2005). *Women's agency and heterosexual intimate partner violence*. Theory Construction and Research Methodology Workshop, National Council on Family Relations Annual Conference. Phoenix Arizona USA, November 14-19.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1984). *Analyzing social settings*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.
- Longino, H.E. (1993). Subjects, power and knowledge: description and prescription in feminist philosophies of science, 101–20. In: L. Alcoff & E. Potter (eds.), *Feminist Epistemologies*, London, England: Routledge.
- Loue, S. (2001). *Intimate partner violence: societal, medical, legal, and individual responses*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Loring, M. T. (1994). *Emotional abuse*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Loseke, D. R., & Cahill, S. E. (1984). The social construction of deviance: Experts on battered women. *Social Problems*, 31, 296-310.
- Lothaller, H., Mikula, G., & Schoebi, D. (2009). What contributes to the (im)balanced division of family work between the Sexes? *Swiss Journal of Psychology*, 68, 143-152.
- Lugones, M.C., & Spelman, E.V. (1983). Have we got a theory for you! Feminist theory, cultural imperialism and the demand for 'the woman's voice'. *Women's Studies International Forum*.
- Lund, C.J., & Greene, B.F. (2003). Developing a capacity for self-preservation and emergency management among battered families. *Journal of Family Violence*, 18(4), 181-192.

- Lynam, J.M. (1985). Social support networks developed by immigrant women. *Social Science and Medicine*, 21(3), 327–333.
- Maiuro, R. D. (2001). Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will also hurt me: Psychological abuse in domestically violent relationships. In K. D. O'Leary, & Maiuro, R. D. (Eds.). *Psychological abuse in violent relations*. New York: Springer Pub. Co.
- Malinowski, B. (1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: E.P. Dutton.
- Mama, A. (1996). *The hidden struggle: statutory and voluntary responses to violence against black women in the home*. Second edition. London: Race & Housing Research Unit.
- Mama, A. (2000). Violence against black women in the home. In J. Hanmer and C. Itzin (Eds.), *Home truths about domestic violence: feminist influences on policy and practices: a reader* (pp. 44-56). New York: Routledge.
- Mannino, C. A., & Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Changing the division of household labor: A negotiated process between partners. *Sex Roles*, 56, 309-324.
- Marshall, L.L. (1999). Effects of men's subtle and overt psychological abuse on low-income women. *Violence and Victims*, 14(1), 69-88.
- Marshall, T.C. (2008). Cultural differences in intimacy: The influence of gender-role ideology and individualism—collectivism. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 25, 143-168.
- Martin, P. Y., & Turner, B. A. (1986). Grounded theory and organizational research. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 22, 141–157.
- Marx, K. (1859). *A contribution to the critique of political economy*. Accessed 24 June 2009, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/index.htm>
- Maslow, A. (1987). *Motivation and personality* (3rd ed.), New York: Harper and Row.
- May, T. (2003). Perspectives on social scientific research. *Feminisms and research. Issues in social research*, Berkshire: Open University Press.
- McCauley, J., Kern, D. E, Kolodner, K., Dill, L., Schroeder, A.F., DeChant, H. K., Ryden, J., Bass, EB., & Derogatis, L .R. (1995). The `battering syndrome': prevalence and clinical symptoms of domestic violence in primary care internal medicine practices. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 123, 737-746.
- McDonnell, I. (2011). Me, you and us: Intimate relationships and the question of children. *Journal of Sociology*, published online before print September 12, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1440783311413483
- McHugh, M. C., Livingston, N. A., & Ford, A. (2005). A postmodern approach to women's use of violence: Developing multiple and complex conceptualizations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 323–336.

- McLean, C. A., & Campbell, C. M. (2003). Locating research informants in a multi-ethnic community: ethnic identities, social networks and recruitment methods. *Ethnicity and health*, 8(1), 41-61.
- McRobbie, A. (2009). *The aftermath of Feminism: gender, culture and social change*. London: Sage.
- Mead, G. H. (1930). Cooley's contribution to American social thought. *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, 693-706.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mears, D. P. 2003. Research and interventions to reduce domestic violence revictimization. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse* 4(2), 127-147.
- Menjívar, C, Salcido, O. (2002). Immigrant women and domestic violence: Common experiences in different countries. *Gender and Society*, 16, 898–920.
- Menjívar, C. (1999). The intersection of work and gender: Central American immigrant women and employment in California. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(4), 595-621.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Men, masculinities, and crime. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn, & R. W. Connell (Eds.). *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp. 196-212), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (1993). Varieties of "Real Men". In *Masculinities and crime: critique and reconceptualization of theory* (pp. 119-154). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2004). *Flesh and blood: adolescent gender diversity and violence*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Miller, L. (1995). Tough guys: Psychotherapeutic strategies with law enforcement and emergency services personnel. *Psychotherapy*, 32, 592-600.
- Mills, C. W. (1940). Situated action and vocabularies of motive. *American Sociological Review*, 5(6), 904-913.
- Minnotte, K. L., Pedersen Stevens, D., Minnotte, M. C., & Kiger, G. (2007). Emotion-work performance among dual-earner couples: testing four theoretical perspectives. *Journal of Family Issues* 28(6), 773–793.
- Mirlees-Black, C. (1999). *Domestic violence: Findings from a new British Crime Survey self-completion questionnaire. Home Office Research Study 191*. London: Home Office.
- Mooney, J. (2000). *Gender, violence and the social order*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morgan, D. H. J. (1996) *Family Connections*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Mooney, J. (1993). *The hidden figure: domestic violence in North London*. London: Islington Council.

- Morrison, A. M. (2006). Changing the domestic violence (dis)course: Moving away from white victim to multi-cultural survivor. *UC Davis Law Review*, 1061, 1114–15.
- Morse, J. M. (1994). Emerging from the data: the cognitive process of analysis in qualitative enquiry, In: J. M. Morse (Ed.). *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 25-26). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Muise, A. (2011). Women's sex blogs: Challenging dominant discourses of heterosexual desire. *Feminism & Psychology*, 21(3), 411-419.
- Mama, A. (1996). *The hidden struggle*. 2nd edition. Whiting & Birch Ltd: London.
- McCarry, M., Donovan, C., Hester, M., & Holmes, J. (2006). *Comparing domestic abuse in same sex and heterosexual relationships*, (pp. 1-23), Bristol: University of Bristol.
- Miller, E., Decker, M.R., McCauley, H.L., Tancredi, D.J., Levenson, R.R., Waldman, J., Schoenwald, P., Silverman, J.G.(2010). Pregnancy coercion, intimate partner violence, and unintended pregnancy. *Contraception*, 81(4), 316-322.
- Mullender, A. & Hague, G. (2001) Women survivors' views. In: J. Taylor-Browne (Ed.) *Reducing Domestic Violence: What works?* London: Whiting and Birch.
- Mullender, A. & Hague, G. (2005). Giving a voice to women survivors of domestic violence through recognition as a service user group. *British Journal of Social Work*, 35 (8), 1321-1341.
- Mullender, A. & Morley, R. (1994). Introduction. In: Mullender, A.& Morley, R. (eds.) (1994) *Children living with domestic violence: putting men's abuse of women on the childcare agenda*. Whiting and Birch.
- Murphy, C. M., & Hoover, S. A. (2001). Measuring emotional abuse in dating relationships as a multifactorial construct. In K. D. O'Leary, & R. D. Maiuro (Eds.). *Psychological abuse in violent relations* (pp. 29-46). New York: Springer Pub. Co.
- Murphy, E., Dingwall, R., Greatbatch, D., Parker, S., & Watson, P. (1998). Qualitative research methods in health technology assessment: a review of the literature. *Health Technology Assessment*, 2(16), 1-278.
- Nash, S. T., & Hesterberg, L. (2009). Biblical framings of and responses to spousal violence in the narratives of abused christian women. *Violence Against Women*, 15(3), 340-361.
- Nash, S. T. (2005). Through black eyes: African American women's constructions of their experiences with intimate male partner violence. *Violence Against Women*, 11(11), 1420-1440.
- Narayan, D., & Shah, T. (2000). *Gender inequity, poverty, and social capital*. Policy Research Report on Gender Development, Working Paper Series. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

- Narayan, U. (2004). The project of feminist epistemology: perspectives from a nonwestern feminist. In: S. Harding (ed.). *The feminist standpoint theory reader*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Nettleton, P. H. (2011). Domestic violence in men's and women's magazines: women are guilty of choosing the wrong men, men are not guilty of hitting women. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 34, 2,139-160.
- Nichols, M., & Schwartz, R. C. (1998). *Family therapy: concepts and methods*. Needham Heights, USA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Oakley A. 1981. Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.). *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30-61). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Oakley, A. (1998) Gender, methodology and people's ways of knowing: some problems with feminism and the paradigm debate in social science. *Sociology*, 32 (4): 707-732.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti, & C. Goodwin (Eds.). *Rethinking context: language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp.335-358). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Office for National Statistics (2001). *Local Area Labour Force Survey, 2001*. London: ONS.
- Office for National Statistics (2005). *Focus on identity and ethnicity*. London: Office for National Statistics.
- Office for National Statistics. (2007). *UK census 2001 data*. London: Office for National Statistics.
- Office for National Statistics. (2011). *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report No 9*. London: Office for National Statistics.
- O'Hearn, R. E., & Davis, K. E. (1997). Women's experience of giving and receiving emotional abuse: An attachment perspective. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12(3), 375-391.
- O'Leary, K.D. (2001). Psychological abuse: A variable deserving critical attention in domestic violence. In K. D. O'Leary, & R. D. Maiuro (Eds.). *Psychological abuse in violent relations* (pp. 3-28), New York: Springer Pub. Co.
- Olesen, V. (2005). Early millennial feminist qualitative research: Challenges and contours. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 235-278). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Orbuch, T. L. (1997). People's accounts count: the sociology of accounts. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 455-478.
- Oxman-Martinez, J., Krane, J., & Corbin, N. (2002). *Competing conceptions of conjugal violence: insights from an intersectional framework research report*.

- Montreal: Centre for Applied Family Studies, McGill University Immigration & Metropolis RESE.
- Paechter, C. F. (2003). Masculinities and femininities as communities of practice. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 26(1), 69-77.
- Pan American Health Organization (PAHO). (2002). *Gender, women and HIV/AIDS in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Accessed 10 August 2006 from <http://www.paho.org/english/hdp/hdw/GenderandHIV.pdf>.
- Pandey, G.K., Dutt, D., & Banerjee, B. (2009). Partner and relationship factors in domestic violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24, 1175-1191.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1955). *Family socialization and interaction process*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Peled, E., Eiskovitz, Z., Enosh, G., & Winstok, Z. (2000). Choice and empowerment for battered women who stay: Toward a constructivist model. *Social Work*, 45, 9-21.
- Pence, E., & Paymar, M. (1990). *Power and control: Tactics of men who batter*. Duluth, MN: Minnesota Program Development, Inc.
- Pence, E., & Paymar, M. (1993). *Education groups for men who batter: The Duluth Model*. Springer Publishing, New York.
- Petrie, P. W. (2006). Real men don't cry...and other "uncool" myths. In E. Disch (Ed.), *Reconstructing gender: a multicultural anthology* (pp. 221-226), Boston, MA: McGraw Hill.
- Pierret, J. (2003). The illness experience: state of knowledge and perspectives for research. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 25, 4-22.
- Pill, R., Prior, L., & Wood, F. (2001). Lay attitudes to professional consultations for common mental disorder: a sociological perspective. *British Medical Bulletin*, 57, 207-219.
- Pin, E. J., & Turndorf, J. (1985). Staging one's ideal self. In D. Brissett & C. Edgley (Eds.), *Life as theater: a dramaturgical source book* (pp. 163-181). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Pizzey, E. (2007). *How feminists tried to destroy the family*. Daily Mail, 22nd January 2007.
- Pizzey, E. (1974). *Scream quietly or the neighbours will hear*. London: Penguin.
- Pleck, J. H. (1985). *Working wives, working husbands*. New York: Sage.
- Plutchik, R. (2001). The nature of emotions. *American Scientist*, 89, 344-350.

- Poulter, S.M. (1990). *Cultural pluralism and its limits: a legal perspective. CRE Britain: A plural society. report of a seminar*. London: Commission for Racial Equality, 3–28.
- Prushank, D. (2007). Masculinities in teen magazines: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 15,2, 160–177.
- Queen Mary Research Board. (2003). *Guidelines on good practice in research*. London: Queen Mary University of London.
- Radford, J., & Stanko, E.A (1996). 'violence against women and children: the contradictions of crime control under patriarchy. In: M. Hester, L. Kelly & J. Radford (Eds.), *Women, violence and male power*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Radway, J. A. (1983). Women read the romance: the interaction of text and context. *Feminist studies*, 9(1), pp. 53-78
- Rai, D. K., & Thiara, R. (1997). *Redefining spaces: the needs of black women and children using refuge services in England*. Bristol: Women's Aid Federation of England.
- Rakow, L. (2001).Feminists, media, freed speech. *Feminist Media Studies*,1,1,41-44.
- Ramazanoglu, C., & Holland, J. (2002). *Feminist methodology: challenges and choices*. London, England: Sage.
- Ramsay, J., Carter, Y., Davidson, L., Dunne, D., Eldridge, S., Feder, G., Hegarty, K., Rivas, C., Taft, A, & Warburton, A. (2009). Advocacy interventions to reduce or eliminate violence and promote the physical and psychosocial well-being of women who experience intimate partner abuse. *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*, 3. Art. No.: CD005043. DOI: 10.1002/14651858.CD005043.pub2.
- Ramsay, J., Rivas, C., & Feder, G. (2005). Interventions to reduce violence and promote the physical and psychosocial well-being of women who experience partner violence: A systematic review of controlled evaluations. London: Queen Mary's School of Medicine and Dentistry.
- Ratner, P. A. (1993). The incidence of wife abuse and mental health status in abused wives in Edmonton. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 84, 246-249.
- Reinharz, S., & Chase, S. E. (2001). Interviewing women. In J. A. Holstein and J. F. Gubrium (Eds.). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 73-90). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, T. (2005). *Caribbean mothering: identity and childrearing in the UK*, London: Tufnell Press.

- Rhoades, G. K., & Stocker, C. M. (2006). Can spouses provide knowledge of each other's communication patterns? A study of self-reports, spouses' reports, and observational coding. *Family Process*, 45, 499-511.
- Ribbens McCarthy, J., & Edwards R. (2002). The individual in public and private: the significance of mothers and children. In A. Carling, S. Duncan, & R. Edwards (Eds.). *Analysing families: morality and rationality in policy and practice* (pp: 199-217). London: Routledge.
- Rich, A (1977): *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*. London. Virago.
- Richardson, J., Feder, G., Eldridge, S., Chung, W. S., Coid, J., & Moorey, S. (2001). Women who experience domestic violence and women survivors of childhood sexual abuse: a survey of health professionals' attitudes and clinical practice. *British Journal of General Practice*, 51, 468-470.
- Richardson, L. (2000). Writing : A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 923-948). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Riesch, H. (2010). Theorizing boundary work as representation and identity. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 40, 452-473.
- Ristock, J. (2005). Relationship violence in Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender/Queer [LGBTQ] communities: Moving beyond a gender-based framework. *Violence Against Women Online Resources* <http://www.mincava.umn.edu/documents/>.
- Rivas, C., Kelly, M., Feder, G., Rivas, C., Kelly, M., Feder, G. (in press). Drawing the line: how African, Caribbean and white British women live out psychologically abusive experiences. *Violence against Women*
- Rivas, C. Coding qualitative data. (2012). In C. Seale (Ed.). *Researching society and culture* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.
- Rivas, C. (2010). "I don't feel like I'm in an abusive relationship": women's naming of their partner's abusive behaviours and how this may be affected by institutional definitions. *Psychology of Women Section Review*, 12(2), 2-10.
- Roach, J. (2011). Evolution and the prevention of violent crime. *Psychology*, 2,4,393.
- Roberts, G. (2006). The history of intimate partner abuse and health professionals: what have we inherited? In G. Roberts, K. Hegarty, & G. Feder. *Intimate partner abuse and health professionals: new approaches to domestic violence* (pp. 3-17). Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone Elsevier.
- Robinson, J., & Spitze, G. (1992). Whistle while you work? The effect of household task performance on women's and men's well-being. *Social Science Quarterly*, 73,844-861.
- Romans, S., Forte ,T., Cohen, M. M., Du Mont, J., & Hymans, I. (2007) Who Is Most at Risk for Intimate Partner Violence? A Canadian population-based study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 22(12), 1495-1514.

- Royce, A. (1982). *Ethnic identity: Strategies of diversity*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Rubin, G. (1975). The traffic in women: notes on the 'political economy' of sex. In R. Reiter (Ed.). *Toward an anthropology of women* (pp. 157-210). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Rusbult, C. E., & Martz, J. M. (1995). Remaining in an abusive relationship: An investment model analysis of nonvoluntary dependence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 21, 558-571.
- Sackett, L. A., & Saunders, D. G. (2001). The impact of different forms of psychological abuse on battered women. In K. D. O'Leary, & R. D. Maiuro (Eds.). *Psychological abuse in violent relations* (pp. 105-117). New York: Springer Pub. Co.
- Sano, Y., Richards, L. N., & Zvonkovic, A. M. (2008). Are mothers really "gatekeepers" of children? Rural mothers' perceptions of nonresident fathers' involvement in low-income families. *Journal of Family Issues*, 29(12), 1701-1723.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social research*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sayer, L. C., Bianchi, S. M., & Robinson, J. P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110, 1-43.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society*, 36, 85-102.
- Schuller, R. A., & Rzepa, S. (2002). Expert testimony pertaining to battered woman syndrome: Its impact on jurors' decisions. *Law and Human Behavior*, 26, 655-673.
- Scott, M. B., & Lyman, S. (1968). Accounts. *American Sociological Review*, 33(1), 46-62.
- Scott, P. (1998b). Lay beliefs and the management of diseases amongst West Indians with diabetes. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 6, 407-419.
- Scott, S. (1998). Here be dragons: researching the unbelievable, hearing the unthinkable. a feminist sociologist in uncharted territory. *Sociological Research Online*, 3, <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/3/3/1.html>
- Scott, S. (2004). Lies, lesbians and statistics. *Trouble & Strife*, 28
- Schwandt, D. R. (1997). Integrating strategy and organisational learning. In P. Shrivastava, A. S. Huff, & J. E. Dutton (series Eds.) and J. P. Walsh, & A. S. Huff (vol. Eds.). *Advances in strategic management, Vol. 14, Organisational Learning and Strategic Management* (pp. 337-59). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Seale, C. (2002). *Media and health*. London: Sage.
- Seale, C. (2000). *The quality of qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.

- Seale, C., & Charteris-Black, J. (2008). The interaction of age and gender in illness narratives. *Ageing and Society* 28(7), 1025-1043.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (1992). *Learned optimism*. New York: Random House Inc.
- Seltzer, J. A., & Kalmuss, D. (1988). Socialization and stress explanations for spouse abuse. *Social Forces* (University of North Carolina Press) 67 (2): 473–91.
- Sen, P., Humphreys, C., & Kelly, L. (2003). *Violence Against Women in the UK*, Bristol: CEDAW Thematic Shadow Report.
- Sethuraman, K., Lansdown, R., & Sullivan, K. (2006). Women's empowerment and domestic violence: The role of sociocultural determinants in maternal and child undernutrition in tribal and rural communities in South India. *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, 27(2), 128-143.
- Shelton, B. A., & John, D. (1996). The division of household labor. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22, 299-322.
- Shrauger, J. S., & Schoeneman, T. J. (1979). Symbolic interactionist view of self-concept: through the looking glass darkly. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86(3), 549-573.
- Silverman D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook*. London: Sage.
- Simon, R. W., & Barrett, A. E. (2010). Nonmarital romantic relationships and mental health in early adulthood : does the association differ for women and men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 51(2), 168-182.
- Simoneti, S., Scott, E. C., & Murphy, C.M. (2000). Dissociative experiences in partner assaultive men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 15, 1262-1283.
- Simpson, M. (1994). Here come the mirror men. London: The Independent, 15 Nov 1994
- Sims, A. (2003). *Compendium of clinical and health indicators 2002*. London: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM).
- Sleutel, M. R. (1998). Women's experiences of abuse: a review of qualitative research. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 19(6), 525-539.
- Smart, C. (1984). *The ties that bind: marriage and the reproduction of patriarchal relations*, London: Routledge.
- Smart, C. (2004). Changing landscapes of family life: rethinking divorce. *Social Policy and Society*, 3(4), 401–408.
- Smart, C. (2005). Textures of family life: further thoughts on change and commitment. *Journal of Social Policy*, 34(4), 541–556.
- Smart C., & Neale, B. (1999). *Family fragments*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Smart, C., & Shipman, B. (2004). Visions in monochrome: families, marriage and the individualization thesis. *British Journal of Sociology*, 55(4), 491-509.

- Smart, C., & Stevens, P. (2000). *Cohabitation breakdown*. London: Family Policy Studies Centre.
- Smith, D.E. (1997). Comment on Hekman's "Truth and method: feminist standpoint theory revisited". *Signs*, 22, No. 2 (Winter), 392-398.
- Smith, J. A. (2005). Advocating pluralism: Invited commentary on 'Qualitative interviews in psychology: problems and perspectives' by Jonathan Potter and Alexa Hepburn. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 2, 309-311.
- Sohal, H., Eldridge, S., & Feder, G. S. (2007). The sensitivity and specificity of four questions (HARK) to identify intimate partner violence: a diagnostic accuracy study in general practice. *BMC Family Practice*, 8(1),49.
- Sokoloff, N. J., & Dupont, I. (2005). Domestic violence at the intersections of race, class, and gender: Challenges and contributions to understanding violence against marginalized women in diverse communities. *Violence Against Women*, 11, 38-64.
- Sorensen, R. C. (1973). *Adolescent sexuality in contemporary America*. New York: World Publishing.
- Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Dillon, L. (2003). *Quality in qualitative evaluation: a framework for assessing research evidence*. London: Government Chief Social Researcher's Office.
- Sprecher, S., & Felmlee, D. (1997). The balance of power in romantic heterosexual couples over time from "his" and "her" perspectives. *Sex Roles*, 37, 361-379.
- Sprecher, S., Schmeekle, M., & Felmlee, D. (2006). The principle of least interest: Inequality in emotional involvement in romantic relationships. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27, 1255-1280.
- Stacey, J. (1993). Untangling feminist theory. In *Introducing Women's Studies: Feminist theory and practice* (pp. 52-59). London: Macmillan.
- Stack, C. (1996). *Call to home: African-Americans reclaim the rural South*. New York: Basic Books.
- Stark, E., & Flitcraft, A. (1996). *Women at risk: domestic violence and women's health*. London: Sage.
- Stark, E. (2007). *Coercive control: how men entrap women in personal life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stein, M. (2007). Toxicity and the unconscious experience of the body at the employee-customer interface. *Organization Studies*, 28, 1223-1241.
- Stevens, D. P., Minnotte, K. L., Mannon, S. E., & Kiger, G. (2006). Family work performance and satisfaction: Gender ideology, relative resources and emotion work. *Marriage and Family Review*, 40, 47-74.
- Stokes, R., & Hewitt, J. P. (1976). Aligning actions. *American Sociological Review*, 41, 838-49.

- Stokoe, E.H., & Weatherall, A. (2002). Gender, language, conversation analysis and feminism. *Discourse and Society*, 13(6), 707-713.
- Stordeur, R. A., & Stille, R. (1989). *Ending men's violence against their partners: one road to peace*. London: Sage Publications.
- Straus, M. (1979). Measuring intrafamily conflict and violence: The Conflict Tactics Scale. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 41, 74-85.
- Straus, M. A., & Gelles, R. J. (1986). Societal change and change in family violence from 1975 to 1985 as revealed by two national surveys. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, 465-479.
- Straus, M. A., Gelles, R. J., Steinmetz, S. K. (1980). *Behind closed doors: violence in the American family*. London: Sage.
- Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2): Development and preliminary psychometric data. *Journal of Family Issues*, 17(3), 283-316.
- Strauss, A., Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research. Grounded Theory procedures and techniques*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Strauss, A., Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds). *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273–285). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage.
- Strazdins, L., & Broom, D. (2004). Acts of love (and work): gender imbalance in emotional work and womens' psychology distress. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25(3), 356-378.
- Strube, M. J., & Barbour, L. S. (1983). The decision to leave an abusive relationship: Economic dependence and psychological commitment. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 45(4), 785-793.
- Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version*. Menlo Park, USA: Benjamin.
- Stryker, S. (1987). *The interplay of affect and identity: Exploring the relationships of social structure, social interaction, self, and emotion*. Chicago: American Sociological Association.
- Sullivan, C. M., Bybee, D. I., & Allen, N. E. (2002). Findings from a community-based program for battered women and their children. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(9), 915-936.
- Sullivan, C.M., & Cain, D. (2004). Ethical and safety considerations when obtaining information from or about battered women for research purposes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(5):603-18.
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51(2), 273-286.

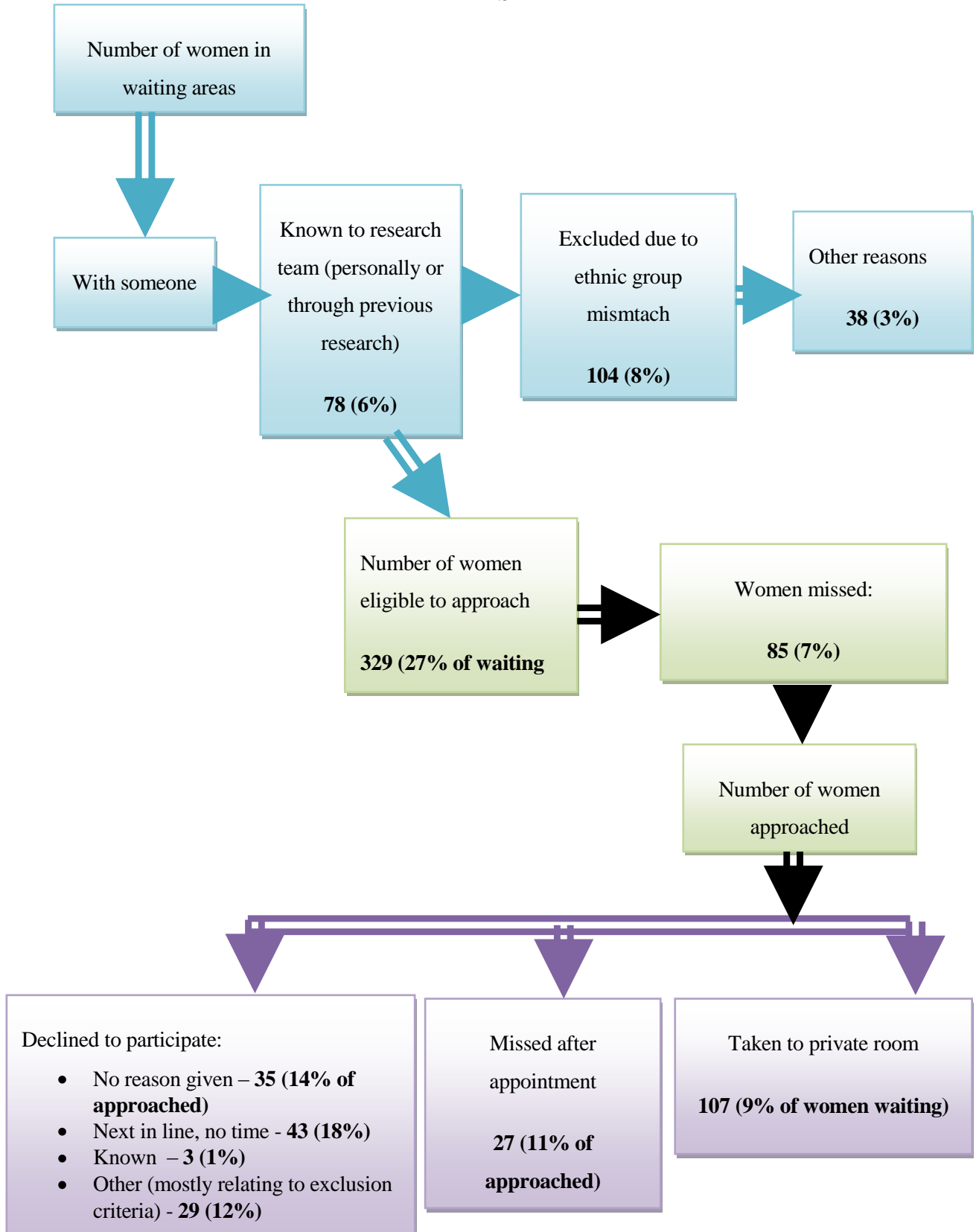
- Taft, A.J., Small, R., Hegarty, K.L., Watson, L.F., Gold, L., & Lumley, J.A. (2011). Mothers' AdvocateS in the Community (MOSAIC)—non-professional mentor support to reduce intimate partner violence and depression in mothers: a cluster randomised trial in primary care. *BMC Public Health*, 11:178.
- Taft, A.J., Small, R., Hegarty, K.L., Watson, L.F., Gold, L., Lumley, J.A. (2011). Mothers' AdvocateS in the Community (MOSAIC)—non-professional mentor support to reduce intimate partner violence and depression in mothers: a cluster randomised trial in primary care. *BMC Public Health*, 11,178.
- Taket, A. (2012). Responding to domestic violence in primary care. *BMJ* Mar 07, 344,e757.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanzer, D. (1985). Real men don't eat strong women: The virgin-madonna-whore complex updated. *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 12(4), 487-495.
- Tennov, D. (1998). Love Madness. In V. C. De Munck (ed.). *Romantic love and sexual behavior: perspectives from the social sciences* (pp. 77-90). Newport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- The Scottish Executive. (2001). *National strategy to address Domestic Abuse in Scotland*, Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, Edinburgh.
- Thiara, R. (2005). *The need for specialist domestic violence services for Asian women and children*. London: Imkaan.
- Thiara, R., & Gill, A. (2009). *Violence Against Women in South Asian Communities*, London, Jessica Kingsly.
- Thiara, R., & Gill, A. (2010). *Violence against South Asian women: issues for policy and practice*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Thiara, R.K., & Gill, A.K. (2012). Domestic violence, child contact and post-separation violence issues for south asian and african-caribbean women and children a report of findings. London: NSPCC.
- Thompson, A. G. H., & Sunol, R. (1995). Expectations as determinants of patient satisfaction: concepts, theory and evidence. *International Journal of Quality in Health Care*, 7(2), 127-141.
- Thorogood, N. (1989). Afro-Caribbean women's experience of the health service. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 15(3), 319–334.
- Tolman, R. M. (1989). The development of a measure of psychological maltreatment of women by their male partners. *Violence and Victims*, 4(3), 159-177.
- Tolman, R. M. (1999). The validation of the psychological maltreatment of women inventory. *Violence and Victims*, 14(1), 25-35.

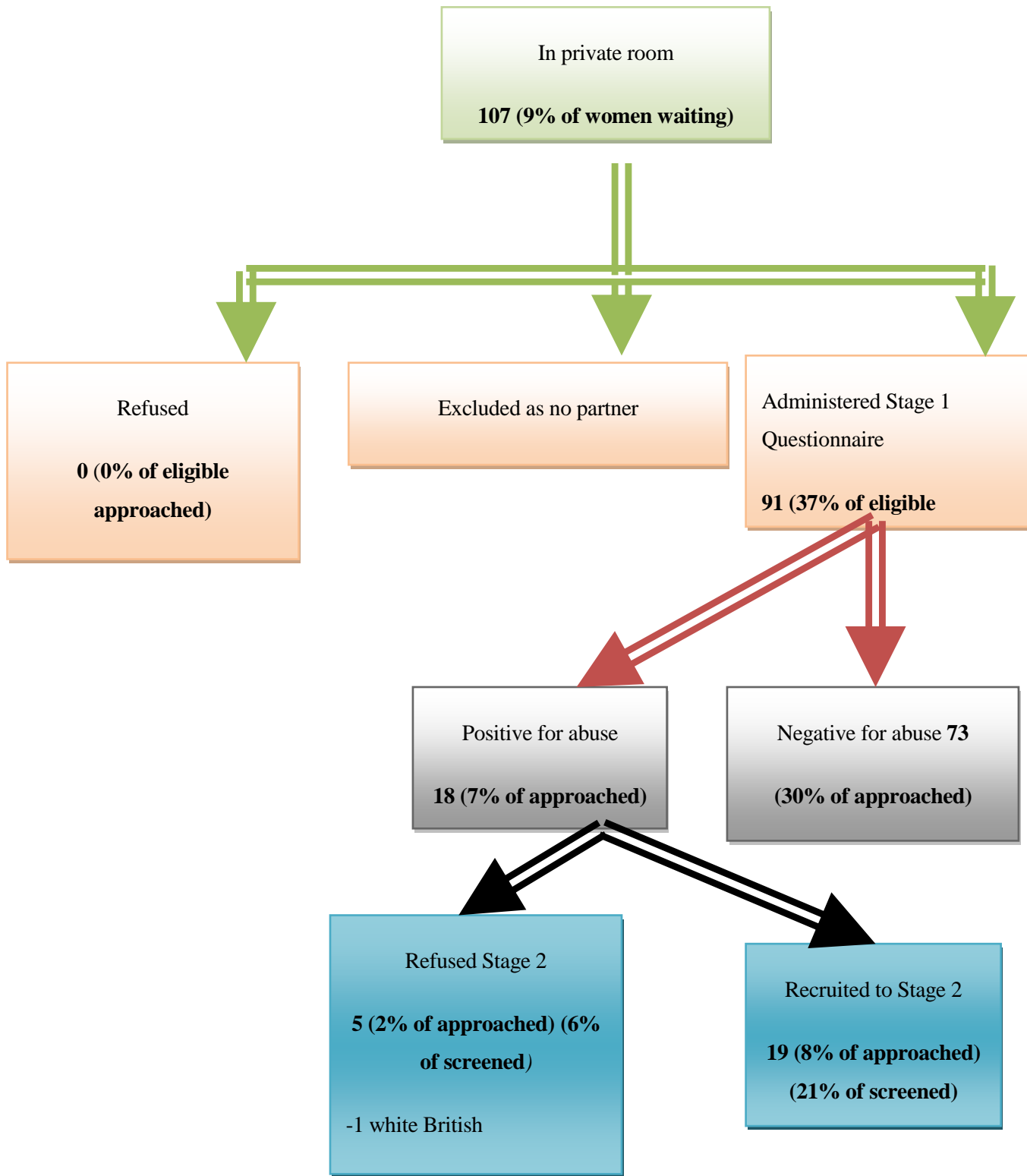
- Tower, M. (2007). Intimate partner violence and the health care response: a postmodern critique *Health Care For Women International*, 28(5), 438-452.
- Townsend, J. M. (1998). *What women want – what men want: why the sexes still see love and commitment so differently*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Turner, J. H. (2006). *Handbook of sociological theory*. New York: Springer,
- Turner, J. H. (1991). *The structure of sociological theory* (5th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Turner, R. A. (1962). Role-taking: process versus conformity. In A. M. Rose (Ed.). *Human behavior and social processes* (pp. 20–40). Boston, MA: houghton Mifflin Company.
- United Nations (UN). (1995). *Report on the Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China, 4-15 September, 1995, A/CONF.177/20 and A/CONF.177/20/Add.1*, United Nations.
- Vallely, P. (2010). The Big Question: What's the history of polygamy, and how serious a problem is it in Africa? *The Independent*, Wednesday 06 January.
- Vatnar, S., & Bjørkly, S. (2010). An interactional perspective on the relationship of immigration to intimate partner violence in a representative sample of help-seeking women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(10), 1815-1835.
- WAITS (Women Acting in Today's Society). (1995). *Freedom from abuse: domestic violence in Asian, African and Arab communities*. Birmingham: WAITS.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Walby, S., & Allen, J. (2004). *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking : findings from the British Crime Survey*. 276. London: Home Office Research Study.
- Walby, S., & Myhill, A. (2001). New survey methodologies in researching violence against women. *British Journal of Criminology*, 41,502-522.
- Walker, L. E. (1979). *The battered woman*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Walker, L. E. (1984). *Battered woman syndrome*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Walker, L. E. A. (2000). *The battered woman syndrome* (2nd ed.). New York: Springer.
- Warshaw, C. (1996). Domestic violence: changing theory, changing practice. *Journal of the American Medical Womens Association*, 51, (3), 87-91.
- Watson, T. J. (2009). Narrative, life story and manager identity: A case study in autobiographical identity work. *Human Relations*, 62(3), 425-452.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society* 1(2), 125-151.

- Westmarland, N. (2001). The quantitative/qualitative debate and feminist research: a subjective view of objectivity. *Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 2,1,13.
- Westmarland, N., Kelly, L., & Chalder-Mills, J. (2010). Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programmes - What Counts as Success? London: Respect.
http://www.respect.uk.net/data/files/respect_research_briefing_note_1_what_counts_as_success.pdf
- Whatley, M. A. (1993). For better or worse: the case of marital rape. *Violence Victims*, 8(1), 29-39.
- White, R. J., Gondolf, E. W. (2001). Batterer program participants who repeatedly reassault: Psychopathic tendencies and other disorders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 16,361-380.
- Whiting, N.A. (2007). *Contradiction in Terms?: A gendered analysis and same sex domestic abuse*. November. Edinburgh: Scottish Women's Aid Report.
- Whittaker-Khan, Y. (2008). *Who will save the Black Sisters now? Funds are axed for battered women and 'forced marriage' charity*. Daily Mail, 30 March 2008.
- Wilcox, P. (2007). Domestic Violence: Women, citizenship and care. In S. Balloch, & M. Hill (Eds). *Communities, citizenship and care: research and practice in a changing policy context* (pp. 49-74). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Wilkie, J. R., Ferree, M. M., & Ratcliff, K. S. (1998). Gender and fairness: marital satisfaction in two-earner couples. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 60, 577-594.
- Wilkinson, D. L., & Hamerschlag, S. J. (2005). Situational determinants in intimate partner violence. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 10, 333-361.
- Wilson E. (1983). *What is to be done about violence against women?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Wilson, M., & Daly, M. (1993). Spousal homicide risk and estrangement. *Violence and Victims* 8, 3-16.
- Wilson, W. J. (1996). *When work disappears — the world of the new urban poor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wolf, D.L. (1996). Situating feminist dilemmas in fieldwork. In D.L. Wolf (Ed.). *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Women's Aid. (2007). About domestic violence. Accessed 20 February 2007 from http://www.womensaid.org.uk/domestic_violence_topic.asp?section=0001000100220041§ionTitle=Domestic+violence+%28general%29
- Wood, J. T. (2001). The normalization of violence in heterosexual romantic relationships: women's narratives of love and violence. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 18, 239-261.

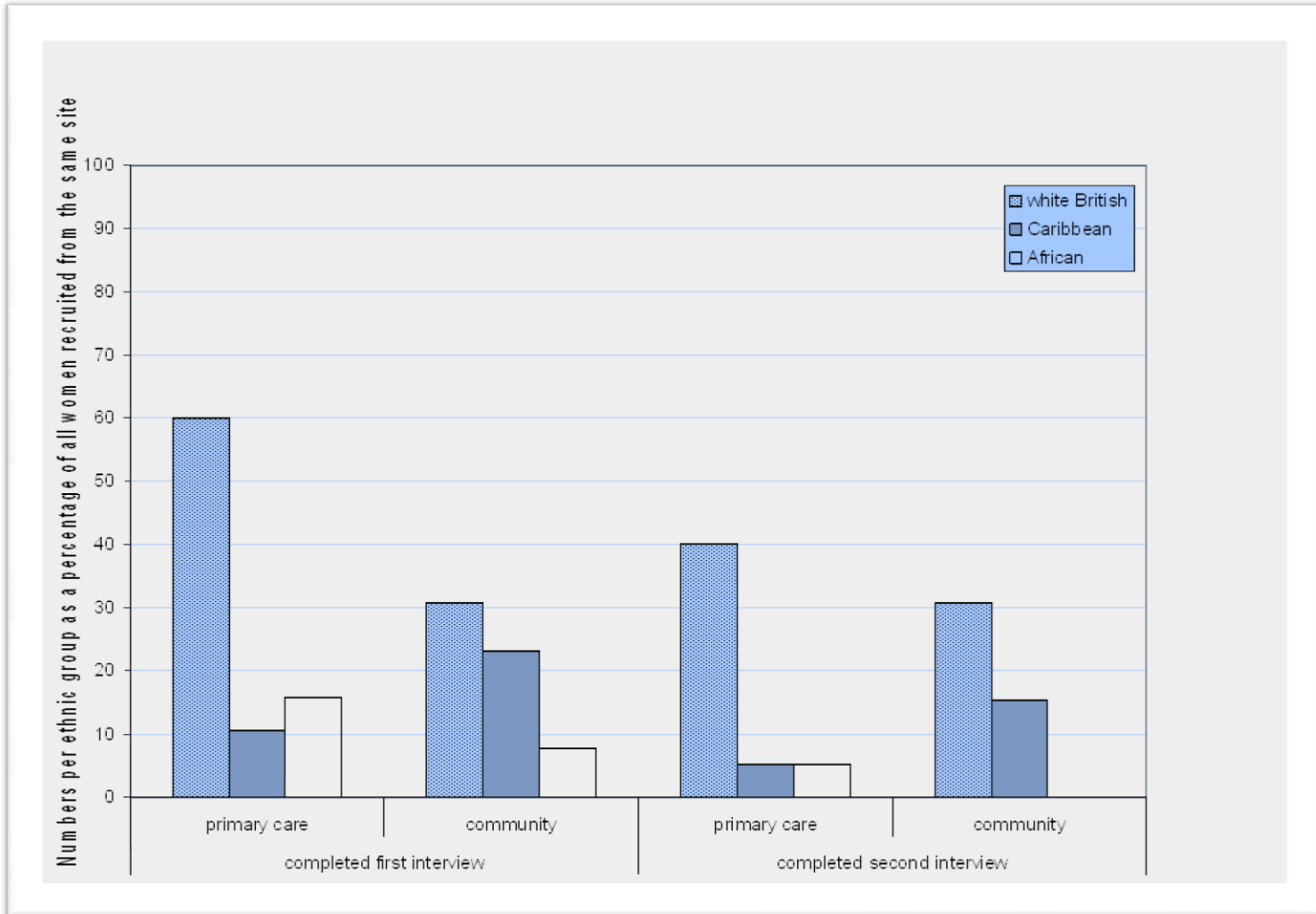
- World Health Organisation. (2001). *Putting women first. Ethical and safety recommendations for research on domestic violence against women*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Wuest, J., & Merritt Gray, M. (2008). A theoretical understanding of abusive intimate partner relationships that become non violent: Shifting the pattern of abusive control. *Journal of Family Violence*, 23, 281-293.
- Yllö, K. A. (1993). Through a feminist lens: gender, power and violence. In R. Gelles, & D. R. Loseke (Eds.). *Current controversies on family violence* (pp. 47-62). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Yllö, K., & Biograd, M.L. (1988). *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yoshihama, M. (2001). Immigrants-in-context framework: Understanding the interactive influence of socio-cultural contexts. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 24, 307-318.
- Yoshioka, M. R. (2008). Cultural diversity. In J. Keeling, & T. Mason (Eds.). *Domestic Violence*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.
- Young, M., & Willmott, P. (1957). *Family and kinship in East London*. London: Institute of Community Studies.
- Zink, T., Jacobson, C. J. Jr., Pabst, S., Regan, S., & Fisher, B.S. (2006). A lifetime of intimate partner violence: coping strategies of older women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21, 634-651.

APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT
DETAILS





Women completing interviews by site and ethnic group as a percentage of all women recruited at each site



APPENDIX B: COMPOSITE ABUSE
SCALE (CAS) USED FOR CHECKING
FOR ABUSE

The Composite Abuse Scale (CAS) is a 30-item multidimensional measure of partner abuse that has four dimensions - Severe Combined Abuse, Emotional Abuse, Physical Abuse and Harassment. The harassment subscale comprises four items, the emotional subscale 15 and the physical subscale 11. Items are rated in terms of frequency of occurrence from 0 (never) to daily (5). The CAS was used both to identify eligible participants and as a secondary outcome measure. The originators (Hegarty, Sheehan, & Schonfeld, . 1999)¹ recommend a cut-off total score of three, above which abuse is said to occur. This results in no abused women missed and a less than 5% false positive rate, and thus has good sensitivity and specificity. A cut-off of seven would miss 4% of abused women but have no false-positives. Recommended cut-off scores for the individual sub-scales are: physical abuse (1), emotional abuse (3), harassment (1). I used lower cut-offs, being three for the total score or two for emotional abuse, in order to increase my chances of capturing the women I called “distressed”. According to Hegarty and colleagues, this equated with a sensitivity of 100% and a specificity of 95.6% for the total score, with corresponding values of 92.3% and 93.8% for the emotional subscale, in a sample of women recruited from a hospital emergency department.

Questionnaire - last 12 months

We would like to know if you experienced any of the actions listed below and **how often** it happened during the past **six months**.

Include an ex-husband or ex-partners you have had contact with in the past 6 months. *Please tick one box in each row to show the number of times it occurred.*

Actions	How often it happened						With current partner in last 12 months	With ex-partner in last 12 months
	Never	Once or twice	Several Times	Once/ Month	Once/ Week	Daily		
	put down my physical appearance							
insulted me or shamed me in front of others								
treated me like I was stupid								
was insensitive to my feelings								
told me I couldn't manage or take care of my self without him								
put down my care of the children								
criticized the way I took care of the house								
said something to spite me								

Actions	How often it happened						With current partner in last 12 months	With ex-partner in last 12 months
	Never	Once or twice	Several Times	Once/ Month	Once/ Week	Daily		
	brought up something from the past to hurt me							
called me names								
swore at me								
yelled and screamed at me								
treated me like an inferior								
sulked or refused to talk about a problem								
stamped out of the house during a disagreement								
gave me the silent treatment or acted as if I wasn't there								
withheld affection from me								
did not let me talk about my feelings								
was insensitive to my sexual needs and desires								
demanding obedience to his whims								
became upset if dinner, housework or laundry was not done when he thought it should be								
acted like I was his personal servant								
did not do a fair share of household tasks								
did not do a fair share of child care								

Actions	How often it happened						With current partner in last 12 months	With ex-partner in last 12 months
	Never	Once or twice	Several Times	Once/ Month	Once/ Week	Daily		
	ordered me around							
monitored my time and made me account for where I was								
was mean in giving me money to run our home								
acted irresponsibly with our financial resources								
did not contribute enough to supporting our family								
used our money or made important financial decisions without talking to me about it								
kept me from getting medical care that I needed								
was jealous or suspicious of my friends								
was jealous of other men								
did not want me to go to college or classes								
did not want me to socialise with my female friends								
accused me of having an affair with another man								
demanded that I stay home and take care of the children								

Actions	How often it happened						With current partner in last 12 months	With ex-partner in last 12 months
	Never	Once or twice	Several Times	Once/ Month	Once/ Week	Daily		
	tried to keep me from seeing or talking to my family							
interfered in my relationships with other family members								
tried to keep me from doing things to help myself								
restricted my use of the car								
restricted my use of the telephone								
did not allow me to go out of the house when I wanted to								
refused to let me work outside of the home								
told me my feelings were irrational or crazy								
blamed me for his problems								
tried to turn our family, friends and children against me								
blamed me for causing his violent behaviour								
tried to make me feel like I was crazy								
moods changed radically, from calm to angry, or vice versa								

Actions	How often it happened						With current partner in last 12 months	With ex-partner in last 12 months
	Never	Once or twice	Several Times	Once/ Month	Once/ Week	Daily		
	ordered me around							
blamed me when he was upset about something even when it had nothing to do with me								
tried to convince my friends, family or children that I was crazy								
threatened to hurt himself if I left him								
threatened to hurt himself if I didn't do what he wanted me to do								
threatened to leave the relationship								
threatened to take the children away from me								
threatened to have me committed to mental hospital								
Demanded a strict account of how I spent money								
Had affairs he made sure I knew about								
Anything else you want to say? Please do tell me...								

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C: TOLMAN'S
PSYCHOLOGICAL MALTREATMENT OF
WOMEN INVENTORY (PMWI)

Tolman's Psychological maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI) assesses for psychological abuse only. The domination/isolation subscale (26 items) includes isolation from resources, demands for subservience, and rigid observance of traditional sex roles. The emotional/verbal subscale (23 items) includes verbal attacks, behaviour that demeans the woman, and withholding of emotional resources. The items are rated from 1 (never) to 5 (very frequently) (Tolman, 1999). The PMWI was used both to identify eligible participants and as a secondary outcome measure.

The PMWI

This questionnaire asks about actions you may have experienced in your relationship with your partner or ex-partner **in the last 6 months**. Answer each item as carefully as you can by circling a number next to each statement according to the following scale:

1=NEVER

2= RARELY

3= OCCASIONALLY

4= FREQUENTLY

5= VERY FREQUENTLY

NA= NOT APPLICABLE

Very frequently



IN THE PAST 6 MONTHS:

1. My partner or ex put down my physical appearance.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
2. My partner or ex insulted me or shamed me in front of others.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
3. My partner or ex treated me like I was stupid.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
4. My partner or ex was insensitive to my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
5. My partner or ex told me I couldn't manage or take care of myself without him.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
6. My partner or ex put down my care of the children.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
7. My partner or ex criticized the way I took care of the house.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
8. My partner or ex said something to spite me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
9. My partner or ex brought up something from the past to hurt me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
10. My partner or ex called me names.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
11. My partner or ex swore at me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
12. My partner or ex yelled and screamed at me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
13. My partner or ex treated me like an inferior.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
14. My partner or ex sulked or refused to talk about a problem.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
15. My partner or ex stomped out of the house or yard during a disagreement.	1	2	3	4	5	NA

16. My partner or ex gave me the silent treatment or acted like I wasn't there.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
17. My partner or ex withheld affection from me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
18. My partner or ex did not let me talk about my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
19. My partner or ex was insensitive to my sexual needs and desires.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
20. My partner or ex demanded obedience to their whims.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
21. My partner or ex became upset if dinner, housework, or laundry was not done when they thought it should be.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
22. My partner or ex acted like I was their personal servant.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
23. My partner or ex did not do a fair share of the household tasks.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
24. My partner or ex did not do a fair share of child care.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
25. My partner or ex ordered me around.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
26. My partner or ex monitored my time and made me account for my whereabouts.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
27. My partner or ex was stingy in giving me money to run our home.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
28. My partner or ex acted irresponsibly with our financial resources.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
29. My partner or ex did not contribute enough to supporting our family.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
30. My partner or ex used our money or made important financial decisions without talking	1	2	3	4	5	NA

to me about it.						
31. My partner or ex kept me from getting medical care that I needed.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
32. My partner or ex was jealous or suspicious of my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
33. My partner or ex was jealous of other men.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
34. My partner or ex did not want me to go to school or other self-improvement activities.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
35. My partner or ex did not want me to socialize with my female friends.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
36. My partner or ex accused me of having an affair with another man.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
37. My partner or ex demanded that I stay home and take care of the children.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
38. My partner or ex tried to keep me from seeing or talking to my family.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
39. My partner or ex interfered in my relationships with other family members.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
40. My partner or ex tried to keep my from doing things to help myself.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
41. My partner or ex restricted my use of the car.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
42. My partner or ex restricted my use of the telephone.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
43. My partner or ex did not allow me to leave the house.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
44. My partner or ex did not allow me to work.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
45. My partner or ex told me my feelings were irrational or crazy.	1	2	3	4	5	NA

46. My partner or ex blamed me for their problems.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
47. My partner or ex tried to turn my family against me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
48. My partner or ex blamed me for causing their violent behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
49. My partner or ex tried to make me feel crazy.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
50. My partner's or ex's moods changed radically.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
51. My partner or ex blamed me when they were upset.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
52. My partner or ex tried to convince me I was crazy.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
53. My partner or ex threatened to hurt himself if I left.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
54. My partner or ex threatened to hurt himself if I didn't do what they wanted.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
55. My partner or ex threatened to have an affair.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
56. My partner or ex threatened to leave the relationship.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
57. My partner or ex threatened to take our children away from me.	1	2	3	4	5	NA
58. My partner or ex threatened to commit me to an institution.	1	2	3	4	5	NA

(c) Richard M. Tolman 1995

APPENDIX D: LISTS OF CODES,
CATEGORIES AND LABELS

April 2006

1) Nature of relationship with partner

- i) positive factors/emotions in relationship
- ii) negative factors/emotions in relationship
- iii) conflict/violence (nature and triggers)
- iv) reasons to stay (including good versus bad times)
- v) ending relationship e.g. crossing the line (when boundaries have been transgressed) (includes temporarily)

2) Responses

- i) blame attribution (by man and woman) (including mitigating circumstances (e.g. partner mental health, drug misuse, immigrant status, financial stress etc, and forgiveness)
- ii) normalisation (e.g. lack of colour in description, emotionless list or series of events)
- iii) response of children
- iv) coping strategies/reducing the abuse
- v) emotional and psychological effect in women during relationship
- vi) emotional and psychological changes in women post-relationship (including how she deals or intends to deal with subsequent partner (s))

3) Nature of relationship with significant others

- i. work
- ii. religion
- iii. previous intimate relationships
- iv. children
- v. his family
- vi. her family

4) Pivotal points and life events

- i. Pivotal events and the relationship
- ii. Material resources (housing, money etc)
- iii. Other life events

5) Disclosure and seeking support

- i) Disclosure to whom, to what extent, why and when?
- ii) What women desire from support
- iii) Family support (including concept of family, and barriers and problems)
- iv) Support of friends (including concept of friendship, and barriers and problems)
- v) Support of professionals (including prior contact/knowledge, specifics of current contact for support, what helps and doesn't, and when she does not wish for this support)
- vi) faith/lack of faith in professional support (including health beliefs about professionals,
- vii) problems in accessing professional support (including money, communication with professionals etc)

6) Culture and expectations

- i) perception of ethnicity (i.e. the man and woman's ethnic identities, and conflict between these)
- ii) perception of community (community as family, ethnic group, society, etc, to the woman and the man)
- iii) individualism vs. collectivism (whether or not the woman's general actions are mediated by community or self-interest)
- iv) ethnicity/racism and the community (interactions with the community – including help-seeking - mediated by ethnicity; perceptions of the man and woman)
- v) effect of differences in ethnicity on the relationship
- vi) expectations of gender roles in:
 - a. this relationship
 - b. general
- viii) experience of gender roles in the relationship (including what each person in the relationship desires and experiences)
 - a. division of labour
 - b. abuse relating to domestic care
 - c. gender roles and the breadwinner
 - d. other
- ix) gender roles and the community (e.g. what the man says about other women)

7) Identities and positioning

- i) status and loss of status

- ii) identity statements
 - a. in relation to self
 - I) what she wants and can't have
 - II) what she is and wants to be
 - III) in good and bad times (e.g. undesirable, elated)
 - IV) moral justifications
 - b. in relation to partner
 - c. in relation to interviewer
 - d. in relation to friends
 - e. in relation to children
 - f. in relation to family
 - g. re work (outside, or as "homemaker")
 - h. re professionals (e.g. providing support)
- iii) sense of power or control or responsibility within the relationship
- iv) how woman represents the man's identity or character
- v) how woman represents identity of professionals
- vi) changing identities (e.g. through immigration, generations)
- vii) conflict and change

Subcategories for family, 7th September 2006

Culture and family

concept, values, expectations

Couple's childhoods

Leaving home

Later relationships - extended family

Incl support (failures, successes, equivocal, lack, unwanted), judgements, wants and needs

Services and family

Child-related problems and benefits

(e.g. effects on couple's relationship, incl. post-separation)

Effects of conflict on the child

Pivotal family life history moments

(death/illness, abortion, labour, pregnancy)

Parenthood and identity

Child-rearing, parenting conflict and support, e.g. decision-making

Single or step-parenting

Final list

1. relationship with partner

1.1 meeting each other

1.2 daily life:

1.3 likes and dislikes:

1.4 conflict:

1.5 ending relationship:

2. Responses

2.1 accounting for behaviours:

2.2 effects of conflict:

2.3 coping

2.4 wants and desires

3. setting

3.1 work:

3.2 religion:

3.3 material resources

3.4 stresses:

3.5 major life events:

4. significant others

4.1 other partners:

4.2 Children:

4.3 friends:

4.4 Family:

4.5 community members

4.6 interviewer:

5. professionals:

5.1 Problems

6. Identities

6.1 woman's identity

6.2 man's identity:

7. culture

7.1 concept of abuse

7.2 concept of love:

7.3 ethnicity:

7.4 gender roles

8. moral justification and accounting work

9. Life choices

APPENDIX E: OPERATIONALISED CODES

This was drawn up on 6th June 2006 and therefore predates the final list of codes in Appendix D

Sections are not specific to the woman (or one person) unless explicitly stated.

1. relationship with partner

1.1 meeting each other

1.2 daily life: considers day to day interactions that are not conflict, or that are background

“low level” situations

1.3 likes and dislikes: considers positive and negative things one person says about the

other, including how and whether or not these balance out

1.4 conflict: includes anything to do with conflict, such as triggers, the man’s behaviour,

the woman’s behaviour or immediate reaction, changes in each person in relation to conflict with time

1.5 ending relationship: includes both temporary and permanent endings. Considers reasons, feelings and agency, coming back, and also continued contact that is not an intimate relationship.

2. Responses

2.1 accounting for behaviours: includes blame attribution, rationalisation

2.2 effects of conflict: emotional, psychological and other effects short term and long term, during the relationship and after

2.3 coping: includes ways of coping with abuse/conflict, and with life in general

2.4 wants: what women say they need or would be helpful, with regard to any problems in their lives (including physical and mental health needs, domestic violence services, childcare etc) but have not experienced.

3. setting

3.1 work: anything to do with employment

3.2 religion: anything to do with religion, including support

3.3 material resources: anything to do with the presence or absence of these, includes money, housing etc

3.4 stresses: day to day stresses

3.5 major life events: major stresses (e.g. death, abortion)

4. significant others

4.1 other partners: anything to do with the man or woman's relationships with other

partners. May be infidelity while within the relationship as well as before or after the relationship

4.2 Children: anything to do with the man or woman's children

4.3 friends: anything to do with the man or woman's friends

4.3.1 support from friends: anything to do with experiencing or being able to get (or not

get) support from friends

4.4 Family: anything to do with the man or woman's family (anyone excluding their partner or children). Includes comments about childhood that may not explicitly mention family

4.4.1 Family support: anything to do with experiencing or being able to get (or not get) support from family

4.5 community members: anything to do with the man or woman's interactions

with their local community (social/cultural, not local services), or their comments regarding Hackney/inner city life or other community

4.6 interviewer: comments regarding the interview or interviewer

5. professionals: encompasses anything to do with professional services, such as disclosing personal problems, seeking help or support, experiences of help or support, barriers.

5.1 Problems: considers failure by professionals or services

6. Identities

6.1 woman's identity: includes all statements made by the woman that relate

to her identity (including in relation to her partner and other significant others, role as wife, mother, etc etc). Role as a woman (i.e. in relation to gender) is covered in gender roles below

6.2 man's identity: includes all statements that relate to man's identity (including in relation to partner and other significant others; role as husband, father etc). Role as a man is covered in gender roles below.

7. culture

7.1 concept of abuse: the women are asked in the interview to define abuse and their answers are stored here, as well as any other statements that define abuse.

7.2 concept of love: the women are asked in the interview to define love and their answers are stored here, as well as any other statements that define abuse.

7.3 ethnicity or regionality: statements that explicitly relate to ethnicity e.g. by mentioning racism, a country, a different geographical region, a race

7.4 gender roles: any statements relating to men or women explicitly

8. moral justification: all statements that appear to morally justify other statements.

9. life choices: an emerging theme, currently includes statements about life choices that are generally philosophical rather than relating to anything the woman or her partner have done

APPENDIX F: SUMMARY OF THE WOMEN INTERVIEWED

Key: Women in shaded grey were not abused but asked to do interviews in order to tell me things that might be of potential help with further recruitment. Their data were not considered together with the data from the 20 abused women but are drawn on in the thesis where helpful. Women in shaded light blue were African and green were Caribbean.

	Age	Ethnicity	Partner ethnicity	Intimate partner status	Occupation	Conflict summary type
1. Maria	28	White British	Spanish	Recently split up	Manager	Current physical and psychological abuse (by phone/e-mail now)
2. Tracy	37	White British	White British	Split up 10 years ago	Administrator, unemployed	Physical and psychological abuse 10 years ago; claims aggressive to current partner
3. Patience	45	Black African	Black African	Married; recently separated	Care worker	Recent (last 6 mo) physical and psychological abuse; with new non-abusive partner
4. Vanessa	46	White British	Black African	Married	Teacher	Current apparently severe physical/psychological abuse, agency shown by woman
5. Zoe	30	White British	White British	Married; newly separated	Health professional	Current physical and psychological abuse
6. Gemma	30s	White British	White British	Not talking about herself, but about niece, separated	Teacher	

7. Cathy	45	White British	White British	Still together after 24 years	Journalism	Current undermining by partner, developing some agency, "distressed" "normal" marriage
8. Linda	30	White British	White British	Recently began living together with on-off partner of 2 years	Government worker	Past abusive relationship 5? years ago, currently with married man, "childish" behaviour that fits definitions of psych abuse; claims never in love
9. Josie	Elderly Caribbean lady					
10. Kalisa	32	Black Caribbean	Black Caribbean	Recently split up with partner of 10 years, then back together	Unemployed	In formerly (?) abusive relationship, apparently strong woman, much agency, also vulnerability
11. Edna	Elderly Caribbean lady					
12. Dinah	37	White British	White British	Recently split up but still in same house	Government worker	Unclear, seems mutual conflict?
13. Fran		White British	White British	Recently split with husband of 1 year but still have "adult	Unemployed	Husband a drug abuser, woman emotionally vulnerable but at same

				evenings”		time resilient (fought back)
14. Sela	38	Black African	Black African	Together; married ca 13 years but 5 years apart due to immigration problems; last 4 years together	Unemployed but does occasional hairdressing	Husband behaves “like a typical African man” (my quotes), she avoids conflict; no physical abuse
15. Bolanle	26	Black African	Black African	Married and with husband 2 years	Care worker	Husband behaves “like a typical African man” (my quotes), she avoids conflict; no physical abuse
16. Abrianna	32	Black Caribbean	Black Caribbean	“single 2 years”	Voluntary worker	Continued abuse from children’s fathers
17. Queisha	51	Black Caribbean	Black	With current partner 3 years	Unemployed	Series of abusive relationships, current one “practice” for new technique/philosophy to end the abuse
18. Jenny	-	Black African	Black African	Separated from husband of 10 years	Care worker	He changed when spent too much time with another woman; slaps and abuse “usual with African men”.

19. Naomi	37	Black Caribbean	Black Caribbean	10 years (check)	Care worker	Relationship abusive until 4-year child died; attributes change to her counselling and developing agency
20. Onaedo	19	White British	Black American	18 months	Retail	Stalking, harassment, physical and verbal and sexual abuse
21. Winona	47	Black British (parents Caribbean)	White British	5 years	Unemployed secretary	Possessive
22. Ursula	Late 40s	White British	White British	18 months	Health professional	Good current relationship; previous 2 long term ones psych abusive; health visitor
23. Helen	31	White British	White British	Most recent abusive relationship this year lasted 5 weeks	Student	New relationship; gets out of abusive ones fast due to previous experiences and current psychotherapy

APPENDIX G: STEPS USED IN THE ANALYSIS

Step 1: At the start of the study, the steering group met and identified aspects of our different backgrounds that could impact on the data analysis. This encouraged us to be reflexive about the potential biases and also value we each brought to the study, which we were able to explore further during data analysis. In this way we were alert to differences in our theoretical sensitivities, that is our sensitivities to concepts, meanings and relationships within the data.

Step 2: Steps 2-4 involved what is called open coding, where the codes are labels for chunks of data that capture something of the literal essence of the data and are used to organise it.

I undertook line-by-line coding for the first three interview transcripts. Key words and phrases used by the informants were underlined, and the transcripts re-read, then key words and phrases confirmed and written in the right hand margin of the transcript. These were subsequently transferred to a single sheet of paper, along with the name of the woman whose data suggested the key word or phrase, in a method adapted from the DipEX (now Healthalkonline) team's OSOP (one sheet of paper) technique (Ziebland, 2006). This resulted in a long repetitive list derived inductively from the data.

Step 3: The key words and phrases were amalgamated where repetitive, and used to construct a shorter list of codes. These codes often used the informant's words (*in vivo* coding) or closely reflected them, helping me keep later interpretations grounded in the data. I also followed Goulding's constructivist recommendation to use 'doing words' (i.e. the gerund) in coding phrases. For example, I coded 'coping with abuse' rather than 'how she coped with abuse'. This suited the research question as it allows:

...actors to walk in and out of many behavioural patterns....it is important to recognise that most individuals engage in a type of behaviour without being 'typed' by it; they engage in other behaviours as well (Goulding, 1999).

The study protocol's aims and objectives were used to refine the list of codes – mainly to exclude some topics. This is not admissible to Glaser and Strauss, but is in keeping with the constructivist approach to grounded theory.

I then immersed myself in the data again. I read and reread the first six interview accounts, three of which I had transcribed myself, gaining familiarity with the content. I summarised the texts passage by passage, and compared the summaries with the codes in the list, with further codes developed as necessary, until each relevant passage had at least one code label. Codes were conflated by grouping together similar code phrases.

I then held a two-hour study steering group meeting, during which we considered and developed further codes, avoiding interpretation and ensuring the codes reflected the data well. Following this, I pulled out some examples of the codes from the data and presented them at an advisory group meeting for discussion and exploration. This process led to further refinement of the codes. I checked the modified list with the steering group members and we agreed on a working revised version with which to proceed to the next stage of analysis.

Step 4: The data were input into MaxQDA using the coding list. As data gathering progressed I added to the list of codes, entering them straight onto MaxQDA. Next I collated further data extracts for exploration at a second advisory group meeting. This informal data analysis helped to develop my sensitivity to the data and to my own biases, and also suggested alternative ways of understanding the data, enhancing validity and reliability.

Step 5: The list of inductively derived codes was further modified. As I continued to add and analyse the data, I grouped together similar codes into what Charmaz (2005) calls clusters of codes. Similar clusters were combined into meta-clusters; the separate codes remain but are organised into groups. When I had coded ten interviews, I presented the work to my supervisors (i.e. in a steering group meeting) and we spent several hours looking at examples of the data. This meant working through the coding and refining it still further. New codes were suggested by the data and other codes revised, for example unhelpful codes that did not add to understanding or were deemed to be possibly judgmental or prematurely interpretive (for example “professional support” was changed to “professionals”). This meant I had to revisit and recode all the interviews. Subsequent revisions were less extensive and so less problematic.

Step 6: I now operationalised the codes— that is, their properties and the rules for using them were explicitly described (see Appendix E). The following is an example.

ending relationship: includes both temporary and permanent endings. Considers reasons, feelings and agency, coming back, and also continued contact that is no longer an intimate relationship. Excludes continued contact within an intimate relationship but the couple can live in the same accommodation if they have separated.

At this point my supervisors independently coded some interviews, and we compared codings, with an inter-rater reliability of 86%. This drew out still further refinements and points for discussion. Now I could begin adding further interviews.

Step 7: Meta-clusters are usually known as categories, and these in turn are nascent themes. As analysis continued and codes in a meta-cluster began to overlap, category labels were developed that were more abstract than the open codes although still quite literal. The categories, and therefore their labels and operationalisations, changed as analysis continued. For example the last sentence in the operationalised code above was added sometime after my initial operationalisation to fit new data. I aimed for internal homogeneity (that is all bits of data grouped within a category should be

exemplars of the same phenomenon, behaviour or event – although they can and indeed should include variety as can be seen from the example above) and external heterogeneity (that is, each category should be different from all others). This required constant comparison (Glaser BG 1967) of all the bits of data within a category with each other, and constant comparison of the data across categories, resulting in a good depth of explanation of the data but with a manageable number of categories. In practice this meant each time I added to the data I checked that categories fitted this as well as already analysed data and if not, I deleted, subsumed, renamed or devised new categories.

Strauss and Corbin argue that constant comparison involves alternating between deductive and inductive thinking (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This would also fit with constructivist approaches to grounded theory.

Step 8: I subdivided the categories into subcategories. I will use the category of Family to illustrate how a subcategory might develop. Two subcategories, “reputations and family values” and “expectations” were subsumed into “what the family means to self and others” and then “social norms and family”. In this case the subcategory became broader as it was revised.

I developed a category called social support with subcategories of friends, immediate birth family, other blood relatives, partner’s relatives. This helped me to see how individual women talked differently about support; for example only two white British women mentioned blood relatives outside their immediate birth family and the way they did so differed from the way that Caribbean and African women talked about them. Mentions of the abusive man’s family providing social support were unexpected and I was able to contrast this with the support the abused women got from their own families, strengthening my analysis. I also explored why some anticipated sources of social support such as from work colleagues were unrealized. Dimensionalising in this

way therefore helped me to ask further questions of the data and to enhance my interpretations and their validity.

Sometimes subcategories are less obvious. Thus “social representations” as a subcategory of social support was developed when I subsumed two earlier subcategories of “reputations and values” and “expectations”. This example shows how the same data may be used for different categories that are connected but distinct (comparing it with the example given for Family above).

Step 9: I now printed out the data for each category. The data were not sorted in any particular way (e.g. into the subcategories), and indeed I tried to avoid this. I now immersed myself in the data again, reading and rereading the printouts until I had made some sort of sense of the patterns within. This enabled me to rearrange the data accordingly and refine my interpretation and connections, and then repeat the whole process. Categories and sub-categories were further developed in memos, e-mails and discussions with the advisory group members and separately with the steering group members. These categories and codings took into account the similarities and differences in the women's narratives.

Step 10: The literature was then checked to further outline and compare relationships among the categories. I continued to use the constant comparative method to refine and revisit the arrangements until the data had been sorted and linked in such a way that I felt I could make no further changes. I then condensed the material, and gave a printout of the condensed data to the other two members of the steering group for their comments. This led to further reorganisation of the data. I tried to condense all the material systematically, so that I went through three revisions of this, each time removing more examples of subcategories, until I was satisfied that only key examples remained. The goal of constant comparison at this stage is to provide the best explanation of patterns in the data using the minimum number of categories.

Step 11: My analytic choices and conceptualisations led to refinement of the research focus, which was now well grounded in the data. In this way I arrived at the step Strauss and Corbin call selective coding. I identified a few core categories and concepts and discussed my selection with the steering group. Since core categories become the concepts at the core of emergent theory they should only be chosen once the data collection has stopped, so that the full richness of the data is included. I was now ready for steps 12-14, theory development.

Throughout: As the interviews and category development proceeded, I wrote frequent memos, in which I identified potential themes of interest and questioned the data. This helped me to develop my theoretical sensitivity through a reflexive process of interaction with the data. As Charmaz (1990) says:

Memo writing gives the researcher an analytic handle on materials and a means of struggling with, discovering and defining hidden or taken for granted processes and assumptions within the data (p. 30).

Our team working was a development of this reflexive process. Team working is mentioned by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) add the idea of peer debriefing which is akin to the advisory group sessions.²⁴ I used these different approaches periodically throughout the analytic process, keeping notes from them filed like a research diary to provide a developmental history of ideas and explanations and the evolution of the study. This proved a useful resource which I referred to repeatedly as the analysis progressed, protecting me from the problem of later recall bias.

The same rationale applies for retaining codes and categories that not all team members approve; it ensures ideas and understandings are not lost as analysis develops and the complexity and richness of the data pool expands. I symbolically discarded

²⁴ Lincoln and Guba (1985) define peer debriefing as "a process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytic session and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind."

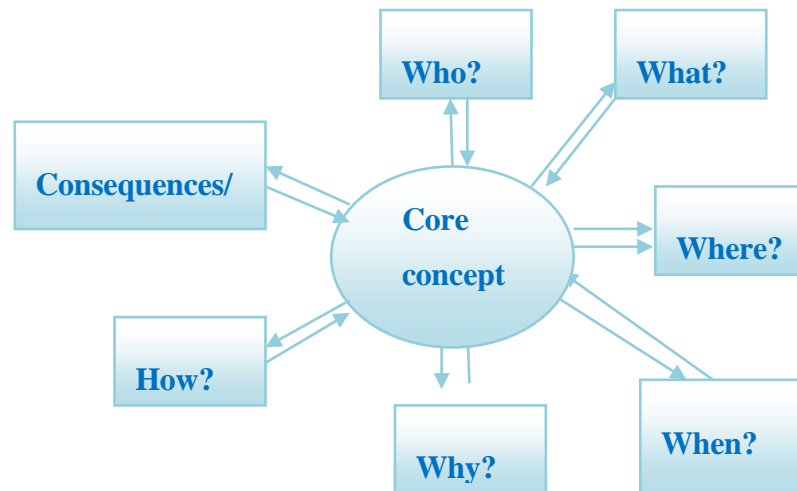
such codes and categories, that is I bracketed them out rather than erasing them, so I could refer back to them as my analysis continued, to check whether they needed to be taken up again to fill out my descriptions (and later my concepts or theories) or explain new questions that arose during the analysis.

This is in keeping with Glaser and Strauss' recommendation to search for data that can help to explore gaps and weaknesses in the emerging analysis and I adhered to it throughout. When these data cannot be found, it may be possible to obtain them from further research, and this I consciously sought to do. I was able to modify the topic guide to take gaps and weaknesses into account in later first and also second interviews – as an example of what is known as theoretical sampling. I also looked for explanations in data collected towards the start of the study; as analysis proceeds, earlier data may become significant in unexpected ways. Once all gaps have been accounted for, theoretical saturation is said to have been reached and higher order concepts can be developed from lower level concepts (steps 12-14).

Overall the analysis included five major coding and category revisions, each one occurring after meetings with the steering group and also in three cases with the advisory group.

Step 12: Glaser and Strauss advocated axial (relational) coding once all the data have been collected and coded, whereby the properties and dimensions of the categories are determined and the categories linked together into concepts. I preferred to use the different technique of concept mapping which I developed from Charmaz' process of clustering. I took a core category (one that I considered significant) and put it at the centre of my concept map. Then I considered its attributes and dimensions according to Figure 21 shown below.

Figure 21: Concept mapping: The properties and dimensions of the subject, or concept, are explored systematically and gaps, weaknesses and alternative explanations all considered. Grey dashed arrows indicate negative instances (who not? etc).



This is not brain storming (which mind maps are good for), but describing something in the data using other parts of the data. At this stage I also considered the 'deviant' cases or negative instances, represented by grey dashed arrows in the figure. Concept mapping enables abstract concepts to be developed in rich and well rounded detail; it goes further than subcategory formation in its systematicity.

Step 13: The process of selecting the core categories involved revisiting the data and doing further coding and category work as problems and gaps in the data were revealed by concept mapping. This is one of the key points in the analysis at which I had to take special care to consider alternative explanations, drawing on the steering and advisory groups, the literature and my own theoretical sensitivity, and also to make pragmatic decisions concerning the choice of core categories. As an example, initially I proposed considering the decision-making women did around their children in the

context of their abusive relationships. In the words of one woman, Cathy, this involved “swings and roundabouts”, which I wanted to explore in more detail. But during a steering group discussion, it was agreed to limit the scope of the analysis and not to include children. To maintain a focus I had to refine and also drop some of the subcategories that I had originally considered as linking into the main issues. For example, I dropped the subcategory perceived support from the support category.

Step 14: By integrating several concept maps I was able to build up mini-theories from the higher order concepts, and I used these to develop an explanatory framework and then theoretical models (termed by Glaser and Strauss the substantive theory).

PUBLISHED ARTICLES

1. Winner of British Sociology Association Psychology of Women Section student prize 2010

Rivas C: "I don't feel like I'm in an abusive relationship": women's naming of their partner's abusive behaviours and how this may be affected by institutional definitions. *Psychology of Women Section Review* **12** 2010 (Paper attached)

Dear Ms. Rivas

I would just like to congratulate you, on behalf of everyone at *Feminism & Psychology*, on winning the POWS prize this year.

Your one year free subscription to our journal will begin with the next issue (20:4).

Kind regards
Gareth Terry

Feminism & Psychology Editorial Office
Editors: Nicola Gavey & Virginia Braun (The University of Auckland, New Zealand)
Editorial Assistants: Gareth Terry, Panteá Farvid & Jade Le Grice.
Email: feminism.psychology@auckland.ac.nz
Web: <http://fap.sagepub.com>

2. In press.

From: <claire.renzetti@uky.edu>
To: <c.a.rivas@qmul.ac.uk>; <m.j.kelly@qmul.ac.uk>
Sent: Saturday, February 05, 2011 4:46 PM
Subject: Violence Against Women - Decision on Manuscript ID VAW-09-11-0001.R1

> 05-Feb-2011
>
> Manuscript ID VAW-09-11-0001.R1 entitled "Drawing the line: how African,
> Caribbean and white British women live out psychologically abusive
> experiences" which you submitted to the Violence Against Women, has been
> reviewed. The comments of the reviewer are included below.
>
> Dear Mrs. Rivas,
>
> I am pleased to write to inform you that your manuscript, "Drawing the
> line: how African, Caribbean and white British women live out
> psychologically abusive experiences," has been provisionally accepted for
> publication in *Violence Against Women*. The comments of the reviewer who
> reviewed your manuscript are included below. You will receive page proofs
> of your manuscript directly from Sage Publications 4-6 weeks before
> publication. This will give you the approximate date your manuscript will
> appear in the journal. Please keep in mind, however, that it takes about
> 18 months for a production-ready manuscript to appear in print, although
> we are working hard to reduce this lag time.
>